PARENTAL ASPIRATIONS, TEACHER APPREHENSIONS AND STUDENT ATTITUDES TO THE TEACHING AND LEARNING OF GREEK IN SOUTH AUSTRALIAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

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ABSTRACT

This portfolio of research aimed to investigate the learning and teaching of Greek in Adelaide secondary schools, from the perspective of the students studying the language and to a lesser extent their parents and teachers. It sought to follow up the previous studies of Smolicz, Tamis and Papademetre, by studying the latest generation of young people of Greek background in relation to maintaining Greek language and culture.

A longitudinal mixed research approach (qualitative and quantitative), influenced by humanistic sociological principles, was adopted. Data were collected through questionnaires, using both fixed and open-ended questions, as well as follow-up interviews and research observations over a ten year period. Respondents were drawn from St George College, established by the Greek Orthodox Community and Parish of St George, as the only independent school in Adelaide committed to maintaining Greek language and culture at high school level, and from three state high schools which are considered specialised in languages and offered Greek in their curriculum. The description of the data collected and the analysis of the findings are presented in three projects within this portfolio of research.

Project 1 was based on data collected from ten parents whose children attended St George College and five teachers, on the one hand, and from 23 parents and six teachers associated with the three state high schools on the other. Most spoke in Greek ethnolect to their immigrant parents, but mainly English to their spouses and children. Although many had achieved upward mobility into professional careers, most felt both Greek and Australian. St George parents were more oriented towards the Greek community and valued the college’s Greek ethos, while state school parents associated more with mainstream Australian society and gave highest priority to their children’s academic success. Teachers
were concerned at the decline in students’ competence and interest in Greek. Those in state schools were also fearful for the future of their subject.

Project 2 studied the learning experiences, attitudes and language activation of 82 students from St George College. Many spoke a little Greek with grandparents, if they were still alive. Although most were positive to learning Greek and responded enthusiastically to the Greek ethos of the school, a small proportion were opposed to learning the language or regarded it as irrelevant. All but a few considered they were Greek, which they linked particularly with family, religion, historicity as well as music and character.

Project 3 was a parallel study of 214 students studying Greek in state school contexts which were multicultural in orientation, not Greek. The students’ activation of Greek within the family was rather less than for the St George respondents. Far more of the students were indifferent (rather than opposed) to Greek, with some senior students being more positive. Their friendships and career aspirations oriented them toward mainstream Australian society. In identity, they felt Australian, but almost always with some sense of Greekness as well.

In conclusion, the new knowledge this dissertation offers to the Greek language and culture research was mapped out and the participants were taxonomised into participant’s types attracted to one or other or both cultural groups. Only a few were monadic, attracted to either the Australian or the Greek group. Even fewer were dyadic, balanced in their activation of both Australian and Greek language and culture. The great majority were pseudo-dyadic, where the language and culture of one group predominated, but there was some evidence of the activation of the other. Finally, the implications of these findings for the teaching of Greek at secondary level, and the possible effects of a potential new wave of immigrants from Greece are discussed.
DECLARATION

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any University or other tertiary institution to Alexandra Holeva and to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previous published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

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Alexandra Holeva
DEDICATION

To my Daughter Elisabeth

and of course

To Dr Margaret Joyce Secombe

Bringing up a child of Greek migrants to South Australia in the onset of the 21st century within the South Australian Education context appears to be similar to the situation the first migrants confronted back in the 50s.

Elisabeth is exposed to Greek only within our family and all this momentum of the 1980s, a generation later, seems to be so far away. From the time the Greek migrants had managed to create Ethnic Schools and had succeeded to force the policy makers to embrace multiculturalism and have achieved the Greek language to be taught in State Schools, the needs and the social status of the Greek community in South Australia has changed dramatically. Elisabeth’s case was the inspiration for this dissertation, because the researcher realized via her experience of teaching Greek in the South Australian context that Greek, during the first decade of the 21st century, are nothing but a foreign language to the Greek origin students.

To the best knowledge of the researcher, it appears also that Elisabeth is one of the very few young Australians of Greek origin who has still the aural and oral exposure to the Greek language. Yet, since this exposure is not backed up by the proper education, the prognosis for her Greek language skills is negative.

During this entire research journey the person who kept me going the most was my daughter, Elisabeth. This endeavor started on February 2002 when Elisabeth was just 2 years old and I remember vividly helping tiny Elisabeth to walk upstairs and meet Doctor Secombe on the first floor of the building the School of Education of University of Adelaide was located at the time.

Elisabeth grew with this Doctorate and the experience I gained through the hurdles we encountered so as to maintain our language was for me, the researcher, another parallel action research, that gave me extremely useful information and in depth knowledge of how parental aspiration SOME TIMES are
crashing when fighting an educational system that is not offering a child the needed exposure to its own ethnic background.

Elisabeth was there when I commenced collecting data, she escorted me on December 2004 when I got my Australian recognized teaching degree so as to be able to teach Greek as participant observer in this teaching and learning process that would give me the necessary inside information. She was with me when appointed as teacher in a state school were once Greek was so dominant that a Greek bilingual program taught by the researcher was established in mid 1990s till early 2000s. All this time she was constantly asking me, if she can be up there with me when my degree will be conferred and she was proud, telling everyone that her mother is a teacher who is becoming a doctor!!

So many years later, Elisabeth now understands how this longitude research has been shaped by her own experience. She is proud of being of Greek origin but she chooses not to speak Greek, except when she is upset and can use the color and the feeling, of the rich and loaded with emotion, Greek language.

Managing to complete this doctoral research, when working full time and have a family and a child of Primary School age to bring up, is the most rewarding achievement of my life. I am proud for persevering and continuing throughout all the hurdles –and they were so many! I want therefore to dedicate this degree also to my late parents who taught me to keep going, never quit and when down to stand up and start again.

All these years standing by me supporting and guiding me through this endeavor and all its hardship was my dedicated supervisor. Dr Secombe I would not be able to complete this without you!

Thank you
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This achievement would not be possible unless I had constantly next to me, supporting and guiding me right from the beginning, Dr. Margaret Joyce Secombe. My profound appreciation for her assistance, my admiration for her flexibility and ability to deal with the complex problems I encountered during my candidature, need to be openly and publicly expressed, since she was the constant and the safe haven I was sure that would always be there for me, with her endless patience and tolerance, with her meticulous advice on the way I should approach my participants, my data, my analysis and last but not least with the final presentation of this Research Portfolio.

Dr. Secombe was the one I first contacted when I expressed my interest in this adventure and she was the one who introduced me to the late Professor Smolicz, who became my inspiration and my principal supervisor for 2 amazing years. The theoretical framework that these doctoral researches were based on was the Humanistic Sociological approach and the Core Values theory Professor George (Jerzy) Smolicz had so passionately supported with his research and work.

It is imperative for me to express my gratitude to Professor Smolicz, even post mortem, and thank him and Dr. Secombe, his tireless colleague, for the knowledge horizons they opened to me.

I need also to express my appreciation to the late Professor Kevin Marjoribanks who led my candidature as principal supervisor when Professor Smolicz left the School of Education. His research and work have influenced the component of my research that investigated the impact of the parental aspirations on learning Greek or maintaining the Greek cultural tradition.

Last but not least I want to thank all those School Principals, of all the schools I have approached, and who facilitated with pleasure my research, all the Greek language teachers and parents and students who let me into their schools, into their life, into their minds and in their heart and Psyche again and again. Without their contribution this portfolio of research would not be possible.

Thank you all.
ABBREVIATIONS

ACARA = Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority
ADTP = Australasian Digital Theses Program
ASLLP = Australian Second Language Learning Program
CV = Curriculum Vitae
DECS = Department of Education and Children Services currently named DECD
DECD = Department of Education & Child Development
DEET = Department of Employment, Education and Training. In April 1996 re-named DEETYA
ESB = Ethnic Schools Board
ESL = English as Second language
GLT&L = Greek Language Teaching & Learning
ICT = Information and Communication Technology
ILL = Intercultural Language Learning
IT = Information Technology
LOTE = Languages Other Than English
MT = Mother Tongue
NAATI = National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters
NLLIA = National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia
NPL = National Policy for Languages
SA = South Australia.
SACE = South Australian Certificate of Education.
SACSA = South Australian Curriculum Standards and Accountability
SBS = Special Broadcasting Services
SPSS = Statistical Product and Service Solutions. A statistical software for Social Sciences
SSABSA = Senior Secondary Assessment Board of South Australia in 2011 was named SACE Board
TAFE = Technical and Further Education South Australia
WEA = Workers’ Educational Association
GLOSSARY\textsuperscript{1}

PART A: Terms Used in Previous Studies

\textbf{Accommodation:} The act of adapting language or culture in order to be understood or accepted by others.

\textbf{Acculturation:} The process by which individuals or groups learn a culture other than their own.

\textbf{Ambi-lingualism:} The ability to function equally well in two or more languages across a wide range of domains.

\textbf{Assimilation:} The process by which individuals or groups replace their own language and culture with that of another, usually more powerful group.

\textbf{Bicultural:} Identifying with and knowing the culture of two different groups and being able to participate in the life of both. Being bicultural is often synonymous with being bilingual, but is not necessarily the case.

\textbf{Bilingualism:} This term has been defined in various ways by different linguists.

\textbf{Bloomfield} (1936:56) defined \textit{bilingualism} as the native-like control of two languages,

\textbf{Haugen} (1953:6) argued that bilingualism referred to any degree of accomplishment in two languages;

\textbf{Weireich} (1953:1) defined bilingualism as “alternatively using two languages”;

\textbf{Christophersen} (1958:4) claimed that the term bilingualism presupposed “some degree of competence in both languages”.

\textsuperscript{1} Adopted from \textbf{Baker, C. and Prys-Jones S.} (1998), \textit{Encyclopaedia of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education}, Multilingual Matters PTY LTD
Diebold (1961:97-112) argued that the term should be applied also in cases where proficiency in one of the languages was minimal.

*See also other forms of bilingualism in the Glossary marked with an asterisk (*).

**Biliteracy:** The ability to read and write in two languages.

**Code:** A more neutral and inclusive term used instead of language or speech, dialect or linguistic variant.

**Code-mixing:** The mixing of two languages within a sentence or across sentences.

**Code-switching:** Moving from one language to another, inside a sentence or across sentences.

**Codification:** A systematic description of a variety of a language (e.g. vocabulary, grammar). This may occur when a language is being standardized, or when an oral language is being written down for the first time.

**Community Language:** A language used by a particular regional or minority ethnic community. Clyne (1988:22) introduced the term Australian community languages to refer to languages spoken by immigrant groups who had settled in Australia.

**Creole:** A pidgin language which has been adopted as the native language in a region. A creole tends to be more complex in grammar with a wider range of vocabulary than a pidgin language. There are for example, English-based, French based Creoles.

**Creolization:** The process by which a pidgin becomes a creole by the expansion of vocabulary and the development of a more complex linguistic structure.

**Cultural Pluralism:** Refers to the situation of two or more cultural groups being side by side in a community, a region or a society. Baker and Prys define it as “the ownership of two or more sets of cultural beliefs, values and attitudes” Usually it is not related to individuals, rather political decision. Multicultural education is often designed to encourage cultural pluralism in children.'
**Culture:** The set of meanings related to actions, beliefs, attitudes, customs, social relations in all areas of everyday behaviour and social life which are shared by members of a particular group, community or society.

**Diagonal Bilingualism (**): A form of bilingualism where a 'non-standard' language or a dialect co-exists with an unrelated 'standard' language.

**Diaglossia:** Two languages or language varieties existing together in a society in a stable arrangement whereby each language is used in specific and different contexts.

**Domain:** Particular contexts where a certain language is used. For example, there is the family domain where a minority language may be used. In the work domain, the majority language is used.

**Dominant Language:** The language which a person has greater proficiency in or uses more often.

**Elective Bilingualism (**): A form of bilingualism where individuals have chosen to become bilingual, usually through learning a second language.

**Ethnic Identity:** Those aspects of an individual's thinking, feelings, perceptions and behaviour that are due to ethnic group membership, as well as a sense of belonging and pride in the ethnic group.

**Ethnolect:** A non-standard variety of language used by an ethnic group in a static or dynamic bilingual situation.

**Ethnolinguistics:** The study of a set of cultural ethnic and linguistic features shared by a cultural, ethnic, or subcultural social group.

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2 Greek state has used diglossia during several periods: most common was the period of katharevousa – the language used by the state services, versus dimotiki – the everyday language supported by rich literature tradition.

3 In the present dissertation, since the majority of the participants predominantly refer to their use of spoken and not written Greek, the term Ethnolect applies to the spoken Greek in a bilingual environment without Diglossia.
**First Language**: This term is used in different, overlapping ways and can mean (a) the first language learnt (b) the stronger language (c) the 'mother tongue ' (d) the language most used.

**Foreign Language**: Language taught in school which is not normally used as a means of instruction in schools or as a language of communication within the country, in the community or in bureaucracy.

**Grammar**: The structure of a language; the way in which elements are combined to make words and the way in which words and phrases are combined to produce sentences.

**Horizontal Bilingualism (*)**: A form of Bilingualism where two languages have similar or equal status.

**Incipient Bilingualism (*)**: A form of Bilingualism where one language is much weaker than the other or not strongly developed; however the potentiality for further development is always there. It is like beginning to acquire the second language.

**Language Attrition**: The loss of a language within a person or a language group, gradually over time.

**Language Acquisition**: The process of acquiring a first or second language. Some linguists distinguish between language acquisition and language learning' of a second language, using the former to describe the informal development of a person's second language, and the latter to describe the process of formal study of a second language. Other linguists maintain that no clear distinction can be made between informal acquisition and formal learning.

**Language Decline**: or **Language Loss**. Refers to the use of a language within an individual or within a group. Language loss is particularly studied amongst in-migrants to a country where their mother tongue has little or no status, little economic value or use in education, and where language loss subsequently occurs.

**Language Dominance**: One language being the stronger or prefered language of an individual, or the more prestigious language within a particular region.
**Language Maintenance**: The continued use of a language, particularly amongst language minorities (for example through bilingual education). The term is often used with reference to policies that protect and promote minority languages.

**Language Minority**: A language community (or person) whose first language is different from the dominant language of the country. A group who speaks a language of low prestige, or low in power, or with low numbers in a society.

**Language Transfer**: The effect of one language on the learning of another. There can be both negative transfer, sometimes called interference, and more often positive transfer, particularly in understandings and meanings of concepts.

**Language Vitality**: The extent to which a language minority vigorously maintains and extends its everyday use and range of functions. Language vitality is said to be enhanced by factors such as language status, institutional support, economic value and the number and distribution of its speakers.

**Linguistic Purism**: A deliberate attempt to rid a language of perceived undesirable elements (e.g. dialect forms, slang, foreign loan words).

**Loan Word**: An item of vocabulary borrowed by one language from another. A loan blend occurs when the meaning is borrowed but only part of the form is borrowed; loan shift when the form is nativized; and loan translation when the components of a word are translated (e.g. 'skyscraper' into 'gratte-ciel' in French).

**Language Retention**: The opposite of Language Attrition. Language retention refers to an individual or a group who continue to use (or retain their ability) in a language

**Language Shift**: A change from the use of one language -usually minority- to another

**Lexeme**: is a unit of lexical meaning that exists regardless of the number of inflectional endings it may have or the number of words it may contain. It is a basic unit of meaning, and the headwords of a dictionary are all lexemes. Put more technically, a lexeme is an abstract unit of morphological...
analysis in linguistics that roughly corresponds to a set of forms taken by a single word. For example, in the English language, *run, runs, ran* and *running* are forms of the same lexeme, conventionally written as RUN.

**Lexical Competence:** Competence in vocabulary.

**Lexis/Lexicon:** The vocabulary or word stock of a language, their sounds, spelling and meaning.

**Mainstreaming:** Language mainstreaming occurs when children are no longer given special support (e.g. English as a Second Language classes) and take their subjects through the majority language.

**Maintenance Bilingual Education:** A program that uses both languages of students to teach curriculum content.

**Majority Language:** A high status language usually (but not always) spoken by a majority of the population of a country.

**Multilingual:** A person who typically knows and/or uses three or more languages.

**Minority Language:** A language of low prestige and low in power. Also used to mean a language spoken by a minority of the population in a country.

**Monoglot or Monolingual.** A person who knows and/or uses one language.

**Mother Tongue:** The term is used ambiguously. It variously means (a) the language learnt from the mother (b) the first language learnt, irrespective of 'from whom' (c) the stronger language at any time of life (d) the 'mother tongue' of the area or country (e.g. Irish in Ireland) (e) the language educational equity for language minority students.

**Official Language:** The language used in a region or country for public, formal and official purposes (e.g. government, administration, education, media)

**Orthography:** Spelling.
Passive Bilingualism (*): A form of Bilingualism where the person is able to understand (and sometimes read) in a second language without speaking or writing in that second language.

Phonetics: The study of speech sounds.

Phonics: A method of teaching reading based on recognizing the sounds of letters and combinations of letters.

Phonology: The sound system of a language.

Pidgin: A language that develops as a means of communication when different language groups are in regular contact with one another. A pidgin usually has a small vocabulary and a simplified grammatical structure. Pidgins do not usually have native speakers although there are expanded pidgins (for example, in Papua New Guinea) where a pidgin is the primary language of the community. If a pidgin language expands to become the native language of a group of speakers, with a larger vocabulary and a more complex structure, it is often called a creole.

Pidginization: (1) The evolution of a pidgin language. (2) In second and foreign language learning, the development of a simplified form of the target language (also called Interlanguage). This intermediate stage is usually temporary, but according to the pidginization hypothesis, it may become permanent when learners remain socially apart from native speakers, or when the target language is infrequently used.

Plurilingual: Someone competent in more than two languages.

Polyglot: Someone competent in more than two languages.

Semantics: The study of the meaning of language.

Pragmatics: The study of the use of language in communication, with a particular emphasis on the contexts in which the language is used.

Primary Bilingualism (*): A form of Bilingualism where the two languages have been learnt ‘naturally’ through family and community rather than formal teaching at school.
Prosody: The study of the melody, loudness, speed and rhythm of spoken language; apart from intonation it includes the transmission of meaning that can be understood from different emphases.

Receptive Bilingualism (*): The ability to understand and read a second language, without speaking or writing it.

Secondary Bilingualism (*): A form of Bilingualism where the second language has been formally learned through school. (See also Primary Bilingualism).

Second Language: This term is used in different overlapping ways and can mean (1) the second language learnt (chronologically); (2) the weaker language; (3) a language that is not the 'mother tongue'; (4) the less used language. The term is sometimes used to cover third and further languages. The term can also be used to describe a language widely spoken in the country of the learner (as opposed to a foreign language).

Semi lingual: A controversial term used to describe people whose two languages are at a low level of development.

Sequential Bilingualism or Successive Bilingualism (*): A case of achieving Bilingualism via learning a second language later than the first language. This is distinct from Simultaneous Bilingualism where two languages are acquired concurrently. When a second language is learnt after the age of three, sequential bilingualism is said to occur.

Sociolinguistics: The study of language in relation to social groups, social class, ethnicity and other interpersonal factors in communication.

Standard Language: The prestigious variety of language that has official, formal use (e.g. in government and schooling). A standard language usually has norms for orthography, syntax, grammar and vocabulary. The standard variety is most often used in literature and other forms of media (e.g. radio, television), in school text books, in centralized policies of the curriculum.

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**Standardization**: The attempt to establish a single standard form of a language particularly in its written form, for official purposes, literature, and the school curriculum.

**Streaming**: The use of homogeneous groups in teaching (also called tracking, setting, streaming, banding, ability grouping).

**Submersion Education**: The teaching of minority language pupils solely through the medium of a majority language, often alongside native speakers of the majority language. In this way minority language pupils are left to sink or swim in the mainstream curriculum.

**Subtractive Bilingualism (*)**: A form of Bilingualism in which a second language is learned at the expense of the first, and gradually replaces the first language (e.g. immigrants to a country or minority language pupils in submersion education).

**Syntax**: The study of how words are combined into sentences; rules governing the ways words are combined and organized.

**Target Language**: A second or foreign language being learned or taught.

**Trade Languages in Australia**: Languages of Australia’s trade partners i.e. Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, German, and French as compared to Community or Aboriginal languages
GLOSSARY

PART B: Terms Developed by the Researcher or Used in a Specific Sense

AUSTRALIAN VALENCY: Refers to the cultural valuation of participants in this study who were competent in and committed to the culture of the mainstream Anglo-Australian group.
(Adapted from Klokowska, 1996:467, English edition 2001:118)

BICULTURAL: Is used to refer to a person who participates in and “identifies” with the cultures of two different groups equally well. See also BIVALENT

BILINGUAL: The term is used in the study in the sense of balanced bilingual. A person who has strong and equal command of two languages in both oral and written form. However it should be noted that Tamis (2009:20) considered a bilingual to be a person who knew and used Greek and English, irrespective of the degree of competence, range of skills and social use, including the Australian Greek Ethnolect form. See also other forms of bilingualism in the Glossary marked with an asterisk (*).

BIVALENCY: Refers to the cultural valuation of participants in this study who were competent in and committed to two cultures, that of the mainstream Anglo-Australian group and that of the Greek community in South Australia (Adapted from Klokowska, 1996:467, English edition 2001:118). See also Dyadic

CULTURAL VALENCY: Refers to the cultural valuation of individuals who are competent in and committed to the culture of the given group. (Adapted from Klokowska, 1996:467, English edition 2001:118)

DYADIC: Refers to individuals who are Bivalent, but the duality of the cultural attraction permits them to activate equally and simultaneously both languages and cultures in an interchangeable way.

GREEK VALENCY: Refers to the cultural valuation of participants in this study who were competent in and committed to the culture of the Greek community in SA.
(Adapted from Klokowska, 1996:467, English edition 2001:118)

MONADIC: Refers to individuals who chose to activate the culture of only one group, or have only learned the culture of one group so is unable/not willing to function in more than one cultures.

MONOCULTURAL: Refers to the person who opts for, or is able to participate in only one culture.

MONOLINGUAL: A person who opts for or is able to use, only one language.

POLYVALENT: Refers to participants in this study who were competent in and committed to the cultures not only of the mainstream Australian and South Australian Greek community, but also to another culture. (i.e. children of mixed marriages).
PSEUDO-: not actual, but having the appearance of; almost achieving or approaching, or trying to achieve

PSEUDO-BILINGUAL: Refers to participants in this study who saw themselves as bilinguals because they were trying to communicate in Greek as well as English, but their competence in one or both languages was quite low.

PSEUDO-BICULTURAL: Refers to participants in this study who considered that they were activating Greek cultural patterns learned in their family alongside mainstream Anglo-Australian cultural patterns, without realising how their Greek cultural activation had become residual and modified through contact with the more dominant Australian cultural patterns.

TAXONOMY: A classification into ordered categories in order to describe, identify and name phenomena. In this study it relates to classifying participants in the study on the basis of their activation of and attitudes towards the Greek language and culture in the South Australian context.

TYPOLOGY: The study or systematic classification of types that have characteristics or traits in common. In Linguistics it refers to the study and classification of languages according to structural features, especially patterns of phonology, morphology, and syntax, without reference to their histories. In this study, it refers to classifying participants on the basis of their use of the Greek language in the context of South Australia.

UNIVALENT: Refers to individuals who are competent in, and committed to the culture of only one group. (Klokowska, 1996:467)

VALENcy: Attraction and bonding to a certain social phenomenon or action that occurs subconsciously or after a specific social choice or the social actor. (Klokowska, 1996:469).
PART I: INTRODUCTION TO PORTFOLIO OF RESEARCH

CHAPTER 1. THE RESEARCH TOPIC AND ITS BACKGROUND CONTEXT

1.1. Introduction

Since around 1857 immigrant from Greece have been settling in South Australia, beginning with a handful of individuals and small family groups. Almost a hundred years later, from 1952 to 1974, a great wave of over a quarter of a million Greek immigrants came to Australia, many with young families in search of more economically secure future for their children (Tamis, 2001:48-55). About ten percent settled in South Australia, establishing strong communities identifiable by their use of the Greek language, their maintenance of Greek food and family patterns, and their practice of Greek Orthodox faith and worship traditions. Hals a century later, when many of the grandchildren of the post war Greek immigrants to South Australia were in secondary school, it seemed appropriate and important to investigate the extent to which the young people of the emerging generation were maintaining Greek culture, language and identity in their daily lives. The central part of this was finding out the extent to which the formal teaching of Greek at secondary level was contributing towards Greek language, culture and identity maintenance among these young people of Greek origin in South Australia.

Part I of this doctoral portfolio represents the foundation for the three research projects to be presented. This introductory chapter provides the contextual background for the whole portfolio and introduces the
topic for investigation. It begins with an outline of Greek migration to South Australia and a brief
description of the distinctively Greek cultural patterns which the families brought with them and
continued to activate in the new country. The final part of the chapter provides an overview of the
research investigation. The next three chapters in Part I discuss previous research around this topic of
Greek culture, language and identity maintenance in Australia, outline the conceptual framework
adopted for the study and summarise the research investigations and their presentation in Parts II, III,
IV of the portfolio.

1.2. Greek Migration to South Australia

George Tramountanas was the first Greek settler in South Australia (Migration History SA, 2013); He
came to South Australia as an eighteen-year-old in 1842 (Jupp, 2001:401) and worked on the ship “SS
Admella” sometime between 1857 and 1859 when SS Admella sunk. George changed his surname of
Tramountanas\(^4\) to North, worked as a grazier near Port Lincoln, in the Streaky Bay district, and finally
settled with his wife, Lydia, north of Colton at their property 'Talla', about twenty kilometres north of

Tamis (2001:35) has pointed out that the Greek Migration of South Australia followed the trend
observed in Victoria, NSW and Western Australia. Only male islanders migrated to Australia, working
predominantly as labourers or farmers. Islanders, mainly from Kastelorizo, created the first Greek
community of South Australia that till 1923 included only 4 families totalling 30 Greeks in Adelaide and
40 male workers in Port Pirie (Tamis, 2001:40). The Port Pirie smelter became the magnet for more
Greek origin workers over the period 1924-1929 until Port Pirie became a vibrant Greek community of
1200 people. When the financial crisis of 1929 led to mass redundancies of the smelter workers, many
of the Port Pirie Greeks were forced to move either to Adelaide or to the eastern states. However, the

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\(^4\) Tramountanas in Greek is the name of the northern wind: this explains George’s choice of English surname.
remaining Greek community of Port Pirie was responsible for the establishment in 1932 of the first community school that offered Greek after normal school hours (Tamis 2001:180).

Meantime, the Greek community in Adelaide had grown to the point where the Kastelorizian Society was inaugurated in October 1930 as the Greek Orthodox Community of SA, with Konstantino Kavoura elected as president (Tsounis, 1990:28; Tamis 2001:41). By 1933 the Greek presence in South Australia\(^5\) which included the Adelaide community, six farming families in Wirrabara and 30 families in Port Augusta, 15 families of fishermen on the West Coast and 50 workers in Port Pirie, numbered approximately 650 people. By 1936 the Adelaide community had managed to buy land and the first Greek Orthodox Church was completed in November 1937.

The South Australian Greek community supported the Greek state during the Second World War, as well as the post war Greek civil war migration of families, female migrants and orphan children (Tamis 2001:42). The arrival of female immigrants after 1947 helped to improve the gender imbalance between male and female (70:30) within the Greek community in Australia (Tamis 1994, 1997, 2001:23). When in 1952 Australia opened its doors to mass migration from Greece 270,000 new arrivals, predominantly male, moved to Australia. However, South Australia received less than 10% of the migrating population. Even as late as 1962 the Greek Australian community had 53 female migrants arriving for every 100 male Greeks, due to the visa restrictions for unmarried female migrants. The situation was only resolved when legislation was passed in 1962 to allow single women to become permanent residents, so the brides, “νύφες” (nyphes), as they are often referred to, arrived (Tamis 2001: 51). As in the eastern states, the South Australian Greek community in 2001 maintained a healthy 50.2 male to 49:8 female ratio that theoretically made mixed or intercultural marriages unnecessary (Tamis 2001: 52). Most of the Greek born immigrants arrived in South Australia between1952-1974- according to Tamis (2001:53) 85% of the total community; The last wave of migrants to come to Adelaide were the Cypriots

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\(^5\) The numbers are included to the report the priest of the Greek Orthodox community parish, Germanos Iliou, has sent to the Greek ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1933.
in 1974, after the Turkish invasion in Northern Cyprus. By 2001, according to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (1996 census), 60% of the Greek population was between 45-64 years, so that it could be predicted that by 2015, 85% of Greek-born migrants would be retired (Tamis, 2001:51). This progressive ageing of the Greek born population, those who actively use Greek in their communication, leads to the logical assumption that until 2025, when almost all the immigrant generation will have died, Greek will continue to be used at least in the family domain (Tamis, 2001:52).

1.3. Life in Greek Communities in South Australia

The small Greek community which had emerged in Adelaide and Port Pirie were revitalized and strengthened by the influx of immigrants from mainland Greece through the 1950s and 1960s. The great majority of the new arrivals came from low socio-economic backgrounds, had often received no more than primary school education, and sometimes had limited literacy skills in Greek and knowledge of no English. All that they could do in the immediate years after their arrival was to maintain the patterns of life they had grown up with in their community on the Greek mainland, the Greek islands and the displaced Greek community in Egypt and Cyprus. Over the centuries, the cultural patterns of their Greek communities had become centered on three key aspects- the Greek language, Greek extended family patterns, including a strong emphasis on in-group marriage and the beliefs and rituals of the Greek Orthodox Church (Jupp, 2001:401-402)

It was a great comfort ad reassurance for the newcomers to find existing in South Australia Greek communities that were practicing the same Greek patterns of life that they knew. Most often they settled in a Greek neighborhood close to relatives or village neighbors who had settled earlier. Here within the Greek community they found the practical help and support, the possibility of work and participation in social life they needed to survive (Anagnostou, 2001:402). Although this community experience usually saved them from the intense sense of cultural isolation and alienation experienced by many earlier
immigrants, it also meant that to some extent they were shield from directly interacting with Anglo-
Australian society and consequent opportunities to learn about mainstream Australia ways of life.
Communication with mainstream society was limited to crucial matters of health problems and dealing
with government agencies and undertaken through the interpretation and help of the established
members of the Greek community.

The new arrivals also relied on the local Greek community for finding jobs. A number of the earlier
immigrant had eventually managed to establish their own business, such as Delis, fish shops, fruit and
vegetable shops or in building construction or market gathering and were able to offer employment to
some of those looking for work (Jupp, 2001:402). Although these were most often lowly paid unskilled
and semi-skilled positions, both men and women were prepared to work hard for long hours and
families lived frequently with the help of their vegetable gardens. As they became more familiar with
mainstream Anglo-Australian life, most of the new immigrants acquired some basic English and a
sufficient understanding of the political and economic structure of mainstream Australian society to
establish their family’s security. For the most part, however they lived out their lives within the confines
of the Local Greek community (Anagnostou 2001:402) in Hellenophone Enclaves (Tamis 1993:1,
2001:42) as termed by Tamis.

In contrast, the children from the Greek immigrant families were attending schools when English only
was the language of instruction and the knowledge transmitted, as well as the patterns of organization
and social relations, was lured on the culture of the dominant Anglo-Australian group. Some of the
children from the Greek immigrant families never mastered literacy in English, struggled at school and
left as soon as they were able to take up similar occupations to their parents and continued out their
Many others did well at school and were able to proceed to university studies and professional careers
in areas like medicine, law and education. In these contexts, they were exposed to two different
cultures, Greek in the home and Greek community activities, English and the Anglo-Australian dominant culture in the school, university and career context, as well as the wider society in which they were constantly interacting (Smolicz, 1979; Tsounis 1995; Tamis 2001).

By the late 1970s and 1980s, it was possible to see three different trends in the Greek community in South Australia, along to the continuum of assimilation to the Anglo-Australian dominant group to steadfastly maintaining the cultural tradition of the Greek community from which they had come. At the assimilationist end of the continuum were individuals who considered it necessary to assimilate as completely as possible into Australian cultural patterns. For them maintaining their ancestral language and culture was not important. They happily married outside the Greek community; their social circle included mainly non-Greek individuals; they did not follow the rites of the Greek Orthodox Church and did not feel it was necessary to teach their children the Greek language.

At the Greek end of the continuum were those individuals who considered the maintenance of their Greek identity as of paramount importance. They chose to keep the Greek linguistic and cultural traditions to the best of their memory, exposure and ability within the Australian context. They closely followed also the Greek Orthodox beliefs and rituals, which reinforced the Greek language. They sent their children to the Greek language and culture classes organised by the Greek community. They maintained close social relations with other Greek origin Australians, disapproved of culturally mixed marriages, and endeavoured to keep close contact with their families and communities in Greece.

Clustered along the center of the continuum were individuals who desired to be involved in both the mainstream and the Greek community and participate in both cultural worlds. They had acquired the knowledge of both languages and cultures and could switch between the Greek and mainstream language and cultural worlds, according to the particular context. Some became doctors and lawyers and teachers working mainly in the Greek community. They felt pride in maintaining a dual Greek and Australian identity and sought to choose the best of both cultural worlds. The possibility of individuals
making this third bilingual, bicultural choice was increased from the mid-1980s, under the adoption of multicultural policies led to the introduction of the Greek language as a subject to primary and secondary schools which had a high proportion of Greek background students (Smolicz, 1992: 28-30).

The introduction of Greek as a subject at Flinders University in 1989 provided an opportunity in South Australia for those interested to study Greek language and culture to the highest level (Tamis, 2001:181-182).

1.4. Mainstream Australian Society and Attitudes to Languages Other than English

When Greek immigrants of the 1950s and 1960s arrived in Australia they found like the post-World War II refugees who had come in the decade before, as a result of being displaced by the conflict in central and Eastern Europe, a society governed by the dominant Anglo-Australian majority group. Amongst these people, it was taken for granted that the newcomers would want to assimilate to Anglo-Australian ways as quickly as possible. Although assimilation was never laid down as official policy, state and federal governments and government agencies in Health, Education and Social Welfare all assumed that the immigrants would learn English of their own accord and quickly adopt the Australian way of life (Clyne, 1991:13-16). In the minds of most ordinary members of the Anglo Australian Group, it was Inconceivable that the new comers would want to do anything else but assimilate as quickly as possible (Smolicz, 1979:72).

By the mid-1960s, it was becoming apparent that this expectation of assimilation was not been fulfilled. Many of the new immigrants were choosing to live within their own ethnic community groups, establish churches and centres where they could speak their own language, follow their religious practices and celebrate their own community festivals. Of course Greeks did the same creating their own SprachInseln (Tamis 1993:15). So many were speaking their own language at home. As a result schools were reporting an increasing number of students from immigrant families who were struggling
with reading and writing in English. (Martin, 1978:167-168). Questions began to be asked about the
assumed assimilation-how quickly it was taking place, whether it could in fact be achieved and whether
it was the best approach in the Australian context. Smolicz (1971:13-14) was one of the first to question
the assimilationist approach, to highlight the way schools were being used to achieve assimilationist
ends and to suggest alternative approaches for a culturally diverse society.

By 1973 Minister Grassby, in the newly elected federal labour government was introducing the official
policy of multiculturalism, as an alternative to assimilation (Castles, 2001:809). The era of
multiculturalism from the early 1970s to early 1990s has been called the “accepting-even fostering”
promoted acceptance of cultural and linguistic difference and supported bilingual/bicultural or dual
identity option in a plural society (Smolicz & Secombe 2003:59). In this spirit Lo Bianco (1990) points
out that by acquiring literacy in two languages at schools, the ethnic minority students can gain
bilingualism in English and in their mother tongue and use it in a positive and socially constructive way.
They could positively contribute by developing their own heritage in a way that could actually benefit
Australia.

This change of perspective in the early 1970s, followed by genuine bipartisan support for multicultural
policy over the period 1975 to 1993, promoted the idea of Australia as a nation with many cultures and
advocating the rights of the languages and cultures other than English. Egalitarianism, inclusiveness,
cultural open-mindness and multiculturalism opened the way to linguistic pluralism. It was the time the
study of languages introduced in the schools and the world’s first multilingual telephone Interpreting
Service was established. The National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters (NAATI)
was set up in 1977, followed by the multilingual Special Broadcasting Services (SBS) in 1978. Despite
the Report on the Teaching of Migrant Languages, which was published as early as 1976, formal

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6 Castles S, in Jupp (ed): The Encyclopaedia of the Australian People : Multiculturalism in Australia (pp 807-809)
language policies developed more slowly. In South Australia, the 1984 Report of the Ministerial Taskforce on Multiculturalism in Education, chaired by Professor Smolicz recommended that English plus one other language should be part of the curriculum for all students in South Australian schools. This became official policy in 1986 and was implemented in primary schools and lower secondary schools in the following years. Under this policy, the Greek language became a regular school subject in a number of state primary and secondary schools.

At the national Level Lo Bianco was appointed in 1986 to draft the National Policy for Languages (NPL)-now known as the Lo-Bianco Report. With a view to increasing the language capacity of Australia, the NPL identified nine (9) community languages as “languages of wider teaching” and Greek was one of them. The introduction of language education was funded via Australian Second Language Learning Program (ASLLP), and research related to language as well as language development programs were also supported. Together the State and Commonwealth government initiatives led the Greek being taught in 44 primary schools and 18 secondary schools in South Australia by 1992 (Tamis 2001:117).

By the early 1990s with a change of Government in Canberra, the advocacy to maintain minority languages began to lose momentum. Language was seen as resource rather than a right. The broad language focus of NPL was redefined, narrowed and followed by the “Asianistic’ phase, (Clyne, 1991:20), stemming from the idea that Australia should be firmly linked to the Asia-Pacific region, commercially and strategically. Additionally, “economic rationalism” promoted the old idea that literacy in English was more important than the proficiency in other languages. Finally (DEET, 1991) the White paper entitled Australia’s Language: Australian Language and Literacy Policy, undermined the
importance of the minority languages, especially the European ones. The outlined priority (DEET, 1991:iii) was clearly set out:

*Australian English, of course, is our national language ....Proficiency in our national language, Australian English, is obviously necessary for an individual to participate as fully as possible in the Australian society.*

English as Second language (ESL) became part of Literacy. States could select eight priority languages with community languages expected to be funded through the Ethnic Schools Program. However the emphasis moved to “languages of broader national interest” (DEET, 1991:31); a shift occurred that tied English to education and jobs and Asian languages to trade, while moving away from supporting community languages in order to develop Australia’s own linguistic resources. Over the last two decades, government emphasis remained on English as the language of Australia, with a fluctuating focus on Asian Languages, at the expense of the broader language policy envisaged by Smolicz and Lo Bianco.

It is important not to ignore, however, a small number of structures dedicated to the learning of the language other than English which continued to function in South Australia. The teaching of languages other than English at primary and early secondary levels, introduced in 1986, has been maintained in most, but not all, schools. Its limitations in terms of time and resources available, as well as the need to counter the negative attitudes of some schools and students, are acknowledged. The School of Languages established as a government school continues to provide learning in over 20 languages other than English up to year 12 level, mainly at times outside normal school hours, to students from all school systems. This provision is especially important for children from smaller and newly arrived communities who wish to learn their home languages. The Ethnic Schools Board co-ordinates and supports with some government funds the efforts of communities, who organise after hours language and culture schools for their children. In addition, a considerable number of languages other than English remain year 12 subjects that count towards university entrance. At the broader society level,
multilingual services like SBS, Ethnic Radio and Interpreting and Translating Services have become taken for granted realities of Australian life.

In the case of the Greek Community in South Australia, the numbers of Greek students in Ethnic Schools has declined considerably and a number of sites have closed. However, by the end of the first Decade of 21st century Greek is available as a regular school subject from Reception to year 12 at St George College, an independent school associated with the Greek Orthodox Parish at Thebarton, which was established to promote the Greek language, culture and Greek Orthodox Tradition. In the same spirit another Greek Independent College, the St Spyridon College from Pre-school and Reception to year 7 has been established by St Spyridon Parish at Unley, a suburb with strong Greek community, on 2004. A number of state primary schools and three leading secondary schools7 in the metropolitan area teach Greek as part of their curriculum. It is worth noting that the language curriculum framework for the teaching and learning Greek in South Australia is the same for all schools offering the subject, regardless of whether they are state, independent or under the Ethnic Schools Board. The same has been decided on November 2012 to apply for the Greek language according to the Australian Curriculum Framework -the ACARA. Greek continues to be available as a year 12 subject for University entrance. Moreover, Greek remains an area of University study at Flinders University and available as an outreach program to students at the other two South Australian Universities.

1.5. Outline of Research Investigation

Around the same time as this renewed government emphasis on English occurred in the mid-1990s, came a shift in the attitudes of many Greeks towards English. Slowly after mid-1990s, the Greek language, as other European community languages, started losing student numbers as the momentum

7The three schools offer special language programs in six community or special interest languages.
of the 1970s and 1980s slowed. As far as the second generation Greeks were concerned English language proficiency and bilingualism were considered, according to the author’s observations a secure way of achieving a good school grade, that would offer entry to the university. This was seen as the first step in finding a well-paid job, a way of escaping poverty and achieving social mobility, alongside being a linguistic support for the family when dealing with banks, Medicare services, doctors, law and governmental services. That was the result of having achieved English proficiency and bilingualism. (Smolicz 119:1999).

By the beginning of the new millennium, the grand children of the post second world war wave of Greek immigrants were attending school and many moving into secondary school. It seemed important to find out where these young people stood in relation to the Greek language and culture of their grandparents. What aspirations did the children of the original immigrants, now parents themselves, have for their children, particularly in relation to the Greek language and culture of the family’s heritage? What did those employed in secondary schools as Teachers of Greek feel about the importance of their work and what they could hope to achieve in the teaching of Greek? Most importantly, what attitudes did they third generation children have toward the learning of Greek language and culture and how did they view their identity?

These were the sorts of questions that led the researcher to begin this investigation.

This research project aimed to carry out research in Australia on the maintenance of Greek language and culture in the first decade of the twenty first century. It was intended to be comparable to research conducted in previous decades in Australia, when the majority of the Greek community were first or second generation Australians. This topic can be seen as a gap in the exiting knowledge of the Greek language in South Australia, which the present portfolio of research aimed to fill. To the best of the researcher’s knowledge, it it’s the only research in South Australia which has studied third and even some four generation Australians of Greek origin with a view to understanding the factors that augment
on deter their maintenance of the Greek cultural and linguistic heritage. In particular, there has been no previous research ensuring the teaching and learning of the Greek language as a means of maintaining the Greek tradition in the particular multicultural and multilingual context of Adelaide, South Australia.

The researcher’s “original” intention was to be as comprehensive as possible and gather data from St George, the nine state secondary schools then\(^8\) teaching Greek, and the seven Greek ethnic schools which taught Greek at that time\(^9\) up to year 12 level. In practice, changes in the personal circumstances of the researcher and the death of her principal supervisors as well as the changes of the curriculum offerings in the schools (particularly the withdrawal of Greek as a subject taught) and the fact most of the Ethnic schools, continued offering Greek classes only at primary level or closed, because of the declining student numbers, frustrated the intention. The initial and the final structure of this portfolio of research will be discussed in 5.1 and 5.2. When the research and the data collection commenced in 2003, the researcher negotiated access and collected data from all the schools who responded to the call. However, as the longitudinal study reached the final round of the interview phase by 2008 the only four schools still teaching Greek to year 12 level in South Australia were St George College and the three state specialist language schools: Adelaide, Norwood-Morialta and Unley high Schools, all of which accepted students of Greek background from all over the metropolitan area.

The focus therefore was on the members of the Greek community in Adelaide who had shown enough interest in Greek language and culture to be associated in one way or another with this study at secondary level of schooling. The largest groups were the students who had chosen, or were expected by their parents, to take Greek language classes as part of their formal secondary education. Some


\(^9\) The Ethnic Schools initially included in the research were: 1. St George College Saturday schools, 2. St Dimitrios Salisbury Greek School, 3. Port Adelaide Community Greek school, 4. Hellenios Academy, 5. St Illias Norwood Greek School, 6. Greek Orthodox Community Inc. Greek schools, 7. St Antonios Prospect Greek School.
were parents who had supported, or made the decision to send their child to a secondary school teaching Greek—even paying fees for this education. Their aspirations for their children were crucial in enhancing or hindering the pre-disposition of young people toward their Greek heritage.

The teachers of the students represented the smallest group of respondents, but had an important role as guardians and transmitters of the Greek cultural and linguistic traditions. They were also in a unique position to observe both parents and students and to make judgments on the levels of maintenance of Greek among the students, as well as report on policy changes and the impact they had in teaching Greek.

Table 1 below provides an overview of the three sets of respondents, the number of students, parents and teachers, who participated from the two school sectors. Among the total 296 student participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROVIDER</th>
<th>PARENTS</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>TEACHERS</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>STUDENTS</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Ques only</td>
<td>Ques + Inter</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Ques only</td>
<td>Ques + Inter</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Ques only</td>
<td>Ques + Inter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St George</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
<td>82</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
<td>296</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=97</td>
<td></td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td></td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30.3%</td>
<td>78.6%</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
<td>84.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Schools</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>28.1%</td>
<td>73.5%</td>
<td></td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>26.8%</td>
<td>33.9%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>296</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE:**  Ques = Questionnaires        Inter+ Interview

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROJECT 1</th>
<th>St George college and State Schools</th>
<th></th>
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<th>PROJECT 2</th>
<th>St George College Students only</th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th>PROJECT 3</th>
<th>State schools Students only</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Table 1: Total Sample Size and Distribution of Respondents across Whole Portfolio.

The proportion of students in the independent school to those in the three state schools was approximately 1:2.6. The eleven teachers who took part represented all the teachers of Greek in the schools concerned at that time. However, the number of parents who responded was quite low representing less than 12% of the students involved in the study.
Because the researcher was teaching full-time and completing her research degree on a part-time basis, the data collection process was spread over quite a long period. This was particularly the case with the interviews: these were designed as a follow up to the questionnaires for those respondents who indicated their willingness to be involved. The outline of the data collection timeline at each of the four sites is provided below indicating the start and end time of the questionnaire distribution timeframe in each site as well as the commencement and conclusion time of the interview phase and the number of those participated in this phase.

❖ St George College
  • Questionnaire distribution to students, parents and teachers starts May 2003
  • Questionnaire collection ends October 2003
  • Follow up Interviews with 18 students, 8 parents and 5 teachers start January 2004
  • Follow up interviews end March 2006

❖ Unley HS
  • Questionnaires distribution to students, parents and teachers starts March 2003
  • Questionnaires collection ends July 2003
  • Follow up interviews with 14 students, 6 parents and 2 teachers start January 2004
  • Follow up Interviews End March 2008

❖ Adelaide HS
  • Questionnaires distribution to students, parents and teachers starts July 2003
  • Questionnaires re-distributed in June 2004, because of problems with original collection.
  • Questionnaire collection concluded July 2005
  • Follow up interviews with 16 students, 7 parents and 2 teachers Start January 2006
  • Follow up interviews end March 2009

❖ Norwood Morialta HS
  • Questionnaire distribution to students, parents and teachers starts July 2003
• Questionnaire collection ends June 2004
• Follow up interviews with 23 students, 10 parents and 2 teachers start January 2005
• Follow up interviews end March 2010

A more detailed description of the research method, the data collection process and the approach to
data analysis is provided in chapter 4.

In order to meet the requirements for the Doctor of Education portfolio of research at the University of
Adelaide, this thesis submission has been divided into five parts; the middle parts present three
separate research projects related to the same topic. In this case Part II presents a comparative
investigation into the views of parents and teachers across the four sites. Part III reports the
investigation into the views of students at St George College. The study of the views of students at the
three state high schools is presented in part IV. Part I provides an introduction to the whole portfolio.
The researcher summarises the key findings from each of the projects and interprets their significance
for the Greek Australian Community in Adelaide. Finally there is an evaluation of the contribution of
formal language learning to the maintenance of the Greek language and culture in South Australia.
CHAPTER 2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH RELATED TO GREEK LANGUAGE IN AUSTRALIA

2.1. The Scope of the Existing Research.

Despite the long history of the Greek settlement in Australia, and the arrival of the main wave of immigrants in the 1950s and 1960s, it was not until the early 1970s that any studies of Greeks in Australia was published. Most studies focusing on the maintenance of Greek language and culture in the Australian context, on one hand, and the extent of their adaptation to mainstream Australian society came through the 1980s and the 1990s. By this time the children of the immigrants had moved through the Australian schooling system, into work, or in other cases into university studies and career.

Some studies focused on Greeks across Australia as a whole (Clyne, 1986, 1991). Others have been more concerned with the larger Greek communities around Melbourne (Tamis, 1993) or Sydney (Papademetre & Routoulas, 2001). Tamis has also published a comprehensive report on Situation of Greek language education across each State of Australia & New Zealand while referring to the history of each local Greek Community. (Tamis, 2001). Over the last decade the number of studies appears to have declined: Tamis (2009), however, has a recent study which is reviewed here with his 2001 study that was published in Greek\textsuperscript{10}. Only a comparatively few studies have investigated the situation in South Australia. (Tsounis, 1974; Smolicz, 1976; 1979b; 1985; 1999) and none apart of this folio of researches in the last 15 years.

\textsuperscript{10} The 2001 work of Tamis entitled Hellenoglosse ekpedevsi stin Australia: he simerini katastase tes hellenekis-Ελληνόγλωσση εκπαίδευση στην Αυστραλία: Η σημερινή κατάσταση της Ελληνικής, (Greek language education in Australia. The current situation), E.DIA.ME. Rethymnon, Crete, is published in Greek and the content is accurately transferred by the Researcher who is a NAATI accredited Interpreter in Greek and English.
One person who pioneered research on the Greek community in Australia was Michael Tsounis (1974). In the years immediately before the introduction of multiculturalism, he undertook a study of afterhours language schools set up by the Greek communities in South Australia to ensure that their children had the opportunity to learn the Greek language, including literacy as well as oral communication skills. At the time, his choice of topic was regarded by some as controversial, and by others as irrelevant and inappropriate (Secome, 2012)\textsuperscript{11}. Above all, the idea that an immigrant community wanted to teach their language to their children challenged the monolingual assumptions of the majority group that immigrants to Australia should be concerned only about their children learning English.

2.2. Factors Affecting Greek Language Maintenance (Tamis, 1993)

Amongst the publications of the National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia (NLLIA), Professor A. M. Tamis (1993) presented in the 8\textsuperscript{th} Volume an epitome of the key findings in the Greek language research. On the basis of the research he conducted in the early 1990s, Tamis claimed that there were unfavorable factors that could impede the future of the Greek language in Australia. Yet, counteracting these inimical factors are first the fact that a large virtually monolingual Greek-speaking enclave will survive in Australia into the second quarter of the next century and with it its needs for social, health and legal services in Modern Greek (Tamis, 1993:2).

These comments related to those immigrants of the 1950s and 1960s who were still living and remained essentially Greek monolingual speakers. They would continue to need linguistic support to negotiate their needs with the mainstream English speaking community until 2025. However, the situation for their children and grandchildren has been different. They are competent English speakers because of their participation in the Australian Schooling system. On the other hand, many of them in states like Victoria, New South Wales and South Australia have had the opportunity for formal learning in Greek

\textsuperscript{11} Secombe, M.J.2012 Personal Communication
through the schooling system. In addition the freedom to learn Greek has eliminated the element of the forbidden, the charm of the prohibited that has always appealed to the Greek ethos. As long as Greek communities were trying hard to maintain their language, by their own means, not supported by the Australian educational system, they valued the language and their efforts to enable their children to learn it. Now that students can enroll in Greek classes freely, if not in the out of school hours ethnic classes\textsuperscript{12}, many parents or their children are not interested in this opportunity.

Three important parameters were identified by Professor Tamis as influencing the Greek language profile in Victoria. Since these factors became the focus of this research portfolio they are discussed in some detail in the sections below.

a. The first generation Greek migrants to Australia, who have kept the connection with the mother land, are the most resistant to assimilation.

b. Exogamy, ecclesiastic affiliation, work context, parental aspirations and involvement in the maintenance of the Greek language and culture are all factors influencing the extent to which young Greek Australians’ maintain their home language.

c. The teaching and learning of Greek among second and third generation young people of Greek origin is critical for the longer term maintenance of Greek language in Australia.

2.2.1. The Role of First Generation Migrants in Greek Language Maintenance

At that time –20 years ago- Professor Tamis supported the idea that Greek language was –and should be seen as- much more than a community language for the more than 320.000 people who declared in the Pan Australian Census of 1991 that their home language was Greek; it should be also considered and used as an economic advantage for the Australian society as a whole in order to attract more

\textsuperscript{12} These classes are supported by Federal and State Government Funds
tourists, trade and cultural exchanges between Australia and the Greek speaking communities around the world. (Tamis 1993:18)

The future of Modern Greek in Australia has therefore to be seen in the context of maintenance within the established local community and extension of ties of trade, tourism and cultural exchange between Australia and Greece, Cyprus and the numerous communities around the globe, where large Hellenophone enclaves are established.

Tamis (1993:1) recognized that the Greek migration in Australia had peaked during 1960’s, despite unexpected influx of Greek speaking population from Cyprus around mid-70’s because of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus (1974). He acknowledged that

it is unlikely that members of Greek-speakers in Australia will ever increase substantially again through immigration.

As stated further in the same report

in 1974, following the Turkish invasion of the island of Cyprus, the arrival of over 6,000 Greek Cypriot refugees signalled an unexpected reinforcement of the situation as the number of overseas-born Greek-speaking settlers increased. (Tamis, 1993:23).

As it is apparent the 1974 influx added on the already strong first generation migrants who use Greek language as their main communication instrument. English is for them a foreign language and hence these migrants are strongly connected to their ethnic Language and culture. Tamis presents this report in 1993 and the research investigated migrants of the 60’s and mid 70’s, who 15 to 30 years later (1993) still demonstrate a strong connection with their Greek background but that context is completely different compared to the 2000-2010 South Australia context. There is no population increase due to influx of migrants and the first generation Greek migrant community has aged and now is in their 70’s. The parameters are now quite different, after all as Tamis had already noticed back in his 1993 report,

In 1992, it was reported that more Greek-Australian settlers are repatriating to Greece rather than arriving in Australia, with a net attrition of 400 per annum (1993: p.23).
It is a phenomenon related to the nostalgia that Greeks since Odysseus feel. For both old and young people the Greek need for “nostos” (return), the need of the former to see and live in their mother land again before they die and the wish of the latter to witness what they were promised as a magic and unique country. In South Australia, as well as in the Pan Australian context available via ABS and as it is referred by Tamis (1993:2)

*in the period 1952 to 1971, the majority of the immigrants (78%) immigrated to Australia with the primary intention of finding a secure and stable employment for themselves and their families*....

Most of these immigrants were from rural villages, involved with farming activities and stock and poultry breeding. Although farming appeared to provide the main livelihood, some were involved in seasonal work in home construction and painting, in local flour milling works, and in wood cutting to supplement their income because farming did not provide a year-round occupation and income.

*In Australia most of them were employed as unskilled labourers in metal manufacturing industries, smelters, quarries, road construction, and Government projects in the Snowy Mountains in Victoria and NSW, and Tasmania. Some were employed as cleaners, cooks, food industry labourers and machinists, while only a minority worked as farmers.*

These people left their country to come to Australia for work and because of the political situation in Greece. When Democracy was re-established in Greece, and the first generation migrants had reached the pension age, those who felt linguistically isolated or had always aspired to return to the homeland, were the ones who decided to return to Greece or travelled often between their two countries since once in Greece their nostalgia sometimes brought them back to their Australian life and family members (children and grandchildren) who were settled here.

Tamis’ research also identified a new trend, a change of sentiment among the first generation Greek immigrants and its influence on language maintenance. By the 1980’s many of the 1950s-1960s immigrants had decided that Australia was their second homeland. Tamis refers to
the situation [the nostalgia and the repatriation dream] was alleviated in the 1980s when most Greeks began to see their sojourn in Australia as permanent. This reduced their drive for rapid acquisition of material wealth and began to improve their quality of life, a fact which had explicit implications of [sic] their language maintenance efforts. (1993:12)

The concrete results of this were evident in such things as

the improved living facilities, the establishment and operation of a permanent network caring for the elderly, the consecration of new Churches and new communities and an attempt to introduce Modern Greek in all levels of education by as many providers in all States and territories ascertain the permanent character of settlement. (Tamis, 1993:13)

This increasingly permanent character of Greek settlement noted by Tamis in Victoria, has been more apparent in the South Australian Greek community particularly in relation to ‘implications of the language maintenance efforts’. This was evident in developments such as the following:

a. The part-time Greek community schools were recognised and approved by the State governments and became eligible for government funding; they could offer at y11 and 12 equivalent to the government schools’ assessment for obtaining SACE, so

b. Greek Orthodox schools were established by the Greek community leaders in South Australia and registered with the Ethnic School Board.

c. Greek language classes were introduced in a number of Government Schools (44 primary and 18 secondary Schools in the early 1990’s),

d. In areas where the Greek community was vibrant the establishment of migrant Independent School was possible in 1989 by the Greek community and the Greek Orthodox Church (St George College in Mile End).

The success of these enterprises can be explained in part by the fact that the new attitude to stress language maintenance came just at the time that the SA government was implementing a new
language education policy making the study of the second language a requirement in the primary school.  

In contrast, it has been argued that the trend to think in terms of permanent settlement led some parents to consider that there was no need for their offspring to learn Greek language since their future was here in Australia, where the language of public, professional and social future was not depending upon the knowledge of the Greek language but the English. These issues raised in Tamis’ research point to the need to investigate further the comparative influence of parent’s desire for their children to learn Greek as against their aspirations for their children to succeed in mainstream Australian society through mastery of English.

2.2.2. Other Factors in the Greek Community influencing the Maintenance of the Greek Language and Culture

Tamis was able to identify the specific domains in which Modern Greek was spoken and written in Australia:

- domestic communication;
- Greek-Australian community business and cultural activities (festivals, performing arts, creative writing, scholarship, broadcasting, discography, etc.);
- the Greek Orthodox Church;
- the workplace;
- the press and electronic media;
- advertising;
- trade and tourism (11,000 Greeks visited Australia in 1991 to see relatives and tour the country, while an estimated 7,000 Greek sailors visited Australian ports);
- health, welfare and social services;
- education;
- politics (in Greek branches of Australian political parties) (Tamis, 1993:2).

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This list would seem to reflect the strength of the Victorian Greek community in numerical and cultural terms in the early 1990s. The domains of Greek usage for the smaller Greek community in Adelaide were more limited, particularly in the areas of business, workplace, media and politics.

Tamis (1993:3) recognised however that a number of factors could potentially lead to a decline in the range of domain usage over generations. One of the factors which could be expected to lead to a decline in the use of Greek in the home domain was exogamy.

- **Exogamy**

On the basis of his research Tamis (1993:13) considered that there was little likelihood of losing Greek language in the home because of mixed marriages since

...the balanced ratios of males to females in the Greek-Australian community militate against exogamy.

However, the figures on exogamy—at that time—which Tamis gave for the Greek community in South Australia in his 2001 study suggested a different pattern. In South Australia the overall rate of exogamy among The Greek community in 1992 was 39%. According to data obtained from the Archdiocese, as many as 60% of males and 68% of educated Greek-Australians were opting for a non-Greek spouse from the broader Australian community (Tamis, 1993:22). The most recent census (ABS 2006) has shown that the exogamy rate in South Australia was even greater (75%) with 85% of educated women and men marrying partners of a non-Greek ethnic background. As the shared language of the partners in such marriages, English, and not Greek, would almost certainly be the language of communication between the partners and their children. In this way the usage of Greek in the home domain in South Australia has been substantially reduced. Clyne has argued linguistically the same trend back when he said (1982:53)

... in case of Australian-born people whose parents speak different LOTEs it is on the whole unlikely to maintain either of these

- **Work Context**
Tamis (1993:12) noted the phenomenon of

...intergenerational language shift in community business where language can become an implement of exclusion in power-games between older and younger members of Greek-Australian organisations.

This pattern of behaviour was also observed in South Australia where older first generation Greek businessmen exclude the younger generation from establishing similar businesses with Greek clientele. The active participation of young Australian-born Greeks in community affairs has been minimal, due to the fact that leaders and members who were born and raised in Greece used Greek as the language of communication partly because they felt inadequate when using English. Although Greek and English have both been the official languages of community events and festivals, the elderly have often requested that proceedings be conducted exclusively in Greek. The Australian-born generation which was more confident to use English have felt excluded. This has led young Greek Australians to resent the behaviour, mannerism and the conduct of the older generation and they have abstained from Greek Australian organisations. Their absence from ethnic group committees can be seen to have impacted even on the Greek Glendi, a festival of 32 years which was cancelled in 2010 and 2011. This was the result of lack of young people to take over from the old committee members, in their late 60’s and 70’s who did not have the stamina to undertake such an event.

Tamis (1993:17) made a second point about the work context as a Greek language domain. He claimed that

...the employment distribution of Greek-born immigrants correlated with their educational background. The majority of them, 60% of the men and 54% of the women, worked as unskilled workers

and he considers that as a positive factor for language maintenance since
...the demand for communication in the host language is limited as are the technical terms usually employed by unskilled workers.

This trend till the late 70's had the following linguistic side effect. The uneducated parents passed on to their children their spoken language and since they were illiterate in Greek they could not educate their children in written Greek. Thus when their children finished their formal education in the Australian context, English eventually became dominant medium and the Greek was minimised in the everyday language needed to communicate with the elderly parents. This has had a flow on effect to the third generation, in that second generation parents who are not confident in Greek do not see the reason to expose their children to the ancestral language since they have never learned it properly themselves.

- Ecclesiastic Affiliation

The Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in Australia has supported the move in many Greek parishes to transition to partial or complete integration into an English-medium Church. This promotion of a Pan-Orthodox congregation, relieved of ethnic affiliation and hence the Greek language, was proposed in order to make the Greek Orthodox Church accessible to more Australians and ensure that third generation Greek Australians were not disadvantaged on linguistic grounds when they wanted to participate in the liturgy and focusing on the de-ethnisation of the Greek although they are Greek Orthodox Christians, as implemented in the USA. Tamis considered that

...the ecclesiastical context of ecumenism and the desire to communicate with lapsed Hellenophones may lead to language shift (Tamis, 1993:11).

Professor Tamis was referring to the concurrent use of the Greek and English languages in the Orthodox liturgy, where important parts of the liturgy, even very important Chants, have been translated and are chanted in English. The issue has been already confronted by the Greek Orthodox Church in USA where all the liturgy is currently in English. In South Australia, present practice is the alternating or concurrent use of both languages. In Greece Greek Orthodox Church has traditionally functioned on a national basis, held together by the Greek State, as well as by ethnic and linguistic bonds. If the Australian Archdiocese proceeds with its intended transition to English only in the Liturgy the loss of
this important language domain will inevitably lead to more linguistic assimilation. Most of the Greek ethnic schools which are at present affiliated with Orthodox parishes will have no reason to exist.

- **Parental role and effort to assimilate**

According to Tamis (1993:34) the Greek immigrants did make some adaptations towards the mainstream Australian Society

...the desire [of the Greek community] to improve relations with the host society led many immigrants to adapt to some aspects of life in Australian society and adopt a positive attitude towards progressive integration despite the evident cultural differences. The entertaining festivities of the weekend, barbecues, bush-walking, picnics, going to the hotel with the workmates occasionally for a beer, and Australian Rules Football were well adopted by Greek-born immigrants, as well as waiting patiently in queues, politeness in transactions and drinking tea in the afternoon, while their Australian-born children were sent to swimming lessons and other sporting activities and learned to appreciate nature and the environment.

This trend for Greek immigrant families to gradually adopt certain aspects of mainstream Australian culture which they found attractive, has had implications in the area of language which are important for the present study. As participant observer of the research the author observed that the Greek used at home by second and third generation Greeks in South Australia was a Greek-English mix, an example of what Smolicz (1979a, 2003:58) called the hybrid form of cultural interaction, where aspects from two different languages become mixed into a single form. Tamis, in a later work has called this form of language an Ethnolect (1985; 2009:20). It is best considered as a language variety that has been formed in Australia as a result of

✓ the limited knowledge of Greek language which first generation migrants had;
✓ the lost aural and oral contact with the Greek language of the homeland;
✓ the consequent fossilisation of the spoken language in Australia\(^{14}\); and of course

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\(^{14}\)The language is a living and evolving social activity that changes as per cultural and everyday needs. It is clear that the language spoken currently in Greece has been evolving since the 60’s when the first of the migrant wave left Greece and
the impact of the everyday used and exposed to the dominant English language. (Tamis 1993:35-36; 2009:20))

This everyday ethnolect is marked by frequent code switching and the use of English vocabulary whenever the Greek word is not readily available to the speaker. The only Greek that appears to be correct is emphasis, intonation, and proper accent is the language related to swearing!!

- **Friendliness**

In addition Tamis was of the opinion that the friendliness to be found among Greeks helped to create an important Greek language domain. This social behaviour noted by Tamis (1993:35) in Victoria is less likely to occur at the second and third generation level in the smaller and more dispersed Greek community of South Australia. Certainly at the first generation level, when immigrants most often settled in Greek neighbourhoods and most knew little English, was an important Greek language domain and almost certainly influenced their children’s language usage, as Smolicz & Secombe reported in their study of Polish language usage at home. To what extent conversations with friends has become an English language domain for the second and third generation is a matter of further investigation.

- **Keeping grandparents at home.**

A traditional pattern of Greek family culture social behaviour was the three generation family living together so that grandparents were cared at home. Tamis (1993:37) described it as follows:

  …**elderly dependents share the facilities of their son’s house or alternatively, visiting their children’s families, they are involved in the decision making processes of the house hold and are active in the upbringing of the children regarding their religion and language. It is insulting and a social stigma to put the old people away in institutions and nursing homes.**

Over the last two decades, there has been a sharp increase in the number of elderly Greek people in nursing homes, as a result of factors such as mixed marriages, the language barrier between the second and third generation and the elderly, the second generation’s desire to continue work and

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the contemporary language as used in Greece today differs in vocabulary and syntax to the one spoken in Australia by the first generation migrants.
career, all of which prevent the children from becoming carers for the elderly parents. With the removal of the first generation immigrant grandparents, the home very often ceases to be a Greek language domain, and second and third generations of the family are deprived of a vital embodiment of Greek language and culture.

- **Sprachinseln** as Kloss (1967) has defined areas of high concentration of immigrants such as Greeks that result in low socialisation with the broader Australian community, and at the same time, high levels of Modern Greek usage.

Tamis explaining the circumstances of Greek migration that lead to such concentration of Greek settlement.

...76 % [of migrants in the 60s] came from rural regions of Greece and were forced to adjust to an industrial urban environment. This adjustment generated the need for cultural and linguistic maintenance and led to the creation of concentrated Greek Sprachinseln within the inner suburbs and with the establishment of local societies to overcome problems of isolation and alienation in the Australian capital cities (Tamis, 1993:15)

Tamis’ description of past Greek migrant behaviour applied also to the Greek community of Adelaide. It is a pattern which is re-appearing among the influx of new migrants from Africa or Afghanistan who have settled recently in Adelaide.

The first generation Greeks -like the Italians also- have created in their suburbs of settlement a Greek linguistic and cultural island which had a very strong community cohesiveness as support structures in the new land. When though the needy first generation had helped the second generation to become educated and adapt into the Australian context, the successful and financially better off second and third generation moved away from the Greek island-ghetto suburbs. Then as the elder generation died, retired or repatriated, new owners came to reside in these areas. In this way, the whole community domain of the Greek language use disappeared.
The phenomenon has been most evident in the inner Adelaide suburb of Thebarton, where the Greek Orthodox Church was a centre of Greek community life. The parish even established The Independent Greek orthodox College of St George as early as 1989. Since then however, Thebarton has ceased to be a centre of Greek settlement, as second generation families moved to more distinct suburbs and the first generation immigrants have died or moved to nursing homes or moved to Greece. The second and third generation thus have no current exposure to Sprachinseln to sustain their Greek language usage.

2.2.3. Teaching and Learning Greek Language via Education Policy

When discussing education and educational system as domain of maintaining and preserving Greek language Tamis (1993, p4, & p12-15) gave a very detailed description of the situation in Victoria where, at that time, also largely reflected the situation in South Australia. He claimed that

...National Policy on Languages that designates Modern Greek as a language of wider learning. Victoria and SA appear to be the most favourably disposed to Modern Greek and to have the most systematic program of implementation.

This implementation in South Australia included a language curriculum Superintendent of Greek origin Mr Kostas Fotiadis, who fought for the Greek language, Greek origin staff teaching the language and in High School management positions who supported the teaching of Greek at their schools and Greek Language representative on the Ethnic Schools Board, the organisation that supported the language teaching in community schools outside of mainstream school hours. In the end of the first decade of the 21st century this momentum had long time ago stalled and with policies favouring Asian languages and the number of students taking Greek plummeting. As early as 1993 Tamis (p12) worried at the

...certain level of residual discouragement to study Modern Greek from teachers and advisers of Anglo-Celtic background, in spite of official multilingual and multicultural policy
The researcher, as participant in teaching Greek language classes since 1996 in South Australia, was aware that Greek origin students opted not to study Greek language in their schools, even when it was available, because Greek language was considered a difficult subject in which to receive distinction and hence would not help them with their University entry grades.

Tamis also pointed to the importance of

...the extent of existing provisions for learning Modern Greek across a wide range of systems and levels of education, the long-standing commitment of the Greek-Australian community to their support and extension, and the increasingly tolerant and promotive attitude of Anglo-Australians towards LOTEs........Provision for effective learning of Modern Greek by the maximum number of residents of Australia is arguably the most significant factor of all in determining the future of the language.... (Tamis, 1993:13-14).

That was the case at the time and the system is still set and functioning in South Australia. What has changed is the momentum of the late 80s and early 90s, as government educational and community leaders no longer see language policy as important issue.

Professor’s Tamis work has had a paramount influence on the present portfolio of research. In particular, his summary of key issues in the teaching of Greek can be regarded as just as important and relevant in South Australia today, as it was when he wrote it in 1993. It is therefore part of this review to refer to the problems identified by Tamis and the assumptions implied that should these rectified Greek language to be in the 21st century the vigorous and dynamic community language it was at the end of the 20th century. The report considers the following as problems in Victoria of 1993.

- While its symbolic value within the Greek-Australian community may be highly esteemed, Modern Greek suffers from an image problem as a community language in the narrowest sense.
- Modern Greek is under-resourced at every level of education.
- There are grave problems of linkage between, and continuity within, levels of learning Modern Greek.
• Inflexible curricula and assessment mechanisms, and inability to cope with mixed ability groups using appropriate materials and methods, are inimical to the survival of Modern Greek in Australia.

• The plurality and diversity of the present provision of Modern Greek is not necessary [sic] a bad thing provided viable options and effective learning can be assured.

• Retention and attrition are not the sole measure of successful teaching; a greater range of certification of proficiency and entry/re-entry points to learning Modern Greek is needed.

• Australia’s Greek language resources are underutilised as a competitive advantage in trade and cultural links. (Tamis 1993: 42-43)

It is apparent that the on-going vitality of ethnic minority language like Greek in Australia is determined by a variety of factors including the disposition of the ethnic group members towards it and their desire for continued distinctiveness as a group. Tamis identified the following sociocultural factors contributing to the vitality of Modern Greek, which are still valid 20 years after the report and include:

• the existence of a populous base of speakers;

• the creation of wide functional areas and adequate community network which will elaborate the function of language use, outside and beyond the group-controlled areas, eg home, church, and ethnic school;

• The promotion of Modern Greek to the broader community;

• The perceived prestige of the language;

• The ability to rally institutional support, eg government, educational, industry and media interest;

• Favourable demographic characteristics, eg residential concentration, birth rate, rate of exogamy;

• The degree of interactional dynamics characterising a particular community. (Tamis, 1993:26)
These are the sorts of factors which the current study sought to investigate in the context of the South Australian Greek community, and with a special emphasis on the formal learning and teaching of Greek in the schooling system.

2.3. Greek Language Education in SA (Tamis 2001)

Tamis as leading researcher in the Greek language teaching and maintenance of the Greek language and culture in Australia has collaborated with the University of Crete in Greece, and specifically with its Centre of Intercultural and Migration Studies (EDIAMME), that was responsible from 1996 till 2009 for coordinating the education of Greeks abroad. The Centre produced a series of publications depicting the Greek language in Diaspora and the problems of teaching it in countries like USA, Canada, Oceania and Europe.15 Tamis’ contribution to the series was a book presenting the situation of the Greek language in Oceania. Amongst other research Tamis analysed the 1996 census in relation to the demographics of the Greek Australian community and the use of Greek language by the community. At the same time Tamis described the place of Greek language in the education system of each state.

Tamis (2001:53-55) provided a profile of the Greek community in Australia at the turn of the twentieth century. As many as 96.1% of Greek migrants had acquired the Australian citizenship. Most saw Australia as their homeland and did not aspire to return to Greece. Greek born Australians used predominantly at home the Greek language. Even when one of the parents was Australian born 22% of the families identified as Greek. Although the gender balance among Greek origin migrants implied maximal opportunity for in group marriage, 36% of the marriages in the Greek Australian community were in fact intercultural (Tamis, 2001:214). By 2001 53% of the Greek born Australians were not working –a percentage related mainly to the female Greeks being made redundant from factories.

15 EDIAMME saw in Tamis face a dedicated researcher who can provide a synopsis of the Greek language teaching within the Australian context in the last decade of the 20th century.
moving overseas, or reaching retirement age. As many as 29.7% of the Greek born Australians declared in 2001 that their average weekly income was between $80-$159, with another 60% declaring income of less than $300 per week.

Tamis (2001:221) pointed out that Greek language in Australia was taught in three distinct levels: as community language where teaching stressed ethnic identity, cultural knowledge and pride, and the use of Greek as a means of communication. At another level Greek was taught as a second to those who had no home background in Greek. At the last level, Greek was seen as the contemporary artifact and continuation of the Greek linguistic and cultural tradition, as it is taught in the secondary and tertiary levels of education. Tamis (p 222) claimed that many factors, such as the continuing decrease of the Greek origin population through death, the lack of any new Greek migrants since 1975, the increased ratio of intercultural marriages and the regression of the multiculturalism of the 80s, had had a negative impact on Greek language maintenance evident in the corresponding language shift towards the dominant language of English. Tamis also referred to the negative impact the impetus of the Austrade languages (2001:224) had had on the usage of the Greek language, and the negative effect of the use of the English language in the liturgy by the Greek Orthodox Church, as well as the decision of many schools to eliminate Greek from their curriculum (2001:230).

As early as 1998 at the time the book was written, Tamis considered that the years 2001-2021 would be very significant for the future of the Greek language in Australia, and specifically in South Australia. Research findings of the Centre of Greek Studies of La Trobe University (Tamis, 2001:230-231) showed that 78% of the children of intercultural marriages did not attend Greek language classes, 28% of Greek origin students had no Greek at all in their schooling, and on average, 35% of the Greek

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16 Austrade is the Australian Trade Commission - the federal government's export and investment facilitation agency. They help Australians win export business and generate inward and outward investment.
17 During the “Asianistic” phase (Clyne, 1991:20) of the Language policy in Australia, it was recognized the need of focusing on “languages of broader national interest” (DEET, 1991:31) and hence a shift that tied English to education and jobs and Asian languages to trade occurred, creating the languages recognized by Austrade as of national interest.
language students commenced the learning of Greek without any elementary knowledge or understanding of the language. Tamis (2001:231) pointed to a finding that his later study of 2009 confirmed; that primary school Greek language students could perform at the level of understanding the language\(^{18}\), but had significant difficulties in mastering spoken expression. These arose from lexical confusion and lack of active vocabulary, syntactical and grammatical mistakes and of course code switching in English, together with phonological and prosody\(^{19}\) alterations influenced by English. Their writing of the language was even weaker. The lack of continuity in language offerings from primary to secondary level was also a factor in the dramatic and continuous decline of the student numbers studying Greek in the secondary level. (Tamis 2001:229).

Tamis’ delineation of Greek language education in South Australia was of particular relevance to this study. He acknowledged that South Australia had a small but cohesive Greek community of around 35000 citizens. The State Government had demonstrated a commitment to multiculturalism as early as 1972 (Tamis 2001:177) when the first Greek language programs were offered in the state primary schools at Kilkenny and Challa Gardens. Subsequently, Greek origin bureaucrats in the SA Education Department managed to elevate Greek to one of the eight community languages to be offered in the mainstream schooling. The SA government’s 1986 legislation to make the study of language in the mainstream school curriculum compulsory meant that by 1992 Greek was offered in 44 primary and 18 secondary schools. By 1998, however Greek was being offered only in 33 primary and 15 secondary schools (Tamis 2001:177). The student enrolments in the primary schools over 1992-1997 averaged 5700 students, as against 750 at the secondary level (Tamis 2001:178).

\(^{18}\) The understanding is a result of the language immersion since the primary students are exposed some how at home in the aural version of the Greek ethnolect and not the standard form of the language that is taught at school.

\(^{19}\) Please refer to the glossary for linguistic definition of the terms.
The most significant issue identified by Tamis was student dropout at secondary level: 6.9% from year 8 to year 9; 43% between years 9 and 10. In total, the loss of students who enrolled in Greek in year 8 compared to those choosing Greek in year 12 was above 90% (Tamis, 2001:179). One main reason for this was the lack of any intensive year 11 and 12 program for beginners, in which students could have studied Greek as a year 12 subject for University entry (2001:182). Tamis commended the fact that in 1998 South Australia had 2 bilingual programs, in the sense of schools teaching both Greek and English language. One, with 462 students in Primary and Secondary campuses, was based in St George College, a private independent school supported by the St George parish and the local Greek community. The other had 15 students and was based in the Greek year 5-6 class at Coober Pedy Area School in the remote opal mining town in the northern region of South Australia. (Tamis 2001:181). This had been established in 1994 as language immersion class, but from 1998, the lessons were offered via videoconference from the facilities of Flinders University by the researcher who was at that stage a teacher seconded by the Greek Government.20

When Tamis reports the South Australian situation of the Greek language in his 2001 book, uses information provided by the Department of Education in South Australia and specifically the officer responsible for the Greek language (Tamis, 2001:180) and figures that reach up to 1998. Thus he was not able to report that the Coober Pedy bilingual program stopped in December 2001 due to lack of students and funding (Holeva, 2002:33). He did, however, reported that in 1997 (Tamis, 2001:179), three Adelaide schools abolished their Greek offerings due to lack of students interested in the language and three other schools in country of South Australia that could find no teacher willing to accept the advertised position in Greek classes. Examples of schools having Greek classes with a

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20 The author of this portfolio of research has appointed in 1997 by the education Office of the Consulate General of Greece in Coober Pedy Area School as the bilingual teacher. Next year she was transferred in Adelaide to cover other needs and she was trained in online delivery of the course and commenced videoconferencing from the Videoconference Theatre of Flinders University. As result of this experience Holeva (2002) has published a case study of the Coober Pedy Bilingual Program as an article titled Teaching Greek via Videoconferencing, in the Quarterly Journal of the University of Crete Epistimes Agogis, vol 4, in 2002. The present portfolio of research represents a continuation of this study.
minimum number of only Greek students like Clapham PS or with no Greek background students like Norton Summit PS (Tamis 2001:179) explain why the number of enrolments in Greek language classes in 1997 had fallen by 41%, compared to 1992. This drop in enrolments and the number of schools teaching Greek is indicative of the change in sociopolitical, psychological and educational context, as well as in the attitudes and personal choices of the Greek background Australians in SA that led to fewer students choosing Greek and hence limited schools offering Greek language; when the present research commenced and the research proposal was submitted the intention was to research all the active in 2002 secondary schools offering Greek. Whereas Tamis (2001:180) reported sixteen Secondary institutions according to the 1998 figures, the research four years later had to work with 37.5% less secondary schools offering Greek language. Eventually by the end of the research in 2010 only three state schools (Adelaide HS, Norwood Morialta HS and Unley HS) and the independent St George College were offering Greek language—a total decrease of 75% compared to the 1998 data.

The possibility of continuing education in Greek language at tertiary level was also seen as very important. The fact that in South Australia Greek were offered at tertiary level as early as 1974 by the South Australian College of Advanced Education (Tamis, 2001:181) was indicative of the pioneering role SA has played in multiculturalism and language education. Since 1974 both the College and Flinders University offered Greek classes until in 1989 at Flinders University was created the chair of Modern Greek Studies supported by a Professor and 2 lecturers. By 1992 the University of Adelaide language programs were assigned to Flinders University. However, in 1996 the Modern Greek chair at Flinders was cancelled (Tamis, 2001:181-182). To sustain the Modern Greek studies at the University, Greek background bureaucrats working at the South Australian Department of Education in collaboration with the Consul General of Greece in Adelaide seconded three teachers to the Modern

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21 The secondary schools offering Greek were 10 in total in 2002. This figure included the independent St George College and the 9 state schools (Adelaide HS, Corydon HS, Daw’s Road HS, Norwood Morialta HS, Salisbury East HS, Salisbury North HS, Underdale HS, Unley HS, and Woodville HS). (SA Department of Education DECS, 2002)

22 Holeva, the author of this Portfolio of Researches, was one of the three Teachers. Holeva, seconded by the Greek department of Education to the Education office of the Consulate General of Greece in Adelaide on January 1997 and
Greek Department of Flinders University to support the teaching of the language at no cost for the Flinders University. The videoconferencing of the Coober Pedy Bilingual Program was a pioneering teaching initiative for the Modern Greek Department. Currently the department of Modern Greek at Flinders offers Modern Greek at tertiary level with outreach program for students from The University of Adelaide, University of South Australia and Charles Darwin University.

2.4. Re-Assessing Greek Language Maintenance (Tamis 2009)

In 2009, after further research on the current situation of Greek language in Australia, Tamis published an article in *Etudes Helleniques* in which he re-assessed the maintenance of Greek language in Australia. He argued that by the first decade of the twenty first century, the Greek spoken by Australians of Greek background was not a form of standard Greek, but rather a new communicative norm that was a hybrid (Smolicz, 1979b, 1999, 2003:359) or a mixture of English and Greek syntax, grammar, morphology and prosody. It had developed through the inter-lingual transferences during the long process of the linguistic and cultural assimilation of Australian Greeks in the dominant English language and the Australian cultural system. Tamis (2009:20) considered that after 170 years of Greek presence in Australia, the Ethnolect he had identified earlier (1993, 1997, 2001:132, 2009:21) as a non-standard variety of the spoken Greek language had changed in the Australian environment, due to the constant language contact with the dominant English language:

> …Greek is expected to undergo, at intergenerational level, reduction in function and in form, hybridisation and creolisation and even language death (Tamis, 2009:21)
Presenting a compilation of data collected, documented and analysed over a period of 26 years (from 1982 to 2008) with a sample selected to balance for age (8 to 65 years), so that four generations of Greek background Australians were represented, Tamis concluded (2009:22) that

...The Greek language in Australia, functioning in a bilingual environment without diglossia under the influence of the dominant English language, is never homogenous and hardly ever self-contained as it experiences serious functional limitations, restricted to a few language domains

Tamis could see that because of the given and constant code switching, Greeks were daily being influenced by the dominant language in the process of choosing the right lexeme, even while maintaining the appropriate semantic, pragmatic or prosodic form or each language. Tamis also explained that the degree of resistance to such functional, structural, phonological or vocabulary changes in the Greek language depended on a number of different factors in both the Greek communities and Australian society generally. These included phenomena as:

...the institutionalised Greek community forces which might halt or reverse the trend away from Greek, the rate and the extent of intermarriages, the psychological factors (permissiveness in attitudes towards Greek, desire to assimilate), the Australian educational system, the degree of cultural similarity or differences to the Australian environment and the socio-economic variables, including age on arrival, level of education attained, place of residence, proximity to community networks and low/high density of Greek settlement.

(Tamis 2009:22)

Tamis noted that a number of these factors had changed remarkably since 1993. For example, although Greeks did not appear to mix with other ethnic groups, the rate of interethnic marriages,

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25 This research of 2009 Tamis presented in his article, appeared to have many similarities in design with the current portfolio of research in smaller of course scale since this portfolio of research presents shorter period of time and only SA participants,

26 Tamis in 1986:66 suggested that 30% of first generation Greek Australians in Victoria did not mix with any other ethnic group, whilst in 2001 the percentage was reduced to 19%.
according to the 2006 Census was more than 45% (Tamis 2009:27). Among the second generation Greek Australians the rate of language shift away from Greek which had been 9% in 1993, had increased to 12% in 2006. In the case of the third generation the shift rate had reached 24% by 2006 (Tamis, 2009:25).

Further (2009:29) Tamis admitted that

The previously prevailing trends among second generation Greek Australians whereby older children mastered the Greek language more proficiently and used it more frequently (Tamis, 1985:71ff) could not be ascertained by contemporary research data.

His data showed

…the substantial deterioration of the literacy skills, particularly the writing is apparent in 2007, and most of the Greek language claimants among the second and third generations (55%) appeared to be not only receivers (passive bilinguals) but also transmitters of the Greek ethnolect in only spoken form.

Language transference between the two linguistic traditions allowed English words to be morphosemantically transferred to the individual users’ Greek idiolect. Such language patterns were most often found among the second generation.

Multiple transference or code-switching, that is the use of distinct successive stretches of both Greek and English or the transference of more than a single word at a time, characterize mainly second generation Greek Australians. This type of transference is normally triggered as a result of linguistic confusion on the part of the user. (Tamis, 2009: 31)

Tamis (2009:32) came to the conclusion that “in the case of the third generation these deviations from the norm cannot be attributed to language contact with English but rather to the weakening of the
sprachgefühl (linguistic feeling)", among the Greek community a direct acceptance of an impending chosen language shift to the dominant language. It is an indirect acceptance of the fact that currently the Greek Australians do not have the same commitment to Greek as their grandparents and are quite happy to use English as their dominant communication language.

2.5. Parental Aspirations and Greek Language Research in Australia

Dr Leo Papademetre, a specialist linguist with research interests in language teaching, was member of the Modern Greek team at Flinders University. Under this capacity he conducted a longitudinal study from 1990 to 1997 focusing on the parents’ perspectives on the maintenance of the Greek language and culture in Australia. Papademetre, driven by his sociolinguistic interests, expanded his research into the area of intercultural language learning (ILL). Together with other researchers from the Research Centre for Languages and Cultures Education at the University of South Australia in the 2003 submitted to the Commonwealth Department of Education Science and Training the Report for Intercultural Language Learning.

Two papers from Papademetre's work are presented hereafter because of their relevance to the present portfolio of research. Both are related to the aspirations that educated Greek origin parents’ have for their children learning Greek. The first was conducted in Adelaide and the second in New South Wales; the findings from both studies in relation to the outlook for the Greek language in Australia were similar.

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27 Flinders University is the only University in South Australia that has in its Education, Humanities and Law Faculty, Modern Greek as part of the language Studies Division. Established since 1989, for 23 university students in South Australia can take Greek at tertiary level.
2.5.1. South Australian Parents’ Perspectives on Learning Greek (Papademetre and Routoulas, 2001)

As part of a continuous research project conducted in Adelaide from 1990–97 Papademetre with colleagues such as Routoulas collected data from a total of 90 participants who were interviewed. All were parents of Hellenic background, born and educated in South Australia, and all shared a bilingual and bicultural stance. Papademetre published some initial findings of the research in Papademetre 1994a and 1994b.

In 2001 the findings in relation to the last 30 parents were presented in the Modern Greek research conference held at Flinders University. Titled *Hellenic Language and Culture Study in South Australian Schools: Parents’ Perspectives* the paper appears to be of interest for a part of the present portfolio of research; thus it is reviewed.

Specifically, Papademetre and Routoulas reported a trend that had been developing in the late 90s among educated Greek origin Australian born parents who had earlier been part of the movement for multicultural Australia. Papademetre investigated parental aspirations on whether it was necessary, it is appropriate or useful at that point of time (1995 -1997) for their children to learn Greek, while living and working in Australia. The general feeling was that these parents confused by the constant change of policies and because they had “became complacent”-in their own words- were ambivalent about the learning of Greek. They appeared to prefer mainstream Australian education over Greek language learning. The main difference between this research and the one Papademetre and Routoulas conducted in the late 90s is that Papademetre chose to investigate parents who in their ambivalence had already chosen that was not worthy promoting or maintaining the Greek language.
The parents interviewed by Papademetre and Routoulas said they not making use of after school Greek classes, and were not planning to send their child to another school just because it offered Greek. They expressed their surprise on the reason they were not able to teach their children Greek, and many revealed that they would suggest that their child learn Chinese or German rather than Greek, because these languages offered better chances for a job than Greek. Parents considered that their children did not need to know Greek since they were going to spend their professional and social life in Australia. Finally they were committed to not forcing their children to learn Greek, in the way they had been forced to. In their view Greek was needed only to communicate with the elderly.

Papademetre’s participants had chosen assimilation to the mainstream Anglo-Australian culture, renouncing the need to expose their children in their Greek ancestral heritage. The parents and students of this research chose to have the best of both worlds. To be Greek and Australian to any degree is possible for them. Papademetre argued that this change in parental attitudes could be explained by a number of factors. One was the constant change in policies, and especially the fact that language policy had become aligned with trade policies at the expense of Australian community languages. In addition the effort of the federal government in the mid-1990s to create an Australian nationhood, where English was pre-eminent and mainstream Australian culture dominated all the other ethnic cultures, had really undermined the chance that a multicultural Australia could offer a genuinely pluralistic society.

2.5.2. New South Wales Parents’ Perspectives on Learning Greek

(Papademetre and Routoulas, 2001b)
The similar finding which emerged from Papademetre and Routoulas’ (2001b) research based in New South Wales was that many parents gave a higher priority to good education, with the higher socio-economic status it offered, than to learning the Greek language.

The majority of the parents were not concerned about Greek culture and the language but appeared to agonize much more about money, the degree of their children’s assimilation (in the sense of social acceptance) in the Australian society, and the employment their children would be able to gain.

Papademetre and Routoulas interviewed people chosen mainly because of their apparent assimilation into mainstream Australian society. This group of participants were children of parents who were not well educated. They themselves were well-educated, because the parent’s wish to better their family’s life through education. As second generation immigrant children, they had undergone education during late 70’s and early 80’s, when the multiculturalism was reaching its zenith. Yet they seemed to believe that it was not essential for their children to maintain the Greek language in order to maintain their Greekness. Even the educated bilingual and bicultural parents did not see the point of their children maintaining Greek language and culture. Their goals were a good education, a good life and money. They could not see how Greek had helped them in their careers. They hoped that their children would learn and maintain Greek culture in the same way they had, through informal exposure to it, without themselves as parents having to be involved in transmitting the Greek heritage to their children. They had forgotten that as children they were constantly exposed to Greekness in the home through their parents’ activation of the language and culture, whereas their own children were not.

These findings, like Tamis’ conclusions, pointed to important changes of attitudes within the Greek-Australian community. The present study sought to follow up the leads by further investigating the aspirations of parents whose children were learning Greek in South Australian secondary schools in the first decade of the twenty first century.
2.6. Education to Develop Bilingualism in Australia (Lo Bianco)

In the National Language Policy document prepared by Lo Bianco (1987), the main recommendation was that all students in Australian schools should have the opportunity to learn English plus another language. The 1984 Smolicz Report in SA had recommended a similar approach. This move had particular significance for minority ethnic communities in Australia, since it offered the possibility of developing Bilingualism and Biliteracy in English and the home language through the school system.

As Lo Bianco (1990: 90-94) pointed out by acquiring literacy through school in the two languages of their experience, young people of Greek background, for example, could become competent bilingual and able to use their languages in a positive and socially constructive way. They could contribute to the nation’s shared values and develop their own heritage to actually benefit Australia. Lo Bianco argued that members of Australian ethnic communities had access to the linguistic resources to become a bilingual/bicultural person, if the school provided the chance for them to deepen the home language through adding literacy skills while they were simultaneously learning English as the language of instrument in the rest of the curriculum. The result is individuals with higher linguistic skills who are able to contribute to the cultural resilience of society and help Australia to satisfy economic and trade needs.

Lo Bianco et al (1999:13) claimed that

A view of multiculturalism which does not value language education (hence potential for intercultural competence for all), no matter how inclusive it claims to be, will not foster a multicultural society which can fully enjoy multiculturalism (ie. linguistic/cultural diversity for all) at home or on the world stage. The view of intercultural competence which emerges from mono-lingual multiculturalism is one which sees that such competence is really only relevant to those who are in some sense ‘other’. It is a view which identifies a standard culture for the
society, a kind of monolithic, unanalysed norm which tolerates diversity as though it were a condition of otherness.

A number of Greeks over the 1980s and 1990s were quick to recognize the opportunities which Lo Bianco pointed to. They developed their Greek skills further through study in university courses, such as Flinders or in Greece itself and have made significant contributions in education, politics, law, sports and health (Jupp, 2001 402)

Another factor has emerged to make English-Greek bilingual and illiteracy skills attractive-the development of the internet. Schools today use Internet and deliver online lessons or information related to the culture and the heritage of the ethnic group it represents (Tamis 2001:77). Language lessons, cultural awareness initiatives, cultural items and functions can be delivered or beamed online, via satellite TV or videoconferencing so as to connect the isolated or distant, if they are interested. For example, Greeks around the world are eager to learn about Greece and news from there, alongside cultural events and even the taste of Greece. Those immigrants who have not been able to return or visit Greece, can now visit Greece by watching TV or surfing the Internet. They can download contemporary Greek music, Greek theatrical plays and movies, everyday events, customs and folk dances, festivals and religious rituals—even the holy liturgy, foods and recipes, listen to the language and feel as though they were there (Holeva, 2002:35). Among young people, the use of internet has a particular fascination, which can be used to good effect in strengthening Greek language skills.

2.7. Language Education and the Concept of a Third Option

Sociocultural theory considers culture as a stable structure, an objective force, developed both by historical processes of socialization and by people’s choices and engagement in culture specific activities. Yet the question arises; is that force real or imagined? Lantolf and Thorne point out that
cultures are rarely monolithic organizations and as such comprise communities with different schemas and concepts (2006:148),

but they don’t consider that cultural models and the cognitive categories created by language might not be internalized, but, rather, imitated, parodied or simulated, in the sense of the ‘pseudo28’ format. In that sense these communities are not real but ‘imagined’ in the sense that they could be considered belonging to the third option: not completely Greek, definitely not a hundred per cent Australian, just a third option or choice.

When the psychological concept of cultural schemata and the linguistic connotation the transfer are added on the concept of third culture that sometimes is invisible in the mindset of the younger generations, the issue becomes bigger. The logical question that can be asked is the following;

Do the Greek cultural models of the immigrant parents who are Greek language speakers have any meaning or psychological reality for the second and third generation? Can really a young third generation Greek origin student in Adelaide understand the Greek cultural concept enclosed in the word “filotimo”, even if he is exposed to it by his family and social circle.

This concept works also in the reverse way. The fact that many Greek immigrants do not internalize the Australian mainstream culture schemas, even after decades of living and working in the country, illustrates the link between core values, mind, culture and linguistic activity. Lantolf and Thorne suggested that language learning, was “a matter of intent and commitment to live one’s life as a member of the new community” (2006: 148). But what if the new generation in the Greek Australian community does not recognize the “old solely Greek” community as its own preferred community, nor care to join it, but want to work be successful and live in another community, the Australian? It is a very similar social action like the one their immigrant parents and grandparents did when the first came to Adelaide. They also did not recognise the Australian community as their own and hence created their

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28 This ‘Pseudo’ concept will be used latter by the researcher in an effort to taxonimise the types of participants identified and the term has been defined in the Glossary-Part B : terms used by the author.
ethnic communities in the 50s and 60s. In a reverse mode some choose to leave behind the Greek community, and activate the Australian community cultural values they are also exposed to, just because they better understand its schemas! Others happily chose to swing amongst communities switching constantly languages, codes of communication, even cultural activities and schemas, sometimes creating their own amalgam or perhaps the type of third space discussed by Kramsch (1993). “A third space by default?”

In South Australia, the notion of ‘Intercultural Language Learning’ (ILL) and subsequently in-depth cultural learning has been discussed at conferences of the Australian Modern Language Teachers Association, in which Greek language teachers participate and where they are exposed to using ILL to instil the invisible Greek culture to the third generation students. ILL is gaining ground in the crafting of government curricula for the teaching of foreign languages. Based on the work of Antony Liddicoat and his colleagues (Crozet et al., 1999; Liddicoat, 2002; Liddicoat et al., 2003), ILL tightens the link between language and culture in languages education and strives to develop a learner’s ‘third place’ (Lo Bianco et al., 1999) that is neither that of the learner’s first culture and language (C1) nor that of the their second (C2) they have learned. Although they have initially started the concept of third place for foreign language teaching, in some cases- as this portfolio of research will reveal-, Greek is not perceived by the third generation of the Greek community in South Australia as a mother tongue, but even in some cases can be considered second or even foreign language29.

Through ILL approach language learners can develop an intercultural perspective where they get to understand both their own first culture and language contexts (whether First Place be Greek or English) and the second target culture and language contexts (Second Place- in the corresponding reverse way). Learning language this way helps learners move to a position in which they can develop

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29 It is not a coincidence that Greek language teachers often ask for methodology changes that will include second/foreign language methodology
intercultural competence in both cultural and linguistic contexts in order to become bilingual and bicultural individuals in their own particular way (Third Place),

As Kramsch points out

*ILL pedagogy helps students construct this Third Place by making connections between the L1/C1 and the L2/C2; communicating across linguistic and cultural boundaries and identifying and explaining those boundaries; critically reflecting on their own intercultural behaviours and their own identity; and taking responsibility for contributing to successful communication across languages and cultures.*(2009:246)

There is a common locus between the humanistic sociological approach this portfolio of researches is based upon and the recent sociolinguistic research and contemporary language teaching. In this post-structuralist approach an individual’s subjective position is seen as changing according to the situation and to the way he/she chooses to belong rather than to the place the individual belongs. Thus one can chose to be a Greek in Australia and, when visits Greece, transforms into an Australian in Greece! Right now, poststructuralist approaches to second language education, inspired by work in interactional sociolinguistics, and in ecological theories of learning are gaining momentum (Ellis and Larsen-Freeman, 2006; De Bot et al., 2007).

Kramsch (1993; 2002; 2009) talks about “thirdness” as a stance and about a third culture since cultural dilemmas encourage learners to mediate between their home and the mainstream culture in order to reach an intercultural position. Lo Bianco et.al (1999) and Liddicoat et al. (2003) refer to the same concept as a ‘third place’, where the differing points of view can be recognized, mediated and accepted. From such stance and cultural actions as the humanistic sociology and cultural psychology could argue, learners potentially establish understanding of cultural differences between their home and the extended multicultural society they live. Moreover they look at themselves from the other’s perspective and thus tolerance, co-habitation, understanding
of other cultures can lead to all enjoying the overarching Australian shared values, while maintaining cultural individuality and freedom of choice.

2.8. Greek Language Research in South Australia from a Humanistic Sociological Perspective

In South Australia, Smolicz was regarded as an important and influential teacher in multicultural policy, particularly as it applied to languages education in Schools. In the years immediately after the introduction of multiculturalism Smolicz and his associates undertook a number of studies among young people from the Greek community, as well as a number of other ethnic communities.

Two things distinguished the Smolicz investigations from the studies discussed in the section above. The first was that they were carried out in the late 1970’s and early 1980’s, although a number of them were republished in the 1990’s. This was the period when the first generation immigrants were still very active and influential in community and family life, well before most of the other studies considered in this chapter.

The second difference relates to Smolicz’s adoption of the humanistic sociological approach to his investigations. The underlying assumption of this conceptual framework is that individuals are social and cultural beings who create, change and reflect upon the culture of the groups they belong to (as it will be discussed in Chapter 3).

As a result Smolicz’s research tended to focus on experiences and reflections of individuals, particularly young people who found themselves forced to participate in two cultural worlds that of their immigrant parents, on one hand, and that of the school, where the culture of the Anglo-Australian dominant group
prevailed. In the process of interpreting these experiences Smolicz developed the theory of core values to explain why some immigrant communities maintained their languages and cultures more strongly than others (Smolicz, 1979; 1999).

Core Values were defined as the central or key values in the culture of a group. They identified as well as differentiated each cultural group from others, even when the groups were co-existing in the same social and cultural context. (Smolicz, 1981; 1984; 1999). These Core Values are based on other values more flexible and therefore more open to changes which are called Supporting Values. Core values are varying from time to time and from place to place even within the same ethnic group. Smolicz considered that for many groups, their language was a core value of their culture. As Smolicz explained (1999:106)

*Core values help each group to be a distinctive linguistic, ethnic, religious or other cultural community. They can be regarded as one of the most fundamental components of group’s culture.*

When the human actors share the group’s core values and uphold them in their cultural activation, then they demonstrate undeniable membership in the group. On the other hand, rejection of these values can result in exclusion or threat of exclusion from the group. It also needs to be recognised that core values can change as the circumstances of the group changes. Members of the younger generation come to evaluate aspects of their cultural heritage more negatively in the light of new needs and concerns. A community can lose a core value, as its members cease to regard it as important and no longer necessary to define membership of the group. Alternatively, they may consider that it is no longer necessary for them to be members of the group (Smolicz, 1999:107-109).

This can have important implications when language begins to disappear as a core value. By referring to Smolicz’s belief that Greek language is a core value for the Greek Australian ethnic group, we can now –almost a generation later- to agree that
the loss of native tongue –for the language centred cultures-usually heralds a cultural shift to the periphery. Ethnicity may still be maintained by appeal to the group’s folklore, the preservation of the family cohesion and in-group marriage. When such a shift occurs, however the intellectual aspects of culture weaken in later generations. (Smolicz 1999:58)

Core Values theory can be seen to underpin each sample of Smolicz’s research discussed below.


Smolicz wrote up the case study of Jerry in order to help teachers and student teachers understand the situation of children who spoke only the language of their family and community at home, but were confronted with English only at school. His case illustrated the need for migrant children to have a strong command of their mother tongue, in order to become also an adequate user of English. Where the linguistic and pedagogical principle was ignored, the child was likely to be left with inadequate communication skills in both languages.

Smolicz described the feelings of Jerry, the Greek boy, who was withdrawn from Greek language classes, after his teacher suggested to his father that this was not necessary for the boy to successfully gain command English language. In practice, he left school early, because of the learning difficulties he was experiencing in English. As a result of the teacher’s advice, Jerry had been left with incomplete literacy skills in both languages.

Jerry also felt aggrieved at the fact that this handicap in Greek literacy had resulted in his state of semi-lingualism, in the sense that his literacy in English was also gravely suspect. He recalled doing English spelling drill long before he could master it in a spoken language and the seeds of confusion, which this experience sowed (Original research of 1976, reported in Smolicz 1992:27).
This practice of monolingual teachers ignoring the importance of mother tongue in mastering a second language has repeatedly mentioned by many students of the 1960s and 1970s as their experience during their education (Smolicz and Secombe, 1981).

Although Jerry could not write and read in Greek he was not considered illiterate in Greek because he was able to communicate fluently in Greek as an oral language. This was particularly the result of working,

\[... \text{in his father's delicatessen, having left school at fifteen, with English as his weakest subject. He remained proud of the fluency of his spoken Greek, had a strong sense of his Greek-Australian identity, was married to a Greek-Australian girl and worked in the shop with his father, two brothers, sister and brother-in-law. Jerry's family and primary social networks had remained intact - he had merely been rendered illiterate in his mother tongue on the prompting of the mainstream school which had not concerned itself with the cultural transmission of that language but, instead, discouraged it as confusing and unnecessary.} \](Original research of 1976, reported in Smolicz 1992:27).

Jerry could be regarded as semi lingual because his English was every day and conversational as needed for his work, while his Greek was only colloquial. He could not read or write, even in Greek, his strong language. The reason he could function is that his family and primary social networks had remained intact.

Jerry's case could also be used to point to the positive consequences of education systems which found some way to recognise and teach the language of Australia's minority communities. Around the same time that Smolicz was writing Jerry's situation, he was advocating writing university circles for these languages to be included in the year 12 curriculum, as subjects that counted for university entrance. This status was granted to Modern Greek in 1976 (Smolicz 1992:18). This was one of the first steps on the road of making languages education part of the curriculum in all South Australian and
later all Australian schools. In 2012 ACARA selected Greek again to be one of the 12 languages to be taught as a second Language in Government Schools.

When Jerry’s case was interpreted in terms of core values theory, it had important negative implications for the Greek community. Since that the Greek language is a core values of the Greek community, what would be the consequences of many young people of Greek background having similar experiences to Jerry’s in Australian schools? As the young second generation were deprived of developing the full use of the Greek language, there would be a strong likelihood of its core value status and use declining, especially among those who were not, like Jeremy, embedded in the Greek community for work, as well as family life.

2.8.2. Individualism Versus Collectivism in Family life (Smolicz, 1979)

Smolicz in his paper Individualism versus collectivism of 1979 that was republished in the 1999 (p 195), supported the argument that the strict family unity and cohesiveness found in the Greek Family might be connected with the many years of foreign occupation by Turks in the past, that forced the individuals to relay for support and help only to those connected with the family. Smolicz considered that this cohesiveness was the main reason that family could be considered a core value in the Greek migrant community because it is so different from the individualism of the mainstream Anglo-Australian community were like personal growth, individual development, confidence, self-discipline, personal autonomy are highly regarded and taken for granted.

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30 Family and blood connection is highly considered amongst Greeks. Social phenomena like the Italian vendetta are very common in many places in Greece in order to protect the honour and the pride of the family. The extended family unit includes cousins and uncles in a close bond. During times of foreign occupation one could not trust anybody else than family members and often family members were killed to protect other family members in danger from the invaders. Traditional songs commemorating such sacrifice, and folklore stories in the form of fables and tales are part of the Greek cultural tradition.
Smolicz, referring to language centred cultures argued that cultures could not be maintained in their integral form if their core values were lost. If the core value of the collectivist Greek family has altered, then this change could gradually transform the extended and cohesive family into a rather nuclear family with more individualistic characteristics and dreams, as well as expectations that, include individual’s per se and not just members of a family collective. This choice of the social actors to follow Anglo-Australian cultural norms and more individualistic could be, amongst other parameters, one of the reasons the third generation Greeks may be losing their ethnic language, and no longer considering it a core value.

2.8.3. Greek-Australians: A Question of Survival in Multicultural Australia.

(Smolicz and Piesiewicz, 1985; Smolicz, 1999)

Smolicz (1999:200) recognizes that Greeks in Australia have survived because of the three core values being maintained in their community: collective family, language and religion. Specifically he points out

...in addition to family structure, two such core values suggest themselves in the study of Greek life in this country, and they are Greek language and Greek Orthodox religion. A simple test to apply to determine what constitutes such a core is to ask oneself whether one would still be acceptable to the Greek community if one had forsaken one’s family; lost, or never acquired, the ability to use the Greek tongue; or changed one’s religious affiliation to some other faith (Islam, Buddhism, Roman Catholicism, Anglicanism)

These values were seen to be re-enforcing one another. According to Smolicz

Family cohesion helps to preserve both language and religion, while in the absence of the common ethnic tongue, family unity would suffer and church services become less meaningful.

(Smolicz: 1999:201)

Based on his earlier research Smolicz considered that the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia was maintaining “its traditional role as a preserver and marker of language and ethnicity”. (Smolicz: 1980,
1999:203). Clyne (1982) and Tamis (1993:15) however pointed out a religion which is unique to a given group, such as the Greek Orthodox religion, could only help with language maintenance if the church services were conducted in that tongue and if parish activities also provided an avenue for the use of the ethnic language. This latter situation was most often the case in the 1970s and early 1980s, although in the case for the Greek Orthodox faith, the language of the liturgy was ancient and Medieval Greek, not the Modern Greek, which the Greek community used in everyday communication. Apparently this is the reason Religion has stopped being one of the Greek language domains since the liturgy is in English language now (Tamis 2009:26).

2.9. Overview

Almost all the studies published since the mid-1990s and discussed above have pointed to different ways in which cultural attitudes and activation within the Greek community has changed. This reflects the generational changes in the community itself as the immigrant generation declines in numbers and influence; their children as parents take over the leadership roles in the Greek and wider Australian community and the grand children of immigrants proceed to secondary and university studies. The focus of this research is to investigate the extent of maintenance and change in the cultural and linguistic life of the Greek community in Adelaide.

Smolicz’s earlier studies have an important contribution to make this research portfolio. It has provided the method of humanistic sociology which was adopted as the conceptual framework (see following chapter 3) used for the three research projects presented. In addition, the findings from his research in 1970s and early 1980s provided a benchmark in relation to the cultural and linguistic activation and maintenance of core values which can be used in this study to judge the nature and the extent of the change.
CHAPTER 3. HUMANISTIC SOCIOLOGY AS A FRAMEWORK FOR STUDYING GREEK LANGUAGE AND CULTURE MAINTENANCE

3.1. Introduction

This portfolio uses the conceptual framework of Humanistic Sociology, which provides the method of gathering qualitative data from individuals and the concepts for interpreting the data in terms of the essential interaction between the cultural life of the group members. Smolicz and his associates used this humanistic approach with groups of respondents from a number of minority ethnic groups in Australia, including Greek (Smolicz 1979: Smolicz and Secombe 1989: Smolicz 1999). The researcher was introduced to this framework through School of Education courses on multiculturalism and multilingualism in schools, which were taught by Smolicz. The attraction of the framework was its suitability for small scale, in depth investigations and its focus on interpreting all social and cultural activities from the standpoint of the actors themselves, not merely that of the outside observer (Znaniecki, 1963; Smolicz, 1999).

3.2. Humanistic Sociology- Basic Principles

Smolicz and Secombe (2003:53) re-affirmed the basic principle of Humanistic Sociology that cultural phenomena are to be accepted as distinct aspects of reality. For this reason, Humanistic Sociology, as a theoretical framework, can assist the study of cultural phenomena like linguistic pluralism in multicultural societies, through substantiating the way in which human social actions and choices are responsible for the diverse multilingual or multicultural configurations that occur. These personal
choices and actions need to be interpreted from the perspective of those individuals who are actively involved in the cultural context concerned.

Znaniecki, the founder of Humanistic Sociology, had a strongly anti-positivistic approach to the study of cultural and social phenomena, such as the language, insisting that they should be interpreted as an expression of interacting personal and cultural perspectives (Smolicz 2003:60). The main principal of the Humanistic Sociological approach in data collection and analysis of national or ethnic cultural systems, is that cultural values and activities are perceived as facts, just as the human agents accept them. Smolicz points out that Znaniecki insisted on this dependence of culture on the human consciousness (Smolicz 2003:62). Humans consciously support or abandon a cultural concept, depending on whether or not it is seen as useful or needed. Znaniecki (1963:134) considered cultural data as existing in their own right and, since they are the reality for the human agents concerned and can explain the causality of individual social actions and choices, they are in their own way, objective. He insisted on the autonomy of cultural meanings from material objects and subjective mentality, thus separating the cultural from the psychological choices (1963:172-182), Znaniecki urged the researcher who applies the Humanistic Sociological approach to adopt the insider’s view, to offer unconditional positive regard and acceptance of the social actors’ choices and to use the imaginative reconstruction to interpret the actions of research participants.

Humanistic Sociology was used by Smolicz (1977, 1999, 2003) for his research with various groups of respondents concerning their experiences in Australian schools. As reported by Smolicz (1999) Humanistic Sociology has been an ongoing framework for research in Poland, since Znaniecki’s appointment as Professor of Sociology at Poznan in the 1920s. It could be said to have

\textit{reached its apogee in the interwar Polish sociological research, survived communism and is present in Dulczewcki (1986) and Kwilecki’s (1989) work. It was revived and exemplified by Antonina Klokowska in 1993 and 1996, as well Elzbieta Halas (1991, 2000). (Smolicz & Secombe 2003:63)}
Both Klokowska and Halas, as Professors of Sociology in the University of Warsaw have revived in the new millennium and familiarised Global Academia with Znaniecki’s Culturalism and his Humanistic approach to cultural studies (Klokowska 2001; Halas 2006, 2010) and helped to make them relevant to the contemporary global context.

3.3. The Humanistic Coefficient

It is important to point out that humanistic sociology is concerned with cultural phenomena, which are deeply connected with the individual human consciousness. The way human beings perceive specific aspects of their group’s culture, heritage, tradition or simple, everyday life in a given time and context is reflected in their own personal and their group values. Znaniecki pointed out (1963:132) that,

in contrast with the natural scientist, who seeks to discover an order among empirical data entirely independent of conscious human agents, the student of culture seeks to discover any order among empirical data which depends upon conscious human agents, is produced and maintained by them. To perform this task he takes every empirical datum, which he investigates with what we have called its humanistic coefficient, i.e. as it appears to those human individuals who experience it and use it

In other words the researcher who is examining, analysing or interpreting a cultural item or expression of a certain cultural phenomenon like language, religion or tradition, under the prism of Humanistic

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31 Klokowska’s work was translated in English and published by the Central European University Press, moving Humanistic Sociology across Europe and beyond Polish Academia.
32 Halas’ 2010 work on Znaniecki titled “Towards the World Culture Society. Florian Znaniecki’s Culturalism, was published by Peter Lang in Frankfurt. It is part of a book series related to studies in Sociology, a result of Academic collaboration between Institute of Sociology in Poland and the institute of Social Research in Finland, promoting Znaniecki’s Humanistic Sociological approach across all Northern European Community countries.
Sociology, is not trying to be an unbiased and remote observer, but to participate in the phenomenon to the extent of putting herself in the agents’ shoes and understanding the way these human agents are perceiving a certain cultural item, experience or expression. If the researcher who studies a cultural phenomenon is not actually part of the social group that is experiencing this specific phenomenon, and thus able to be a participant observer, capable of recognising and interpreting the consciousness which the respondents have towards the phenomenon, then the researcher has to be open-minded enough to recognise those meanings which differentiate the cultural item as having a specific and significant meaning or value for the one cultural group and not necessarily for another.

3.4. Imaginative Reconstruction and the “Verstehen”

Humanistic sociology aims to analyse and interpret cultural and social phenomena. Amongst the other Humanistic Sociology is focused especially on cultural items such as language, tradition and religion. These human activities and functions are not always tangible or measurable objects. Znaniecki made no attempt to categorize cultural social phenomena statistically. Instead, he used what he termed as ‘the humanistic coefficient’, in other words the choice of the researcher-interpreter to take account of the humanistic factor, by understanding the human actors’ perspective on a certain cultural phenomenon, through the eyes of the actor himself.

Znaniecki’s concern to observe the phenomena being investigated in the form in which they functioned in the human consciousness (Znaniecki, 1963 was based on Weber’s idea of ‘verstehen’- or “imaginative reconstruction” (1963:180-182). This involved understanding the point of view of human actors through the researcher’s empathy with their ideas, beliefs, and cultural choices as expressed in
the course of the investigation. For Znaniecki (1969:134) it was important to clarify that his sociological enquiry was based on the essential autonomy of culture from subjective mentality; yet at the same time it was necessary to recognise the interdependence of the psychological and the cultural perspective.

The challenge for the researcher is to recognise or take account of the possibilities of change, as changing circumstances present the social actors with opportunities to re-assess their options for the context they are in. Such individual choices, if made by many of the individuals in a given group can result in the loss of certain cultural meanings, or the acceptance of new ones. This process is particularly important. As the time passes, and if these changes are opted by the majority of the cultural group then eventually these changes become what Smolicz has termed as “Core Values” either of a group or personal (Smolicz and Piesiewicz 1985:19; Smolicz and Secombe 1989:479).

3.5. Humanistic Sociological Method

In relation to the Humanistic Sociological method, Smolicz & Secombe (2003:67) point out that the approach of using individual memoirs, diaries, letters and personal statements allows the participants to freely express their ideas, thoughts, feelings and aspirations, as well as reflect on actions and situations. In this way the researcher has a direct access to the consciousness of the human actors and can reconstruct their thoughts and ideas, identifying the cultural patterns emerging from their actions and choices and their thoughts and feelings about these.

The method of Humanistic Sociological approach is considered by the researcher as the most appropriate to investigate in depth what was happening to the language and cultural maintenance within the Greek community of South Australia from the perspective of community members and in

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33 For the researcher who is interpreting cultural and concrete data according to Humanistic Sociological framework the human actor/participant in the research at the time of observation is the representative, the agent of the culture at that specific point of the cultural continuum and every choice he is making with regards to a specific cultural phenomenon results in enhancing or hindering it.
terms of both their attitudes and actions. Earlier researchers discussed the situation of the Greek language and culture in South Australia (Tsounis 1974, Tamis 1993, 1997, 2001, Papademetre and Routoulas 2001) had used research designs that either utilised quantitative data or in case of using qualitative approach the focus of their research was linguistic. The researcher of this portfolio of research was eager to identify attitudes and shifts in group values the way Humanistic Sociological approach to qualitative data appeared to be the most appropriate, especially since the topic involved cultural dynamics influencing linguistic transmission and transference in a multicultural context.

Znaniecki considered that Humanistic Sociological analysis required to sorts of data. The first was what he called concrete data, meaning objective, factual information about the individuals who participated in the research. Concrete data (Smolicz 1981, 1999:163) could include personal details of gender, date and place of birth, plus date of arrival in Australia (where relevant), level of education, marital status and information about family background and languages and cultural patterns actually used in everyday life. Current context of work and family life would also be required. Such details were needed so that the researcher could understand who the respondents were, their stage of life and their current circumstances.

The second sort of information which is vital for Humanistic Sociology is what Znaniecki (1963:131-133) called cultural data. There were the respondents’ own expressions of their thoughts, feelings and reflections on their situation and their actions within it. These are most often expressed in personal terms, with the use of first person pronouns, in statements like, “what I think is…”; “my greatest fear is…”; “I dream of being able to …”. In order to use humanistic sociology as a method of analysis, the researcher needs access to both these sorts of data, either by means of existing documents like letters or memoirs, or through collecting them through questionnaires, personal statements or interviews.

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34 Papademetre and Routoulas (2001)
Concrete data can be gathered through specific and direct questions to elicit the details needed. Cultural data are best gathered through individual responses to broad open-ended questions, where the respondents are left free to respond in the way they feel is the most appropriate. This can be achieved either through interviews or through a questionnaire with broadly written open-ended questions that prompt thinking and space left for the participants to write their responses. These statements are assumed to be authentic (unless they can be shown to be otherwise) and able to be used for analysis based on imaginative reconstruction, taking into account the known concrete facts about the participants and their contexts.

This Humanistic Sociological approach to gathering and analysing data was followed in the research for this portfolio. More specific details are given in chapter 4, outlining the research method used in the portfolio, and in the discussion of the particular investigation carried out in each research project.
This portfolio investigation into the maintenance of Greek language and culture in Australia was based on the humanistic sociological tradition of data collection and interpretation, as outlined in chapter 3. In this sense it can be described as a comparatively small however in depth investigation of a specific set of respondents; 296 students studying Greek at four secondary schools in Adelaide; 33 of their parents and all eleven of their teachers. This chapter discusses the research method and process for the portfolio as a whole. It outlines the overall aims, the data collection methods employed, the process of collecting data and the approach of data analysis and interpretation used in all three projects. Further details of the research methods and analysis which are specific to the particular investigation being presented are given in each of the three research projects that follow (Part II, III and IV of the portfolio).

4.1. Aims of the Research Portfolio

The research projects in this portfolio were designed to follow up earlier research findings, of Smolicz\textsuperscript{35} Tamis and Papademetre\textsuperscript{36}, in particular, among respondents of the Adelaide Greek community in the first decade of the twenty first century.

Thus the research portfolio overall aimed to find out firstly how far the participants in this study—especially the student participants, through their attitudes and social actions,

- Regarded the Greek language as a core value for their community as was the case in the 1970s, 1980s and up to early 1990s;

\textsuperscript{35} Smolicz's research on the Adelaide Greek community was mainly conducted in the mid-1970s up to mid-1980s especially in first generation Greek origin migrants or the second generation university students of that period.

\textsuperscript{36} The related to this thesis research by Smolicz, Tamis and Papademetre has been presented as literature review in chapter 2.
Conversely, had shifted into using the language and culture of the mainstream Anglo-Australian group; and in any of these cases

Considered themselves to be Greek in any way; and

To what extent they activated their Greek cultural value system.

In the second place, the aim was to find out to what extent

Parental aspirations, and

The opportunity to learn Greek at school were contributing to the maintenance of Greek language and culture in the experience, the feelings, the mindset and the social behaviours of the respondents.

4.2. Data Collection Methods and Research Process

In relation to the portfolio as a whole, four main research questions guided the creation of the questionnaire and interview questions and hence the data collection and analysis of the data from the members of the Adelaide Greek community who participated in this study.

These were derived directly from the overall aims of the research outlined above.

1. What was the extent of Greek language and culture maintenance in terms of the respondents’
   a. Cultural activation
   b. Language use
   c. Attitudes -current and future- to Greek language and culture?

2. How did respondents see their own sense of identity –Greek, Greek-Australian, Australian-Greek or Australian?

3. To what extent was the students’ learning of Greek at school supported and encouraged by parents?-according to statements of parents themselves and as both teachers and students saw these aspirations.
4. To what extent was the teaching and learning of Greek at school contributing to the maintenance of the Greek language in Adelaide?

5. To what extent was the teaching and learning of Greek at school contributing to the maintenance of the Greek culture according to the experience, the feelings, the mindset and the social behaviours of the respondents.

Three different methods of data collection were used to gather the information needed to answer these research questions: questionnaires; interviews and participant observation\(^\text{37}\). The inclusion of these three sources of data was a means of triangulating these qualitative data and improving their reliability and validity. Mertens (2005:235) considers that triangulation is a qualitative cross-validation since it is the part of data collection that cuts across two or more techniques or resources. So the specific research intended to use and more than one level of analysis from three principal levels (individual, groups, and society) using more than one data sources and this is the reason Students, Parents and Teachers were asked to participate. To comply with humanistic sociology the data through Questionnaires, included the kind of data humanistic sociology considers Concrete data and they are presented in the form of descriptive statistics with some basic use of SPSS.

In the case of the questionnaires, separate survey forms were developed for each of the three sets of participants. Although the information gathered was basically the same from each group, there were variations in the way questions were worded, and in the specific details sought, in order to make them

\(^{37}\) Mertens (2005:248) implies that partly because of familiarity with education, researches tend to see themselves as key informants. If this is the case, the fact the researcher is an insider, could be a reason for concern since as participant observer the researcher may be tempted to be biased. After all this is the point of a valid research: to recognize and eliminate any potentially biased perspective and find the necessary documentation for the situation to be researched. Bringing bias into open can achieve a certain degree of objectivity for the research. That is why it is recommended to use several different sources and sufficient evidence that will allow the reader to see how the researcher reached the conclusions and even better to let the reader possibly to develop an alternative interpretation. To comply with this need, Qualitative research and humanistic tradition sometimes is forced to prove that data collected, methods used for that collection and the persons who are analysing and finally interpreting them are adequate and the research as well as the methods are reliable and valid, using specific scientific techniques. The researcher of this study attempts to map on the richness and the complexity of human behaviour, by studying more than one point.
more appropriate and effective in gathering the desired information. Following the humanistic sociological principles, outlined in chapter 3, each questionnaire was in two parts. Part A gathered concrete data concerning the respondents age, gender, school attended, family members and type of family (nuclear or extended), language spoken at home and information on parental and maternal level of education and professional engagement. Part B consisted of open-ended questions in which the respondents were encouraged to explain their views and experiences in relation to the issues raised. The responses to the questions provided the cultural data for the researcher to analyse. Copies of the three Questionnaires created can be assessed in Appendix 1 for students, Appendix 2 for parents and Appendix 3 for teachers.

Interviews were used as a second way of gathering data. They were intended for two specific purposes. Respondents during the interview could be prompted and provide more information compared to answering a questionnaire. Secondly, the researcher wished to have the chance to clarify and extend further the information provided in the questionnaires for those willing to be involved in a follow-up interview. The questionnaire form provided at the end an opportunity to indicate whether the participant would be prepared to be interviewed at a convenient date to be arranged.

Interviews took place after the collection of the questionnaire data. They were arranged in a place and at a time convenient to the participant and the researcher—especially during the period after 2006 and till 2010 when the researcher was employed by the Coober Pedy Area School and the Port Augusta Senior Secondary School. Once the answers the participants wrote in the questionnaires were studied and partially analysed, during the interviews the researcher followed these questions, in a confirming and verifying way. So they were asked again in a more flexible and open-ended way in some cases rephrased to allow the researcher to follow up issues raised in the questionnaire responses and probe more deeply issues that needed greater understanding.
The researcher complied with the ethics principals applicable to interviewing. The participants in interviews were offered access to a draft interpretation, had the right to check the interpretations, became aware of the critical comments related to their interview and were offered the option to disagree with the interpretation given as Mertens suggests (2005:239).

The third source of data was the researcher herself as a participant observer. The investigator and researcher was a native Greek language teacher who had migrated to Australia. She could be regarded as an insider who participated in the life of the Greek community in Adelaide, where she had many friends and contacts. Yet she also had the experience of growing up and working in Greece, which gave her a rather different perspective on the Adelaide community and its Greek cultural patterns. In particular she had personal experience of teaching Greek in South Australia, in a variety of contexts. For seven years before undertaking this research, she taught Greek language and culture in both government and private schools at all levels.

The researcher’s participant observation data were most useful not so much in providing new data, as in confirming and verifying data collected from the other sources. It was also invaluable in interpreting data, particularly in understanding the full significance of respondent’s statements in the Greek linguistic and cultural context.

The process of collecting data began with the procedures needed to gain approval to carry out the research. After approval from the University of Adelaide Graduate Centre (see Appendix B), the researcher needed to gain access to state schools to commence the research. A Research Project Description and an Impact Statement (see Appendix A) was lodged with the research unit of the Department of Education of SA38. Similar approval was sought from the Board of the St George College. Once the approval from the Education Department was granted, the Principals of the State

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38 At the time the Department of Education was called Department of Education and Children Services (DECS). Currently it is called Department of Education and Child Development (DECD)
mainstream Schools were approached to give their consent (see Appendix C). Once this was granted the Greek language teachers in the schools were asked to help in distributing the questionnaires.

The research initially required the researcher to address students and teaching staff to explain what participating in the research involved. Students, their Parents and Teachers were being asked to answer a questionnaire in two parts: one concerning their background and the other seeking their personal views on issues related to Greek language and culture as they see it while living in Adelaide South Australia. If they wished, the respondents could provide their names and a contact number to the researcher so that a follow-up interview could be arranged to cover any problematic areas.

The questionnaires for students and parents were distributed to the students by the Greek language teachers. In addition to the Questionnaires a package contained an information sheet for students (see Appendix D) and for parents (see Appendix F), together with consent forms which needed to be signed by all respondents. Lastly the package contained a stamped address envelope for returning the questionnaires and the consent forms. This procedure ensured anonymity and confidentiality and free-will answer.

In relation to the interviews, the researcher arranged times for group or individual interviews as they were requested. These were generally arranged at school for students and teachers. In cases of the parents agreeing to be interviewed students and parents were interviewed separately during a home visit by the researcher.

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39 Teachers were asked to remind students occasionally about returning the questionnaires. Overall, the research anticipated that the Greek language teachers’ involvement in the research administration would involve less than an hour of their time.
In relation to ethics considerations, anonymity and confidentiality of information was ensured by the researcher. The questionnaire asked for no names, except in the case of those who were willing to be interviewed. Furthermore the questionnaires were collected through return mail to a general university address. Where a personal contact for interviews was made, it was always with the participants’ informed consent. The researcher personally in accordance with the Code of Research Practice of the University of Adelaide, ensured that no names were used and no given information was disclosed that could possibly identify the participant. In addition, all the personal statements and the interview transcripts were held securely and accessed only by the researcher’s University supervisors and the researcher herself during the research period.

4.3. Research Participants

This research portfolio specifically targets secondary school students studying Greek. Students of secondary rather than primary level were chosen as the main respondents because of their larger experience of being part of the Adelaide Greek community and greater exposure to learning Greek at schools. In addition, their capacity to respond to the questionnaire was presumed to be more developed. These third and fourth generation Australians of Greek origin, were choosing to attend Greek classes during their secondary education. It is logical to argue that the third generation Australians of Greek origin would be more influenced and assimilated to the life and cultural context in which they were born and brought up, namely the Australian: However the author’s personal observations as a participant observer in teaching Greek language in the Australian educational system indicated that those who attended Greek classes were still proud of being Greeks, maintained the Greek flair, and identified themselves more as Greek Australians rather than Australians.

The research also sought views of their parents endeavouring to identify the degree to which their parents, the former advocates of a pluralist society, were eager for their offspring to maintain their
ethnic identity, or whether they no longer demonstrated any interest on the issue. Marjoribanks (1980) had shown –with regards to some other cultural contexts- that parents of the next generation played a very significant role in the cultural and family capital they transferred to their offspring. How far did this parental involvement, through parental choices and aspirations for their children’s educational and cultural identity, contribute to the maintenance or decline of the Greek language and culture in the third and fourth generation?

The third group of participants was made up of those who taught the students Greek. It was important to ascertain the views of the teachers and understand and thus analyse their perspectives, thoughts, concerns and apprehensions about their role in teaching Greek. They were also in a good position to evaluate the level of achievement which their current students were able to reach in Greek, especially those who had little or no exposure to the Greek language at home. Last but not least teachers were able to provide evidence on the role of educational policy changes and the impact it had on the teaching of Greek in the secondary schools.

Table 1 (please see on page 14, Chapter 1.5) shows the distribution of the three sets of participants across the four schools. The majority of the student respondents (214) came from the three state schools specialised in language teaching. The remaining 82 came from the independent St George College. The response rate among the students’ parents was quite low, resulting in only 33 parents from the 296 students choosing to respond (11.6%). The greater number (23) came from the three state schools, with only ten St George College parents responding.

In the case of the teachers, all the Greek language teachers in the four schools were participants. The fact that five out of the eleven came from St George College was indicative of the fact that Greek was compulsory subject at the College, up to and including year 10.
The procedure of collecting data on the same questions from three different sets of respondents was adopted as an important means of triangulating the data (in addition to the use of the three methods). Triangulation is a recognised way of crosschecking data. Miles and Huberman, (1984: 235) claimed that

*If the researcher self-consciously sets out to collect and double-check findings using multiple sources and methods, verification itself is built into the data gathering process.*

### 4.4. Methods of Data Analysis

The qualitative studies based on Humanistic Sociological principles with quantitative dimensions through descriptive statistics supported by basic use of SPSS as is used in the current folio of researches focus on interpreting data from the perspective of the participants and the analysis of data becomes rather a documentary. The researcher seeks to allow the evidence from the responses to speak for itself. Nevertheless the researcher needs to classify and group the data for interpretation and to ensure that all the diverse views expressed are adequately presented.

The concrete data (Smolicz And Secombe 1981:27) on personal details, family background and language usage were summarised in tables. Some quantitative measures such as percentages and proportions were calculated and presented as bar charts on pie diagrams, using simple Excel and SPSS in few cases of cross tabulation of data. In the presentation of results in Parts II, III and IV these are referred as the Quantitative results. However, no statistical calculations, designed to test an hypothesis concerning the relationships between background variable and linguistic and cultural maintenance were used. Rather the concrete data were used to understand who the participants were and what their family and community context was, in order to better understand the cultural data they provided.
In the case of the cultural data (Znaniecki, 1963:134. Smolicz, 1981:28; 1999:285), the main approach was to group the comments made to show the range of responses to a given question. This inductive analysis (Znaniecki, 1963:133. Smolicz, 1999:282) was presented in two ways, following the pattern adopted in earlier humanistic Sociological studies in South Australia (Smolicz and Secombe, 1981; 1989; Hudson, 1995; Secombe, 1997). The overall pattern of responses for a given set of respondents was summarised in table, using percentages where appropriate. Examples of the range of responses were then given as direct quotations from the participants and interpreted in terms of the conceptual framework of the humanistic sociology and the findings from previous research.

By this means, the full range of responses to a given question are presented, and it is immediately clear whether it represented a distinctive personal response, whether it was shared by a given gender, or age group, or whether it was common to all, on the great majority of the respondents. Moreover, the evidence of the responses given is made directly available to readers, so that they are in a position to make their own judgements on the issue.

4.5. Limitations of the Research Portfolio

This research portfolio targeted a very specific group of respondents-young people of Greek background who were studying Greek at four Adelaide schools, their parents and their teachers. It thus excluded many other young people and parents of Greek background in Adelaide, as well as in the regional areas of South Australia, who were not studying Greek. Another limitation was the fact that although data were gathered from Ethnic Greek schools data from these schools are not reported in this dissertation since the final decision was to report those schools where the follow up interview stage was possible and finalised. A further limitation was the fact that no data were gathered from other Greek communities in Australia. The researcher endeavoured to research the situation of the Greek language with metropolitan Adelaide and understand the standing point of those students who specifically chose
to enrol in Greek classes at secondary level. The reason behind this choice was that this group of respondents was assumed to have a positive attitude towards the maintenance of the Greek language and culture, simply based on their action of opting to enrol in Greek classes.

This research is also limited in the sense that since it was designed for the group of respondents described above and seeking to understand their views and attitudes, it is logical to understand that the findings are limited to all those people of Greek background who participated in this research and further longitudinal and more extended research is required to generalise the findings beyond this set of participants.

In addition, the factual information gathered has not been calculated statistically to give significant relationships and correlations between the factors related to language or culture maintenance and decline. Again this is a focus of another study. Rather this information has been used as concrete data in the human sociological analysis of the cultural data, which consists of the participant’s own thoughts, views and expressions.

The researcher is keen to continue the research related to the Greek language and further investigation will be based on substantial statistical analysis, in an effort to verify the types of cultural activation and the traits she has identified via this approach in the Adelaide Greek community and that will be further discussed in chapter 17.

Despite its limitations, the humanistic sociological framework and research method did provide the possibility of gaining and in-depth understanding of the experiences, feelings, attitudes and perspectives of the 11 teachers, 33 parents and 294 students who took part in the study.

In the next chapter it will be presented how the three research components of this portfolio are conceptually connected.
CHAPTER 5. HOW THE PORTFOLIO OF RESEARCH IS CONCEPTUALLY CONNECTED

In this portfolio the researcher is presenting three separate research studies to fulfil the requirements of the Doctor of Education degree at the Adelaide University. These conceptually connected researches investigate the Greek language education that is offered in South Australia with regards to its contribution to the maintenance or not of the Greek ethnic culture, language and identity. The Greek language teaching and learning that is offered today in South Australia is guided by the State’s Curriculum Framework and it is linked to the specific language curriculum which is the same for all the Schools that teach Greek language regardless of whether they are state, Independent or schools governed by the Ethnic Schools Board.

All three studies in this research portfolio are based on the assumption that the maintenance of the Greek language by the third generation Greeks in South Australia does not rely solely upon the education system, although there is significant merit to its contribution. The other significant factor which contributes in such maintenance is the ‘family capital’, the effort parents put on the issue and parental aspirations with respect to the maintenance of the Greek linguistic and cultural tradition by their children. And of course the personal disposition and the choices of the human actors themselves.

The three studies, labelled Research Project 1, 2 and 3 are conceptually connected in that all are based on humanistic sociological principles and use the same method of gathering and analysing data.

The three studies were conducted solely in South Australia and the findings of this research portfolio refer to secondary schools teaching Greek in Metropolitan South Australia. Across all three studies conducted, the target groups were related High School students who chose to take Greek language
classes as part of their formal secondary education, their parents and their teachers. All the targeted
groups were either first generation migrants or the children or grandchildren of migrants, who at the
time they participated in the data collection process, expected to live in Australia for the remainder of
their lives. Based on the periods of Greek migration waves to Australia the majority of the student
cohort was expected to belong to the third or even fourth generation of Greeks living in Australia. The
distinctive characteristic of all those who participated in the research, compared to other students of
Greek origin, was that they were actively engaged either in the learning and/or the teaching of the
Greek language, or facilitating this process. All student groups were attending Greek language lessons,
either by own choice, or because it was enforced by their parents.

5.1. Initial Structure of Portfolio

In the initial stages of the research, the planned structure of the portfolio was to group together parents,
teachers and students from these different learning communities.

Project 1 initially was planned to include students, parents and Greek language teachers of St. George
College, the only independent Greek High and Senior High School in South Australia, which was
established to maintenance and promote of the Greek language, Cultural Tradition, Ethos and Greek
Orthodox Religion.

The second research project was to investigate respondents engaged in the teaching/learning of the
Greek language within the state schools that had a special language focus, namely Adelaide High
School, Norwood-Morialta High School, and Unley High School. Students were able to enrol in these
schools, regardless of where they lived, should they wish to pursue Greek language classes. Greek
origin students were enticed to these schools because of the language offered. At the same time their
parents and Greek language teachers were strongly engaged in committees supporting the teaching and learning of Greek language and consequently culture and tradition.

In the last project it was proposed to gather data from the teachers, students and parents taught the Greek language in all the other state and ethnic schools. In this category were state schools scattered across metropolitan Adelaide, which offered Greek language in their curriculum, subject to on-going demand for the course. Ethnic schools were also to be included in the third study. These Schools are governed by the Ethnic Schools Board (ESB), which is under the umbrella of the South Australian Education Department and complies completely with the framework and requirements of the Year 12 South Australian Certificate of Education.

5.2 Final Research Portfolio Structure

To take account of school contexts and personal circumstances, parallel to the unexpected death of two consecutive principal supervisors Prof. J.J. Smolicz and Prof. K. Marjoribanks, the period of data collection for this longitudinal research, was considerably extended. It became necessary with the support of the last principal supervisor Dr M.J Secombe to review the structure of the portfolio in the light of the educational changes which had occurred over the period. Many schools had stopped offering Greek due to the constant decline in students' numbers, or because of education policy changes that forced principals of State schools to ‘drop’ the Greek language, in favour of other languages more in demand or the Austrade languages as Tamis has observed happening across Australia. (2001: 55-58). So the initial portfolio 3 was not possible to be presented with credible and generalizable data.

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40 As introduced in section 1.5, the original intention to include Ethnic schools in the research was frustrated due to the decline in student numbers and closure of few schools included in the original project 3.
The other two categories of schools, however maintained the continuity of teaching the Greek language. The current portfolio is therefore focused on respondents from the Independent school, St George College, and from Specialist State language schools that offer Greek language classes which attract Greek origin students from all over Metropolitan Adelaide -Adelaide HS, Norwood Morialta HS and Unley HS.

The focus of each of the Research Projects has also been modified.

Project 1 reports the investigation of parents' aspirations and the views of Greek language teachers from all the above mentioned schools. The parents and the teachers' responses were linked on the grounds that they represent the older, antecedent generation.

Project 2 presents the research data related to the attitudes of those students who choose to attend St George College, while Project 3 reports the study of student attitudes among those choosing to attend the three State Schools that offer Greek Language classes -Adelaide HS, Norwood Morialta HS and Unley HS.

The research portfolio now moves to the presentation in Part II of the comparative investigation of parents and teachers from St George College and their counterparts in three State schools that still offer Greek as language specialised schools.
PART II: RESEARCH PROJECT 1.

A COMPARATIVE INVESTIGATION OF PARENTAL ASPIRATIONS AND TEACHER’S APPREHENSIONS

CHAPTER 6. AIMS AND METHODS OF PROJECT 1

6.1 The Targeted Respondents

The first research project in this portfolio investigating the teaching and learning of Greek in Adelaide secondary schools was focused on parents and teachers. These were specifically the parents and teachers of students who were learning Greek as part of the curriculum in the schools they were attending. Two types of school were involved; one independent College established by a local Parish of the Greek Orthodox Church and three state secondary schools. As indicated in 1.5 and in chapter 4 parents and teachers were targeted because of their potential to influence the students in their learning of Greek.

Teachers may be regarded for the majority of the students as the exclusive contributors in transferring Modern Greek language in its standard written and oral form to the younger generation, as trained teaching the language at University level. The nature and scope of what the students will taught was determined by the relevant syllabus documents. In years 8-10 the syllabus determined by the school concerned, within the South Australian Curriculum Standards and Accountability (SACSA) language
guidelines and Framework under the Australian National Curriculum (ACARA) guideline. At year 11 and 12 levels, the Greek language syllabus was determined by the South Australian Certificate of Education (SACE) requirements. Yet it was the teacher who actually organised the lessons and resources, conducted the classes, interacted with the students on a day to day basis and assessed the level of their achievement. In this sense, teachers were the real agents of Greek linguistic and cultural propagation and transmission

The parents were the ones who made the decision to send their sons and daughters to secondary schools where the Greek language was taught. Not only was it a regular subject in the school curriculum, but it could also be continued though to year 12 as SACE subject which counted toward university entrance. The parents in this study had chosen to send their children either to the Greek Independent College, St George, or to one of the three state high schools –Adelaide HS, Norwood Morialta HS or Unley HS-, which specialised in languages.

The parents involved in this research have chosen to activate their own cultural and linguistic heritage and their teen children attitude to their own ethnic identity were therefore influenced. Thus this parental choice to send their children to Greek classes needed to be investigated. There were at least two other options available to parents. They could have decided to send their child to a school which did not offer Greek language they considered it was not important for their child to learn Greek. Alternatively, they could have decided it was better for their child to learn Greek outside normal school hours in an Ethnic School, which was controlled by the Greek community and usually the local Parish41. However the choice of a daily school that offers Greek potentially can influence students linguistically and culturally.

41 Both these options are not considered as related to this Portfolio of researches, thus they will not be discussed.
Like adolescents generally, the students were quick to recognise what really mattered to their parents and to their teachers. It was important therefore to better understand the nature and extent of parents and teacher’s influence.

6.2 Aims of Project

The project aimed first to gather concrete data for the parent and teacher participants concerning

- Their background details (birthplace, migration period, education and occupation etc)
- Who made up their family circle and the patterns of language used within it.
- Their wider social circle and associated language patterns.

These concrete data would help to establish the life experience of the parents and teachers and the social and cultural groups they belonged to.

A second aim was to allow the teachers and parents to express their thoughts and feelings about the teaching of Greek to the younger generation and how important they considered this to be.

The intention was to use these two sorts of data alongside one another to better understand what the Greek language meant to the participants and how this reflected on the life of the Greek families concerned. In particular, the investigation aimed to see whether there was any evidence of a shift in attitude to the Greek language as the current generation of parents and teachers adjusted to realities of life in the twenty first century. If changes in the core value status of the Greek language were apparent among the Greek Australian community in Adelaide, it was important to understand why this was occurring.

In order to interpret the extent of any such changes, a comparative dimension was added to the research design. Comparisons were to be made between the parents and the teachers’ data. In
addition, the data from the two types of schools were to be compared: parental data from the independent college compared to those from the state school parents; and teachers’ data from the independent college compared to those of the state schools.

6.3 Methods of Data Collection

The data from the teachers and parents of students learning Greek in Adelaide secondary schools were collected in three main ways. This multi-method approach was used partly as outcome of the two different sorts of data – concrete and cultural – which researchers in the humanistic sociological tradition need in order to understand the actions and attitudes of the participants in the phenomenon being investigated, that is in the teaching and learning of Greek in Adelaide secondary schools.

Use of multiple methods was also an important way to introduce triangulation into the research design. Mertens (2005:248) argued that adopting a triangulation approach that is gathering data on the topic under investigation in more than one way or form, and from more than one source, provided an important means of cross-validating data in qualitative research. The importance of this for verifying research findings was explained by Miles and Huberman, (1984: 235).

*If the researcher self-consciously sets out to collect and double-check findings using multiple sources and methods, verification itself is built into the data gathering process.*

In this project data were gathered from both teachers and parents. Moreover, three different methods were used to collect the data. The first was through quantitative type questions in Part A of the parents and teachers’ Questionnaires (see Appendices G and I respectively). Each question provided a range of possible answers from which participants had to circle one. This is a particular appropriate means of gathering what humanistic sociology calls concrete data information on participants’ age, place of
birth, date of migration, level of education and occupation\textsuperscript{42}. For this project information on family structure and wider social circle, as well as language use with different individuals was also sought.

The second means of data gathering was the inclusion in the Part B of parents and teachers’ questionnaires, in form of open-ended questions to which participants were asked to reply in their own words, giving their own thoughts and feelings about their experiences related to the issues raised. In this project, the parent and teacher participants were asked their views on issues related to the teaching and learning of Greek, as well as their feelings about their Greek heritage and identity while being part of the Australian society. These written responses provided important insights into the author’s taken for granted cultural attitudes and what they give higher priority to, as well as those aspects they were uncertain about and those which they actually oppose.

There is a third source of data which needs to be explicitly acknowledged. The researcher also held the role of participant observer in the teaching of Greek in South Australian secondary schools. As the Greek language teacher appointed by the Greek government to South Australia, under a special agreement of the Greek and South Australian Departments of Education in order to support teaching and learning Greek in independent, state and ethnic schools across South Australia. In the early years of the research, she knew well all the schools and teachers involved in the teaching of Greek. In this role, she even delivered by distance education (utilising videoconferencing and online delivery) a Greek-English bilingual program to High school students in a remote South Australian area School\textsuperscript{43}. Subsequently she became a teacher in the state school system, teaching not only Greek but other subjects.

\textsuperscript{42} All these could be considered the variables in a statistical analysis approach.

\textsuperscript{43} The Researcher delivered the Coober Pedy Area School Greek bilingual program from 1997-2001 as seconded by the Greek Government teacher in face to face, online and dual mode. For the purposes of the research she opted to be appointed again to CPAS on 2006 this time employed by the South Australian Education Department.
Because of these roles, the researcher was able to add a folkloric and ethnographic dimension to the data collected. Her knowledge of the Greek language syllabus and pedagogical approaches, her familiarity with the South Australian context of teaching Greek, her personal contact with many of the teachers and some parents provided a source of detailed information and understanding of the Greek language learning context, which complemented and extended the information provided by the participants. Much of this personal knowledge of the research was able to be fed into the analysis and interpretation of data to provide a greater depth of insight and understanding.

Some commentators on educational research view with suspicion a researcher who retains the ethnographic role of a teacher, especially during the data collection period when the teacher is the participant observer in the classroom, the field of data collection. Mertens (2005) considered that such ‘insider’ knowledge generated sympathies or potential biases, which were in conflict with the supposed objective standpoint required for educational research that could be considered scientifically acceptable. In his view, participant observers as researchers were tempted to be biased and needed to adopt strategies to ensure that their interpretations were clearly based on evidence from the data and convincing to the readers. It should be even possible for the readers to develop alternative interpretations of their own.

Humanistic sociology, however, adopts a more positive approach to participant observers in research. Since the aim is to interpret data from the perspective of the respondents, and to understand how and why they think and act as they do44 --, researchers who have actually experienced the phenomenon under investigation are seen as having an advantage. They have the humanistic coefficient, they are able to appreciate aspects of the context referenced to, understand nuisances of remarks and interpret

44 when the researcher is able to demonstrate Weber’s “Verstehen” concept and even empathy
particular actions of participants—with the insider’s advantage—to give a depth of understanding not possible for researchers who have no personal experience of the phenomenon.

However it is important the readers understand the position of the researcher vis-à-vis (or in relation) to the data.

The researcher in the present study participated in the Greek cultural maintenance process in South Australia both as a teacher and as a parent. However her upbringing and education in Greece up to the level of a university graduate resulted in native speaker competence in Greek language and a strong commitment to the language as the indivisible and inseparable part of the Greek cultural heritage, and at times the driving force in the maintenance of the Greek cultural tradition. For her the Greek language was not only a means of education, communication and knowledge, but also a core value interconnected and interrelated with the historicity of Greek culture over the last 4000 years. Hence her interest in investigating whether the Greek community in South Australia, whose culture has survived elsewhere in Diaspora, according to Smolicz (Smolicz 1976, 1982, 1999) because of its linguistic, religious and family values, is beginning to shift away from the Greek language.

6.3.1. Data Collection Procedures

In order to obtain the necessary approval, to enter the three schools for data collection the researcher lodged with the Education Department of SA research unit a “Research project description and an Impact Statement” (Appendix A). The same approval was asked from the Board of St George College. Once approval was granted, the Principals of the State Schools offering Greek were approached to give their consent. Then the Greek language teachers in these schools were contacted and asked to help in distributing the questionnaires to the students and to parents via the students. Sometimes the teachers were approached first and they were able to help the researcher in gaining the principal’s approval.
In all four schools the researcher initially addressed students and teaching staff to explain what she was asking from them. Information letters were distributed to students, explaining the scope and the reason of the research, and requesting parental signed permission to participate in the research. (Appendix D). At the same time all students were given a similar letter (Appendix F) for their parents in case they wanted to participate in the research. Appendix H provides a comparable letter distributed to the teachers. The teacher and parent letters included a consent form (Appendix J) which needed to be signed by those willing to participate. In the same letter parents and teachers were asked if they would consider to give their personal details in order to be contacted in person by the researcher for interviews and –if need be- follow up meetings to cover any areas of concern or needing clarification. The questionnaires (Appendix G for Parents and Appendix I for teachers) were distributed at the same time with the information letters allowing parents to ignore the request or respond and participate. As an alternative to writing the answers the respondents were offered the choice of discussing the whole questionnaire with the researcher in the form of an interview. All he teacher participants (n=11) opted the interview option since the contact with the researcher was continuous and in person. From the total number (n=33) of parents respondents from all four schools, 5 completed and sent the questionnaires without any further contact details, 10 completed the questionnaires and gave personal details for further contact –if needed- and 18 opted the direct contact, throughout the length of the research.

The respondents were asked to return the questionnaire and signed consenting to be contacted form to the researcher via the University of Adelaide mail. This method ensured the randomness in the selection of the participants and allowed unconstrained answers and anonymity –if that was the choice of the participant. It was clarified to the participants that confidentiality will be maintained and no personal information that could identify the respondent will be published.

In the case of the parents (28/33) and the teachers (11/11) who accept to be interviewed, the researcher arranged group or individual interviews as needed. Parents were interviewed in one to one
interviews or follow up meetings as needed, over almost 6 years. This allowed for the development of a warm relationship and deep understanding of the changing needs of the participants and their families. A minimal time was necessary for the initially participated language teachers since from the onset to the end of the research process many of the teachers retired or ceased to teach Greek due to policy changes or dropping of languages as a favorite subject.

Where a personal contact was a participant’s choice, always with his or her informed consent, the researcher strictly followed the Code of Research Practice of the University of Adelaide. No names were used and no personal information was disclosed that could possibly identify the participant. Furthermore all the personal statements and the interview transcripts were held securely and accessed only by the researcher’s University supervisors and the researcher herself.

In all 82 parent questionnaires were distributed at St Georges and another 214 at the three state schools combined. The analytical presentation below depicts the number of parents and teachers who returned the questionnaires and participated in the data collection process from both school contexts (Independent and State).

- Teachers & Parents of St George College N=15. {Total students N=82}
  - PARENTS N=10 Interviewed N=8
  - TEACHERS N=5 Interviewed N=5

- Teachers & Parents of State schools N=29. {Total students N=214}
  - PARENTS N=23 Interviewed N=20
  - TEACHERS N=6 Interviewed N=6

The comparatively low response rate in both contexts may perhaps be explained by the fact that students misplaced, lost or never gave the questionnaires to parents or in case parents received the questionnaires they decided not to participate as often is the case of people asked to spend a lot of
their time to fill a tedious and demanding questionnaire as it is the one distributed. Those parents who responded according to their anecdotal statements had to spend almost 1-2 hours to finish the survey like and open ended questions. The participants who opted to be interviewed also commented that they commenced answering and because they were not sure if they cover the questions appropriately decided to revel themselves and participate in the follow up interviews. All of them commented they did so because they thought it would be easier for them to express their feelings orally and give their feeling and their experience in vivo. Amongst the comments of the respondents was the fact they were embarrassed to respond in English about their Greek heritage. The researcher may assume therefore –based on similar comments- that some parents may have chosen not to respond because they felt embarrassed not been able to communicate in standard Greek with the researcher being native Greek language speaker. Another argument favoring this assumption is that all parents responded and interviewed in English. The way the qualitative data were collected may be considered ineffective or unrepresentative of the whole population and may rise comments on the reliability of the research and the possible biased sample for those used to quantitative and maybe some qualitative research. It is important to clarify however that for Humanistic Sociological approach, where every action has a cultural meaning the fact that some parents decided not to respond is indicative of a certain attitude towards maintaining the Greek language and culture. It would cancel the very principal of voluntarily participation if the researcher somehow was trying to interfere in an effort to have a more representative sample. Humanistic Sociology for example considers important and indicative of a cultural statement and not as a disadvantage also the fact that 9 out of 10 parents in St George parent sample are females. It demonstrates that in the Greek family the one responsible for the children education and especially the one related to the language and culture maintenance is the mother. 10 parents is a sample that compared to the student’s population of the High School component of St George College can ensure according to Humanistic Sociology reliability and generalizability of the findings to the extend the randomness of the participants volunteered to participate can validate the absence of any bias- these people who responded do care to respond. In any research a sample that is equivalent to the square
root of the population can be considered adequate for external validity (in St George population of senior school parents was 82 and the 10 respondent are above the required square root of 82. The researcher could not possibly have any say on who of the parents decided to participate, hence the randomness is ensured. The same comment applies to the respondents from the three state schools (students N=214). 23 parents is well over the necessary $n \geq \sqrt{214}$ for reliability, external validity and hence generalization of the data.

In contrast all the teachers responsible for teaching Greek as St Georges and in the three State Schools completed the questionnaires and accepted also to be interviewed if need be. All teachers with the exception of two responded in English. Teacher respondents represented the complete population of the teachers of Greek in the four schools concerned.

In addition to completing the questionnaire eight of the ten participant parents of St George and 20 of the 23 parents of the State Schools and all teachers agreed to be interviewed. When interviewed the communication was in English and some everyday colloquial Greek in a constant code switching mode. All the interviews were recorded and transcribed in English. Following ethical principles in interviewing, the researcher provided a copy of the interview transcript and her interpretation of it to the participants’ concern. Taking account of their critical comments proved quite time consuming. The transcribed comments from the interviews were treated in the same way as the personal statements from the questionnaires in the analysis of cultural data.

Data collection for this Project occurred as presented earlier in detail on I.5 (page 15) according to the overall timeline below:

- St George College, from May 2003 to March 2006
- Unley HS, from March 2003 to March 2008
- Adelaide HS, from July 2003 to March 2009
6.4. Data analysis

To fulfill the Humanistic Sociological modus operandi the research in her analysis of data concentrated first on developing a background profile of the participants. It is imperative to clarify that this is exactly the reason the researcher opted Humanistic Sociology as the approach to analyse the cultural statements related to the Greek language that overarches the Portfolio of Researches. The researcher did not wish to report only percentages, distributions and frequencies. The conscious choice of the second generation parents, who live and aspire to live their life in Australia, to maintain the Greek language and transfer it to their children, not in its Greek Ethnolect form rather in its standard form as taught through formal education by trained and qualified teachers, is a result of emotion, feeling and thoughtfulness. Descriptive statistics is not enough. Qualitative research and content analysis software is not enough too. The researcher was not interested in frequencies of a theme occurring, she rather wanted to understand the psyche and the feelings of the participants and this could only happen as a result of reading participants comments, analysing them thematically and then asking follow up clarification questions, understand the specific differences from one expression to the other that a software program cannot pick up. This was to provide a detailed understanding of the participants themselves and the social and cultural context of their lives. For this study it was also important to develop a concrete fact profile of what made up their family groups and their wider social circle and what language (or languages) they used in talking to these various individuals.

This later analysis has been summarized in a series of tables as descriptive statistics, which enabled the reader to see the variations in personal backgrounds, family structure and language usage reported by the participants. Even the calculation of the percentages is dubious given the overall numbers involved. As a result, overall patterns of response have most often been discussed in terms of proportions or fractions. The rationale for this approach was partly that the numbers of participants involved were not great enough to provide the level of statistical reliability and validity required for in-
depth statistical analysis. More importantly, for humanistic sociological analysis, the numbers were not important in themselves. Rather they were used to provide understanding and insights in the interpretation of the cultural data that is the participants’ personal responses to the open-ended questions in Part B of the questionnaires.

The researcher’s experience as Greek language teacher in various schools from 1997 to 2005 and then as Secondary Science Teacher in constant contact with the Adelaide Greek-Australian community allows to interpret the cultural data with the humanistic coefficient-the empathy of the insider, the participant observer. This meant recognizing how the respondents themselves perceived and understood their social actions, their cultural heritage and their adaptation to the Multicultural context of South Australia as Smolicz articulated it in “On Culture and Education” (1999). The researcher’s approach was

- To be systematic in analysing what the respondents said, analysing the context of their statements and thematically clustering their responses;
- To take seriously and report all the comments they made;
- To accept the participant’s interpretation of their situation and report it without labelling behaviors. Humanistic Sociology considers participants’ own interpretations and statements as cultural data that express emotions, feelings and thoughts related to cultural actions. The researcher should only report them allowing the reader to make own judgments:
- To be observant and perceptive in illuminating their attitudes and actions in their particular social and cultural context;
- To be alert for contradictory statements and unanticipated outcomes (or consequences), which could point to individual linguistic and cultural change!

The cultural data of the participant’s written and interview comments were analysed by theme: cultural identity, language, parental aspirations and attitudes to the maintenance of Greek. The presentation of
the analysis takes the form almost of a documentary. The words of the participants are quoted at length and verbatim, with no corrections or alterations to their expressions. This approach allows the evidence to speak for itself and encourages readers to evaluate the statements of themselves and make their own judgments.

The analysis of data in the chapter that follows presents first the descriptive statistics (the concrete data) gathered. The second part of the chapter presents the thematic analysis of the personal statements (the cultural data).
CHAPTER 7. RESULTS FROM PARENTS AND TEACHERS AT INDEPENDENT GREEK COLLEGE

7.1 Context of St George College

St George College is an independent (i.e. non-government, fee-paying) school in the heart of the “Sprachinseln”, the Greek language island, between Mile End, Thebarton and Townsville. These inner western suburbs, immediately adjacent to Adelaide city centre, became one of the centres of concentrated settlement of the early Greek immigrant families of the nineteen fifties. In this Greek heart land the Patriarchial Greek Orthodox Parish of St George was established and a substantial church was built in the Greek orthodox style.

In the late 1980s the Parish of St George set up the first Greek Orthodox independent College in South Australia that named after the traditional Greek saint of the parish built on land adjacent to the church. It began as a primary school and later added secondary years stage by stage, until it became a school offering the full range of primary and secondary education from pre-school to year 12, over two campuses, the primary and the secondary one.

The educational vision of the college is clearly reflected on its website, which states that it is a “bilingual, co-educational P-12 school of innovative educational endeavour underpinned by Orthodox values and beliefs.” (St George College 2010). Specifically mentioned amongst its values are “Greek Language and Culture”!! Its proximity to the parish church of St George, allowed the students the opportunity to frequently attend the liturgical celebrations, which underpinned not only orthodox ecclesiastical values but also the Greek language, both in theory supported by the families who chose to pay the fees for their children to attend in this sense the college’s formal education to the complex
of core Greek values, reported by Smolicz (1984) as fundamental to the maintenance of the Greek language and culture.

The school is bilingual to the extent that the Greek language is offered as valued and integral part of the compulsory curriculum. However the five lessons of Greek a week are the only ones that should not be taught in English, at least at the time of the research. On the other hand many of the staff teaching the other subjects, as well as most of the parents are of Greek background, though educated in Australia and they take pride that by enrolling their offspring to the school they demonstrate loyalty to the Greek language and culture. This considerably increased the chances of students hearing the Greek language used at home, even though this would have been almost exclusively in informal and colloquial Greek, in the form of the Ethnolect rather the standard Modern Greek taught at school. This way students were exposed to the aural and oral Greek both at school and at home.

The College has flourished since its establishment. Despite its Orthodox orientation, has been prepared to accept students from some Italian, Chinese and Islamic families who have sought entrance to it. Its student intake is not limited to areas adjacent to the school. Greek background families from various suburbs across the whole of Metropolitan Adelaide chose to send their children to the college. Some come from Virginia, as far as 30 Km to the north of Adelaide, each day.

The section that follows presents the concrete data collected from parents and teacher participants at St George in relation to their family background and language use.

7.2 The Quantitative Approach: St George College Descriptive Statistics

The concrete data provided by parents and teachers of St George College concerning their family background and language usage are presented below in the form of descriptive statistics. In the first part the focus is the parental home of the participants. For the second part, the focus shifts to the participants' marital homes, that is homes in which students studying Greek at St George College grew
up. The teacher respondents have been identified by the letter T and a number from 1 to 5. Similarly the parents’ identification runs from P1 to P10.

### 7.2.1 St George College Participants’ Parental Home Background

The background data collected from the parents and teachers of St George College are presented together since both represent the same generational age group. In the later analysis of their personal responses to the open ended questions their views are considered separately because of their different roles in the maintenance of the Greek language. In an effort to present the descriptive statistics related to their parental family, the origin of their parents, the contact they have with their parents and the language they use in this contact, the following table (Table 2) has been created to allow the reader to crosscheck the data recorded with the analysis attempted. The discussion of the language use revealed in this table, is presented in the next section.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 2: Parents and Teachers of St George College: Quantitative data on Parental Home Background.</th>
<th>PARENTS N=10</th>
<th>TEACHERS N=5</th>
<th>TOTAL N=15</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td><strong>FATHER’S ETHNICITY</strong></td>
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<td>NON GREEK</td>
<td>GREEK</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FATHER’S POB</strong></td>
<td>GREECE</td>
<td>AUSTRALIA</td>
<td>CYPRUS</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FATHER’S YER MIGR</strong></td>
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<td>30s</td>
<td>40s</td>
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<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LANG TO FATHER</strong></td>
<td>GREEK</td>
<td>ENGLISH</td>
<td>BOTH</td>
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<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>CONTACT FATHER</strong></td>
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<td>NOT OFTEN</td>
<td>DEAD/GRC</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>NON GREEK</td>
<td>GREEK</td>
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</table>
All but one of the respondents’ fathers were of Greek ethnicity, the majority being born in Greece and the remainder in Cyprus. Just under half including almost all the teacher’s fathers, had migrated to Australia in the 1930s and 1940s. More than a half had come during the 1950s and 1960s. In the case of the mothers, all but two were of Greek ethnicity, although all were apparently born in Greece (12/15) or in Cyprus. Of the teachers’ mothers three had come in the 1930s and 1940s and the rest in the 1950s. The parents’ mothers had come in 1950s and 1960s with one in the 1970s, possibly in the accepted pattern of the time, as “nyphes” (brides) for men who had migrated somewhat earlier.

The teacher’s families can therefore be seen to represent a somewhat earlier, much smaller group of Greek migrants, which settled in a very Anglo-concentrated society, before the arrival of the waves of Central and Eastern European refugees after World War II. Most of the parent’s families had arrived with the major wave of Greek immigrants in the 1950s and 1960s, well before the introduction of multicultural policies.

7.2.2 St George College Participants’ Parental Family Circle and Language Use

Table 2 also provides data on how much contact the respondents had with their parents and the language used with them. Only six out of 15 respondents reported seeing their fathers often, but in seven cases, including 3 out of five teachers, the fathers were dead or in Greece. There were two respondents who admitted that contact with their father did not happen often. As many as twelve of the respondents reported using Greek to their father depending on the theme of discussion, some obviously recalling what had been the situation before their father’s death. Two, however, used both English and Greek and one reported spoke only in English with her father.

A similar pattern was evident in relation to mothers, although rather more, all nine of those whose mothers were still living indicated that they saw their mothers often. As with fathers, twelve out of 15

45 These families do not represent the main Greek immigration influx of the 50s and 60s.
respondents claimed to speak Greek with their mothers, two spoke English and one used both Greek and English.

These figures demonstrate the important role of pappou and yaya (grandfather and grandmother) in the maintenance of the Greek language. Four fifths of the respondents spoke Greek with their fathers and mothers. Considering that this is a second generation, Greek can be considered well-maintained. At the time of the research let only two fifths actually had regular contact with their fathers. Contact with the mothers was slightly higher reaching three fifths of the total respondents. The decline in continuous contact with the tradition language and religion keepers, the pappou and the yaya is clearly evident.

The mother and father were the two people with whom most respondents claimed to speak Greek. Later interview discussions with some of these respondents revealed a change of the linguistic mode of behaviour: the language usage to parents was more often in English as a mixture of English and Greek, because they did not feel confident in their command of Greek. The interview comments confirmed the researcher’s own observations that what the respondents meant when said “using both languages” was really the use of a mixed language predominantly English spiced with a limited number of Greek words and phrases. The constant code switching into English occurred whenever the speaker is confronted with needing to use a word or an expression which they did not know in Greek.

Cross-tabulating responses allowed to confirm that five of the ten parent respondents and two of the five teacher respondents were still using mainly Greek to communicate with their parents, the students’ pappou and yaya, the grandparents who are the Kerberus of the language maintenance! This represents just under half of the parent and teacher respondents from St George.

7.2.3. St George College Participant’s Marital Home Background

The data collected from parent and teacher respondents demonstrated important generational shift in the marital home background, compared to the parental home (see Table 3 below). In terms of age the parent respondents were all born in the 1960 and 1970, while the teachers were mainly older, all but
one having born in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s. Only one out of the ten parent respondents, but three
out of the five teachers, were males.

<table>
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<td>Male</td>
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<td>YOU</td>
<td>SPOUCE</td>
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</table>

Table 3: St George College Quantitative Data: Marital Home Background and Language Used

The birth place of eight out of the 15 respondents was Greece or Cyprus. The other seven, however,
were born in Australia. A similar pattern was evident in relation to the respondents’ siblings. Seven
were born in Greece or Cyprus and eight in Australia. The respondent’s friends were predominately of
Greek origin for nine of the parents and two of the teachers. However, three of the teachers and one
of the parents said they had Australian friends.
The ethnicity of the respondent’s spouses was more diverse than in the parental generation. Eight were Greek, five were Australians and in another two cases they were from a different ethnic background. It is worth noting that those who opted for an exogamous marriage included the four who were University graduates. Eight out of the ten parents had two children, while the other two each had three.

In the case of the parent respondents, the socio-economic level of their marital home was relevant through a number of indicators. (These questions were not included in the teacher questionnaires). Half of the parent respondents had completed secondary education and were either employed or studying part time and looking after their children. The often half had studied at tertiary level, four at the university, and were working at the public sector.

They lived comfortably in houses which had enough bedrooms for privacy for all, had two cars and sent their children to a fee paying independent College, St George. One or other of the parents took the children to school each day by car. Measured by the above factors, the respondents and their spouses had clearly achieved a level of standing in mainstream Australian society which was considerably above what their Greek immigrant parents had known.

### 7.2.4. St George College Participant’s Marital Family Circle and Language Use

The generational shift in the marital home is most clearly revealed in relation to language as shown in Table 3. With siblings, for example, all the parent respondents spoke English, not Greek, although two of the teachers said they used Greek and one claimed to use both languages. With friends, Greek was used rather more frequently, with three of the total group of respondents speaking Greek and another three using both Greek and English. When asked about language use in the home, all the respondents claimed to speak both languages; none used only Greek.

When the figures in Table 3 are considered together they reveal some ironic contradictions in the Greek language situation. All of the parents and teachers, who spent their time responding to the questionnaire to provide the data for St George College, indicated this way their interest in the Greek
language. Even more these parents paid the school fees at a fairly expensive\textsuperscript{46} private school in order to ensure that the Greek language was learnt by their children and could continue to be used in everyday contact at home, in their social circle and even at work, such as teachers of the Greek language. Yet despite this commitment to the learning and teaching of Greek, the language they used at home with their spouse and children was not Greek but English. This is understandable for the seven who were not married to a Greek origin person. However, Greek was not the exclusive language of the home, even when the respondents spoke Greek with their parents and had Greek origin spouses.

Figure 1 below illustrates the language used by participants with their parental family and friends of Greek origin. The columns titled N/A refer to the answers of those participants who stated that their father or mother is deceased. Therefore they have not answered the question about them. As we can see the main language spoken by the respondents to their parents is partly Greek and partly the Greek Ethnolect developed in Australia. However, the only respondents who communicated with them only in English were those whose father or mother was not Greek.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{language_usage.png}
\caption{St George Parents and Teachers: Language Used with Parental Family and Social Circle}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{46} To learn Greek even in fee paying private school is indicative of high commitment. St George College fees are in the lower bracket of the private schools, so the cost is not prohibiting. As per the statements of the majority of the parents (80\%) the school fees are paid by the students’ grandparents, who demonstrate this way their determination to have their offspring learning the ancestral language.
The following chart depicts the language used by the parent and teacher respondents to communicate with the parental generation their own and their children’s’ generation.

Chart 1. St George College Parents and Teachers: Language Used To Communicate With Other Generations

7.3 Qualitative Approach: St George College Teacher’s Personal Statements

Although the concrete data from parent and teacher participants at St George were presented together, yet when cultural data and the personal perspective they reflect, are discussed it is important to separate these groups in the discussion of cultural data. They are considered in different ways important but especially because they can highlight the particular insights of each group.

The teacher respondents represent the professionals who know how to teach and hence contribute to maintaining the Greek language in the younger generation. From follow up questions during the interviews as well as personal knowledge of the skills and experience of her colleague’s teachers of Greek, the researcher knew that the five teacher respondents at St George had taught Greek at all
levels, in ethnic and state schools, as well as the independent college at which they were currently employed.

7.3.1. What St George College Teachers say about Teaching of Greek

The teachers represented a recognisable subgroup in the Greek Australian community of South Australia. Most were born in the 40s and 50s with one in the 70s. More importantly, all were university graduates, who had been educated in Australia and completed at least three years of Modern Greek studies at Flinders University. One had also completed tertiary studies in Greece. They can therefore be classified as bilingual and bicultural or bi-valent (Kloskowska 2001:118), they had been participant observers and actors in the process of teaching Greek language and culture in state and community schools some over almost two decades. They were also parents of Greek origin second or third generation South Australian Greeks. More than anyone else they were aware of any changes in cultural and linguistic patterns, and the reasons for them.

When asked their perspectives on issues facing Greek language and culture in schools they blamed government education policies. Two of their comments are given below

Generally there is little importance placed on learning a second language in the Australian educational system. Australians seem to think that English alone is enough to see you through life – a very isolationist attitude. Also, the educational system seems to follow the economic trend of the times. Since our trade partners are closely linked to Asia – these are the languages pushed in schools today. Not everyone is going to have a keen interest in learning an Asian language (T3, Respondent 13);

47 Please refer to chapter 1 and the extended reference to the changes in Australian National Policy on languages and how the latest phase favouring “Austrade languages” and the SACE University entry system that is not favouring languages, led to the decline of enrolments in Greek language classes
European languages such as Greek are no longer seen as important or valuable as Asian languages are today. This is also reflected in the school curriculum. Even when such languages are part of the curriculum, not enough emphasis is placed on them in terms of timetabling, etc.

Of course here [at St George] the case is completely different but we also offer Italian and Greek is for most of our students like a second language, especially when they need to write in Greek. They can escape sometimes with the oral language, and some students may think they are good at Greek but their grammar and therefore spelling, syntax and vocabulary is limited in 100-200 words (T 5, Respondent 15).

At the latter comment suggested, the main reason for the declining student performance was seen as the lack of practice in the language at home and the absence of any aural and oral language context for those students who were keen to practice.

Our students especially the year 8 and 9 students belong to the third generation Greeks, whose mother tongue is English and who come from homes where the main language spoken is English. A consequence of this is lack of appeal of the Greek language and may be the reason why people of non-Greek origin or third generation Greeks do not take up the language. As a result Greek fails to be one of the most common languages studied in schools today (T 2, Respondent 12).

Teachers also complained about the lack of resources and changes in the curricula. Most importantly Greek language teachers realised that they did not use current language teaching methodology and up-to-date teaching techniques. Teachers older in age, not ready to adopt new language teaching techniques, represent old Greece of the 70s and not the Greece of today48. As a result the lessons were considered boring by the students and did not offer any motivation to encourage language learning.

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48 At the time Teachers completed the questionnaires –reminder no teacher was interviewed- around 2003 Greece was thriving in European Community and was preparing to host the Olympics of 2004. This spirit reflects in the comments of participants T3, R13
There are, however, teachers that have been teaching for more than 30 years and have not modified or adapted neither their teaching methods nor topics taught to suit these schools—even in our school. Some of the lessons given by these teachers do not reflect the modern, vibrant Greece of today. This leaves students with the impression that Greece and Greeks themselves are stuck in time (T 3, Respondent 13).

One thought that the problem lay with a poorly designed curriculum.

Unfortunately, the way of teaching is inappropriate. Teaching is without logic. It is not based on a proper curriculum, but on a generic curriculum designed by non-Greeks for all the languages taught in South Australia. The Cognition and Meta-cognition are not even included in the curricula or they are set wrong (T1, Respondent 11).

7.4. Quantitative Approach: St George College Parents’ Personal Statements

Most of the parent respondents are somewhat younger than the teachers. To summarise the main details from Table 3, with regards to parents of the participants half were born in the 1960s and the other half in the 1970s. They were thus in their late thirties or forties at the time they first consent to participate in the research, old enough to have children of their own (between 15 and 17 years old) attending high and maybe senior high school.

They were also equally split in terms of birth place. Half were born in Greece or Cyprus and are referred to as Greek born parents. Some of these would have experienced a few years of primary schooling in Greece, but completed the bulk of their education in South Australia through the late 1960s and 1970s. The other half, who were born in Australia, have been named Australian born parents. They would have completed all of their schooling in South Australia, mainly during the 1970s and early 1980s. Four out of the ten (all University graduates) were in exogamous marriages— a lower proportion than among the teachers. All gave evidence of having achieved a reasonably affluent life style.
7.4.1. What St George College Parents say on Cultural Identity and Language Use

When discussing their sense of identity none of the parents respondents claimed to feel just a real Greek. Nor did they said they were Australians. The most common responses expressed the idea of feeling both and trying to keep the best of both cultures. This is evident in the three examples that follow.

Whilst I feel Greek Australian I am really acting as more Australian although I have a very close affinity with my Greekness. When I am with Australians I know I am different. Also my husband’s family is not Greek and this is another way my Greekness ‘comes out’. This is not a bad feeling; they are very comfortable with that and I am very comfortable with my Greek identity (P 5);

In my job I feel more Greek-Australian. As I was growing up it was more Australian-Greek; due to peer pressure trying to hide my identity! Now, working with Greek children and understanding true values of being Greek I wouldn’t have it any other way (P 3).

I feel more Greek as I was born and grew up in Greece, but whenever I have gone to Greece for holiday I feel Australian as some of my thinking is influenced by the Australian way of life. When you experience both worlds you try and take the best of both (P8).

Several parent respondents revealed what they saw as the pattern of language use within their family. One explained the difficulties at some length.

Until my first child went to kindy he only spoke Greek with us and it was relatively easy for me to speak Greek with him all the time. However, it became more difficult with our second child because by then his brother had started to speak English with him. In my everyday life I mainly
speak in Greek. I speak to my husband in Greek, yet he answers in English. I also would speak in Greek to the children about 60% of the time – they understand everything I say – the older ones find it easier to respond in Greek compared to the younger one, and this seems quite similar in most families (P 2)

Another comment confirmed the above pattern

I speak in Greek with parents and my mother-in-law and children do quite well in speaking Greek with grandparents. However, all other relatives and friends of a Greek background speak in English and I have noticed that most of them also speak in English with their children (P 3)

A third respondent summed up her family pattern of language use succinctly.

We speak Greek to our parents on the phone when they call from overseas. We speak to our children and Greek friends and relatives mainly in English. We speak English to those people who do not speak Greek or they do not feel confident to use Greek (P 5)

Others experienced their situation more as a somewhat confusing duality, not feeling either completely Greek or completely Australian.

I feel that I am two different people. In the morning I am dressed up in my Australian professional character and go up there, to work. When at home, I am the true me, the one who gets angry very easily and forgets the anger quickly; the one who speaks loud and swears in Greek all day long. Yet, I am not Greek as the ones in Greece, I could not ever ever (sic) live there! Probably I am better here, since I have been educated here, I have my job, my family my friends here, but.... I cannot escape all the time. Sometimes I feel that although I try my best to behave as a proper Australian, they can tell that I am different, and, I have noticed –at least I think so- that sometimes at work people who cannot pronounce my name, still make jokes with my long name and seem to look at me differently. (P 9)
7.4.2. St George College Greek-born Parents’ Experiences and Aspirations

This and the following section present parent’s comments on their own schooling experiences, particularly as they relate to their educational aspirations for their own children. For this purpose, the parental respondents have been split into two subgroups: the five who were born in Greece or Cyprus as opposed to the five who were born in Australia.

The Greek-born parents attended school in Australia at the time before multicultural policies were implemented in schools, and before it were possible to study Greek as part of the school curriculum. Even now, almost thirty years later their comments reflected their sense of being deprived of a “fair go”. They considered that they did not have the same educational and occupational chances as others due to their Greek background. They also stated that being called a wog as a child was something they still found harmful\(^49\). From their responses it emerged that they had felt the need to hide their identity -if possible:

*Initially it was very difficult to grow up as wog/dago. It took a lot of patience and effort to be part of the Australian culture and fit in. Learning to speak with no minimal trace of Greek accent helped. It is not so difficult now with successful Greeks within the community (P 4)*

There were a few, however, who personally found it easier, while recognising the great difficulties of the others.

*It did not really affect me, since I speak with an English accent and I do not look like Greek. Only my surname was a giveaway, but most people just thought I must be married to one (P 1)*

\(^{49}\) Even if sometimes psychologically use displacement or sublimation to rationalise the trauma
To the outside observer, it could appear that these parental respondents had benefited from living in Australia and, generally, had adopted many of the cultural values associated with mainstream Australian society. The respondents themselves, however, interpreted their situation as having the best of both cultural worlds. Away from assimilationist expectations of school (Smolicz, 1971) and into adulthood, they tended to feel more comfortable in recognising and maintaining some Greek values. Often these involved what might be called Greek “lifestyle” choices, such as food, religion, family celebrations and vacations in Greece, which could be added to mainstream Australian values, just as they could choose to eat Chinese or visit Hong Kong. As the language data showed, however, it did not include the use of Greek as an essential part of their life. One respondent explained how her sense of being different changed over time.

In the 70’s the racial conflict was terrible with regards being a pupil at school or finding a job. Even when working, it was very difficult with racism!! Nowadays life has changed, the country is more multicultural and have accepted the migrants more so than then. As a child and teenager I found it difficult because I knew I was different than the majority, however there were enough of us around not to feel too isolated. As I grew older – mid to late teens – I began to appreciate this difference and felt proud to come from such a culturally diverse background. (P 7)

These experiences and feelings help to explain the educational aspirations of these parent respondents for their children. Educating their children at St George College ensured that they gained some knowledge of Greek language, religion, cultural heritage and history. These were things, it would seem, they regretted not ever knowing themselves, because of their exclusively mainstream Australian education. Secondly their comments suggested, in a Greek Orthodox school, intended for Greek Australian families, their offspring would be protected from the negative social experiences they had been exposed to from other students in Australian schools.
7.4.3. St George College Australian-born Parent’s Experiences and Aspirations

The five Australia-born children of newly arrived Greek parents had a similar upbringing to those born in Greece, meant earlier, exposure to English, as well as all their education in Australia. The fact that they were usually the second or subsequent child enabled them to differentiate themselves from the siblings born in Greece. It allowed them to be excused if they used more English at home and felt more Australian. Comments like the following show this tendency to favour main stream Australian cultural values.

*I call myself Australian of Greek parents. Being born in Australia, I’ve had the pleasure of learning about both the Australian and Greek way of life. I am privileged to be able to combine good qualities from both cultures to create a balanced life and family environment. My upbringing was very strict and structured. I see that Australians are more relaxed and laid back. In my family there are certain limits set with my spouse and children and at the same time there is more open communication, freedom and understanding which has come about from my Australian living environment (P 9)*

Another claimed to feel great pride in the Greek cultural heritage, but was rather defensive about her lack of knowledge of Greek traditions and culture.

*My allegiance is to Australia first, I feel this is the country that has given me a future, education, etc. I am of Greek parents, 1st generation and have always been very proud of my heritage. Yet I think I have forgotten many things about the Greek tradition, and there are many things I do not know about the Greek history. Yet do the Greeks in Greece know everything I know about Australia? Of course not. I know what I need and that is enough for me (P 10)*

Such people can be perceived as caught between two cultures on enjoying the best of two cultural worlds. One felt her Greekness as something deeply imprinted but recognises the constrains of being in a cross-cultural marriage!
Even though I was born in Australia, I can feel the Greek blood in me and feel proud to have an ethnic background and especially Greek. I like the fact that I have a tradition behind me, and something that I can pass on to my children. As my husband is of Italian background, I do not want to consume my children with only Greek and wish to be fair with their ethnic upbringing. After all the multiculturalism is something people have tried very hard to establish (P 6)

Another did not feel Greek and was glad to live in Australia and avoid the supposed limitations of life in Greece. Yet she wanted her son to know Greek religion and cultural background.

I like my religion and culture, I make sure that my child will be exposed to it and will be able to take pride from and for his background. But I am not feeling Greek, we are Australian citizens we are not Greek, I suppose I like here the fact that I do not need to wait a whole day in the queue to finish a job (P 8)

For a person like the researcher, born and educated to University level in Greece, the attitude of this group of Greek-Australians was confronting. They still claimed some identification but activated so little of its cultural heritage. The researcher’s early response is reflected in the following interpretation of their situation.

Having a marginalized and residual perception of Greek history, culture and language, they declared that they do not care for maintaining their ancestral ethnic identity, since they do not belong completely to it. They consider multiculturalism as a “given” and that there is no more need for struggle as it has been “established”. They do not care for any residual knowledge of Greek culture, tradition and history, since they claim they do not need to know all this to be proud of their origins. Finally, they believe that if the children learn the Greek language they will learn Greek culture also. (Holeva, 2004:214)

Re-assessing this interpretation in 2012, the researcher would recognise that the Australian-born parents had all experienced in early childhood a longer and more complete exposure to mainstream
Anglo-Australian cultural values in Australian school and surrounding society as their older Greek-born siblings. Most were old enough to also have suffered from the same luck of access to Greek linguistic and cultural values in the Australian educational context. (See the case of Jerry as discussed in Section 2.8.1).

Despite the limitations of their Greek culture values in comparison to their much better developed mainstream Australian cultural values, all have retained in different ways a sense of Greekness and an awareness of the importance of the Greek heritage they knew so little of. This is shown by the fact that they have been at some pains to ensure that their children's education gives them better access to Greek values than they had themselves.

7.5. St George College Cultural Data Enhancing Understanding of Language Use

In the written responses to the open-ended questions as well as in the discussions which the researcher had with those who were willing to be interviewed, these were sometimes insightful phrases and comments about the use of Greek and English to family members and friends. They provided a deep understanding to interpreting the concrete data on language use which has been presented in sections 7.2.2 and 7.2.4.

One aspect which was clarified by such comments was the meaning of the term “both languages” in family communication, particularly in the marital home with spouse and children. The most likely interpretation that a reader would give initially to such a phrase was that the communication involved the alternate use of the two languages, Greek and English, depending on the topic and the person
addressed. The comment of one of the parents\textsuperscript{50}, however, made it clear that what was really being spoken was a mixed or hybrid language.

\textit{well I say that I speak in both languages .... but really it is another language not English not Greek, ...you know it is the language I learned from my mum with her accent. I do not say 'tsiyaro' I say 'tzigaro', MY COUSIN FROM GREECE} (sic) \textit{was laughing when he heard it....and it is not Greek, actually it is few Greek words here and there, when we visited Greece I realised that they cannot understand me} (P 4)

Furthermore, even the language called Greek was really this sort of mixed languages. As the quotation suggests relatives visiting from Greece often laugh at what they refer to as the Greek English hybrid spoken in South Australia. Among local Greek-Australians who recognise its mixed origins, it is sometimes referred to as "Greek ethnolect"\textsuperscript{51}. The researcher’s own observations and experience can confirm that much of the so-called Greek she has heard in conversations in Adelaide has two forms. When it comes from first generation migrants is a code switching in Greek. When it comes from second generation either Greek or Australian born respondents it appears to be a code switching in English. During most of the oral contact with parents who interviewed the so called Greek has been the use of mainly English spiced with a limited –colloquial and very common- number of Greek words and phrases. Code switching into English constantly occurs when a Greek background speaker educated in Australia, is confronted with needing to use a word or an expression which they do not know in Greek.

Another respondent explained the circumstances which can lead to such mixed patterns of communication

\textit{...although parents [NOTE: second generation parent respondents] understand Greek, it is easier for them to speak in English. They feel more confident and it is a habit now for us too. I

\textsuperscript{50} which was followed through in the interviews with all the other respondents
\textsuperscript{51} Ethnolect is a term used by Tamis and Fishman and describes a non-standard variety of language used by an ethnic group in a static or dynamic bilingual situation, in order to serve their linguistic needs. In a way it is similar to the term "Hubrid" used by Smolicz and Secombe (2003).}
think in English before I respond in Greek and sometimes I forget words but my mother keeps
telling me off if I do not speak in Greek to them. I suppose I do it for them... (P 4)

Tamis (1985, 1993, 2001, 2009:20) has applied the term “ethnolect” to this sort of English-Greek mix
in the Australian context. He has described it as a language variety which often develops in a social
setting where the minority language exists alongside a dominant mainstream language. He regards it
as a “sub-standard variety” of Greek, to be distinguished from the standard form of Modern Greek
which is taken for granted in Greece. There, children begin their learning of the standard form through
families and communities. They gain basic literacy and communication skills in the standard form of
Modern Greek through schools, where the language of instruction is Modern Greek.

Sub-standard spoken forms of Greek (or any other language) arise most often in contact situations
where the speakers have little or no literacy skills in Greek- and hence no access to its standard form.
Many of the Greek immigrants who came to Australia in the 1950s and 1960s were not themselves
fully literate in Greek. Their children, who were born in Australia, had not adequate opportunity in the
Australian schools of that period to learn to speak, read or write Greek. A few of their older brothers
and sisters born in Greece may have begun some schooling in Greece before the family emigrated.
The best exposure to the standard forms of the language would have been minimal weekly lessons at
ethnic schools run by well-meaning but unqualified members of the Greek community (Tamis, 2001:59).
Other scholars have interpreted such communication as social actions by the participants in the
linguistic continuum of Greek Australian homes when there is a need for communication between the
second and first generation. This Greek Idiolect that it is neither proper English nor Greek, was made
up initially by the uneducated first generation migrants who added Greek language suffixes to English
words (Tamis, 2009:25-26). This was passed on their children as a medium of common understanding
between the two generations. While the older generation transformed their own language by adding
English words to the Greek language, the second generation tended to code switch. When they tried
to speak to their parents they used English words whenever they could not recall or did not know the Greek word concerned. This linguistic pattern has been identified by Papademetre (2001) not only as a need and a social action, but as a living logogenesis (a Greek word that could be translated in English as “the birth of the words”) process that has created a third language which is essentially oral and directly reflects immediate needs and mental processes. This is what Smolicz referred to as a hybrid language (Smolicz, 1979b, 2003:58).

Under these circumstances, it is understandable that many of the parent respondents felt inadequate to speak or teach Greek to their children. Perhaps they were made more acutely aware of this because of the much higher competency levels they had in English, due to their exposure to Australian schooling and their constant use of English outside the family. These feelings explain why they greatly valued the chance to send their children to a regular day school where the great majority of students and staff were of Greek background and their children could have five lessons a week in Modern Greek. As one parent explained,

I feel that I do not speak correct Greek and they will learn Greek wrong with my accent and my mistakes. At least at school they will learn to read to write and to speak properly (P 8).

However the data from this study indicated that even if every Greek-Australian respondent used the Ethnolect, some chose to declare that they use mainly English at home, not valuing Ethnolect as a language. Teachers were a definite exception in this regard. Partly this was because most came from an older immigrant wave and had mainly been born in Greece. Even more important the fact that they were all university graduates, with years of study in Modern Greek, meant that they knew the standard form of the language. They used Greek with their parents, siblings and most Greek friends. When they claimed they use both languages at home, it was a case of alternate bilingual use of English or Greek or the Greek Ethnolect developed in Australia.
7.6. St George College: Level of Education and Socioeconomic Status as Factors in Linguistic and Cultural Maintenance

An interesting finding emerged when the educational level of the respondents and the language they used at home were correlated. Those respondents who attended or finished secondary education in Australia (5/55) as well as 100% of those who have finished tertiary education, speak almost solely English at home. Even the Greek language teachers are included in this category. Although the questions asked that provided the data in Table 3 show that they indicated using both languages, the intention revealed during the follow up interviews the researcher had with Parents and throughout the discussion or communication with all the teachers involved in this research, was that the use of Greek remained minimal and specified by the Greek ethnolect used in South Australia.

Figure 2 below presents the language used at home according to the education level of the respondents when communicating with their siblings, friends of Greek origin and children as stated in the questionnaires and as confirmed after the interviews held and the personal observation the researcher was able to witness when visiting participants’ homes.

![Figure 2. St George College Parents and Teachers: Education Level and Language Used at Home](image-url)
Earlier studies (Holeva, 2004) had also suggested that individuals who had succeeded in high levels of education were more likely to assimilate to the dominant Anglo-Australian culture values, while neglecting or even renouncing the Greek cultural values of their families. In practice, this tendency was definitely reflected in the high rate of exogamous marriages among the teachers and parents who were tertiary graduates. To investigate this issue further, the parent and teacher participants of St George College were asked to evaluate the factors they considered significant for their identity by numbering the factors listed in order of importance for them. The factors mentioned were the following: marriage and baptism according to the Greek Orthodox religion; Greek history; the people’s character; the Greek language; Greek cuisine; and Greek cultural expressions (such as songs and dances, whether traditional or contemporary). They had the option of naming other factors which they felt they identified with. Their responses were correlated with their education level and the results of this cross-tabulation are presented in Figure 3 below.

![Figure 3. St George College Parents and Teachers: Correlation of Education Level and Perceived Importance of Cultural Aspects of “Greekness”](image-url)
The three factors that university graduates felt was indicative of their “Greekness” was Greek food\textsuperscript{52}, what was identified as historicity (the pride they take because of their past culture) and their character, mentality and temperament: in their own words “my Greek blood that boils too easy” (R6). It looks as if these three parameters – food, historicity and character, all unstructured characteristics depending on individual experiences and interests that the tertiary educated participants consider important. Especially the researcher found that they tertiary educated participants consider their character as the stamp of their Greekness because find themselves confronted constantly with it, although they try hard to control it. Two of the teachers consider language and religion important parameters of being and maintaining Greekness.

On the other hand those with secondary education consider as part of their Greekness more structured factors such as religion, language historicity and customs. Those of secondary education place more value to the Greek Orthodox religion as equal as to the historicity and language. Greek customs felt behind, whereas food and character were also considered part of being Greek for those at this education level. These two cross-correlations demonstrate that the level of education achieved by the respondents influenced their evaluation of their Greek cultural heritage and what parts they activated as living Greek tradition in Australia. These results are consistent with an earlier study involving a larger group of Greek parents and teachers. There the lowest educational level of parents clearly correlated with the positive evaluation and activation of the Greek language. The respondents concerned that they had rather insufficient opportunity for education in English. They supported Greek because it was the only means of communication available to them in family life and in their wider social life within the Greek community (Smolicz, 1979b; Holeva, 2004). Their children, now parents who had succeeded in completing tertiary studies had the opposite problem. Almost nowhere in their Australian education (except perhaps in some departments of classical studies) they have had the opportunity to study

\textsuperscript{52} It is important to note here that the participants in this Portfolio of research are predominantly female.
Greek language, history and culture. This failure to gain access to their heritage at an intellectual level may help to explain the attitudes revealed in Figures 2 and 3. This of course, was not true for the teachers who had all studied Greek at University level.

7.7. Key Findings from St George College Participants

Three key findings have emerged from the analysis of the data from the parent and teacher respondents from St George College.

The first concerns the status of the Greek language, whether in its standard or ethnolect form. The decline in the use of Greek language as the immigrant generation grew old and passed away was very evident. In practise the family language in the homes of all participants was almost solely English. This was in spite of the fact that five of the respondents were teachers of Greek in the schools concerned, while the ten parents were sending their children to the College which taught Greek as an essential part of the curriculum. If this is a finding in a school based on the Greek community and purposefully created to support the Greek ethos and culture, some important issues for the prospects of maintaining the Greek language in South Australia could be raised, for the remainder of the Greek community who is not so involved with maintaining Greek linguistic and cultural heritage in Australia.

The second finding relates to the concerns of teachers about the most appropriate method of teaching Greek. They recognised that current students with little if any oral experience of Greek in the home could not be taught Greek as mother tongue speakers. The questions raised was what other teaching approaches could be used in these circumstances53.

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53 Please refer to St George teacher statements in 7.3.1
The correlation emerged between high levels of education and assimilation to the mainstream Australian culture represents the third important finding (See Fig 3). Over the long term, such a tendency would deprive the Greek Australian community in Adelaide of some of its most intelligent and innovative and make any revitalization of the Greek linguistic and cultural heritage in South Australia unattainable.

These findings from St George College need to be compared with the data collected from parents and teachers linked to children studying Greek in three state High Schools. This part of the study is presented in the following chapter.
CHAPTER 8. RESULTS FROM PARENTS AND TEACHERS AT THREE STATE SECONDARY SCHOOLS.  
(ADELAIDE HS, NORWOOD MORIALTA HS AND UNLEY HS.)

8.1 Context of Three State Language Schools

Although the three state schools used in this research each had its own distinctive school context, they also shared a number of educational traditions. While St George College located in the inner western suburbs, Adelaide High is in the city centre on the western side, not far away from Thebarton and Mile End.

In contrast Unley High school is in the socially prestigious suburbs south of the city and Norwood Morialta High School is in the almost equally desirable eastern suburbs at the feet of the Mt Lofty Ranges. All three are state government secondary schools which provide their teaching and resources free to all students, without the payment of fees for instruction. They were the first state secondary schools established in Adelaide just before the First World War. All saw themselves as academic high schools, with an emphasis on preparing the best students for university studies. The continuation of this tradition is reflected in their retention of the term “High School” in their titles.

In the early 1980’s the introduction of multicultural policies at both federal and state government level led to funding to support the teaching in schools of what were then being called Australian Community Languages (Ministerial Committee, 1984; Lo Bianco report 1987; Clyne 1988;). These three high schools became specialist language schools which taught a number of community languages, as well as the more established academic languages of French and German.
The setting up of the Greek language programs from years 8 to 12 offered students of these three schools the chance to study Modern Greek as a year 12 subject which counted towards university entrance requirements. Modern Greek had become a year 12 subject in 1976 as a result of teaching Greek within Ethnic Schools and was followed by its introduction as discipline at Flinders University. Many of its first graduates became teachers of Greek in these school programs and teachers who have participated in this research, are graduates from the Modern Greek studies offered at the Modern Greek chair of Flinders University.

At the time of this study the researcher was familiar with Adelaide High School from time spent there as secondment from the Greek government as Greek bilingual teacher. She also knew well the Principle of Norwood-Morialta, who was of Greek background and had been one of the earliest Teachers/leaders in introducing Greek in SA state schools. They had worked together on the online delivery of the Distance Bilingual Greek English Education Program to Greek background students at Coober Pedy Area School on 2001. Both these schools offered the researcher free access to students in the Greek classes at all year levels.

At Unley High the researcher had had some contact with the Greek teachers; one of them had been at the school for twenty years, since the introduction of the program. The Unley High School principal, however, gave the researcher access only to students in the year 8 class, because of commitments which students at other year levels had. (See letter from Principal, Appendix K).

Adelaide High is South Australia’s only Special Interest Language School54. In its website takes pride of its multicultural and language centred education. Special Interest Language students study 2 languages other than English up until at least the end of Year 10. Languages study is compulsory for all other students in the middle years. Students may wish to study 1 or 2 languages with the opportunity to continue their language study into the senior years. Students select from French, German, Italian, Japanese, Modern Standard Chinese, Modern Greek and Spanish.

54 http://www.adelaidehs.sa.edu.au/Enrolment/Special-Entry-Programs/Languages
Norwood Morialta HS, also has a strong commitment to multiculturalism and language education as with pride declares in its website55. The school offers five languages, German, Greek, Italian Chinese, and Japanese. The five languages are offered from Year 8 to Year 12 (Stage 2). Students choose one language in Year 8, continue that language course to the end of Year 9 and for a minimum of 1 semester in Year 10.

Unley High School offers four languages: Chinese, French, Greek and Italian. In year 11 and 12 students have the opportunity to study additional languages through the School of Languages.56

The data gathered from the parent and teacher respondents who are linked with students attending these three state language secondary schools are analysed in the sections that follow.

8.2 The Quantitative Approach: State Schools’ Descriptive Statistics

As with the data from St George, the statistics on parental home background and their relation to language use are considered first. Next comes the discussion of the marital home statistics and the patterns of language use in the homes of the students studying Greek in the three state language schools.

The parents’ questionnaire was distributed to over 200 individuals –eighteen of them (n=18) returned the questionnaires answered and five (n=5) chose interview (total n=23). All parent respondents agreed to be contacted and participated in the follow up meetings many years after their children finished school. The teachers in this sample are the Greek language teachers of the three state schools (n=6). The 6 teacher participants returned their questionnaire also written in English.

The analysis of data follows the pattern of chapter 7. The descriptive statistics from the twenty three (23) parents and six (6) teachers are presented together, while for the personal statements, each group

56 http://www.uhs.sa.edu.au/learning-areas/Languages other than English/
is analysed separately. The identification numbers used for the respondents run from T6 to T11 in the case of the teachers and from P11 to P34 for parents.

8.2.1 The State School Participants’ Parental Home Background

The data on parental home background and language use have been summarised in Table 4 below to enable the reader to follow the analysis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father’s Ethnicity</th>
<th>PARENTS N=23</th>
<th>TEACHERS N=6</th>
<th>TOTAL N = 29 (100%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>Non Greek</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>Non Greek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>28 (97%)</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
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<th>AUSTRALIA</th>
<th>CYPRUS</th>
<th>GREECE</th>
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<th>CYPRUS</th>
<th>GREECE</th>
<th>AUSTRALIA</th>
<th>CYPRUS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N = 29 (100%)</td>
<td></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>30s</th>
<th>40s</th>
<th>50s</th>
<th>60s</th>
<th>70s</th>
<th>20s</th>
<th>30s</th>
<th>40s</th>
<th>50s</th>
<th>60s</th>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Greek</th>
<th>Dead</th>
<th>Both</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Dead</th>
<th>Both</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Dead</th>
<th>Both</th>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contact with Father</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Not Often</th>
<th>Dead/Grce</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Not Often</th>
<th>Dead/Grce</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Not Often</th>
<th>Dead/Grce</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N = 29 (100%)</td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother’s Ethnicity</th>
<th>PARENTS N=23</th>
<th>TEACHERS N=6</th>
<th>TOTAL N = 29 (100%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>Non Greek</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>Non Greek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>29 (100%)</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother’s POB</th>
<th>GREECE</th>
<th>AUSTRALIA</th>
<th>CYPRUS</th>
<th>GREECE</th>
<th>OTHER/Alexandria</th>
<th>CYPRUS</th>
<th>GREECE</th>
<th>AUSTRALIA</th>
<th>CYPRUS ALEXANDRIA</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N = 29 (100%)</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother’s Year Migr</th>
<th>20s</th>
<th>30s</th>
<th>40s</th>
<th>50s</th>
<th>60s</th>
<th>70s</th>
<th>20s</th>
<th>30s</th>
<th>40s</th>
<th>50s</th>
<th>60s</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N = 29 (100%)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language to Mother</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dead N/A</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dead</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dead</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td></td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contact with Mother</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Dead</th>
<th>Rare</th>
<th>GR/CYPRUS</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Dead</th>
<th>Rare</th>
<th>GR/CYPRUS</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Dead</th>
<th>Rare</th>
<th>GR/CYP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N = 29 (100%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Parents and Teachers of State Schools: Quantitative Data of Parental Home background

All but one of the participants’ fathers were of Greek ethnicity with 18 being born in Greece and 4 in Cyprus. The sole non-Greek father would indicate a mixed marriage, which must have been a bold and pioneering relationship for that time, especially on the part of the woman. While a quarter of the fathers
had come in the early 1930s and 1940s wave, the majority had arrived in the 1950s and 1960s. The three who came in the late 1970s were certainly among the Cyprus migration following the Turkish invasion of Northern Cyprus in 1974. In the case of the teacher’s fathers, all were born either in Greece or Cyprus. The four fathers who had migrated to Australia had come at the end of the earliest wave (1940s) and the early years of the middle wave (1950s).

All of the mothers in the case of both parents and teachers were of Greek Ethnicity, with the great majority being born in Greece, two were born in Cyprus and 2 in Alexandria –Egypt. The Australian born mother was the daughter of an early 1920s migration from Kastelorizo, which established the first dynamic Greek community in South Australia. The mothers of the parents had arrived around the same time as the fathers, mainly in the 1950s and 1960s, but the teacher’s mothers tended to come in the decade after the fathers. Three teachers’ parents never left Greece or Cyprus (this makes the teachers first generation migrants. [NOTE: 3 mothers and 2 teacher fathers never migrated according to Table 4, the “missing father” 3 is deceased].

8.2.2 The State School Participant’s Parental Family Circle and Language use

Table 4 also summarizes the extent of contact that the state school parent and teacher respondents had with their parents and the language used on these occasions. On this matter there was a fundamental split in the respondents between those whose parents were still living and those whose parents had died. There was also a number of respondents whose parents had return to live in Greece. In both these circumstances the respondents had lost the most important opportunity they had to use the Greek language. In the case of the fathers of the parent participants, five were dead or had returned to live in their European homeland. In addition, six admitted that they did not see their fathers often. Overall there only half of the parent respondents were able and willing to see their father often. Among
the teacher respondents all but one of the fathers had died. The teacher concerned claimed to have frequent contact with her father.

The sole language reported by parents and teachers as the means of communication with their fathers was Greek. The researcher’s own observations of home communication and subsequent interview comments confirmed that this did not mean the standard form of Greek\textsuperscript{57}. Rather it was the Greek-English ethnolect which Greek immigrants had developed amongst themselves for communication with their families and the Greek community. It is not possible for any speaker who lived for even a short period of time in a bilingual environment under any dominant language not to be exposed and influenced by the phonology, the phonemics, the morpho-syntactical, lexical, semantic and even bi-cultural pragmatic transferences form the dominant language. (Tamis 2009:23-27)

The pattern of contact and language use with mothers was similar to the fathers. In four cases the parent respondent’s mothers had died, while one was living in Greece. Over half of the parents saw their mothers often. Two, however, reported seeing their mothers rarely. Among the teacher respondents, none of the mothers were dead but four were living in Greece or Cyprus. The remaining two teacher respondents saw their mothers often.

The two parent respondents who saw their mothers rarely claimed that they used English on the occasions when they did meet. All the remaining parent and teacher respondents accounting to almost two thirds of the respondents (18 out of 29) said they spoke in Greek with their mothers. In reality it was the Greek-English mix which had become the ethnolect shaved by the immigrant parents and their Australian educated children.

8.2.3. State Schools Participants’ Marital Home Background and Language Use

\textsuperscript{57} The researcher’s observations—who has no expertise in linguistics—are compatible with what is anticipated by theoretical linguistics in a language contact situation between a dominant language and a subordinate migrant language. It is impossible to have the standard form of the migrant/minority language spoken as Tamis has clarified in 2009 p.23-28
The data which were generated from state school parents and teachers on their marital home background are summarised in Table 5. In relation to the parent participants, most were female (17 to 6 males). The great majority (20 out of 23) were born in the 1950s and 1960s, with three born even earlier in the 1940s. They were therefore slightly older than the St George parents. They were fairly evenly divided in terms of birthplace.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D.O.B</th>
<th>Parents (N=23)</th>
<th>Teachers (N=6)</th>
<th>Total (N=29)= (100%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30s</td>
<td>40s</td>
<td>50s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Greece</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GENDER</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO SIBL</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIB POB</td>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Greek</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>N=23</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPOUSE ETHNIC</td>
<td>GREEK</td>
<td>AUSTRALIAN</td>
<td>OTHER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LANG HOM/CHL</td>
<td>GREEK</td>
<td>ENGLISH</td>
<td>BOTH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRIEND ORIGIN</td>
<td>GREEK</td>
<td>AUSTRALIAN</td>
<td>OTHER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAN 2 GR FRNDS</td>
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<td>ENGLISH</td>
<td>BOTH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>PRM</td>
<td>SEC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCCUP</td>
<td>PE</td>
<td>TRA</td>
<td>SE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO BDRMS</td>
<td>BUS/WALK</td>
<td>YOU</td>
<td>SPOUCE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5:  
State Schools Quantitative Data: Marital Home Background and Language Used.
Ten were born in Greece and eleven in Australia and two in elsewhere. Of the teachers four were male and two female. Four of the six teachers had been born in the 1950s and five had been born in Greece.

The family circle of the state school parents tended to be more extensive than among the St George parents. For example, four of the parent respondents had six siblings and another twelve had two or three. The remaining seven had only one sibling. As many as eight of them had been born in Greece, compared to 13 in Australia and two elsewhere. One of the teachers had four siblings, while two others had three and the rest reported two siblings. Half of the teacher siblings were born in Greece and half in Australia.

The number of children in the parent participant’s own families also tended to be large. There were five parents with four or five children, ten with three children and seven who had two children. As can be crosschecked in the Table 5 below, the number of the siblings born in Australia was significantly higher than the number of respondents (12 of the respondents were Australia born compared to the 16 of their siblings born in Australia) suggesting that many of the respondents were the firstborns who had stronger contact with their mother tongue compared to their younger siblings.

The parent spouses were predominately Greek, eighteen compared with two Australian and three of other ethnic background. Three of the teachers’ spouses were Greek and two Australians [the one missing belongs to a never married participant]. However, while most of the teacher respondents’ friends were Greek mainly, the parent respondents’ friends were more diverse. Twelve of the parents had Greek friends, three Australians, while as many as eight had friends from other ethnic backgrounds. The proportion of non-Greek friends among the state school parents was higher than among the St George parents. Cross tabulating the parental responses revealed that 50% of the parents of state school students choose Greek friends and the other 50% non-Greek friends compared with 90% of St George parents who opted for a Greek origin social circle.
A greater range of socioeconomic background was evident among the state school parents compared to those from St George. Four had primary schooling or less, ten had secondary education, one had a trade qualification, while 8 had achieved some form of tertiary education, including six at university level. It is quite significant the fact that of those with a university degree, 2 had Australian spouses and 3 of other (Italian) ethnic background.

Parent respondents have a range of different occupations ranging from unemployed and pensionners to tradepersons, government employees and professionals.

The houses of the parent respondents showed a similar socio-economic range. Two of the parents reported having only two bedroom home, while another eleven had three bedroom houses. However, there were eight who reported four bedrooms, and two who said they had five. For the most part, one or other of the parents drove the children to school each day, but there were three parents who reported that their children walked to school or went by bus. These socio-economic data taken together with the large number of children in some families would suggest that there were some families who could have sent their children to state schools because they could not have afforded the fees for the St George College.

8.2.4. State School Participants’ Marital family Circle and Language Use

Table 5 also reports the language use with the various members of the marital family circle. With siblings, none of the teacher or parent respondents reported using Greek. Three quarters used only English, but a quarter, said they spoke both Greek and English to their siblings. The latter included four of the teachers who lived close to siblings who were born in Greece. The researcher’s observations verified that in this case at least two of the teachers used standard Greek language with their siblings in a colloquial (non-academic) bilingual communication on trivial discussions.

With friends three of the parents claimed to speak Greek, four said they used both languages, while the remaining half spoke English. Most of the teachers said they used both Greek and English. What
the state school parents and teachers meant by “Greek” and by “both languages” is explored more in the sections 8.3 and 8.4 which analyse personal statements.

In contrast to the St George parents, six of the parents and one of the teachers almost a quarter of the state schools, indicated that they spoke only Greek at home. For over two thirds, however, the language of the home was English. Two of the teachers but none of the parents said they used both languages in the home. The questionnaire responses do not indicate how the respondents interpreted “Greek” and “both languages”. The researcher’s observation and the cultural data are needed to clarify these meanings. On the figures from the questionnaire, it appears that the swing to English only is not as pronounced among state school parents and teachers, as that revealed in the St George data. Perhaps this was the result of more of the parents having been born in Greece and being the eldest sibling in the family. Alternatively that could be a result of the educational and socioeconomic levels of the parents (to be discussed further in another section).

Figure 4 below illustrates the language used by participants within their close parental and marital families and social circle.
The following chart 2 depicts state school parent and teacher respondents as the central or pivotal point of communication in a three generation Greek family. In the first place they communicate with the immigrant generation of their parents. Secondly they are involved with communicating to the siblings and friends of their own generation. Finally they need to communicate with their own children.

Chart 2: State Schools Parents and Teachers: Language Used To Communicate With Other Generations

8.3. Qualitative Approach: State Schools Participants’ Personal Statements and Language Use

A number of respondents from the state schools wrote quite detailed accounts of their patterns of language use. Often they reflected, with considerable insight, into the factors influencing these patterns. In addition, the researcher had arranged several hollow-up interviews with the respondents
to clarify what seemed to be contradictions or confusions in the questionnaire responses they had provided. Further extensive comments emerged from the interview discussions. These interview remarks have been regarded as comparable to the written statements, and hence part of the cultural data. In the discussions below, the quotations come from both questionnaire and interview sources and are referenced to the respondent in question. Since teachers, as well as parents, provided thoughtful comments on their language use with family and friends, their views are presented together in this section.

One parent admitted that the generational pattern of language use already identified.

*Main language used at home is English. We speak English to everyone apart from my parents because they came to Australia at a very late age and were not able to master the English language.* (P11)

Another explained,

*We speak Greek to our parents on the phone when they call from overseas.* (P23)

A third parent advised that she was learning again Greek because of the new arrivals in the family from Greece.

*Relatives that have arrived in Australia recently and are living here permanently ... I only speak in Greek to them.* (P16)

The reasons for the predominance of English is well articulated in another comment

*The actual practice of speaking Greek is somewhat limited. We speak English as convenience because we have been born and grown up in an English speaking country. It is now our ‘first’ language. Although we try to speak Greek to our children to try to teach them and get them accustomed to the language, laziness tends to make us revert back to English as the preferred

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58 The questionnaires had initially trialled by the researcher in the classes she was teaching in the Greek classes of the Greek Orthodox Community INC during 2002, when she was preparing her research proposal. However there was no way the researcher could have foreseen all the responses – especially in the open ended questions- the participants included in their accounts. After each interview, especially when the participant was revealing the researcher had to analyse and thematically place the new input and reconsider the previous statements under the new light. This process could be time-consuming. However it was revealing of actual cultural actions as Humanistic Sociology expect the cultural data to be.
method of communication. With our parents (my mother) I speak Greek all the time as this is her ‘first’ language and my mother ‘thinks’ in Greek all the time. Her command of the English language is limited. (P24)

The author of the above comments recognised the constant press for English from mainstream society. She also hinted at the effect on the respondent generation of the immersion experience in English at school, with no opportunity to reinforce their home Greek with literacy skills.

For another parent her limited use of Greek and lack of proper knowledge of the language was a matter of regret.

Unfortunately I do not speak enough Greek. I only use some Greek words regularly with my parents and friends and relatives of their generation. When my children were younger I spoke to them and I used some basic Greek words like yaya (=grandmother), papu (=grandfather), supa (=soup), however as they got older our topics of discussion more complex, my vocabulary was not good enough. In addition to that my husband is not Greek. (P15)

She recognised that, in her case, speaking Greek meant using “a few Greek words” with those of the immigrant generation. She recalled the beginnings of her English dominance

I remember as a child I used to speak Greek. Interestingly, when I was growing up we would sit around the dinner table, my parents, brother and sister, and I would talk Greek to my parents and English to my brother and sister. (P15)

In the interviews, she was regretful and apologetic about the influence of these factors on her own children

So as you understand I am not able to speak Greek or teach my children. I have recently started going to Greek school again to improve my Greek. (P15)

One of the state schools’ teacher gave a detailed description of her pattern of language use within her family, as well as an insightful analysis of her own thinking patterns.
I speak Greek mainly with my parents, elder in-laws and elderly relatives as well as friends who have been raised in Greece. I do not feel confident with my words, but at least I try because I do not have any other way to communicate with them…

With my spouse I speak mainly in English but will speak to him in Greek occasionally, particularly when I am upset or angry. With my brothers and sisters I speak mainly in English. To my children I speak mainly in English – especially with my 3 year old who does not understand any Greek and refuses even to hear Greek! With my friends, if they’re in Greece, and especially with my cousin, when I ring them, I speak in Greek. Of course if they’re living here... I speak to them in English...you see it is our main language. Sometimes with friends, if they are Greek born then we usually speak a mixture of both languages....

I do not know if my Greek is correct or strong but it is something strange. I have some words in Greek and I do not know the English equivalent and other words I know them only in English!!...The funny thing is that I do think in both languages and generally when I’m angry – I do a lot of thinking in Greek. (T10)

Although she expresses some doubts about the adequacy of her Greek compared to the greater ease and competence she feels in English, she is aware of thinking in both languages and certain of Greek as the main effective language for expressing strong emotions. The teacher in the follow up meeting when was asked in an interview to explain what she meant, she stated that for some reason when she was upset, more Greek words came into her mind and she felt it was easier to swear and “scream” in Greek.

A second teacher also provided another eloquent reflection on her use of the two languages

The language I use mostly for both written and oral purposes is English. This is not by choice but by necessity. The ratio of Greek language to English language spoken in my everyday life is 1:6 ie 4 hours of Greek in a 24 hour day. The fact that I live at home with my parents, - I speak with them only in Greek- accounts for the high proportion of Greek language spoken. But you have to understand my Greek are not as good as theirs, just enough for everyday communication. They
listen to the Greek news everyday and I have to admit I do not understand all the vocabulary used.

The sad thing is that I am a Greek teacher, theoretically my Greek should be up for scratch, but this is not the case-unfortunately! With my brothers and my friends I speak in English. I understand your question about the language we dream in, you want to know what happens in our brain...I think in my dreams, I speak in English!! Sad… eh!? (T11)

Two of the teachers with young children of their own provided important insights into the difficulties of maintaining the home as the Greek speaking domain, once the children began childcare or school, when they were completely immersed in English.

The researcher was able to follow one teacher who believed it was imperative to speak Greek to her children from their earliest years. Over the course of a number of follow up interviews it was possible to track what happened in practise to the family’s language patterns. During the first round of data collection, she wrote as follows:

It is important to me, for my child to learn Greek and for this reason I spoke to my 1st child only Greek in the first 2 years of her life. I wanted to lay the foundations and ensure that the knowledge is there for her to extend on. She could not have built this knowledge later had I spoken to her in English alone. She is too young to attend formal language classes but we read Greek books at home and we watch children’s videos in the Greek language and I make sure that she tells me the Greek name of new things that she learns in English. (T8)

In the first follow up meeting two years later, the teacher reported she was still exposing the child to Greek. The child was now at a private primary school which did not offer Greek, and the teacher had another child, a year old at the time of this meeting. She admitted that due to the arrival of the second child she was spending less time with the first born and the level of Greek language use at home had declined. By the time of the second meeting, four years later from the first contact, the first born child was not using any Greek at home. Even when addressed in Greek the response was in English. As a result the language the second child heard from both mother and first born sibling was English and there was none of the exposure to the Greek language which the first born had. At the last meeting,
the situation which the teacher-mother reported had become even worse. No Greek was being used at home. Furthermore, she had been transferred to a different school where she was no longer teaching any Greek at all, but instead her other curriculum area. Since the grandparents had died the elder child had stopped completely using even few words she used to exchange with her maternal grandmother, and the younger child had no Greek at all. As a result of the press for English experienced by the child at school and the mother’s pre-occupation with a second child and her work responsibilities. The family household had moved from the careful fostering of the first child’s Greek to speaking no Greek at all.

A similar scenario was reported by a second teacher-mother

> With my spouse I speak mainly in English but will speak to him in Greek occasionally, particularly when I am upset or angry. With my brothers and sisters I speak mainly in English. To my children I used to speak with some Greek words– however, my 3 year old started pre-school this year and although her 1st language was Greek for 21/2 years, she now refuses to speak Greek because “at her school the other children speak English”– peer group pressure! With my friends, if they are Greek born then we usually speak English or this language we have with a mixture of both languages. (T10)

In addition to highlighting how the schools influence on the child had pulled the whole family towards assimilation to English only, her comments reinforce earlier remarks on Greek as the preferred language to express emotions. It is also worth noting her description of the Greek Ethnolect developed in Australia as “this language we have with a mixture of both languages”.

In the final round of influences for this research project over 2009-2010, however, a new factor emerged. In place of the negative prognosis for the future of the Greek language in South Australia, evidence of a small scale regeneration in the use of the language for everyday communication was observed. It came as a direct result of the World Financial Crisis which began to impinge severely on the Greek economy from 2008. The effect of this on Greek language use in Adelaide is best illustrated in the case of T10, who was both a parent and a teacher. In her earlier questionnaire and interview
comments, she had expressed doubts, about her own competence in Greek and regret at the difficulties of maintaining Greek as the language of the home.

During the third and final interview in 2009, T10 was more confident and fluent in using her Greek language in everyday social life, because her first cousin (the one she used to talk to in Greek over the phone) had arrived from Greece and was residing in her house as sponsored skilled migrant (a trained Doctor who was planning to remain/migrate in Australia). The result of this co-habitation was that T10 had been forced to use Greek language in her everyday life. Her fluency, due to consistent everyday contact with the living language via a highly educated native speaker, was immensely improved. When she was asked whether she still thought in Greek more when she is upset, T10 replied that now she was using her Greek every day because she had to speak and understand her cousin. She said she “was even thinking more in Greek”\(^{59}\)

Seven other respondents, both parents and teachers described similar circumstances, where skilled Greeks were migrating in Australia, since they had relatives here. It should be noted that South Australia accepts the sponsorship of a relative, migrating as skilled migrant, even if the relationship is of second degree (cousins, nephews) in addition to the primary family relationships (brothers, sisters, children). This phenomenon of regeneration in Greek language use among some of the parents and teachers respondents, due to relatives migrating to Australia as a result of the Financial Crisis in Greece, is important and worth further investigation. In a group of 29 participants (n=23 parents and n=6 teachers), to have seven using more Greek language in their everyday life, because of this newly appeared trend, cannot be considered statistically insignificant. It represents 24.2% of the respondents and hence must be investigated. If this trend continues it may signal a resurrection of the Greek language due to more everyday use of the Greek language by the new-comers, since much related literature has demonstrated that many new migrants use mainly their mother tongue in everyday communication. This was undoubtedly true during the 50s and 60s when the new arrivals had no

\(^{59}\) “Thinking more in Greek” was interpreted as been more fluent and hence the words were more easily coming in her mind instead of emerging when the respondent was upset and hence more alerted.
knowledge of English and had to learn to speak a new language with a limited education background and no ESL provision. The result was the creation of the language islands noted by Tamis (1993:15).

However, the researcher’s personal observation made on five of these new arrivals (relatives of the respondents indicated that these recent arrivals were well educated skilled migrants, with university degrees and a sound knowledge of English at an academic level. The researcher has observed personally that these new migrants used more English or were willing to use more English within the home, in order to practise their accent and fluency. If this is not a coincidence, then impact on the use of Greek here will not be as robust as it was in the 70s when the last influx of native Greek language speakers to Australia occurred. These were Greek Cypriots migrating to Australia after the Turkish invasion in northern Cyprus, or mainland Greeks departing due to political persecution following the military coup.

In formal comments on the nature of the Greek ethnolect that many of the respondents learned at home and used with their parents also came to the research via relatives who had recently come from Greece to stay with some of the respondents. As well educated Greeks, used in the contemporary usage of the standard forms of the language and also competent in English the new arrivals were amused and perplexed by the language they heard their hosts using with the parental generation. To their ears, the language was neither English nor Greek.

Its use in reference to standard forms of Greek seemed to them to explain the loss of Greek in Adelaide, compared to the much higher levels of maintenance found among Greeks who had been settled for two or three generations in various European countries. The newcomers were inclined to laugh at the language use they heard, in a way that made some of the respondents who were their hosts embarrassed at their lack of Greek language skills. As a result, at least one parent had enrolled in Greek classes to try and improve her skills.

On her arrival from Greece fourteen years ago, the researcher had made a similar judgement of the so-called Greek language she heard used in some of the homes she visited. Greater understanding of
the local context has led to the recognition that the language used in many immigrant Greek families in Adelaide as the means of communication was a transient hybrid phenomenon of English and Greek. It was created by parents who had sub-standard forms of Greek and children who were being educated through Australian schools in English only, as the means by which they could communicate with one another.

8.4. Qualitative Approach: State School Teachers’ Personal Statements

The six state school teachers who reported to the questionnaires had both fathers and mothers of Greek ethnicity, with ten out of twelve being born in Greece. All but two mothers and one father had since died. Four of the six are male, and the two females were also the mothers of young children, as their accounts discussed in the previous section showed. Four had been born in the 1950s with five been born in Greece. Three of the teachers had two siblings, while the remainder had three or more; half of the sibling had been born in Greece. Three had Greek spouses and five had Greek friends.

Their concrete data suggested a greater concentration of Greekness and exposure to Greek language than many other respondents reported. For this reason, perhaps, they had chosen to pursue studies in Modern Greek as part of their tertiary education and to become teachers of Greek. Their personal statements, therefore, supplemented by later interviews, were focused on their experiences of teaching Greek and their views on the attitudes of the students they taught.

8.4.1. What Teachers say about the teaching of Greek

Of the teacher comments discussed below, most were negative in their assessment of various factors related to the Greek language teaching. This section discusses issues related to teachers, school
organisation and family environment. The next section focuses on the teacher’s comments on the attitudes of their students toward learning Greek.

One teacher considered that the current complications in Greek language teaching in the state schools was the result of the age of Greek teachers and their outdated ways of teaching. In addition they had minimalistic resources which had not followed the technological impetus or the necessity of catering for the needs of the current cohort of Greek students. He pointed out,

...There are teachers that have been teaching for more than 30 years and have not modified or adapted their teaching methods nor topics taught to suit these times. Those students they teach are third generation Greeks, whose mother-tongue is English and who come from homes where the main language spoken is English. Some of the lessons given by these teachers do not reflect the modern, vibrant Greece of today. This leaves students with the impression that Greece and Greeks themselves are stuck in the past or going backwards. This results in lack of appeal. A consequence of this is lack of appeal for Greek language and may be the reason why people of non-Greek origin, or third generation Greeks do not take up the language. As a result Greek fails to be one of the most common languages studied in schools today, funding is lost and the future is not good at all. (T6)

So according to this well-articulated statement of ideas, which many other participants share the decline in the numbers of Greek language students it could be argued that is a result

- of the loss of the momentum of the 80s in the last decade
- the generational change
- the lack of enthusiasm in the older Greek language teachers, and
- the way they taught Greek to young students.

After considering other factors T6 returned to the issue of teaching practices

...however, I am a little disappointed with the attitude of some teachers who refuse to accept that their teaching practices are somewhat outdated and are no longer effective in today's
classrooms. This is a difficult issue to deal with if the individuals concerned don’t understand this and take offence

Another teacher participant blamed the teacher’s lack of professional knowledge and competence in Greek.

Unfortunately, too many of our teachers are not proficient in the language they teach. They are 2nd and 3rd generation teachers of migrant parents, who have had little exposure to Greece and Greek, face many problems and create many more problems. It is too often that I have walked into a mainstream school classroom and seen 1st (sic) hand the numerous spelling and grammatical errors of the Greek language teachers all over the black board. Greek is only offered at those schools that have the numbers to justify offering the language as part of the curriculum, and if parents have strongly voiced their wish for this to happen. As a result of this minimal and inadequate knowledge of the Greek language only the basics are taught and very little grammar is covered to the extent that students reach senior secondary years and lack so much compared to 20 years ago. A year 11 background student, on average, has the language skills of a student in the 3rd or 4th grade in the 1970’s. (T8)

One respondent pointed out that some of the teaching difficulties arose from the way the school organised the teaching of Greek. To achieve economies of scale and avoid class number that were regarded as unviable, teachers were often forced to teach students of different linguistic backgrounds in the same class. She explained,

...in a mixed level classroom background students are taught with non-background students. Learning potential is decreased for those students who know the basics which they hear in class taught to their non-background peers. Teacher does not give directions in the Greek language. It is not enough to teach students a few phrases or words by using directions in English or even translating. If the learning environment is not surrounded by the language taught to the fullest then the students are discouraged from having to try and use the language they are learning – after all the teacher speaks English. (T10)
Her comments highlight the difficulties for the teacher in dealing with second language and Greek background learners in the same class, as well as the frustration of those held back in their learning by the needs of the slowest learners.

The declining standard of the students’ oral and aural efficiency in Greek was regarded as another negative factor.

"...students reach senior secondary years and lack so much compared to 20 years ago. A year 11 background student, on average, has the language skills of a student in the 3rd or 4th grade in the 1970’s. (T6)"

Several comments also revealed how teacher attitudes to their subject, can also make an important difference to student learning. Two teachers in their statements explained what being a teacher of Greek meant to them personally. One spoke movingly and positively about the importance of knowing the Greek language for herself personally and for her professional career.

"I can assure you from my experience, that being Greek is much more than the “Greekness” that we are exposed to in Australia. I feel that I possess a lot more skills and knowledge than my peers who did not peruse their Greek language. Professionally, I am happy about where I stand but I could have established myself better if I had had the opportunities that I have now, earlier in life (T6)"

For her eating Greek food, having a Greek surname and celebrating some Greek religious milestones, as a means of maintaining the pride in the ancestral history, does not make someone Greek. The undeniable and sine qua non component of Greekness is the knowledge of the Greek language.

At the opposite extreme, was the statement of another teacher who defined her role solely in terms of teaching a second language, any second language! In her detailed explanation of the benefits of learning another language, she makes no specific mention of Greek and its significance to Greek people at all.

"I believe that every child can benefit from learning any second language (sic-emphasised). Learning a language exposes you to another culture. You learn about that people’s history,
way of life, traditions, food, ethos etc. It opens your eyes to another world of knowledge. It allows you to draw comparisons, form educated opinions and generally widens your horizons in the learning world. Also, research has proven that students learning more than one language have an improved cognitive learning ability. (T9)

A response that is as generic and neutral towards the Greek language as the above provides an indication of the way some teachers’ attitudes may be affecting the teaching of Greek in some schools. It stands in contrast to the enthusiasm and passion for the promotion of the Greek language expressed by the previous respondent.

Amongst the teachers’ comments there are also statements which considered that home environment factors had contributed to the decline in students’ standards. One pointed to the fact the language was not spoken at home, that parents …

...cannot give children any real reasons as to why they should learn Greek, except for the sake of being Greek and therefore they do not care to learn even the basics. (T10)

A second teacher described in more detail the negative effect of the home environment/language domain.

I believe the biggest problem confronting students today is not being able to utilize or practice what they have learnt in the classroom. More and more students are in an environment that does not provide them with the opportunity to exercise their language skills. This can be corrected by parents speaking Greek in the home and by other relatives and friends speaking to the children in Greek as opposed to English but they do not. (T12)

Apart from the teacher who is happy with her current professional situation there was only one teacher comment on Greek language teaching that was positive in tone. Although the writer pointed to several important achievements, she yet recognised a downside in the current context.

In my school the Greek language is as important as any other subjects. It has the same status for the School and SSABSA. As a language teacher I do not confront with any problems. As any
language in S. Australian schools of the Greek language is the poor brother of education due to the students’ and parents’ lack of interest in languages in General; though the Greek parents are very supportive compared to other ethnic people. (T9)

The recognition of Modern Greek as a year 12 subject which counted towards university entrance was an important achievement in the mid-1970s. So, too was the fact that the respondent was able to teach Greek as a regular subject in her school. Her statement also recognised the support which had been provided by Greek parents in his school (as well as in the other two state schools used in this research).

The issue of concern raised was the declining support for languages in education generally and the lack of interest shown by both students and parents for the learning of languages other than English.

8.4.2. What Teachers Say About Student Attitudes to Learning Greek.

This section looks particularly at what state school teachers said about their student’s attitudes to Greek. As with the comments discussed in the previous section, they identified in their statements a number of interlocking factors which, in this case, contribute to understanding the disinterest and negativity of many students (75% according to their personal statements), as well as the positive attitude of a few, towards learning Greek.

For one teacher, negativity to Greek was a manifestation of adolescent students revolting against their parents.

Young students (primary school level) enjoy studying Greek language. It still brings them closer to the background of people they love such as their parents and grandparents. Older students (secondary school level), if they enjoy it, won’t admit it, as it would be seen as “uncool” amongst their peers. Some older students may be in a rebellious stage in their lives and are rebelling against their parents and society. One way of showing this is to disassociate from their cultural background. These students demonstrate a negative attitude to studying Greek language. (T7)
Two others discussed family patterns which led to indifference or negativity towards Greek. The first pointed to the way that students’ lack of connection with Greekness in family life acted as a disincentive for learning Greek

*Lack of a strong connection to Greece and the Greek culture is the main reason for the non-existing interest by the young ones. Students of the past had a stronger connection to their Greekness as parents spoke Greek and indeed visited Greece more often – if only to see family and relatives. This is not the case now and most students link their Greekness to their grandparents whom they see once a week if so* (T11)

The second considered that most parents did not actively encourage or support their children’s study of Greek.

*some parents may be supportive to Greek teachers, but the majority is too busy to deal with their children ‘learning Greek issue’ since they have other priorities and they claim they do not want to be involved (sic) with children’s education.* (T10)

A third teacher provided a detailed and insightful discussion of family influences, as they interacted with past and present school factors in the lives of the students.

*second generation Greek parents are supportive, encouraging and proud of their children studying Greek language when at primary. However, because a lot of parents don’t realize that they can enhance their child’s learning by speaking to them in Greek as opposed to English, by opening their brain to thinking at multiple levels, they chose the easiest for them option of communicating at home in English -after all there are not many of first generation Greeks anymore that have to speak only Greek at home, as it was the case with our generation, when our parents could not speak English-. Today parents of primary and secondary school students are Australian born and more fluent in English than in Greek, and even worse they do not think useful for their children to learn Greek. Greek has only sentimental value for young parents; at least that is the feedback I have from my students’ parents, when I discuss and try to persuade them to continue Greek at year 12. Yes, unfortunately this is true. I know of many students who*
don’t study further than y10 Greek at our school because they feel there is no benefit/advantage. (T 7)

Implicit in the last sentence is the fact that in the state schools concerned the study of a language ceases to be compulsory or appealing with regard to qualifying for a university entrance after year 10.

Two of the teachers were much more positive in their assessment of student attitudes to Greek. Both saw advantages in the current school arrangements, where students went on to Year 11 and 12 studies in Greek, only if they chose to do so. One teacher explained the overall situation as follows;

...up to y. 10 students continue Greek to satisfy their parents/rewarding. If they continue at Y11 this is a result of students’ choice. Those who have strengths in humanities & language choose Greek because they aim to gain points through the language, i.e. Adelaide Uni offers extra entry points if student combines Maths and language (T10)

Another maintained that in his school

...Current students’ attitudes towards Greek is good. They enjoy studying the language because students are given a choice by their parents as to whether want to learn Greek or not so there isn’t this pressure by either parents/teachers that the students must learn Greek.

Students of the past either hated studying Greek or embraced it. They hated it because of a lack of choice, a bad experience or parental/teacher pressure. In contrast those that embraced the language did so because they enjoyed it and some continue to foster and promote teaching of the language today. Generally speaking I am fairly happy with the teaching practices within my school. (T12)

This teacher appreciated that at least now students were choosing to learn Greek because they wanted to, and as a result, were dedicated students. The downside of this as other respondents hinted was the threat to the viability of Greek as a school subject, because of the comparatively small number of students choosing to continue their studies of Greek.
8.5. Qualitative Approach: State School Parents’ Personal Statements

The state school parent respondents were born mainly in the 1950s and 1960s. They were split almost equally between those born in Greece and those born in Australia. Two thirds had two or more siblings, half of whom were born in Australia. Most saw their parents frequently, if they were still living. The majority (18 out of 23) were married to spouses of Greek ethnicity, with two married to Australian and three to spouses of other ethnicities. All but one had two or more children, with five having four or more offspring. They represented a comparatively wide range of educational and occupational backgrounds.

Although the state school parents were split between those born in Greece and those born in Australia, they shared much the same schooling experiences in Australia. In their personal statements, these two subgroups addressed rather different topics. Those parent respondents born in Greece shared their thoughts about their own sense of cultural identity and its implications for their children’s education. Those born in Australia – since for them the identification as Australians of Greek background or as Australian Greeks was given - focussed rather on choosing the most appropriate school for their children. One of the issues in their discussion was whether or not the children should learn Greek. Both provide important insights into the parents’ aspirations for their children and the extent to which it included Greek language and culture.

8.5.1. Greek-born Parents’ Sense of Cultural Identity

The analysis of the statements from the state schools parents showed that these respondents identified themselves in three rather different ways. Some called themselves Greek-Australians and explained why Greekness was of on-going importance in their ways of thinking, feeling and living. One explained it in the following themes:
Whilst I feel Australian and am Australian I have a very close affinity with my ‘Greekness’. So I will say Greek Australian. When I am with Australians I know I am different. Also my husband’s family is not Greek and this is another way my Greekness ‘comes out’. This is not a bad feeling they are very comfortable with that and I am very comfortable with my Greek identity comments a parent (P15).

As a social “actor” she decided the way she wanted to be identified: She was married to a non-Greek, felt and perceived self to be Australian, yet revealed a deep understanding of her ‘difference’, which was the result of her Greek upbringing. She accepted this Greekness, celebrated it and allowed it to come out since it was regarded as ok in her social circle.

This identification varies so much from person to person that sometimes the line between Greek Australian and Australian Greek cannot be drawn or varies according to the social and cultural context.

A second statement of Greek Australian identity was just as strong in its duality.

I am Greek-Australian. We have lived by Greek tradition and culture all our lives, as that is what my parents taught me. I love Australia and call it home, but I am pulled towards Greece. I cannot really explain this feeling. (P 22)

For a third, the achievement of feeling Greek Australian and valuing Greek culture came after the peer pressure experienced in growing up.

When I work I feel more Greek-Australian. As I was growing up it was more Australian-Greek due to peer pressure, I was trying to hide my identity. Now, I understand the true values of being Greek I wouldn’t have it any other way. (P27)

She appears to be another who sees herself as enjoying “the best of both worlds”.

Another parent, married to a spouse of Italian background described what the Greek part of her identity meant in her life.

I describe myself as a “Greek Australian”. Even though I was born in Australia, I can feel the “Greek blood” in me and feel proud to have an ethnic background and especially Greek. I like the fact that I have a “tradition” behind me and some that I can pass on to my children. As my husband
is of Italian background, I do not want to “consume” my children with only Greek and wish to be fair with their ethnic upbringing. My parents are both deceased and we do not have any “Greek” relatives to converse with. I still enjoy speaking some Greek-whatever is left of it- with the occasional Greek acquaintances I encounter. (P28)

It is clear that the knowledge and current activation of this parents’ Greek language is minimal, while the sense of “Greek Blood” and “ethnic Pride” could be described as residual cultural values without their linguistic core. Nevertheless, they remained important to her and made her claim a Greek-Australian identity.

Others saw their cultural identity as weighted toward the Australian side. The emphasis is on the Australian component, not the Greek. One parent, married to an Australian spouse, put it

I am Australian-Greek. Have been married in the Australian cultural background, however have maintained ties with the Greek tradition because of parents and relatives (P22)

Nevertheless, there remains a sense of being Greek alongside the Australian identity.

One parent who aimed for the good aspects of both cultural worlds, showed a degree of ambiguity towards activating Greek values

Being Greek is not difficult at all because it is a way of life. I take the good aspects of being Greek, the advantages of being Australian and combine them to enjoy a happy self-fulfilling life. At times many Greek traditions become a burden to my life but every single time I think that way, I’m glad after the event that I was there or I was involved. It gives a definite sense of belonging. (P18)

While admitting that she found some Greek values burdensome to activate, she appreciated that participation did strengthen the identification with the group.

Another respondent, who felt allegiance to Australia because he was born here, explained how he balanced the two identities in his own consciousness.

I am Australian-Greek. Although Greek in origin, I am born in Australia, so I have allegiance to Australia. I am proud of achievements in Greece, but acknowledge achievements of people of
Greek descent from all over the world. I am especially proud of Greek achievements in Australia but am also proud of Australian achievements around the world. (P16)

Another who called herself “Australian of Greek parents”, also went onto argue for the benefits of being able to combine the best from both cultures.

*Being born in Australia, I've had the pleasure of learning about both the Australian and Greek way of life. I am privileged to be able to combine good qualities from both cultures to create a balanced life and family environment. My upbringing was very strict and structured. I see that Australians are more relaxed and laid-back. In my family there are certain limits set with my spouse and children and at the same time there is more open communication, freedom and understanding which has come about from my Australian living environment.* (P32)

Her statement compared the upbringing she experienced in her parental home with what she expected from her own children. She considered the modifications she adopted for mainstream Australian culture as a benefit to all concerned. It could be argued, however, that making such an emotional, and hence psychological commitment, involves a shift in cultural values and social group away from the Greek community and its cultural values.

The shift away from Greekness as cultural values to be activated in their daily lives in Australia was even more apparent in statements like the one below

*My allegiance is to Australia first, I feel this is the country that has given me a future, education etc. I am of Greek parents, 1st generation and have always been very proud of my heritage but that is it.* (P25)

In this mindset, being Greek was reduced to a factual reality, like birthplace and date of birth. Such parents showed that they were choosing to be, and to teach their children to be Australians who happened to have grandparents who came from Greece 50 years ago.

The personal statements of two respondents revealed that at the base of their thinking was the possibility that being of Greek ethnicity was not simply a demographic fact but a disadvantage in Australian society. One respondent raised the issue in relation to his acceptance in Australian
professional and social life. For him personally, his Greek ethnicity had not proved the basis for
discrimination; he regarded it instead as a benefit in terms of understanding a broad range of people
and their cultural values.

*Being of Greek origin has not hindered my professional/social life at all, if anything it enabled me
to associate and understand a wider range of values and beliefs. I am very proud of my Greek
origins as I am with my Australian upbringing.* (P16)

In contrast, one mother recalled the difficulties of feeling different from the Australian or non-Greek
majority during her childhood and adolescence. Only as she grew older, and with the help of extended
family and friends, did she begin to see her Greek cultural background as positive.

*As a child and teenager I found it difficult because I knew I was different than the majority
however there were enough of us around not to feel too isolated. As I grew older – mid to late
teens –I began to appreciate this difference and felt proud to come from such a culturally diverse
background. It was not a sense of Greek arrogance (which some seem to have) but rather a
sense of luck. Now I have finally realised that I was lucky to be able to be included in the
English/Anglo/Australian culture and lucky to also have my Greek culture to enjoy. This is the
quality I wonder if my children will also be able to feel.* (P15)

She ended, however, by wondering whether her own children would even have her experience of
enjoying being part of both cultures.

The above analysis demonstrates the range and complexity of the sense of identity reported by the
parent respondents from the three state schools. The variation from person to person reflects the way
these social actors interpreted their lives, the linguistic, social, occupational and cultural choices to be
made within their context and the groups they ultimately wished to identify with. As a result, it was
difficult for the researcher –at that stage- to comprehend and thus try to interpret how the participants
were able to differentiate and draw the fine line between Greek-Australian and Australian-Greek. This
came to a resolution with the attempt she initiated at this point to taxonimise all the participants in this
Portfolio of researches according to the way they were activating their chosen cultural affiliation in conjunction to the language they used. (Please refer to the Conclusions to the Portfolio and the Typology created).

It was clear the dilemma for these parents who straddled two cultures— the mainstream Australian culture of the education and, usually, their workplace, and the Greek culture of the home, which usually had no re-enforcement on development in school, was whether it was necessary for their children to study Greek. The major difference between these parents and St George College parents was that the latter group of respondents considered as a sine qua non duty to teach Greek to their children. In the present sample this social action is expressed as a wishful thought, a maybe, a ‘choice’ of the child, but not as a compulsory necessity that the participants as parents and guardians will impose to their offspring—at least in the same way it was imposed to them. When requested to comment on the need for their children to learn the language of their ancestors, only 5 of the 23 parents responded that they considered it essential. The other 18 were positive but made tentative or qualified comments such as the following.

Yes they should try to learn Greek. It enriches them as people. It is so easy to learn the language if their parents speak it. It is a part of their culture and their background; it gives them sense of belonging and identity. All languages are good and if you have the opportunity— it should not be missed. (P15)

The commencing sentence of this statement contains two conditions: “should” is not “must” and is indicative of a wish or requirement and not a necessity. This “should” loses even more its modality with the addition of the word “try”. “Children should try to learn” is a far planet’s distance from the position “children must learn”. P15 has then chosen to underline the significance of children learning a language

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60 In other words the dilemma could be what the parents considered more important: the official culture the one related to political rights and to socio-economic rights (the Australian) and the unofficial culture and sentiment of identity (Greek).
as part of their identity and cultural heritage. Her final remark that all languages are worth studying undermines the force of previous statement by equating the ancestral language with any other!

A second parent has even more emphasized the fact that there is a hesitation to enforce the learning of Greek in case it provoked adolescent rebellion.

I do not believe they must learn Greek, however they should be given the opportunity when they feel ready to do so. Any second language is of benefit. In our situation where there are ethnic parents ie Greek and Italian, pushing my children to learn Greek plus another (Italian) did not seem fair – children have enough pressures with normal school without adding more. As children grow into adults, there is nothing preventing them from learning a language as an interest course later in life. (P28)

In this case the learning of Greek is further combined by a mixed marriage. In order to be fair to both ethnic backgrounds and avoid friction between paternal and maternal grandparents, the children were not exposed to either language. The end result however is the dominance of the English language of the school and mainstream society in the expense of the children.

Whenever a parent’s comments seemed to favour the learning of Greek language, there was most often a pragmatic and extrinsic reason behind this choice, such as learning Greek so as not to be teased when traveling in Greece!

It’s good to know a Second language as when you go to Greece they will not tease the Australian-Greek born children, that they don’t know how to speak Greek. (P18)

P32 considered that learning Greek was beneficial not because it would connect students with their cultural roots but for the cognitive advantages they could gain in learning English.

To learn a language such as Greek is extremely beneficial when living in an English-speaking country because the roots of many words in the English language are derived from the Greek language. Therefore learning Greek assists to de-code English words. (P32)
8.5.2. Australian-born Parent’s Choice of Schools for Children.

The free spirited tendency noted among the Greek-born state school parents of not insisting or requiring that their children study Greek, was even more evident among the Australian-born parents. Their move away from Greek collectivistic values and toward the individualism of mainstream Australian society was evident in the parent’s reluctance to override the free will of their children and their determination to let the children chose their own cultural and linguistic pathways. These parent respondents were sending their children to state schools that offered Greek up to year 12 level. Yet, when asked to explain the reasons for their choice of school, the majority did not mention the teaching of Greek as their principal reason.

One of the Australian-born parents affirmed directly that the availability of Greek had determined the choice of school for their children.

*The high school I chose was mainly because it offered Greek.* (P31)

Others made it clear that the teaching of Greek was not a criterion in their choice, rather it was...

*Because of the schools status & reputation* (P21)

or

*We chose the day school for its curriculum and convenience for transport. It had a good reputation.*

*Greek was not a high profile factor for us.* (P29)

or even

*I chose (sic) the child’s school, as it was the best school available and in my opinion just because the child has Greek family, doesn’t mean they have to go to a school which offers Greek.* (P18)

Interview comments from the above respondent helped to explain her attitude here. She considered that the use of Greek in her parental family home has hindered her English language skills and
hence her professional advancement. Because still she felt inadequate in English, she was attending English classes at WEA\(^{61}\).

Another parent explained in detail that the primary concern was to maximise grades at year 11 and 12 level.

*We did not choose our child’s high school because it offered Greek. As we have 2 boys, we did not see them continuing their study of Greek through to years 11 or 12 as there is too much competition from other subjects, so we needed to choose a school that offered a wide variety of subjects. We did not want the children to travel long distances to get to school, so other issues besides language choice were important. (P20)*

The parent’s reluctance to force their children to study Greek and the parental desire to give the students the choice of subjects was clearly seen in the statement, “we did not see them continuing Greek in Y11 and Y12”. Does this suggest that parental expectations were vetoing their continued study of Greek at years 11 and 12 in favour of subjects which would enhance their social mobility? Or did the children concerned subconsciously about this parental expectation and live up to it?

For one parent the choice of state school came as a deliberate rejection of independent Greek schooling.

*my first child went to a Greek Private school because it offered the language and religion. Since then we have sent the children to public and private Catholic schools. Better for them to mix with other nationalities, the Greek school was too Greek -not enough exposure to real world (P25)*

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\(^{61}\) The Workers’ Educational Association of South Australia Incorporated (WEA), founded in 1913, is Australia’s largest non-government adult community education organization. The WEA provides learning opportunities for anyone aged 15 years or older. There are generally no pre-requisites for courses and no assessment or exams
This statement voices the views of those Australians of Greek origin who feel that the perpetuating the Greek language, religion and tradition in South Australia as if it were part of the Greek state, was inappropriate because according to her passionate statement ‘we are Australians (P25)’ indicated her rejection of the ghetto that had been created by the first generation migrants in their need to survive in the Australian context. Instead, she upheld the advantages of being Australians when in Australia, (to paraphrase the famous maxim).

Two of the parents who gave other reasons for the choice of their children school, did mention that the possibility of learning Greek was an additional feature that they would be preferred to take advantage of even though it was not a deciding factor.

*The issue of choice in General Schooling is much influenced by the reputation or standard of the school. We wish our children to have a good education that will give them the best opportunities in life and education. As we are ‘Australians’ (sic) we have not selected the school or its ability to offer LOTE and MT although this is a bonus. If it was not offered at school we would still stay at this school.* (P24)

And

*the secondary school I’ve chosen for my children is the one they are in the school zone for. It happens to be the school I attended, has a good reputation, offers a broad range of subjects for science and Arts preferences, and offers 7 languages, Modern Greek being one of them.* (P32)

The full meaning of these comments can be appreciated when the subject options available to these state school students is understood. Up to the end of year 10, these state secondary schools specialising in languages required all students to study a language. The children of these parent respondents would have had the opportunity to study Greek through years 8 to 10. Since learning
language has been compulsory in state primary schools from 1985, most would also have been able to study Greek from Reception to year 7. (South Australian Task Force to Investigate Multiculturalism and Education, 1984). However, in Years 11 and 12, when students were required to study a reduced number of subjects (currently in the second decade of the 21st century and before the final introduction of the Australian National Curriculum only 4 subjects count for the SACE), many chose to drop the study of a language in favour of subjects seen as more useful for university entrance.

The parent’s comments suggest that they were quite happy to see their children learning Greek at school up to the end of year 10. This probably represented more access to the formal learning of Greek than the parents themselves had ever had. However, most saw no need for their children to continue the study of Greek in the senior years. By then, the priority for most parents was their children’s successful achievement of university entrance.

8.6. State School Parents’ Level of Education and Socioeconomic Status as Factors in Linguistic and Cultural Maintenance

As with the St George parents, the juxtaposition of concrete and cultural data for the state school parents pointed to relationships worth investigating further. This section presents cross tabulation of the concrete data on state school parents’ language use, educational and occupational levels with cultural data related to their views on the maintenance of Greek language and culture. Explanations and comments made during follow-up interviews proved particularly important in this regard. Teachers were not included in this cross tabulation. Of the 23 parents who participated in this study from the three state schools, 17 were female and six were male.

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62 South Australian Certificate of Education (SACE)
Chart 3 below summarises in more detail than Table 5 the educational level achieved by the parent respondents. One male respondent explained in an interview that he had never had any formal education either in Greece or Australia. Another three males had only completed primary schooling, all of it in Greece. Subsequent interviews revealed that these four males had migrated to Australia as teenagers in the 1950s. Because of the problems of moving, at their age, into an English speaking educational system which made absolutely no provision at that time for teaching English as a second language, they had never attended school in Australia.

The remaining 19 respondents commenced and completed their formal education in Australia, before the introduction of Multicultural policies. It was a period when being Greek and speaking Greek was seen and perceived by an overwhelmingly English speaking society as an offence and subsequently negative characteristic by themselves as that could minimise their chances for a better job.
Another male explained in an interview that he had left school at year 9 and gone on to studies in the building trade, which he had completed to current Certificate II level regarded as equivalent in standard to y11 of the secondary education.

Ten others had completed secondary education. There were two who had completed tertiary level College studies, while six had completed university degrees, one to Master level.

Looked at in education terms, these figures are remarkable. As can be seen summarised in detail in chart 4 below, one third of these state school parents, whose parents did not speak English and

![Chart 4: State Schools. Parents’ Occupation. (NOTE: Teachers Excluded.)](image)

often had the lowest of socio-economic circumstances on arrival, had completed tertiary studies. It is consistent with the higher level of achievement among the children of Greek immigrants reported by Smolicz (1979: 28). The Australian education system of the 1960s and 1970s had not given them any support in developing their Greek language skills, or any specific teaching of English geared to their needs. What it had for a considerable number was the opportunity provided for social modality via assimilation to the English language and main stream cultural patterns. State school Parent’s occupations, which are, followed the pattern of their educational qualifications.
The four males without any Australian schooling were pensioners. Comments from the interviews indicated that when they arrived as teenage immigrants, they were expected, as part of the Greek collectivistic ethos, to help support the family. Some had worked with their fathers in the family business; some had found work with other Greeks.

When education and occupational levels were cross-tabulated the language use at home, a negative correlation was evident. The six parents who declared with pride in the interview that they used Greek at home were the four with no Australian education who were currently pensioners, plus the parent who was looking for a job and the one with trade qualifications who worked as a builder. He explained in the interview that most of his clients are Greek and he is unable to expand his work in other ethnic groups, because he is not able to function as a businessmen in English. The families were the ones who maintained the Greek language and culture most strongly. However it proved important to look more closely at the circumstances of these six parents. Because of their lack of any Australian education, they had difficulty in learning English, particularly reading, writing and conversational skills. As a result, they were far more confident in communicating in Greek rather than in English, a practise that can be supported by the fact they used Greek as the means of communication when initially responded the questionnaires and later during the interview meetings they used the Greek ethnolect.

From the perspective of these six respondents, their committent to Greekness was a matter of personal choice. However, it could be argued that their lack of access to any opportunity to gain competence in English and the consequent barrier to participation in mainstream society meant that they had no choice except to live out their lives within the confines of the Adelaide Greek community.

Of course, the language they spoke is the ethnolect of the local Greek community, because they did not had the opportunity either to learn the standard Greek as part of formal education and become literate in it, or to learn English, hence they had no alternative but to use conversational Greek the eventually made the locally used ethnolect.
Figures from the other end of the continuum also support the argument of a negative correlation between education and socioeconomic levels and Greek language maintenance. The 17 parent respondents who said they spoke English at home were made up of nine who completed secondary education, the two with college qualifications and the six who had university degrees. At the time of the research, they were either self-employed or worked for government or professional firms.

Their level of education had given them a good command of English, which they used in their work situation and for participation in mainstream society. In most circumstances it was easier for them to speak, read and write in English then communicate orally –if need be- in the Greek ethnolect of their childhood home. They felt more confident of their command and fluency in English except when they needed to express their emotion forcefully or speak to non-English speaking parents.

In theory, they had the option of using either English or the Greek ethnolect of their parental home as the means of communication in the marital home, provided their spouse was also of Greek background. In reality, it was hardly surprising that they ended up speaking the language they were most familiar with the one linked to their literacy skills, rather than the linked Greek ethnolect which the school and mainstream society had taught them to be ashamed of.

The above interpretation was confirmed and something of the thinking behind the preference for English was revealed in the parent’s responses at later interviews. When asked in interviews to comment on the dramatic drop in state schools teaching Greek, the majority made comments which revealed their view of the Greek language as something expendable.

- *The language is not really so important and the language itself does not make them or their children to feel Greek*” (P 3),
- *There are other characteristics more important that made them proud of being of Greek origin like the ancient Greek history* (P 18),
The only reason probably children need to know Greek is to speak with grandparents but after all grandparents can speak English, to be Greek is in your Genes (P 7).

None of these statements shows any appreciation of the Greek language as a core value for the maintenance of Greek culture into the next generation. Instead the last statement, along with a number that claimed that Greekness was “in the Greek blood”, suggests that the respondents thought of ethnicity as having a biological base than cultural and hence needed no formal transmission or learning.

Subsequently, when the researcher asked the individual parents why they did not give a high priority to teach their ethnic language to their children, the most common explanation given was related to their own personal experience. Those parents with high levels of education had found it very hard in their professional life to combine the hot blooded Greek temperament with the controlled and rational way they were expected to behave in order to excel in their profession. They considered that their children needed to learn to behave as Australians within the Australian context and that the focus on English alone at home and at school would help them in this.

Since they did not anticipate or even dream of ever returning to Greece, they did not consider it important for their children to maintain the Greek. When they were asked as a follow up question if they felt guilty of abolishing or abandoning their Greekness by not supporting their children’s learning of Greek language and culture, the 17 with high levels of education said that they had found personally that knowing the language was not necessary to them feeling Greek. They considered that the same would be true for their children. In the opinion of their parents the fact that their children were being exposed to Greek language and culture at school up to the end of year 10 was enough. When the children grew up, they could learn more about Greek language and culture, if they personally chose to. Almost unanimously, these parents said they did not want their children to endure the experiences they had of having to learn Greek.
in order to communicate with their parents. (P12, P15, P18, P27)

or

because [their] parents forced [them] to learn Greek (P14, P19, P21, T8)

It is worth noting that one of the respondents also made the last comment above was a Teacher.

Following up their responses on home language use in the questionnaires, the researcher asked the teachers in later interviews why they, as professional teachers of Greek, did not help their own children to learn Greek by using it as the language of communication in the home. All six teachers explained that their decision to become a professional teacher was separate from, and irrelevant to, their knowledge of Greek. Their comments showed that they were not happy with their prospects of teaching Greek in the future. The Greek language was not being given the recognition they believed it deserved.

Nor did they have the level of resources and support they needed to teach Greek effectively. At bottom they were afraid that due to policy changes within the state education departments’ administration the teaching of Greek in secondary schools had no future as the number of students declined and the level of the student’s knowledge of Greek dropped. One of the teachers interviewed had on the course of the research study, been transferred to a school where she was not teaching Greek.

In the case of the parents, the comments and statements discussed above portray two extremes in the correlation of levels of education and socioeconomic status with the use of the Greek language in the daily life of the home and social circle. Charts 5 and 6 below illustrate this correlation and its implication in the lines of the parental responses.
Chart 5. State School Parents: Low Education and Socioeconomic Status as Factors in Greek Language Maintenance.

Chart 6: State School Parents: Higher Education and Socioeconomic Status as factors in Shift to English.
Chart 5 shows the case of those parents who had low levels of education and income, and hence low socio-economic status. The factors had interacted to ensure that they had not been adequately educated in English. The only way for them to communicate and survive socially was to speak their Greek ethnolect. Their lack of English meant that they could not participate in the life of mainstream society. Their interview comments showed that they were acutely aware that they were ill-adapted to life in Australia. Not feeling “at home” in their new country, they often expressed in interviews the hope of returning to Greece, where for them was the land of their dreams. In the final round of 2008 interviews, there was less evidence of this sentiment of “dreaming Greece”, because of the early reports of economic decline there.

The situation of those parent respondents outlined in chart 8 shows clearly that the issue of access to linguistic and cultural values needs to be considered alongside the attitudes of individual actors (Smolicz 1979, 1999:209). Were these parents of low socio-economic status so positive to Greek and opposed to English, largely because their life circumstances gave them the opportunity to know Greek, but denied them any chance to learn English?

At the opposite end of this correlation continuum, those parents with university or college education were employed in quite highly paid jobs and enjoyed a higher socio-economic status in terms of their possessions and life-style. In their case, those two factors interacted to ensure that English, the language of their education and employment, was the language of their home and family circle, even when they were married to a spouse of Greek background. The only exception to this was communication with their immigrant parents, if they were still living. Most continued to speak the Greek ethnolect with their parents.

Their command of English made it easy for them to participate actively in mainstream society be it socially, in leisure activities such as sport or community activities in their children’s school. Their social circle was made up of other successful Greek background families, like themselves or Anglo-Australian friends. Only rarely were they involved in activities or celebrations in the Greek community. Their use of English at home seemed to be clearly associated with adaptation to
mainstream Australian cultural life, which they desired in their ambition to become part of the establishment. Part of their motivation in guiding their offspring away from senior year studies in Greek and towards successful university entrance was to ensure that the children were not seen as ‘wogs” or second class citizens in Australia. These parent respondents were trying to save their children from the obstacles and the negative experiences they had endured as children of immigrant parents.

However, the situation of these parents of higher socioeconomic background also needs to be viewed not only as assimilationist attitudes favouring the activation of English and Australian cultural values but also in the light of access of cultural and linguistic values. Their schooling had given them over the long term effective access to learning English. It had not acknowledged but rather denied their Greek language and culture of their families. There had been no opportunities to consolidate their home language and develop literacy skills in it, as the Australian school did for those who spoke English at home. Moreover, Australia at that time had a strongly monolingual orientation, which barely recognised the possibility, let alone the benefits, of being bilingual and able to communicate in different languages in appropriate cultural contexts.

In an effort to further investigate the correlation of levels of education and socioeconomic status with maintenance of “Greekness” in other areas of culture, the participants were asked to identify the factors which they considered important to keep in order to ‘feel Greek’. They were given the following options: marriage and baptism according to the Greek Orthodox religion; Greek history; the people’s character; the Greek language; Greek cuisine; and Greek cultural expressions (such as songs and dances, whether traditional or contemporary). It was also possible for respondents to name any other factors they identified with. They were requested to number themselves according what they perceived to be most important for ‘feeling Greek’. The

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63 That period was named by Clyne (1991:17) the “rejection phase” and ended with the multiculturalism movement that started in mid 70s.
responses were categorised according to the education level. The results of this crosstabulation are presented in Figure 5 below.

![Figure 5: State School Parents: Cultural Aspects of Greekness by Education Level](image)

The two factors identified by all the tertiary educated parents and most of those with secondary education as indicative of their ‘Greekness’ were their temperament and character, what they called Greek blood, and Greek food. What was identified as historicity (the pride they take because of their past culture) was third. The other cultural aspects, such as religion language and maintenance of customs were considered important by all of those who only had primary schooling, plus two other parents who had completed secondary education.

None of the respondents, it is worth noting, answered this question by saying they no longer had any sense of Greekness. Those with lower education and socioeconomic status linked their sense of Greekness with what Smolicz called the cultural or core values of Greek culture. For those of higher education and socioeconomic status, Greek identity was not linked to these core values, which they had largely avoided to activate. Rather their sense of Greekness with Greek food, which they knew was accepted and enjoyed by many in mainstream Australian society. Such values
Smolicz referred to as residual cultural values, those that have left when the core values of a group were lost or abandoned (Smolicz, 1979; 1999).

The choice of Greek character or temperament as the other main aspect of culture, with which those of higher education and socioeconomic status identified, was reflected in many comments made by parents in answers to their questions, both in the questionnaires and interviews. The term ‘character’ or ‘temperament’ points to very fundamental patterns of responding to emotional situations and relating to people. Once learned and re-enforced over childhood, such patterns are very difficult to change in later life. Within Greek culture, these basic ways of spontaneous expressions of feelings and relating to people are very different from the more reserved and deliberated patterns of mainstream Anglo-Australian culture. The irony for those parents who have shifted away from Greek core values in favour of participation in mainstream Australian society was that they found it difficult to escape this identifying feature of their Greekness. As a result, some admitted to never feeling completely Australians. This specific situation is very well described by Nisbett (2001) and Ratner (2003) as a result of cultural psychology, a fairly new branch of social psychology that has established that emotions and personality characteristics are very much culturally imprinted to actors of certain cultures whereas not existing in other ethnic groups. For example the collectivism Smolicz has discovered as a trait in the Greek ethnic group of the 1970s (Smolicz 1976:27-29) is still here in the Greeks of 2010, be active members of the Greek community or potential members of the Australian mainstream establishment.

8.7. **Key Findings from State Schools Participants**

The analysis of data from the 23 state school parents and six teachers reinforced, and even strengthened, the findings from the St George respondents. These are briefly summarised in the section below. In the chapter which follows, the conclusions to research Project 1 provide a more detailed comparison of the two sets of parent and teacher data.
For the most part, the decline in active usage of the Greek language, both in its standard and ethnolect forms, was again very evident. The passing of the immigrant generation was eliminating the one domain in which respondents had communicated in the Greek ethnolect. With six exceptions (to be discussed shortly) the language of their married homes was English. This was true also for teachers, two of whom described vividly the failure of their deliberate efforts to keep the home a Greek speaking domain. Furthermore, the state school parents were not actively supporting their children to study Greek in senior secondary years, when language study in state schools became optional. These findings reinforce the doubts expressed earlier about the maintenance of Greek as a community language once the children of these respondents reach adulthood.

The concluding chapter of Research Project 1 focusses on a comparison of the two sets of respondents. It draws attention both to their commonalities and the subtle but important differences in emphasis between them.

The exception to this pattern of English rather than Greek as the home language was the group of parents with low education and socio-economic status. It was important to find evidence of the existence of such parents who uphold to Greek language, as well as Greek orthodox religion and Greek customs in the home. They existed alongside a larger group of parent respondents of higher education and socio-economic status, who mixed English in the love, gave first priority to their children’s academic achievement and saw little point in their children learning to speak on practise Greek Orthodox traditions since these had little relevance to their life in Australia. The evidence from the state school parents thus considerably strengthened the earlier finding of a negative correlation between high levels of education and socioeconomic status and the maintenance of Greek language and culture.
A third important finding related to the views of the state school teachers. They raised severe concerns about the future prospects for the teaching of the Greek language in state schools, as the number of students taking the subject was dropping dramatically. They were also critical of some teachers’ level of Greek knowledge and ineffective learning approaches which were not helping students to enjoy the subject and continue studies to enjoy the subject and to continue studies in Greek at secondary level.

However, it was worth noting that the most positive comment in the whole of the study came from one state school teacher. He was very satisfied with the way his school supported and engaged the teachers of Greek. In addition he spoke highly of the dedication and efforts of those year 11 and year 12 students who were continuing their studies in Greek because they wanted to.
CHAPTER 9. CONCLUSIONS TO PROJECT 1

9.1 Comparing the Views of Participants in Project 1

Greek folk culture has a widely known motto, (ΟΠΟΥ ΖΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΤΡΙΣ), which translated in English, means ‘the place you live is your homeland’. It is a sentiment that has arisen over centuries of Greek dispersion. It reflects the readiness to adapt which has been noted amongst Greek Americans and Greeks in Canada, Argentina, Brazil, South Africa and Australia, wherever Greeks in Diaspora have settled in places far away from Europe, where the contact with the motherland was difficult, expensive or time-consuming, Greeks have decided to make the most of their life in their new country (Tamis 2001, 2002).

In the Australian context, the greater size of the Greek communities in Melbourne and Sydney have made it easier for the now adult children of the immigrant generation to actively maintain Greek language and culture in the home and community contexts. (Tamis 1999, Papademetre 2001). The evidence from parents and teachers from Adelaide schools where Greek was taught as a regular subject suggests a future scenario which is more in line with the Greek proverb. Holeva has already noted the emergence of this tendency among the adult children of the Greek immigrants who settled in Adelaide mainly during the 1950s and 1960s. Having analysed data collected from some of these adult children, now themselves parents, during the earliest stages of this longitudinal research, she noted that these parents

...have moved from the custom of ritually following Greek customs to incorporating in their everyday life more mainstream Australian cultural aspects and values. ...Now the resilience of the Greek community in South Australia is threatened by the voluntary abolition of both language and cultural identity. (Holeva, 2004:213)

Research Project 1 has investigated parent and teacher respondents of Greek background who were linked to two different educational contexts in Adelaide, St George Greek Orthodox College
and three state secondary schools. The study collected data on their cultural background and family's immigration, the extent of their current activation of Greek language and their attitudes to the maintenance of the Greek and their children's learning of the language. After briefly summarizing the common findings among all respondents, this concluding chapter focuses on the more subtle difference between the two groups of parent and teacher respondents. The intention is to understand how far the parent's choice of independent or government school for their children and their aspirations for their children education indicated a shift in attitude to Greek language as a core value. In the case of the teacher respondents, it was important to rate any differences in their assessment of current Greek language teaching and their hopes or fears for the future prospects of teaching Greek in South Australia. Any differences between the two sets of respondents could point to same variation in linguistic and cultural outcomes for the Greek community in Adelaide. In particular, it would be useful to know if choice of school influenced cultural outcomes.

9.2. Common Trends

A comparison of the findings summarised in sections 7.5 and 8.7 shows a number of common trends in the St George and the state school data. The first relates to evidence of actual decline in the everyday use of Greek, whether in its standard or ethnolect form. As long as the immigrant generation remained alive, most of their children who are the respondents in this research project, continued to communicate with them, usually within the family in the Greek ethnolect. Their grandchildren, who were the students of research projects 2 and 3 heard these Greek forms spoken when they were visiting “papou” and “yaya”. Some were able to use Greek words and phrases with their grandparents. In the respondent's marital homes, however, most of the parents and teachers used English to communicate with their children and spouses, even when they were Greek.

The one exception to this pattern was a few parents of low education and socioeconomic status. Their maintenance of Greek as the home language stood in sharp contrast to those parents with
completed secondary or tertiary education, who used English as the language of the marital home. The correlation between high education and socioeconomic status and shift to English was common in both groups of respondents, though evident more forcefully in the state school data. Despite this shift to English, among the respondents who discussed their sense of cultural identity, none from St George or the state schools claimed to be just Australian or just Greek. All placed themselves somewhere in the continuum between these two poles which had as the midpoint a blending of the two cultural identities, Greek and mainstream Australian, as the best of both worlds. The variation in where they placed themselves on this continuum are discussed in the next section.

Another commonly across the two sets of data was the level of aspirations which parents had for their children. All were expecting their children to complete their year 11 and 12 studies well enough to be able to go on to university. This was seen as the necessary step to achieving professional employment which paid well and had high social status. The place of Greek language studies in these aspirations was, however, questionable in the eyes of a number of parents.

Among the teacher respondents, almost all expressed great concern about the current teaching of the Greek language. They had seen the strong government policy and funding support for the teaching of Australian community languages the 1980s and 1990s decline at both state and federal level. As the standard of the students declined from the mother tongue speakers they had known in the past, all wondered about the long term viability of Greek as a year 12 subject. The teachers were agreed on a number of underlying reasons which were negatively influencing the teaching of the Greek language among secondary students of Greek origin. The teachers attributed the falling student numbers to:

a. the government education policies that valued Asian languages and the sciences at the expense of Australian community languages like Greek; (Tamis 2001:224)
b. local school administrators who considered languages to be lower status subjects and hence disadvantaged them from the timetabling and resources point of view; (Tamis 2001:232-234)
c. the requirement in South Australia to teach Greek at secondary level according to a
generic curriculum, designed as a template for all languages, which made it difficult to
focus on the distinctive structure and features of the Greek language;
d. the use of inappropriate and old fashioned language teaching methodology which ignored
more recent techniques, especially the use of technology, which made the lessons “boring”
and unattractive to the students.

The clear differences in the underlying reasons and nature of their concerns in this regard are
discussed in section 9.4.

9.3. Contrasting Parental Profiles

This section seeks to summarise the nature and extent of differences between the parents who
chose to send their children to St George College and those who preferred the option of state
language schools. Differences in concrete fact background details, such as migration history,
education and socioeconomic background, marital family and social circle are considered first.
Then differences emerging from the cultural data are discussed under the topics of sense of
identity, attitudes to Greek language and culture and aspirations for their children.

In regard to concrete facts, St George parents can be profiled as:

- Being somewhat younger;
- All having completed secondary education with a third university graduates;
- All having higher socio-economic status;
- Having fewer children;
- Almost all having Greek friends.

In contrast parents from the state schools:

- Were somewhat older;
- Had a greater range of educational background, from four with only primary education to less than a third having tertiary education;
- Demonstrated a range of socioeconomic status from low to high;
- Had more children;
- Had more friends of Australian and other backgrounds;

**9.3.1. St George Parents**

The analysis of cultural facts showed that most of the St George respondents considered themselves to be Greek Australian. One placed more weight on the Greek side, while two put the emphasis on being Australian with Greek parents. A number still remembered quite vividly the difficulties they experienced at school in learning English, adjusting to mainstream Australian culture and enduring discrimination for mainstream students.

Although none spoke only Greek to their children, their experiences of regret that they were using English, demonstrated that they valued the language as integral to being Greek. The aspects of Greek culture which they most readily identified with were food and historicity, followed by language and religion (see Figure 3).

The parents had chosen to send their children to St George because they wanted the children to be exposed to an environment in which Greek language, religion and culture were highly valued and formally taught. A number of parents were hoping that their children’s learning experiences at St George would compensate for what they recognised were the limitations of their attempts to transmit these values at home. In this regard, they can be seen to be comparable to some Catholic, Anglican or other Protestant families who do not practise these religious values very much themselves, but send their children to independent schools run by these church organisations so that they gain some exposure to their particular religious beliefs and practices. In addition, some parents explained that they wanted their children to be educated in an environment where they felt safe and comfortable and avoid the parent’s negative experiences of Australian schooling.
In the long term, however, parental aspirations were fixed on their children’s high academic achievement, university studies and high status professional employment. St George College was chosen because it provided for both sides of the parent's aspirations for exposure to Greek language and culture alongside education in English in the academic subjects needed for academic entrance.

In short, St George was the choice of parents of higher socio-economic background who appreciated the significance of Greek language and religion and expected that the school would support their aspirations to transmit these values to their children. Not only would it help the students to maintain the language and culture, but it would enthuse and give them pride in their heritage.

9.3.2. State School Parents

In the case of the three state schools, most of the respondents who discussed their identity also claimed a dual sense of identity, of being both Greek and Australian. Two reversed the balance by identifying rather as Australian Greek, but still valuing their Greek heritage. For another two, being brought up in Australia gave them a sense of feeling predominantly Australian, but of Greek background parentage. However, unlike St George parents, most did had appear to be greatly concerned that the language they used with their children and their spouses was English. The exceptions were those who used Greek as their home language because their own education had given them no command of English and several of the teachers who had tried in vain to maintain the use of Greek with their children.

The aspects of Greek culture which they identified with was food and character, and to a lesser extent, historicity. Their justification for this priority was that, in their experience, it was not necessary to speak the language or practise Orthodox religion in order to fell Greek. Only the few with minimal education gave importance to language and Greek Orthodox religion. Most of the others valued the education they had received in Australian Schools for the standards
they had been able to achieve, the subsequent employment they had gained and the opportunity to become familiar with mainstream Australian culture. There was evidence, for example, that they had absorbed the Anglo-Australian value for individualism, in the emphasis they placed on their children having freedom to decide what subjects they wanted to study at school without being forced to study Greek.

For many of these state school parents, the choice of school for their children was a matter of the highest priority. They wanted the best possible education for their children and had enrolled them in one of the three special language schools. Two of these were in suburbs of high socio-economic status, while the third was in the city centre. They were generally recognised as exceptional state secondary schools, which offered high quality teaching and an academic ethos. The parents hoped that enrolment in such a school would maximise their children’s chance of academic achievement. The fact that these schools also taught Greek had advantages. Those parents who did not live in any of these schools, neighbourhood zone, were able to gaining admission on the basis of wanting their children to study Greek.

Thus some of these Greek origin parents were making use of the fact that these schools taught Greek for their own purposes. Theirs was not a conscious cultural choice to gain access to a desired field of study important to their cultural heritage. Rather it was a strategy for their children to gain entry to a prestigious state school and receive an excellent education at no cost (compared to the tuition fees required at St George College). This was a particular consideration for those families with more than two children. The opportunity for their children to decide without coercion from parents, to learn the language of their family’s cultural tradition was seen as an added bonus. The parent’s priorities were most clearly seen in relation to their children’s year 11 and 12 studies. Through years 8-10 when language study was compulsory, they were happy if their children choose to study Greek. But the parents considered that in the same secondary years, the academic subjects necessary to achieve university entrance must take precedence. In their view, there was no point, in extending the study of Greek beyond year 10, since it was not necessary to know the
language to feel Greek. What was essential was access to university studies and a high status professional occupation.

Some parents also valued the fact that in state schools, their children would be mixing with others from Anglo-Celtic-Australian and other ethnic backgrounds. They felt that this experience of mainstream Australian culture and awareness of other minority groups was an important preparation for living and working in Australian society generally. One parent had taken her children away from St George for this reason. In her judgement, it’s overwhelmingly Greek Ethos did not prepare her children for living in the wider community. The priority was for cultural adaptation to mainstream Australian society, rather than participation in the Greek community. Exposure to the difficulties of mainstream society was just what some St George parents were anxious to protect their children from.

9.4. Contrasting Perceptions of Teachers

As the discussion in section 7.3 and 8.4 demonstrates the comments of the two groups of teachers pointed to important differences in the way they perceived their situation. These differences were most evident in relation to the nature of their students, their future prospects as teachers of Greek and their judgement of the key factors causing students to drop out of studying Greek. Teachers from St George College expected that their students would be using Greek at home. They complained that the students did not use enough Greek on a regular everyday basis. The parents were the ones they blamed for not making greater efforts to use Greek as the language of communication at home. In contrast the teachers from the state schools assumed that the students did not speak Greek at home. They considered that the shift to English was natural and expected because the families were living in Australia and not in Greece. The different expectations can be seen as psychological projections of what they observed in their students.
Perceptions concerning the future for Greek language teaching was another point of divergence among the teacher respondents. Those teaching at St George College could be certain of Greek continuing to be taught as a compulsory subject, since the school had been established by the Greek Orthodox Community that is behind St George Parish, and was committed to the teaching of Greek language and culture. The teachers did express concern that at year 11 and 12 a number of the best students gave up Greek to concentrate on subjects regarded as more needed to assure university entrance\textsuperscript{64}. Nonetheless, the future of Greek as a subject in the school is secured, as it is part of St George College mission statement.

The state school teachers, however, had no such assurance of Greek continuing as a subject in their school. Its continuity depended on student enrolments, without which the necessary funding for teachers was not forthcoming. Greek teaching could also be threatened by changes in government policy or new emphases in school curriculum. Nowhere in the state school system was there any guarantee of continuity in the teaching of Greek. In this situation, state school teachers of Greek had a strong sense that the onus and the responsibility for the teaching of Greek was those few left to teach Greek. From the side of the family, most parents of state school students had shifted to English and did not use any Greek at home, except only when communicating with their still alive parents. The general notion of St George teachers on Greek language teaching is depicted on the next chart 7.

\textsuperscript{64} Certain Universities schools (engineering, medicine etc) that were perceived prestige defined at least six compulsory subjects as y11 and Y12 prerequisites for the University entry; hence, the undertaking of Greek at senior years was made reluctant and unnecessary.
Chart 7: Why Greek Students drop Greek? St George Teachers’ Perception.

The way teachers from the State Schools see the problem is depicted in chart 8 below.

Chart 8: Why Greek students drop Greek. State Schools Teachers’ Perception.
9.5. Changing Generational Attitudes

This research study has focused on respondents who were the children of parents who migrated from Greece in various waves between 1930s and the 1970s. The parents’ mother tongue was the aural and oral Greek dialect they had learnt in their homeland. Using therefore a non-standardised form of Greek and without having any opportunity for formal learning of the language of their own homeland, the first generation migrants added to their knowledge of Greek whatever English they could pick up over years of living and working in Australia and made their own Ethnolect to meet their linguistic and cultural needs.

Their children, the respondents of this study, were for the most part educated in Australian Schools before the introduction of multicultural education policies. They had little if any opportunity in regular schooling in the standard forms of Greek, their home language, and had been immersed (with a few exceptions) in the English language context of the Australian school. As they grew up they drifted into the convenience of using English in all the domains of their lives, except communication with parents and in few cases Greek friends. English was after all, the language they knew best.

When confronted with the issues of educating their own children, the parents in this study had chosen one of two options. Ten had decided on St George College, which was overwhelming Greek in ethos and incorporated Greek language, religion and culture as an integral part of school life. Another twenty three parents had chosen one of the state special language schools, mainstream Australian Schools, which offered Greek as one of their language options to students from all cultural backgrounds. As the discussion in the above sections revealed, the parents’ choice of school proved an indication of different attitudes to the Greek language, religion and cultural heritage. Those who sent their children to St George showed some commitment to the core values of Greek culture, and wanted their children to be exposed to these in their schooling.
The parents who sent their children to state schools showed little commitment to Greek core values, giving a huge priority to their children doing well academically and eventually achieving a high status job in mainstream society. Any exposure their children had to Greek language and culture was a bonus not a requirement. For their part, the teachers showed through their actions of pursuing tertiary studies in the Greek language, in order to equip themselves to teach Greek in secondary schools. They, too, had faced the choice of teaching either in a Greek dominated College or a mainstream state school. Both were concerned, for somewhat different perspectives, for the future of Greek teaching in South Australia and what this meant for the ongoing maintenance of the Greek heritage in this state.

These findings, point to gradual decline, and possible ultimate loss of the Greek language and culture as a living tradition within South Australian society. However, before such a conclusion can be considered as final, it is important to investigate the views of the newly emerging generation who were the children of the parents, and the students of the teachers in this research project. The next two research projects investigate the views of students, at St George first and then in the state schools, concerning their Greek heritage in General and the learning of the Greek language, in particular.

It is also significant at this point to clarify -as argued in section 3.3.1 - that another research conducted with Greek origin parents in SA (Papademetre et al. 2001), concluded that parents have an indifferent stance towards Greek language and culture, due to policy changes and the ambiguity of the benefit to know Greek in the Australian context. Papademetre considers the causes of the phenomenon could be interpreted by the choice of the individuals to choose their own “third place”. Many language and culture researchers in South Australia identify with the idea of the “third place” in intercultural language teaching (Scarino 2001; Liddicoat 2002; Papademetre et al. 2003).

65 Extremely important for Humanistic Sociology, since they represent at the time of the research all the parents and teachers who were WILLING to enact and support the Greek language and the related research, who dedicated significant time to reflecting on the reasons the language is declining and they tried to explain. Another researcher who would be interested in the stratified sampling, could comment on the limited size, the fact that it is gender biased etc and could considered the findings tentative. To Humanistic Sociology the other parents and teachers who did not opt to participate have demonstrated indifference for the Greek language and culture. This was their cultural action.
The main difference with the parental data of this study is that parents have chosen to send their children to Greek classes; students do not see Greek as a foreign culture they need to acquire. They are somehow -even limited and residual- exposed to the culture either by the school, family or grandparents. Even when they renounce their Greekness saying they choose to be Australians, even when they do not see themselves as true Greeks in Australia, nor as completely Australians the third option they choose is not something else, it is not a third culture. Rather is a “Pseudo”-Greek because it is baptized to the Australian context or “Pseudo”-Australian because they cannot or do not want to bypass and leave behind their Greekness, or even a “Pseudo” Greek Australian cultural stance, because it is not actually a third culture. It is a combination of everything they have lived and being exposed to; this is why they want the best of both. To their eyes and feelings even this limited exposure to their Greekness is activated with passion in their own way and there is nothing fake or “pseudo” to them.
PART III: RESEARCH PROJECT 2

ATTITUDES OF STUDENTS
AT AN INDEPENDENT GREEK COLLEGE

CHAPTER 10. AIMS AND METHODS USED

10.1 St George Students

In this portfolio of research which set out to investigate the teaching and learning of Greek in Adelaide secondary schools, the focus of the second study was a group of students from the only—at the time66- Greek Independent College in South Australia. These were students who were directly linked to the parents and teachers described in chapter 7. Through the decisions of their parents and positive disposition of the students themselves, those students were attending St George College and being taught Greek by the teachers concerned.

As young people close to adulthood, their response to the Greek linguistic and cultural heritage being transmitted to them by their family and school was crucial for their future maintenance in the Adelaide context. Individually they could decide to maintain or modify what was being transmitted to them or reject and ignore it, in favour of shifting to mainstream cultural values. Collectively these individual decisions would indicate the extent to which the Greek community in Adelaide retained its distinctive cultural heritage as a living tradition.

66 Another Greek Independent College, the St Spyridon College from Pre-school and Reception to year 7 has been established by St Spyridon Parish at Unley, a suburb with strong Greek community, on 2004.
10.2. St George College in the maintenance of Greek Culture

St George College is the only co-educational South Australian Independent College that had as its aim, according to the College’s Vision Statement (initially accessed on 2006) the maintenance of the Greek culture, language and culture\textsuperscript{67}. Its history and background have already been outlined in section 6.1. Located in Mile End, an area that still after the latest (2012) census has 8% Greek origin population, St George College attracts students from all over metropolitan Adelaide area. The extent of its dedication to teaching Greek language and culture and maintaining the Greek ethos and the Greek Orthodox religion is seen in its curriculum. Although the curriculum offered covers all the key secondary subjects, which are taught in English, it is unique in that Greek traditions and cultural heritage are incorporated into teaching. Furthermore it has compulsory language (Greek) subjects. The Greek language program is structured to provide more support and contact lessons per week than in government schools which teach the language.

The Greek ethos of the school is also very strong, since the number of students of non-Greek origin is limited. According to the researcher’s own observations, from inside the Greek community, the St George students appear to take pride not in fact that they are attending a private school but that they are studying in school that is Greek language centred and Greek culture supporting.

The researcher’s personal observations also suggest that students perceive attendance at the school as conferring on them social and cultural status and prestige within the local South Australian Greek Community. It is a pride based on the attitude –as expressed by one student-

“we are here to learn how to preserve Greekness and this is great” (R3S)

They take pride in being Greek and in studying the culture of their family’s heritage. Consequently, they feel privileged, as being the custodians and defenders of the Greek language and culture in

\textsuperscript{67} As at August 2012 the vision has changed to:
“\textbf{Our Mission is to provide quality bilingual education that is based on the Orthodox faith,} meets the needs and aspirations of individual students, educates the whole person and prepares students to effectively and successfully meet the challenges of the 21st Century” \url{http://www.stgeorgecollege.sa.edu.au/the-college/vision-values-and-mission.html}
Australia. The expression of such positive feelings is encouraged both by the College and parents’ aspirations.

At the same time it must be recognised that other people within the wider confines of the Adelaide Greek community[^68] consider this approach at St George College to be an over-emphasis on Greekness. Personally, they find it confronting and embarrassing. These are usually individuals who have replaced many Greek values, which better suit their professional needs and social context.

10.2.1. Theoretical Perspectives on St George

It is helpful to consider the special features and functioning of St George College, as discussed above, in relation to some theoretical models of education which support cultural and linguistic diversity.

The very existence of a school such as St George can be taken as evidence that South Australia, as part of Multicultural Australia, has achieved the “accepting-even fostering” phase (Clyne, 1991:18) or the “multicultural” phase Lo Bianco (2004:20) of Australian Education.

The mark of this stage is that schools appreciate and proclaim the cultural differences to be found among their students[^69]. The celebration of minority ethnic languages and cultures at St George targeted the “preservation” of Greek culture. This was based on the belief that the linguistic and cultural distinctiveness of various group should be presented in a positive way, but that each needed their own particular domains, such as an independent Greek school controlled by the ethnic minority to achieve this (Fishman, 1997:395).

[^68]: The comment refers to parents from State Schools who expressed the idea that St George College is very conservative and to orientated to the Greek cultural and linguistic heritage and is creating a ghetto, not allowing the Greek background students to share the multiculturalism Australian State schools offer. The specific sentiment was especially strong for the parents of the Adelaide HS students. These students live in the area that is of close proximity to St George College and yet chose to attend the State school they are zoned. The researcher was able to have a feeling of all the schools’ communities and agrees that St George College, probably due to the close connection to the Church has a more conservative ethos.

[^69]: State Schools such as Adelaide HS and Norwood Morialta HS or Glenunga International HS, consider as part of their vision Multiculturalism and celebrate it offering a plethora of languages (Italian, French, German, Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese). Adelaide HS and Norwood Morialta HS offer also Modern Greek
Smolicz’ model of multicultural education for Australian society was based on balancing support for the core values of minority groups with developing understanding of the overarching values shared by all Australians. By implication, the education system needed not only to provide students of all backgrounds with access to overarching values, such as English, but also to give children of minority groups the chance to learn their home language, where this was one of their groups core value. Behind this model was the concept of group, as well as individual rights and the benefits which cultural interaction and the sharing of cultures could give to individuals and society as a whole.

Through its teaching of the mainstream secondary curriculum in English alongside the compulsory learning of Greek, St George College was offering the sort of educational balance that Smolicz considered essential to maintain Australia as a multicultural society (Smolicz, 1976; 1988; 1991; 1999).

Fishman (1976; 1997) developed a comprehensive model of the eight educational stages needed to reverse minority languages shift. At the bottom was stage 8, when the minority group’s language had been lost as group members had shifted to the majority language. In the worst scenario it could be necessary to reconstruct the language and teach it to adult group members as second language. Stage 1 represented the achievement of restoring the group’s language so that it was being used in all the key spheres of life – education, work, government and main media.

At the half way (4b) Fishman describes the possibility of schools which are established and controlled by the minority group. Staff members are from the minority group and the curriculum reflects their needs and interests (Fishman, 1997, p. 395)

St George fits the model of a 4b stage school. Established by the St George Greek Orthodox community of Thebarton and the local Parish, it is registered an independent school, controlled by its own school council. The staff are predominantly Greek and the Greek language is spoken fluently by teachers and ancillary staff and many of the senior students. The College has strong
links with the Discipline of Greek at Flinders University: it is possible for successful year 12 students to proceed there for university studies in Greek. The school also uses the local Greek language media (Radio Doriforos) and local Greek publications.

The student respondents in Project 2 therefore come from a very distinctive educational context. Their parents have chosen to send them to a school which is committed to educating its students in the Greek cultural heritage. There is no particular stress on the Greek core values of language, orthodox religion and family solidarity. At the same they have been exposed to the curriculum of mainstream Australian education to ensure that they can participate in the life of the wider Australian society.

10.3 Aims of Project 2

The main aim of Project 2 was to investigate how St George students responded to the Greek culture they had been exposed to in their family circle and school context.

The parent and teacher comments from Project 1 indicated that the student respondents for Project 2 had considerably less exposure to Greek language and culture at home than their parents did. On the other hand, the St George student respondents were experiencing far more formal transmission of Greek language and culture in the school setting than their parents had ever known.

It was important to investigate the response of the newest generation to the particular educational experiences they had received.

The first step in understanding the student’s responses was to gather concrete data concerning:

- Their family background
- The members of their family circle and the patterns of language use with them
- Their circle of friends and the language(s) they used with each.
These facts helped to establish the nature of the main social and cultural groups to which the students belonged.

The second step was to ask the students to express their thoughts and feelings about

- Learning Greek, and their likely use of the language beyond school.
- Greek culture and its importance for them
- Their sense of Greek identity.

The use of these two sets of data together were expected to give an indication of where Greek language and culture were placed in the consciousness of these young people of Greek origin. In particular, it could provide better understanding of the effectiveness of Greek language teaching in the eyes of the students, and their level of Greek maintenance. Overall, the analysis of these data could point to how far the Greek core values of language, religion and family collectivism were being maintained in the attitudes of these students at St George, who attended five hours of Greek language and culture classes a week.

10.4. Methods of Data Collection

As with Project 1, there were four types of data used in the investigation of St George students. The first consisted of the answers to the quantitative-type questions included in Part A of the questionnaires given to all students (see Appendix E). Students circled the appropriate response among the range of answers provided in relation to their parent’s decade and place of birth and the year of migration -if Greek –born. Information was also sought on family structure and friendship circles and the language(s) used in these domains.

The second form of data was the personal comments the students made in answers to the open-ended questions in part B of the student Questionnaire (see Appendix E). These questions were
focused on the student’s feelings about and experiences of learning Greek and using the Greek language, their personal sense of cultural identity and what made them feel Greek.

Additional comments and views came from those students who agreed to participate in further individual or group interviews. These provided the researcher with an opportunity to clarify parts made earlier and gain deeper understanding of student’s attitudes to Greek language and culture.

The observations of the researcher as a participant observer with frequent contact and insider knowledge of St George College again proved invaluable. The researcher was able to clarify statements and understand more fully the significance of views expressed by the student respondents. In addition her inside knowledge of the Greek culture, allowed her to validate folkloric, cultural, or ethnographic actions during the period she was interviewing participants over a period of some years; these observations could be used to provide important confirmation and validation of the student data.

10.4.1. Data Collection Procedures

Data collection procedures for Project 2 were similar to those for Project 1. In order to enter the school and collect data, the researcher provided the Board of St George College with the “Research Project Description and Impact Statement” (Appendix A), the same as submitted to the Education Department of SA Research Unit.

St George College was also given a copy of the approval granted by DECS to enter the State Schools (Appendix K), as well as the letter of DECS to the Principals advising them that the research was approved (Appendix L). Once the Board’s approval was granted, the Principal of St George, the Deputy Principal and the St George Parish priest, supported the researcher
continuously in the initial stages of the research when she was not, as yet, registered to teach in South Australia\textsuperscript{70}.

The Greek language teachers in both the junior and senior campuses of the College were contacted and asked to help in distributing and collecting the questionnaires. The researcher initially was required to address students in the presence of the teaching staff to explain what was asked from them. Information letters distributed to students, notifying the scope and the reason of the research and requesting the necessary signed permission from parents for their children to participate in the research. (Appendix F). Parents were given a special Consent Form (Appendix J) to sign. At the end of the questionnaire respondents were asked to provide their names and a contact number to the researcher, if they were willing to be involved in follow-up interview designed to deal with any areas of concern or in need of clarification.

The questionnaires were distributed with a return address stamped envelope. The respondents were thus able to return the questionnaires and the signed consent form to the researcher via the University of Adelaide. This method ensured anonymity, confidentiality and unconstrained answer. There were distributed 106 students questionnaires and 82 questionnaires were returned. All of them confirmed they are willing to be contacted for follow up interviews. The decision on who is going to be contacted was based on the need for further clarifications. Actually only 25 students were interviewed to clarify answers and in total 35 to compare the use of Greek and in social life few years after the initial data collection process.

The researcher also guaranteed that no names of students or parents would be revealed and no name was requested in the actual questionnaires. All the personal information or follow up questions were on different pages. No correlation between the consent forms and the actual

\textsuperscript{70} The position of the researcher was easier after 2005 when, as a registered SA teacher, she was able to participate in the teaching process as fully qualified Australian teacher and not as the “Greek teacher” who was supporting the actual teachers as a Bilingual Support Officer and not teacher.
questionnaires was possible, partly because of the large amount of student data collected initially that all were compiled in the same SPSS program. Where a personal contact potentially was employed, always after the participants’ informed consent, the researcher personally followed the Code of Research Practice at the University of Adelaide by ensuring that no names were used and no personal details were disclosed that potentially could identify participants. Furthermore all the personal statements and the interview transcripts were held securely and accessed only by the researcher’s University supervisors and the researcher herself.

Data collection for this Project occurred as presented earlier in detail on I.5 (page 15) according to the overall timeline below:

- **St George College**
  - Questionnaire distribution to students started May 2003
  - Questionnaire collection ended October 2003
  - Follow up Interviews with 18 students started January 2004
  - Follow up interviews ended March 2006

**10.6. Data Analysis**

The Humanistic Sociological analysis of student data followed a similar pattern to that adopted for Project 1. From the concrete facts given in part A of the questionnaire the researcher developed profiles of the student respondents’ own and family background, particularly in relation to grandparents as well as their siblings and friends. These details of the family and social circle were linked to information on language used with individual members. This analysis in terms of

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71 To allow the research the option of separating the schools for making conclusions related to each school, the only identification allowed by the researcher was just the number of researched population per school. I.e. St George student n=82 and hence in the SPSS any ID number from 1-82, was reported within the St George students’ Project.
Descriptive statistics has been summarized in a table form. Apart from the calculation of percentages, where these were appropriate, no other statistical procedures were used.

The cultural data reflected in the student’s comments from Part B of the questionnaire, together with additional comments from the interviews, were analysed thematically. The two key themes which were central to this investigation were:

- Attitudes to the Greek language and its use; and
- Views on Greek culture and identity.

As in the Project 1, the analysis is presented in a form of a documentary, in which the words of the student respondents are quoted at length and verbatim, without any correction or amendment. In this way readers are invited to make their own judgments on the student’s statements and the researcher’s analysis. Where appropriate, charts were developed to summarize the range of responses across various classifications, derived either from the questions or the student’s responses.

In the chapter which follows the descriptive statistics drawn from the concrete data are presented first. The second part of the chapter moves to the thematic analysis of the student’s comments.
CHAPTER 11. RESULTS FROM ST GEORGE COLLEGE STUDENTS

11.1 Descriptive Statistics

In this section the concrete data gathered from the 82 St George College students who completed the questionnaire are presented as descriptive statistics. The first part discusses the personal and educational background of the students themselves. Next there are summaries the parental socio-economic background and the ethnic background of family members and friends together with associated language use. Particular attention is given to detailing students’ contact and language use with all four grandparents.

11.1.1. The Student Participants

Table 6 below summarizes the age, place of birth and gender of the students who responded, together with details of their year level at St George and years of studying another LOTE or Greek in an Ethnic school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>St George College Students N=82</th>
<th>Total % rounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>DOB</strong></td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>POB</strong></td>
<td>Greece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GENDER</strong></td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SCHLEVEL</strong></td>
<td>y8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ETHSCH</strong></td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Learning Greek (Yrs)</strong></td>
<td>≥8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OTHER Lote Studied</strong></td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>If study WHAT LANG</strong></td>
<td>jap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: St George College Students: Personal and Educational Statistics.
The majority of the students (88%) were born in Australia. Four students, however, had been born in Greece and 7 circled elsewhere that proved to be Cyprus. Most had been born in the late 80s. 29 students out of 82 (36%) attended also the Greek Ethnic school of St George that offers Greek classes every Saturday morning. These 29 students declared learning Greek a number of years ranging from 8 to 11 years. At the time of the data gathering (2003-2004) they therefore ranged in age between 12/13 and 16/17 with 66% around 14/15. The respondents were equally distributed between boys and girls (50% each gender).

The following chart (Chart 9) shows how the students were distributed across the year levels of the college. The largest group (30%) came from year 9, followed by years 8 and 10. This meant that 79% of the respondents belonged to the middle school (years 8,9,10) and only 21% were senior year students. Of these all but one were year 11 students.

**Chart 9: St George College Students: Distribution per Year Level**

It was disappointing that only one year 12 student participated, because it limited the opportunity to understand the experiences and attitudes of students at this level. Teachers in Project 1 had expressed concern that so few students were studying Greek through to year 12 level. Eight of the
students (10%) opted to learn the other Language Other Than English (LOTE) offered at St George College, Italian. All were children of the sort of mixed marriage most commonly found in South Australia within the Greek community. Greek and Italian marriage occur not infrequently, perhaps because both cultures are family oriented and share many similar traditional characteristics.

11.1.2. Parental Background

In order to identify the socioeconomic circumstances of the St George students were asked to provide information about their family home, the way they get to school and their parent’s education and occupation (See all questions asked in Appendix E-student questionnaire). The following were deducted from their responses. The great majority (89% of them) lived in the western suburbs, in 3-4 bedroom homes which meant they were able to have their own room (84%). Most 80% were driven to school by their parents with 14% catching the school bus, and another 6% getting a lift from the grandparents.

Parent’s level of education is another indicator of socioeconomic status. On chart 10 below the Education level of St George College student fathers has been presented.

![Father's Education (N=82)](chart10.png)

**Chart 10: St George College Students. Fathers’ Education Level**
Among the 13% fathers who have finished either College or TAFE and the other 11% they responded having Trade Studies, a further 18% had tertiary studies, with 9% having finished a University Degree, 8% having continued to a Master’s degree and one father having completed Doctoral Studies. At the other end of the educational spectrum, 18% had completed only primary school; the other 36% had completed secondary education.

For the researcher it came as a surprise that in the first decade of the 21st century and almost a generation after the initial Smolicz’s paper on 1976, 18% of the parents of St George College students were comparable to Jerry, the semi-lingual second generation Greek Australian (Smolicz, 1976:15-19), who unconfident to continue with tertiary studies, became a trades person, opening his own small business.

This pattern is confirmed by the responses of father’s occupation. Chart 11 below shows 36% of parents were self-employed and 7% were employees of small businesses. Another 31% were in other forms of full time employment. A further 11% of fathers were trades people, a figure corresponding with the number of those who had completed Trade Studies and 5% were Government Employees. It was also surprising to find a small number not actively in work.

![Father's Occupation (N=82)](chart11)

**Chart 11: St George College Students. Father's Occupation**
The same pattern appears in the students’ responses concerned their mothers’ education and occupation. As chart 12 below shows 13% of the mothers had completed only primary school (but could have had one or two years of secondary school) and a further 36% of the mothers had completed secondary schooling. In addition 20% of the mothers had finished TAFE studies and 7% had a trader’s licence. As many as 22% had tertiary studies with 16% mothers finishing a University degree (compared to 9% of the fathers), and 6% Masters level studies.

![Mother's Education (N=82)](chart12)

**Chart 12: St George College Students. Mothers’ Education**

The mothers followed the trend in modern society of women working outside the home. Only one out of the 82 mothers was not working and six others were currently looking for job. Chart 13 below shows that 12% of the mothers were considered trades people. As with the fathers, 20%.

![Mother's Occupation (N=82)](chart13)

**Chart 13: St George College Students. Mothers’ Occupation**
were self-employed or employees in small businesses (12%). 10% of the mothers work in Government Agencies, and another 22% works full time in other job categories.

It must be noted that the range of socio-economic status revealed in the student’s responses was much greater than that reported by the St George parents in Project 1. The comparatively small number of parents who agreed to participate in the first study clearly represented the higher end of parental educational /occupational profile at St George College. The figures reported above show a greater proportion of St George parents at the lower end of the socio-economic profile.

The student’s responses concerning the ethnic background of family members and friends, and the language used with each of them are summarised in Table 7. In relation to ethnic origin 73% of their fathers were said to be Greek and 27% Australian. These figures of father’s ethnic origin need to be considered in conjunction with father’s birthplace. The fact that 56% were born in Australia, while less than half of that percentage were regarded as Australian in ethnicity is indicative of the fact that 29% of those fathers considered to be Greek in ethnicity were born in Australia. The assumption was that this figure would have been higher, had the student responses showed that 44% of fathers had been born in Greece or elsewhere such as Cyprus. Half of these had migrated to Australia as young children or teenagers during the 1950s and 1960s, the other half being later arrivals in the 1970s and 1980s with two as late as in the 1990s. (The early arrivals may help to explain the number of fathers who had only completed primary education). All but two of the fathers were Australian citizens and these two retained the Greek citizenship. Crosschecking the questionnaires it was revealed that these fathers had migrated recently and were currently permanent residents.

Overall then only 56% of these St George students are actually grandchildren of Greek immigrants and belong to the third generation Australians of Greek background, whereas the other 44% were in fact children of immigrants and belong to the second generation. The situation of these latter students would appear to be comparable to the other parents in this study and most parents in Project 1.
In relation to language use with fathers, as many as 84% of the students said they communicated in English. Only seven students (8.5%) declared that they spoke mainly Greek with their fathers. Another six claimed to use both languages at home and not the Greek-English mixture. More details about language use with fathers are given in the cultural data section.

The data related to student’s mothers were rather different, as can be seen from the adjacent columns of Table 7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ETHNIC ORIGIN</td>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Else</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POB</td>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Else</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAR MIGR</td>
<td>50s/60s</td>
<td>70s/80s</td>
<td>No Migr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CITIZENSHIP</td>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LANGUAGE AGE</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Ethnolect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO of SIB</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIB POB</td>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIB LANG</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Ethnolect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRND ETHN</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>75</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRND LANG</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Ethnolect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: St George College Student: Family, Social Circle and Language Used.

Although more of the student’s mothers (87%) compared to 73% of fathers were said to be of Greek ethnic origin, only 27% were born in Greece and 68% were the Australian born children of earlier migrants. Those who had migrated as children had arrived mainly in the 1950s and 1960s and others in the 1970s and 1980s. The fact that 68% of the mothers compared to 56% of the fathers
had been born in Australia, while conversely 42% of the fathers and only 27% of the mothers had been born in Greece, can be explained in part by a recognized tradition of match-making. Immigrant families encouraged, and even facilitated, marriages between their children and partners from the Greek homeland. Most often the girls were (and still are) the ones sent to Greece “to find a Good Greek Boy” in order to ensure an all-Greek marriage and the maintenance of the Greek linguistic and cultural tradition in the family. This custom could also help to explain why some of the students were born in Greece or Cyprus, parallel to those who are children of later immigrant families. It is also indicative of the pattern of frequent travel between Greece and South Australia, when a family has relatives in both countries.

In terms of citizenship, 78% of the mothers were Australian citizens, while 10% had Dual Australian-Greek citizenship. The fact that 12% of mothers retained Greek only citizenship but only 2% of the fathers, can be understood in terms of military service which is compulsory for male Greek citizens. Most young Greek males in Australia did not take up Greek citizenship in order to avoid service in the Greek army for two years. Since girls are not obligated to army service, they did not need to renounce their Greek citizenship.

Language use with mothers was similar to that reported for fathers. Only 8% of the students reported using Greek as the language of communication with their mothers. Another 10% claimed to use both languages, in a constant code switching between proper Greek and English. For the great majority (69%) English was the language they used with their mothers. Further clarification and discussion of this comes in the analysis of cultural data in section 11.2

Table 7 also reveals the pattern and number of mixed marriages to be found among the parents. Assuming that the 22 fathers said to be of Australian ethnic origin were married to women of Greek or Greek-Australian background, and that the eleven mothers said to be of Australian ethnic origin were married to Greek or Greek-Australian husbands, 33 students of St George respondents were the children of mixed or intercultural marriages. Eight of these who indicated that they were studying Italian came from Greek-Italian marriages. St George specifically catered for the education of these children by offering the opportunity for them to learn the language of both parents. However, there
were another 25 students whose Greek father or mother had been influential enough to ensure that the child was being formally educated in Greek language and culture. This educational option would seem to represent some departure from the pattern reported in many mixed marriages. In many intercultural marriages the language and the culture of home is usually by default that of the dominant group. In the Australian context this means the English language and mainstream Australian culture.

In the 33 cases identified, a very significant part of the high school’s population, the parents have opted to enroll their child in a school that promoted the ethnic background of one parent. This pattern could be interpreted as the strength of the Greek parent’s aspirations for their child to maintain Greek language and culture through schooling, if not through home. It also implies, however, acquiesce if not the active support of the other parent.

11.1.3. Siblings and Friends

The great majority of the student respondents (82%) had either one or two siblings. Another 11% had three or more siblings, while the remaining 7% were only children. Almost all of siblings were born in Australia with 7 indicated initially as born elsewhere which eventually confirmed during the interviews to be Cyprus. As many as 88% of the students said they spoke English to their siblings. The exceptions were four students who claimed to speak Greek with their brothers and sisters and another six who said they used both languages. These students are those who were born in Greece or Cyprus (see Table 6). When asked to indicate the ethnic background of their friends 92% replied they were Greek. Only four had friends who were of Australian background, while another three said their friends were of other ethnic origin.

The pattern of language use with friends, as compared with siblings, differed in small but interesting ways. Slightly fewer used English when talking to their friends. The use of Greek was also slightly less, while the number who claimed to use both languages with friends was somewhat greater. This time when talking to their generation students by referring to “both” they actually referred to
the Greek Ethnolect- a combination of Greek and English that has been created in an as needed basis.

11.1.4 Grandparents

The results reported in Project 1 pointed to the crucial role of Grandparents in Greek language and culture maintenance in the families of the respondents. The questionnaires completed by the St George College students asked a series of questions concerning the background of all four of the students’ grandparents, whether they were currently living, the extent of contact the students had with them and the language used in communicating with them.

Table 8 collates all this information as descriptive statistics concerning the students’ grandparents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>St George College Students</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FATHER’S SIDE</strong></td>
<td><strong>MOTHER’S SIDE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAPPOU (GRANPA)</td>
<td>Gr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YAYA POB (GRANMA)</td>
<td>Gr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAPPOU ALIVE n=82</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YAYA ALIVE n=82</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTACT P N=89 (father) or N=77 (mother)</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTACT Y N=89 (father) or N=77 (mother)</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LANG PAP N=89 (father) or N=77 (mother)</td>
<td>Gr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LANG YAYA N=89 (father) or N=77 (mother)</td>
<td>Gr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: St George College Students: Grandparents’ Demographics & Language Used
The data on Grandparents from both sides reveal a consistent pattern common to Greek migrants of the 1950s (Tamis, 2001:35-55). Three Migration scenarios were common at the time. The first involved a married couple and children migrating together. A second possibility was that the father came first and when he was settled, the mother and children followed. There were also some, mainly men who migrated as single individuals and invited a bride from Greece to come later on. As a result, the students' parents were born either in Greece or Australia as shown in Table 6.

In terms of birthplace, 90% of all grandparents from both the mother and mother's sides were born in Greece and were taken to be of Greek origin. The small percentage (5-6%) of grandparents who were born neither in Greece not Australia, represent the few exogamous marriages. In these cases, the grandparents of Greek origin were themselves born in Australia, as the children of Greeks from Kalymnos, Kastelorizo and Kos who migrated as early as 1920s and 1930s and settled in Port Pirie, South Australia. Although the majority became assimilated, those who did not change their surnames maintained their Greek heritage and language at a very high level (Tamis 1997).

The data in Table 8 also have revealed that overall only 60% of parental and 66% of maternal grandfathers are alive. The percentage of grandmothers alive is significantly higher (82% for paternal and 89% for maternal grandmothers), while the figures for grandfathers is correspondingly lower (49% and 54%). These percentages confirm the Greek cultural tradition of husbands marrying significantly younger wives- a tradition that has only recently (1970s) ceased to exist even in Greece. This pattern is also important for this research on the maintenance of Greek language and culture. The fact that grandparents, the most important parameter in the Greek language maintenance, are dying has a tremendous impact on the rationale of these Greek immigrant's children and grandchildren to use their ethnic language. This was clearly indicated in the cultural data to be discussed later.

These figures on family contact suggested that some families were not only losing touch with Greek linguistic and religious values, but with traditional Greek cohesive family values as well -since they were not in frequent contact with the grandparents as is the norm for the Greek families. Grandparents and especially grandmothers not only communicate predominately in Greek but also
actually practise and maintain the culture. This also is reflected in the cultural data considered in a later section. When grandparents therefore are gone, the direct contact of the younger generation with native speakers is lost and the compelling practical reason for the younger generation to learn Greek is minimised in the family domain.

However, student responses indicate that in a surprising number of cases, their contact with grandparents was not regular enough to encourage Greek language use. Table 8 shows that 20% of the students had no regular contact with their paternal grandparents, while 22% did not regularly see their maternal grandparents. In a small number of cases this was because the grandparents were then living in Greece.

Chart 14 summarizes the factors related to contact and language use with each of the student’s four grandparents. Four different sets of numbers have been entered into each of the columns which represent a grandparent. These are (starting from the bottom figures):

- The total number of students respondents;
- The total number of that grandparent still living;
- The number who have regular contact with that grandparent;
- The number who speak Greek with that grandparent.

![Chart 14: St George College Students: Comparison of Greek Language Use with Grandfathers and Grandmothers](image-url)
When the various factors prohibiting direct contact are taken into account, a total of 37 on the parental side and 39 on the maternal side see their grandparents on a regular basis. This represents less than half of the total student respondents. Given that more grandmothers are still living, there were more students who claimed to see their grandmothers regularly—52 on the paternal side and 58 on the maternal, while is somewhat over half of the respondent group. The final outcome in terms of language use is that only 30 and 31 out of the 82 students use Greek with their paternal grandfather respectively as medium of communication. Fourteen students said they communicated with their grandparents in English, while five (from paternal) and nine (from maternal) claimed to use a mixture of both languages—and indeed interviews revealed they were using the Greek Ethnolect. In the case of grandmothers, more of whom were still living, the number of students communicating in Greek was 47 on the paternal side and 40 on the maternal side. Rather more than with grandfathers 15 and 21 students respectively, used English with the grandmothers, while five and twelve respectively claimed to speak a mixture of both languages.

11.1.5. Cross Correlating Language Use and Parental Socio-economic Status

The researcher investigated the pattern of correlation between the education level and the occupation of mother and father on the one hand and the language used at home on the other. For validity purposes the SPSS program was used to cross tabulate Father and Mother’s education and occupation with the language students used when they communicated with father, mother and siblings. The table and the bar chart created by SPSS program are presented and analysed below. The conclusion was that when the education and occupational level of the parents were low, the medium of communication was Greek. Just as in the early years of Greek settlement in Australia, Greek was the only language of many uneducated first generation migrants, so today Greek is predominantly used as main medium of communication at home by those of lower socio-economic

72 Please refer to the Glossary for definition. It is a hybrid language a Mischsprache, a mix of English and Greek created within a language transfer or code switching process.
status or recent arrivals. The same phenomenon appears even for those parents who want and try to maintain the Greek language and Culture by enrolling their children to St George College, although not as exaggerated as in the pride and a privilege of the higher socioeconomic class, who could afford the expensive tuition fees.

Apparently this is not the case in South Australia. As it can be verified by the cross tabulation table between the language students declared they use with their father, and their father’s education level and occupation, it is more than obvious that English language (2) is used more when father had secondary education (green 2) and tertiary Qualifications (yellow 6 and brown 9), whereas when the father had primary education (red 1) or trade studies (turquoise 5) the language used that stand out was Greek.

Figure 6: St George College Students: Cross Tabulation of Father’s Education and Language Use.

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73

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74
Figure 7: St George College Students: Cross Tabulation of Father’s Occupation and Language Use.

Similar was the pattern with students preferring as means of communication with their father more English than Greek when he was self-employed (blue 2) or government employee (light grey 6).

The same correlation was apparent when mother’s education and occupation, was cross tabulated with the language used at home. Once again English was shown to be used more at home when mother’s education was higher and her occupation of higher social and hence economic status.

When mother had secondary education (green 2) College Studies (blue 3) or University Degree (yellow 6), the language was English. (see Figure 8 a below).
As seen on figure 9 above, when the cross referencing of language used with mother and her occupation, it was shown that when mother was self-employed (turquoise 5) or government employee (yellow 6) the language was once again English.
11.1.6. Overview of Descriptive Statistics

The concrete facts discussed in the above section have built up a profile of the families of the St George student respondents. The students came from a wide range of socioeconomic backgrounds, much wider than reflected in the ten parental respondents from St George in Project 1. They also came from different migration waves to Australia, from those whose grandparents settled in Port Pirie in the 1920s to those who were themselves born in Greece and were comparatively recent arrivals. Although the student respondents were attending a school which was committed to a Greek ethos and the teaching of the Greek language and culture, their responses (please see chart 15 and the following cultural data/personal statements) point to many families where the English language and the cultural values of mainstream Australian society were dominant and thus the Greek languages, Orthodox religious practices and even Greek collectivistic family values had been residualised and pushed to the edges of their living. However, it should be noted that there was a small number of students from more recently arrived families who claimed to speak Greek with grandparents, parents and their siblings and friends as is the norm for all recent migrants. In an effort to map the language used by the students of St George College in their everyday life as presented in the descriptive statistics the following chart 15 has been created.

**CHART 15: St George College Students: Language Used To Communicate With Other Generations**
The meanings behind the descriptive statistics and the thoughts, feelings and intentions of the students in regard to Greek language and culture being formally taught to them at school are discussed at greater depth in the following analysis of cultural data.

11.2 Respondents’ Personal Comments

As has been explained earlier the second part of the distributed questionnaire includes what Humanistic Sociology defines as cultural data. Cultural information is extracted from answers to open-ended questions, where the respondent is presenting his or her personal ideas, perceptions and views through a series of statements and expressions of feelings and thoughts. What the researcher has found in Project 2 is not new or unexpected. It complements the findings from Project 1 and has helped in gaining greater depth of understanding the meaning and significance of the Greek language for these young people, who were living close to mechanisms supporting Greek language in a form of culture enclaves, to the extent St George College aims to support the Greek Ethos, and the Greek Orthodox Parish of St George oversees this endeavour.

The findings refer to:

- Their personal pattern of language usage
- Their attitudes to the Greek language and
- Their views on Greek culture and cultural identity.

The students’ comments are presented below as far as possible in their own words. Where applicable they were followed by discussion leading towards the development, in the portfolio conclusion, of a proposed taxonomy regarding trends in Greek language and cultural maintenance in South Australia.

11.2.1. Student’s Language Use

As it can be verified by Appendix 1 (Students’ Questionnaires) the participants in the research were asked to comment on the language used in their everyday life not only as part of the 42 survey like
questions but also as part of their personal statements in the open-ended questions. According to Humanistic Sociology the interpretation of the personal statements and the comments made in this more open context reveals parameters and factors that contribute to distinctive social and cultural choices of individuals, but potentially could be missed when data are collected with a quantitative approach, since numbers cannot describe feelings and thought and the para- or meta-linguistic meaning of some expressions is equivalent to cultural actions and data. The personal statements of the participants are the data, and as such Humanistic Sociological approach does not manipulate or interpret them rather just presents and allows the readers to make their own judgments. (Smolicz and Secombe 2003:58-59). The main reason the researcher opted to combine both research traditions was to identify the personal reasons that led the social actors to use or not to use the Greek language in their everyday life. Such understanding is not found by using descriptive statistics only.

In addition to the personal statements the researcher contacted students at different time frames to collect additional information, to clarify data and to crosscheck responses, as part of a long term research process. The additional information gathered provided a better understanding of the quality and the level of Greek language which the students used in the course of the interview while talking to the researcher. Students revealed different abilities in both oral and written language as well as different comprehension levels. There were students who have an excellent command of the Greek language and were efficient bilingual speakers, whereas others revealed such limited knowledge and ability in Greek that it was like a second language to them. Students knew the level of their abilities in Greek. The culture St George College promoted regarding the importance of the Greek language helped the students to take pride in their efforts to learn to speak better Greek. At the same time, their parents supported the Greek ethos. Most students even when they were aware that their language abilities were limited identified with the Greek culture and background. Those who did not, are considered in the next section. The students’ personal statements and their
explanations of language use in home and social life were consistent with the information they provided in the fixed choice questions in Part A of the questionnaires.

The following Chart 16 represents all the personal information provided in the statements and interviews. It summarizes the numbers of students using Greek, English or the Greek Ethnolect developed in Australia in their everyday life with a range of people - grandparents, father, mother, siblings and friends. In each stack of columns the first blue column (common in all the cases) indicates the number of respondents who participated in the research (n=82). The second red column is applicable only for the grandparents and although it is inserted as N/A represents all the possible reasons the students do not speak with their grandparents (either they are dead or the contact is extremely rare for any reason). The third (green) and the fourth (purple) columns represent Greek and English language respectively and the last (light blue) represents the Greek Ethnolect developed in Australia.

Chart 16: St George College Students: Language Used in Home and Social life.

The students were predominantly using Greek with the grandparents. As discussed in the next section some of them admitted they learned Greek to understand or to “…make happy yaya” or “grandparents”. In contrast most of the students were choosing to use English with their siblings and Greek origin friends, except certain occasions where they code switched. Most communicated
with both or parents in English. There were of few isolated cases, where the parent was a recent migrant with little or minimum English. In such cases the students used the Greek language with pride and devotion to the ethnic background medium and identifying with the fathers as a recent migrant. There were a few, however, who claimed to use Greek in all these contexts and slightly more who said they used both languages; in one form or another.

The personal meanings given by the respondents to the pattern of language usage illustrated in Chart 16 were further revealed in the responses which the students gave to other Part B questions concerning the learning and use of their ethnic language.

11.2.2. Attitudes to Learning and Using Greek

Analysis of the student's comments on learning and using Greek revealed that their attitudes to the language ranged from very positive to very negative. Those that were positive to Greek discussed a variety of reasons and benefits to be gained from the study of Greek. Chart 17 provides an overview of the attitudes to Greek revealed by the student respondents from St George College.

![Chart 17: St George College Students: Attitude to Learning and Using Greek](chart.png)
The personal statements of sixteen out of the 82 student respondents showed that they had negative feelings toward the Greek language. Their comments target from uncertainty to complaints about the difficulty to learn the language to outright rejection.

In the strongest expression and negativity, one can almost hear the students shouting,

\[ \text{I don't care about learning Greek at all. I want to stop learning Greek coz I hate it & I think that it will get me nowhere} \ (R33S) \]

Another expressed opposition to learning any language other than English:

\[ \text{I don't want to learn any (sic) languages. I had difficulty learning Greek and I don't really find it relevant because most people I know speak English. I don't believe that any languages can help you in professional life because Anglo-Saxons of English background usually know no other than English language and they seem to have high status jobs like many other people. They may have learnt a language in High school, but they wouldn't have learnt it to the full extent!!! (sic) (R82S)} \]

A similar point was made by a third respondent who suggested that speaking Greek in Australia was futile.

\[ \text{I don't think speaking Greek will help me because no one will understand what I'll be saying.} \ (R49S) \]

In some cases, the negative attitudes to Greek was related to difficulties in learning the language

\[ \text{I find Greek too hard of a language to learn and I'm glad I'm not continuing} \ (R53S). \]

There were a further four students who could be interpreted as indifferent to the Greek language. Rather than showing strong negativity, their comments suggested that they did not think Greek was very important, or that speaking Greek had its limitations. One respondent explained:

\[ \text{I do not feel Greek will really help me very much because in YR 12 and in Uni I would probably not use it very much. It will not even help me socially because I only really use Greek to say "yasou" to my yiayia.} \ (R66S) \]

Another expressed the view identified among some parents in Project 1 that it is possible to feel Greek regardless of whether you know the language.
I believe that even if you are not good at Greek, have different characteristics, you can be Greek if you feel it. You feel Greek you are Greek. It’s how it affects you. (R76S)

The personal statements of the majority of the students (71%) indicated that they were positive in attitude to learning and using the Greek language. All of these were able to give one or two reasons to justify their attitude. Five appreciated their ethnic language as a secret code of communication among Greeks. One explained that it enabled him to

talk to other Greeks in front of doggers [A term used as a response to wog to describe someone with free sexual behaviour] in Greek about them to their dogger faces” (R2S)

For the others the attraction of learning Greek was related to their dream of being able to travel to Greece and spend time there. These included comments such as

when I go to Greece it will benefit me (R57S)

or

I plan on moving to Greece at a later stage in life and my development on the Greek language throughout my teenage years and throughout university will help me. (R70S)

As many as a third (30) gave family and social reasons as their justification for studying Greek. There were 22 who mentioned the need to communicate in Greek within the family particularly to “grand-parents who do not speak English”. Another ten wrote of wanting to understand “my yaya and my old unties (sic)” in the words of one student.

One student gave only qualified support to this reason.

in one way it [Greek] will help because I would be able to talk to my mum and my aunties and uncles in Greek for when they get older and for when I get older. But when I talk to my friends I mostly talk to them in English” (R18S),

The first part of the above statement, however, points to the apparent exposure of many older people who communicate only in Greek and their anticipation that the younger generation has enough mastery of Greek to be able to understand and help the elder.

A few in this category put the emphasis on the benefits of Greek in their social life
Learning Greek may help me in my social life; If people talk Greek around me now I can only understand but can't talk. (R53S).

Speaking Greek is benefiting me in my social life ... (R51S)

In three cases, the students could be judged from their comments to be very positive in their attitude to Greek. All were able to explain their thoughts and feelings in some detail and all referred to a number of different reasons to justify their position. It seemed that underpinning their comments was the sort of assurance that comes from feeling competent in the language. Their comments are given in full below.

*I believe it can help because I can speak two languages so it will benefit me in my occupation and help to get me a job. Also in my social life it will help because it will be able to help me speak to other Greeks, Grandparents and when I go to Greece it will benefit me (sic).* (R57S).

The tone of the above comment is somewhat objective, in listing the benefits that knowing Greek can give the student. The next two refer more to the personal and cultural meaning the language has for them.

*Learning Greek has been very beneficial in my life, and will continue to be. In the future, I want to be a lawyer and Greek will help me in communicating with clients/customers. Socially, I have the benefits of knowing the qualities of two cultures, and I can relate to a wide range of people* (R69S)

and another:

*I believe that Greek does help me with my professional life. At my current work, I communicate with many Greek customers. I also plan on moving to Greece at a later stage in life and my development on the Greek language throughout my teenage years and throughout university will help me. It also helps me with my social life as I like attending Greek music concerts and being Greek also helps me develop my “Greek identity” which I believe is very important in this society, as it gives me a sense of belonging* (R70S)
The most frequently mentioned reason for studying Greek given by 41 students was the perceived advantage it gave them in gaining a job or helping them in their future professional career. As many put it, they could use “Greek to communicate with clients”.

Other comments included the following

*These days workplaces are looking for people who speak two languages.* (R3S).

It is apparent from their responses that some were already exposed to workplaces in close proximity to Greek speaking communities.

*I think it will help us to have a second language because people in these days are looking for people who know another language for work, so if someone comes in talking Greek, and you know how to talk it, you will be able to understand and serve them well.* (R6S).

Another student considered Greek as an extra qualification for his resume! This notion suggests that some students were assuming from their social environment that Australian Greeks in Adelaide had a strong commitment to using the Greek language

*It will help you to communicate with other people and if you get a job that reqirs (sic) a different language. If you have on your resimae (sic) that you know 1 or more language its better for you*” (R11S)

Similarly a student claimed,

*if I get a job or own a business I can have Greek clients* (R21S)

His idea of the South Australia Business environment was based on his experience of Greek Solidarity, Greeks sticking together, which for him was a taken for granted reality. As a Greek he would be able to serve Greek clients, who needed Greek to communicate, as if they were in Greece!

The very strong image engraved in such students’ minds was the spirit of the Greek culture of the 50s and 60s, when Greek immigrants were unable to speak English. The same understanding of Greek reasoning is described by respondent R51S who believed that she got her part-time job not because she had the required skills but because her boss was Greek as she was. She explained

*… when I applied for a job I got it because I was Greek and so was my boss*
It should be noted that R70S was the only St George student who linked his Greek language use with the sense of identity. Worth mentioning also is the fact that none of the respondents appealed to the intrinsic value of Greek language in maintaining Greek culture to justify learning and using it. Chart 18 below summarises the frequency distribution of the reasons discussed above. These were identified in the personal statements of students who were positive and very positive to the Greek language.

![Chart 18: St George College Students: Reasons for Studying Greek](image)

### 11.2.3. Views on Cultural Identity and Greek Culture

The other main issue discussed in the student’s comments was their sense of cultural identity and how this was related to various aspects of Greek culture. These comments came in response to a question which asked students to discuss how they perceived themselves with regards to the following categories: Australian-Greek, Greek, Australian or Greek-Australian. Chart 19 provides a

![Chart 19: St George College Students: Sense of Identity](image)

**Note:** Missing student did not responded. The researcher had no details to follow up.
frequency distribution of their responses. It portrays clearly the way that the St George College students felt. The Australian component when it was recognized, was usually related to birthplace is due to their birthplace. Around 60% of the students described their identity in dual theme, either Greek-Australians (31) or Australian Greek (18). There were 25, however, who claimed to be Greek and seven who identified simply as Australian. As the quotations presented below demonstrate, identification as Greek was surprisingly strong among the majority of the student respondents. Only a few had been born in Greece, and some of these were the children of Australian-born Greeks. Most were the Australian born grandchildren of Greek immigrants and educated in Australian schools. They might have been expected to fit fairly easily into the Australia context. Yet most felt that they were somehow different from their mainstream Australian contemporaries. Furthermore, many of their comments suggested that they were happy to have this Greek heritage and their special “characteristic Greekness”.

Some expressed their cultural univalency identifying either as Greeks or Australians.

From the few who said they feel Australian, the main reason appears to be that the respondents do not see any relevance of Greekness in their life.

One considers the place of birth important:

I am born in Australia, so I consider myself Australian- Australia is my residence and home land. (R77S)

And another elaborates the thoughts more, to justify his identification with Australian mainstream society

I feel more Australian. I can’t even speak Greek very well & have never been to Greece so how can I consider myself Greek? I am Australian because it affects my daily life. (R66S)

The significant proportion of the student respondents (25/82) who feel Greek even they were born in Australia revealed a range of reasons they identified with Greek culture, even if they do not speak Greek. One revealed she felt Greek because of her Greek grandparents.
I feel more Greek because my Grandparents are Greek and I love the Greek culture and the language, although I am not good at it. (R37S)

Others considered main contributors to their Greekness the fact they were surrounded by Greeks, followed the Greek tradition and attended Greek functions

One said:

Greek described me better because there is no Australian in my family. My family practices Greek traditions not any other traditions. (R3S)

Another added:

I feel more Greek because I am always with Greek people never really with Australians. I do more traditional Greek things and really don’t celebrate Australian things. (R29S)

And a third revealed:

I feel more Greek (sic) than Australian because I may not speak Greek at home with family members and relative, but I attend many Greek functions like weddings, christenings, Greek dances. (R78S)

For those who have elaborated more their thoughts and expressed in depth reasoning for the factors contributing to their identity as Greeks, the core values of family, Greek religion and language stood out.

One said:

I describe myself as being Greek. I feel like I am more Greek, as I follow the Greek Orthodox religion, the Greek culture and traditions. (R27S)

Another pointed out:

I believe I am Greek because I speak Greek, my Parents are Greek and I go to Greek Church and my friends are Greek, and I Play Greek sport. (R40S)

And for a third the impact of the language and the family is crucial to his identity:

I consider myself as Being Greek despite the fact that I was born in Australia. Greek was my first language and for that reason my Greek is very good – spoken and written. My parents taught me to be actively involved in the Greek culture and I am grateful for that. I listen only to music that is Greek and all my friends are of Greek background. (R71S)
More detailed answers reveal a plethora of parameters that created the identity of the students concerned.

One considered the long term contact with Greece a significant reason for her Greekness.

\[ I \text{ feel more Greek than Australian. This is because my parents sent me to Greece when I was 4 yrs old, and Greek was my first language. Also, they send me to St George College where I am surrounded by Greek students, teachers and parents everyday. Also, the people my parents interact with are all Greek-born people. (R69S)} \]

Another is constantly exposed deeply in the Greek culture; he knew he cannot be anything else.

\[ I \text{ describe myself as Greek. I feel Greek as I was born there and lived there until I was eight years old. My father is Greek and my grandfather is a priest and so I feel like I belong in the Greek culture and feel very much Greek. What else could I be? (R75S)} \]

Some others expressed their duality in fairly simple terms.

Other students have commented:

\[ I \text{ feel Australian and Greek as I'm proud to be living where I am & I am proud to be Greek (R43S).} \]

Another girl from year 10 writes:

\[ I \text{ feel Greek-Australian because I was born in Australia but when people ask me what nationality I am, I answer Greek (R28S)} \]

Others expressed their Greekness more passionately, with emotionally charged words.

\[ I \text{ feel Greek-Australian because I have pure bread (sic) Greek blood but I live in this dump (Australia) (R2S)} \]

A number of the statements limited the sense of Greekness to cultural factors.

\[ I \text{ am Australian Greek because I was born in Australia, but have a Greek background. I feel more Greek because it is my background and culture. I want to learn more about my culture, because if I don't then I will be like some of the Australians who don't know anything (R76S)} \]

and
I feel Greek Australian because I feel that Greece becomes before Australia in my life because I love the Greek cultures and customs but also I was born in Australia (R35S)

Some students excluded Greek language from the factors which let them to identify as Greek. They considered it was not necessary to know the language to feel Greek.

I like to think that I am Greek-Australian. I feel this because although I live and I was born in Australia, I am around Greeks all the time, at home and at school. I cannot read write and speak fluently, and I would like to learn more about the Greek culture, but I know I am different because I am Greek. (R50S)

and another:

I believe I am Greek-Australian because I practise Greek customs, I go to Church for Easter and Christmas, I eat Greek food and dance to Greek songs. I don’t feel less Greek because I can’t speak it. I also feel Australian because this is where I have been born. So I believe I am more Greek than Australian because all it (sic) makes me Australian is the language I speak that is all (R60S).

Others specifically included speaking Greek as an important factor in explaining their Greekness.

I would describe myself as more Greek Australian as I have been brought up in an ethnic way not Australian. I have spoken Greek all my life and consider myself more Greek. I wish that I had been born in Greece (sic) [R51S].

and

I feel more Greek (sic) than Australian because I speak Greek at home with family members and relatives, we help each other and live close. I also attend many Greek functions like weddings, christenings, Greek dances (R78S)

In one of the most comprehensive responses, which referred to a number of factors including language, the student described very vividly the sense of feeling different when he found himself in a mainstream Australian context.

I feel more Greek than Australian. This is because my parents are of Greek background and Greek was my first language. Also, they send me to St George College where I am
surrounded by Greek students, teachers and parents every day. Also, the people my parents interact with are all Greek-born people. I started working at a supermarket where everyone was Australian. I didn’t fit in, and that’s when I knew I was Greek, definitely not Australian. (R69S).

At the other extreme, one year 10 boy described the duality of identity more as a state of being in limbo.

*I would say I am Greek-Australian. This is because I consider myself more Greek than Australian. I am Greek and I just live in Australia. While in Australia I am Greek but while in Greece I am considered Australian, and this is not fair* (R77S).

From the students’ open-ended responses explaining their sense of identity, as well as follow-up interview answers and clarifications, the researcher compiled a set of characteristics which students felt were part of their Greekness. Chart 20 plots the frequency with which these characteristics were mentioned by the students in their chosen identity category.

![Chart 20: St George College Students: Cultural Parameters Contributing to Greek Identity](chart20.png)
The seven out of 82 (9%) St George college students who identified themselves as Australians nevertheless mentioned three expressions of their Greekness - the food they eat, their Greek character and the Greek songs they like to listen to with their Greek friends. What none of these students mentioned were the cultural aspects which have been regarded as core values – religion, language and historicity. The remainder of the students, regardless of the name they used to label their sense of identity (Greek, Greek-Australian, Australian-Greek or Australian) responded in much the same way across the seven factors which were mentioned in explaining their Greekness.

Surprisingly, the cultural factor referred to most often was Greek music and songs. In fact, all the respondents, even those who claimed to feel Australia, mentioned this. They loved Greek dances, not the folklore ones, but mainly the favourite dances of the 60s – the time their grandparents migrated. Singing Greek songs when they were all together at Greek night functions was said to enthuse them greatly. More than any other facet of their ethnic culture, Greek music, singing and dancing appealed to the vivacity and vitality of their youth. Follow up clarifications revealed that the impetus of internet and the readily available Greek music online and on you tube - at no cost, has helped them to link themselves to contemporary Greek culture and the experiences of young people in Greece and young Greek origin people from other places of the Greek Diaspora. A great example of this exchange was a recent hit of Spring 2012 in USA, where a Greek origin rapper called Sotiri, using his Greek name, wrote a song in the Greek ethnolect used in USA. The song became an instant hit on “you tube” amongst young Greeks even in Australia. The lyrics talk about sotiri’s yaya (grandmother) cooking his favourite chicken stock soup with lemon sauce (avgolemono). The song with title “avgolemono” had 300000 hits on you tube and has launched the young artist’s career.

Greek character was the second most frequently mentioned cultural factor in the student comments on their identity. Again, even those who felt Australian all referred to this aspect. However, historicity, which was high in the comments of those who felt Greek in one dimension or another,
did not occur in the statements of those who regarded themselves Australians. Food was another
dimension mentioned almost as often as character by students from all categories. Customs and
religion were the cultural factors next most frequently referred to, but only by those claiming
Greekness in their identity.

The cultural factor which received least mention in relation to the St George students’ sense of
identity was the Greek language. While none of these who felt Australian mentioned the language,
it was referred to by 87% of the Greek Australians, 68% of those who considered themselves
Greek, but only 55% of those who claimed to feel Australian Greek. The converse of this is that
almost a third of the student respondents in all did not link the Greek language with their sense of
identity. This response is consistent with a number of comments discussed in the preceding
language discussion, where some students claimed explicitly that it was not necessary to know the
language to feel Greek.

A few students however, showed a strong personal commitment to the Greek language in their
statements. One explained that the initial motive for learning Greek was the parental aspiration for
their children to maintain Greek language and culture and insisted that they should learn to read
and write Greek at primary level. Later, however, the student continued with learning Greek as a
matter of personal commitment because she felt that the language was part of her life.

I used to learn Greek because my parents wanted me to, but now I realise that I want to
learn it for myself as well. (R82S)

Another respondent articulated very effectively the way he saw the interrelationship between Greek
language and culture.

I believe they (Greek language and culture) are interrelated and connected. I think that the
language is just meaningless words if you do not understand the culture that enriches the
Greek language. Who we are today is dependent on our past and rich history, not just as
the language that we speak. A Chinese man could learn to speak Greek, but he isn’t really Greek is he? (R66S).

Two of the student statements (R50S and R69S) quoted above mentioned Greek social networks as an important factor influencing them towards a Greek identity. Most of the St George respondents lived within the confines of Greek extended families, a Greek school and school friends, Greek Church and Greek social functions. As R50S put it:

*I am around Greek all the time at home and at school*

For most of the student respondents this was a taken for granted reality which they did not think to question or comment on. It took an experience of working part-time with mainstream Australians, outside the comfortable familiarity of this Greek networks, to make R69S aware of his Greekness.

From the perspective of the great majority of the students respondents from St George College then, their sense of Greek identity is an integral and valued part of their lives. In their experience, it is linked to a range of Greek cultural factors, including but not focused exclusively on Greek language and religion.

### 11.2.4. Overview of Personal Statements

The students’ personal statements, analysed above according to Humanistic Sociology principals, demonstrate that “the reaching and interpreting of just numerical data in issues related to culture and language can lead to misinterpreting the research participants’ actual feelings, ideas and attitudes”. Where respondents are given “the opportunity to be more specific and explain feelings as well as attitudes, a different situation can be often emerge” (Holeva, 2005).

The students' written and interview responses proved most successful in clarifying and confirming the concrete fact information on language use. They clearly reinforced the earlier finding that, for most students, the English language dominated all domains of their life except for communication
with grandparents and the Greek language classroom. Only a comparatively few students came from homes where Greek was actually used as the language of the home.

In addition, the students’ comments revealed that their reasons for studying Greek were pragmatic; the need for communication with grandparents, good for a job or useful for travel-rather than out of love or enjoyment of the language itself. Furthermore, the earlier tables and charts of descriptive statistics had provided no clue that 20% of students respondents expressed opposition to learning and using Greek, in a school where learning Greek was compulsory up to the end of year 10. On the other hand, it was somewhat surprising to find that as many as 91% claimed to feel Greek, whether they expressed this as being just Greek, or Australian-Greek or Greek-Australian. The significance of these findings from the cultural data is considered more in the concluding chapter.
CHAPTER 12. CONCLUSIONS TO PROJECT TWO

Project 2 was focused on young people of Greek background who were attending a Greek Orthodox College where they received more formal education in Greek language, religion and culture than any other students in South Australia. Furthermore, their fellow students were overwhelmingly of Greek background too, and the whole ethos of the school reflected Greek culture. The aim of the study was to investigate how the students themselves, as the new upcoming generation of the Greek community in South Australia, reported to this exposure to Greek language and culture at home and school. Two key sets of findings emerged, one related to Greek language usage and attitudes, the other concerned with Greek identity, language and cultural maintenance.

12.1 Greek Language Usage and Attitudes

Both the concrete data and the personal comments of the great majority of the students reported the same finding. English was the language they used to communicate with parents, siblings and friends. Their main opportunity for the aural experience of hearing the Greek language, so vital as the fundamental base of language learning, was with their grandparents -if they were still living- considering that in their statements students speak predominantly in English with their parents.

This finding confirms the complaints of the Greek teachers at St George College that parents were not supporting their language teaching at school by failing to use Greek at home when talking with their children. What needs to be remembered is that, through their childhood, most parents had received little if any instruction in Greek. In contrast their progression through the Australian schooling system had ensured that most had a good command of English. Most were using English constantly at work and in their leisure activities. It is no wonder that they found it more convenient
and comfortable to speak English at home. The best they felt that they could do was to transfer responsibility of teaching Greek to their children to St George College.

There was a small group of students who did use Greek in communication with fathers (8%), mothers (6%) and even siblings (5%) and friends (4%). For the most part they were children of recent immigrants who were committed to maintaining the home as a Greek language domain. These students were competent bilinguals in Greek and English, given that, with the exception of their Greek classes, their schooling, as well as their interactions in mainstream Australian society, were all in English. In all they either felt Greek and were committed to returning to Greece, or preferred a dual identity where they were committed advocates of Greek culture, while enjoying the opportunities that the Australian multicultural context opened.

In relation to the student’s attitudes to the Greek language, the picture that emerged from their comments had an inside breadth and depth of perspective that earlier charts and tables could not possibly provide. Most of the St George College respondents accepted that the Greek language was important. They were happy enough to learn it at school although a number of them found it difficult, and to speak Greek with grandparents, if they were living. However communication in the day to day life of the family and peer group was in English. The prevailing acceptance of the mainstream language in these domains was too difficult to break. Their overall situation is well illustrated in the words of one of the students:

\[
\text{I know I need to learn to write and read Greek. I can understand Greek now because my aunties and my grandparents speak Greek, but I can’t speak Greek, except a few Greek words. I always at home speak English with my parents and brothers. (R 22S).}
\]

However, there was a minority of around 20% was actively rejected the Greek language. They did not want to study the language, resented its compulsion at school and were pleased when they were able to give it up in the senior years. They felt strongly that there was no need to know the
language in order to feel Greek. A much smaller number of students expressed indifference to the language. To them, knowing how to speak Greek was irrelevant in Australia.

Last but not least few gave evidence in their statements of a very positive personal commitment to the Greek language. To them Greek was either an identity language used as a secret code, or the main means of communication at home with all family members and friends. These few true bilinguals were eager to study the language further, even to university level. For them, using the Greek language was a vital part of their lives and their identity. One also wrote of his aspirations – at the time of the final interview in 2006- to return eventually to Greece.

It is important to consider the significance of these findings for the teaching of Greek. The comments of Greek teachers in Project 1 suggested that they would like to assume that their students all spoke Greek at home and were enthusiastic to take advantage of their opportunities at school to develop their Greek language skills to a high level. Yet the results from this study of 82 St George students indicated that less than 10% fitted the teachers’ ideal.

Most of the students were in fact growing up in English speaking environments, apart from at best spending a few hours a week with grandparents. With no aural background in the language, they struggled to keep up with the reading and writing skills taught in the classroom, on the assumption that students used Greek at home. Since their home language is English these students could be considered to be better suited to second language learning approach to Greek. Under this teaching approach, they would be better able to keep up with the lessons and gain a greater sense of making progress in their language studies. This is the experience of many second language learners of

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77 At that point (2003-2004) the only opportunity for the students to have oral and aural exposure to a Greek native speaker to acquire the Greek prosody was to converse with their grandparents-considering parents have different accent and intonation as Australian educated. The internet of today that allows immediate exposure to the Greek language by streaming Greek TV programs, was very expensive and the students were not familiar with this and also the technology and the use of internet was not so sophisticated at that time in Greece. Only around 2010 the researcher herself-who is an expert internet tools user- was able to use web TV and streaming from Greece.
French, Italian, German, Spanish, Japanese and Indonesian in the South Australian secondary schools.

The identification of 20% of these respondents who displayed negative disposition to learning Greek highlights another challenge in the Greek classroom. Teachers may well have in their classes at least one or more students who are unwilling to be there. Indeed, the evidence of this study suggests that the teachers of Greek at St George College would have been confronted with classes of students of very mixed abilities and interests in the language. They would appear to be a case for innovative approaches to both class organisation and teaching methods.

The significance of the findings on Greek language usage and attitudes can be understood in reference to the seven sociological factors, which Tamis (1993) identified as promoting the “vitality of Modern Greek” in the Australian context. These encompassed factors within both the Greek community and the wider Australian society. In formulating these factors, Tamis assumed that within the areas contracted by the Greek group itself, such as the home, the church and the ethnic school, Greek language usage would prevail. The favourable support of factors such as government and public education authorities, or media interest, was far more difficult to achieve.

These research results on language use and attitudes from students at a college which was controlled by the Greek community and dedicated to the maintenance of Greek language and culture in South Australia, have pinpointed a breakdown in the usage of Greek within one of the key structures of the Greek community itself—the homes of the young people. Based on Tamis’ formulation this shift in the home language from Greek to English can only be seen as a threat to the ongoing vitality of Greek in the South Australian context.
12.2. Greek Identity, Language and Cultural Maintenance

The student comments revealed that the great majority had a definite feeling of being Greek. Thus they identified themselves as Greek to a certain degree, be just Greek, more Greek than Australian, sometimes more Australian than Greek, yet still Greek! However in seven cases – rather a significant percentage for such a Greek community centered school - students self-identified as Australians. All in all St George students expressed pride for attending the school and considering themselves as “keepers” of Greek language and tradition in South Australia. They appear to have a sense of gratification and self-esteem in being recognized as “Greeks” and even as “wogs”. Children of mixed marriages also, when exposed to Greek language and culture, tended to consider themselves mainly Greek.

Moreover, the students saw themselves as expressing this Greekness in a range of cultural ways - music and songs, character traits, food, historicity, some main customs and to a lesser extent, Orthodox religion and Greek language. Even those who felt that they did not speak Greek well or did not understand their ancestral culture enough or went to church only when the school had a compulsory liturgy, at Easter and maybe Christmas, still felt Greek deep “inside their hearts” and because of their “Greek blood”. This was one of a range of expressions they used to imply that their Greekness was deeply embedded in who they were and how they acted. The researcher was not surprised seeing students talking warmly and passionately how they were feeling their “Greek Blood” or having something in their genes that could not be disregarded. These young students had a sense of belonging to a certain culture in a way that only Cultural Psychology could explain in depth.
PART IV: RESEARCH PROJECT 3
ATTITUDES OF STUDENTS
AT THREE STATE SCHOOLS

CHAPTER 13. AIMS AND METHODS USED

13.1 Three State Schools’ Students

This portfolio of research endeavoured to investigate parental aspirations, student attitudes and teacher apprehensions towards teaching and learning of Greek in Adelaide secondary schools, over a period of 10 years. The focus of the third and last study was a group of students from the three state schools that have continued to teaching Greek up to senior secondary level. These were students who were directly linked to the parents and teachers described in chapter 8. Through the decisions of their parents, those students were attending Adelaide HS, Norwood Morialta HS and Unley HS\(^78\) and being taught Greek by the teachers concerned.

The same theoretical rationale was applied to Project 3 as in Project 2. Student respondents in this study, through their personal statements, informed the researcher about the extent and the depth the Greek linguistic and cultural heritage which was being transmitted to them by their family and school. Growing into adulthood, these individuals have the option either to maintain, or modify according to their needs, what was being transmitted to them. On the other side of this continuum of choices for the social actor, they can even reject and ignore their linguistic and cultural heritage in favour of shifting to mainstream cultural values. These individual decisions of a sample 2.5 times

\(^78\) When the research commenced (early 2003) the initial data collection process was conducted in all 9 public schools then offering Greek classes at secondary level. All but the three schools included in this study have dropped Greek classes since students numbers choosing Greek have dropped.
larger than St George College students would indicate the extent to which a large part of the Greek community in Adelaide was willing to retain or abolish its distinctive cultural heritage as a living tradition.

13.2. Three State Schools: Their Role in the Maintenance of Greek Language and Culture

The three state High schools concerned in this study offered several Language programs, with one –Adelaide HS- recognised as the only Specialist Language School in South Australia. One can argue that this was the reason these schools continued to offer Greek. However, this is not the only parameter that supported the teaching of Greek language in these schools. Sociological or socioeconomic factors, parallel to strong Greek parents committee’s and robust enrolments from Greek origin students, enrolling in these schools from all over metropolitan Adelaide, were among the other reasons that the language was maintained in these schools. In each of the schools concerned, Greek was offered as a subject from year 8 to year 12, when students could study Greek as one of their subjects for the South Australian Certificate of Education. Studying a language was compulsory to year 9, while in the senior years it became a matter of student choice. Several of the state school teachers in Project 1 complaint that many students gave up the study of Greek after year 10 for various reasons.

All three schools were considered multicultural and they valued Multiculturalism’s Celebration (Clyne, 1991:18); Lo Bianco, 2004:20), by offering intercultural and multicultural education. As discussed in section 8.1, the schools were able to appreciate the differences between groups and proclaim them by celebrating ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity. The concept of the celebration consists in recognising and accepting the equal right of all ethnic groups that are best fostered with cultural sensitivity by equal treatment, preserving and not breaking down the boundaries between groups, while at the same time encouraging the sharing and understanding of other cultures.
The researcher’s personal observations also suggested that students regarded attendance at these three schools as helping them to contribute in the survival of Greek culture in multicultural South Australian by promoting the Greek culture via pride in Greek Historicity and Greek contribution to the Western civilisation. At the same time they were happy to embrace and continue their life under the umbrella of mainstream Australia cultural values. Some of the students who were studying Greek in these three schools commuted daily from suburbs across Adelaide to attend the schools. According to the students’ responses, the schools were chosen either because of their status and fame as well regarded public schools, or because they offered Greek outside of the ethos of St George College.

13.2.1. Theoretical Perspectives on State Schools

As it was the case with Project 2, it is helpful to consider the special features and functioning of the state schools offering Greek, as discussed above, in relation to some theoretical models of the multicultural education which support cultural and linguistic diversity in Australia.

Almost a generation after the Multicultural Australia policy was adopted, and Smolicz’s model for Multicultural education in Australia, there are still state schools that proclaim the cultural differences to be found among their students. Greek language numbers maybe falling in the state schools; however, the celebration strategy of Multicultural Australia is still supporting the linguistic and cultural needs of new arrivals of various ethnic backgrounds. These schools represented in a positive way the linguistic and cultural distinctiveness of various ethnic groups particularly those whose languages were taught as School subjects, like Greek.

Smolicz’s model of multicultural education in Australia is essentially expressed in these state schools, where outside of the perceived pressure of any Greek Orthodox Church Parish, they offer

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79 Please see similar comment on 10.2.1 where the celebration of multiculturalism continues in state schools by extended language offering.
Greek language classes to support the core values of the minority group, while its members are exposed to the overarching values shared by all Australians. Hence the actual purpose of Smolicz’s model is facilitated by these government schools where individual rights and the benefits of cultural interaction between several ethnic minority groups and the sharing of cultures can give to individuals and society as a whole the true feeling of a respectful multicultural society.

Project 3 participants belong to the third generation, the one that appears to confront with the allegation they are the weakest link in the maintenance of the Greek linguistic and cultural tradition. This third generation has the most residual contact with their background’s heritage while educated and live by the values of the mainstream Australian society and consider Australia their own homeland. According to researcher’s own observations, the majority of student participants in Project 3 learned Greek as foreign language.

In his *Reversing Language Shift* (1997) Fishman refers to the eight possible stages of ethnic language maintenance with regards to the attitude of the language users towards its maintenance. Stage 8 is the lower level of language maintenance and represents a language so fractioned, and used by so few isolated enclaves that there is imperative need of language reconstruction. At stage 7 the language is used by the elderly only among themselves, whereas at stage 6 a community based language is maintained within the family and the closest social circle (1997:23-24). At the Greek community level the students who participated in the 3rd Project would seem to be in situation in-between 7th and 6th stage, a case where Greek language is used in small enclaves by the elderly and the youngest may be using the Greek ethnolect within their family and very close social circle as an identity language. Yet at the general societal level, the existence of such state language schools indicates the state labelled by Fishman as 4b, where public schools attended by students of Greek background in this case, can learn Greek, under mainstream “curricular and staffing control”. This was an issue raised by some of the teachers in Project 1.

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80 St George College students involved in Project 2 represented the stage described as 4b (see section 10.2)
The students of Project 3 therefore represent a distinctive group since they and their parents opted to enrol them in these schools that offer Greek in the curriculum, although many had the option of attending the local state school, in a last effort to maintain the contact with their ancestral language and culture. At the same time, they revealed an almost indifferent attitude to the language as core value to their identity as Greeks in their patterns of their day today living.

13.3. Aims of Project 3

Project 3 shared the same focus as Project 2. The main aim of this study was to investigate how state school students relate to the Greek language and culture they had been exposed to in their family circle and school context.

Comments from the state school parents and teachers in Project 1 (see chapter 8) indicated that the student respondents for Project 3 had considerably less exposure to Greek language and culture at home than their parents did and that Greek language maintenance was not the main parental aspiration. As it was the assimilation in the mainstream Australian establishment and the higher socio-economic success and status. On the other hand, the state school students had far more formal transmission of Greek language and culture in the school setting than their parents had ever known, but less exposure to the Greek language than St George student respondents were experiencing.

It was important therefore to investigate this larger group of respondents and interpret the responses of the newest generation to the particular educational experiences they had received. The same steps were followed in Project 3 as was established for the investigation in Project 2.

Students’ responses helped to gather concrete data concerning:

- Their family background
- The members of their family circle and the patterns of language use with them
- Their circle of friends and the language(s) they used with each.
As in project 2, this helped to establish the main social and cultural context to which the state school students belonged.

Students’ personal statements in response to open ended questions allowed the collection of qualitative data that allowed the researcher to understand the participants’ thoughts and feelings about

- Learning Greek, and their likely use of the language beyond school.
- Greek culture and its importance for them
- Their sense of Greek identity.

These data were expected to give an indication of what was the disposition of the state school students who attended Greek classes towards the Greek language and culture and its maintenance in the South Australian society. Overall, the analysis of these data could point to how far the Greek core values of language, religion and family collectivism were being maintained in the attitudes of these students. A comparison with St George student responses could allow a better understanding of the future of Greek language and culture in the eyes of the state school students, who were undertaking Greek language classes at high school and few may continue at senior level.

13.4. Methods of Data Collection

As with Projects 1 and 2 there were four types of data used in the investigation of the three state school students. Students were requested to answer quantitative questions included in Part A of the questionnaires distributed to all students (see Appendix E). A range of responses were provided and students asked to circle the most appropriate as previously presented in section 10.4 for the students in Project 2. Apart from demographical questions, information was also sought on language(s) used in family and social circle domains.

Descriptive statistics were coupled with personal statements requested in Part B of student questionnaires (see Appendix E-Part B). Students’ feelings about and experiences of learning and
using the Greek language, students’ personal sense of cultural identity and what made them feel Greek or not Greek were the focus of these questions, as in Project 2.

Thirdly the researcher was provided with an opportunity to clarify parts of the students’ responses by individually interviewing those who had agreed to participate in further clarifying interviews. Lastly, the observations of the researcher as a participant observer of teaching of Greek in state schools, as a qualified teacher herself proved invaluable since her observations of participant’s actions bearing Greek ethnographic characteristics, over the interview phase of the data collection, was used to provide important confirmation and validation of the student data.

13.4.1. Data Collection Procedures

Project 3 followed similar procedures to those in the previous studies in Project 1 and Project 2 and the following data collection procedures were used. A copy of the “Research Project Description and Impact Statement” (Appendix A), which has been submitted to the Research Unit of SA Education Department was sent to the state school principals, along with a copy of the approval granted by the South Australian Department of Education to enter the State Schools (Appendix K), and a copy of the letter DECS sent to the researcher and to the Principals advising them that the research was approved (Appendix L).

The Greek language teachers were contacted and asked to help in distributing and collecting the questionnaires. The researcher initially was required to address students in the presence of the teaching staff to explain what was asked from them. Information letters were distributed to students, describing the scope and the aims of the research and requesting the necessary signed permission from parents for their children to participate in the research. (Appendix F). Parents were given a special Consent Form (Appendix J) to sign. At the end of the questionnaire respondents were asked to provide their names and a contact number to the researcher, if they were willing to be involved in follow-up interview designed to deal with any areas of concern or in need of clarification.
In some cases teachers were approached first—as trusted colleagues of the researcher—and they helped to gain the principal's approval. As explained in chapter 8, Adelaide HS and Norwood Morialta HS allowed the researcher to access students at all the year levels, whereas Unley HS, according to the letter sent to the researcher (Appendix L) restricted the access of the researcher only to Y8 students.

Each questionnaire was distributed with a stamped addressed envelope for returning it. The respondents were asked to return the questionnaires together with the signed consent form. This method ensured anonymity and confidentiality. A total of 250 questionnaires were initially distributed and the 214 which were returned from the three state school students were compiled in SPSS program\(^{81}\) and became the Project 3. Where personal contact was made, no names were used and no personal details disclosed that potentially could identify the participant. Furthermore, as in all other projects of this Portfolio, all the personal statements and the interview transcripts were held securely and accessed by the researcher's University supervisors and the researcher herself only during the research period. In the 3\(^{rd}\) Project 55 students were subsequently interviewed for clarification purposes and to collect longitudinal data on language use.

The timeline of data collection and the participants in this research have been outlined in 1.5 (page 15) and hereafter the reader can refer to the schedule of data collection.

- **Unley HS**
  - Questionnaires distribution to students started on March 2003
  - Questionnaires collection ended July 2003
  - Follow up interviews with 14 students started on January 2004
  - Follow up Interviews Ended March 2008

- **Adelaide HS**

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\(^{81}\) To allow the research the option of separating the schools for making conclusions related to each school, the only identification allowed by the researcher was just the number of researched population per school. I.e. students with ID no≥82 belong to state schools and more specific for example Id No ≥198 and ≤250 belongs to Unley HS (n=52). Hence in the SPSS any ID number from 198 to 250, was reported within the Unley HS specialised report of Project 3.
• Questionnaires distribution to students started on July 2003
• Questionnaires re-distributed in June 2004, because of problems with original collection.
• Questionnaire collection concluded on July 2005
• Follow up interviews with 16 students started on January 2006
• Follow up interviews ended on March 2009

❖ Norwood Morialta HS

• Questionnaire distribution to students started on July 2003
• Questionnaire collection ended on June 2004
• Follow up interviews with 23 students started January 2005
• Follow up interviews ended March 2010\(^2\)

13.5. Data Analysis

The humanistic sociological analysis of student data followed a similar pattern to that adopted for Projects 1 and 2. As an qualitative study based on Humanistic Sociological principals with significant quantitative dimension through descriptive statistics research Project 3 also will allow the evidence to speak by itself. The researcher is obligated to avoid judgments. The researcher is to demonstrate the objectivity with which she collected the evidence and to proceed in interpretations avoiding any potential bias or personal input. Hence from the concrete facts given in part A of the questionnaire the researcher developed profiles of the student respondents’ own and family background, particularly in relation to grandparents. Details of the family and social circle were linked to information on language used with individual members. Following the same pattern of data presentation as in Projects 1 and 2, in Project 3 the analysis in terms of descriptive statistics has been summarized in a table form. Calculations of percentages, where these were appropriate, -and hence proportions- were used to present the descriptive statistics but no other statistical

\(^2\) The delay in the interview process was a result of the researcher’s employment in country schools from 2006-2009, which resulted in limited access to students during the year-only school holidays were available.
procedures were used. The cultural data reflected in the student’s comments from Part B of the questionnaire, and any additional comments from the interviews were compiled thematically and content analysis was used to analyse emerging themes. The two key themes which were central to this investigation, as in Project 2, were:

- Attitudes to the Greek language and its use; and
- Views on Greek culture and identity

As in the Projects 1 and 2, the analysis of cultural data is presented in a form of a documentary, in which the words of the student respondents are quoted at length and verbatim, without any correction or amendment. In this way readers are invited to make their own judgments on the students’ statements and the researcher’s analysis. Where appropriate, charts were developed to summarize the range of responses across various classifications, derived either from the questions or the students’ responses.

In the following chapter 14 the three state school student responses are reported, with the descriptive statistics drawn from the concrete data presented first. The second part of the chapter thematically analyses the students’ comments.
CHAPTER 14. RESULTS FROM STATE SCHOOL STUDENTS

14.1. Descriptive Statistics

When the 214 Greek origin students who attended the three state schools completed Part A of the questionnaire, actually allowed the researcher to gather concrete data that are presented in Project 3 as descriptive statistics. As in the previous 2 projects the first part of this chapter discusses students' personal and educational background. In section 14.1.2 an overview of parental socio-economic background is presented, while in section 14.1.3 the ethnic background of family members and friends, together with associated language use, is discussed. Particular attention is given to detailing students' contact and language use with all four grandparents.

14.1.1. The Student Participants

From the total of 214 students involved in Project 3, 116 students (54%) came from Adelaide HS, 52 students (24%) from Unley HS and the remainder 46 students (22%) represented students who attended Norwood Morialta HS. Data collected regarding students' gender, date and place of birth, school year level and number of years (if any) they had studied Greek at an ethnic school are provided below in Table 9.

The majority of the students (96%) were born in Australia, a percentage much higher than the 88% of Australian born students of St George College. Nine students, however, had been born in Greece.
Most (80%) had been born in the late 80s. At the time of the data gathering (2004-2005) they therefore ranged in age between 13/14 and 17/18 with 83% studying at years 8-10 and 17% of them being senior school (Year 11 and Year 12) students. Male respondents were (52%) while 103/214 or (48%) were females. Out of 214 48 students (22%) also attended one of the various Greek Ethnic schools run by Greek Communities around Adelaide. Nine out of 214 students attended St George Greek classes, offered every Saturday morning, which suggests they lived in the area around St George parish. In all, 62 out of the 214 students (32%) studied a second LOTE, with 24 of these 62 opting for Italian, ten choosing German and eight either Japanese or French, since their schools were offering a range of languages.

The following chart (Chart 21) shows how the students were distributed across the year levels in the three state schools. At Unley HS year 8 students were the only class to which the researcher was initially given access. (see Appendix M). However, the researcher managed to access other year levels (9and 10) at a later time when she was able to revisit the school. So, data in this Project 3 represent y 8-10 Unley HS students and not senior years that are not offered in the school. The
The largest group (34%) came from year 8, followed by year 9 (29%) and 10 (18%). This meant that 81% of the respondents belonged to the middle school (years 8, 9, 10) and only 19% were senior year students. Of these 17 students were year 12 and 24 were year 11 students.

**Students Distribution per Year Level (N=214)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Level</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Year 8</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 9</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 10</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 11</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 12</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Chart 21: State School Students: Distribution per Year Level**

Project 3, in contrast to Project 2 which did not provide any data on year 12 students’ experiences and attitudes towards Greek language, offered the researcher data from almost 1/5 of the total student respondents (41/214) who chose Greek at senior school level, as a subject that could allow them additional bonus points for entry to University of Adelaide, a South Australian University of high academic status.

Figure 10 below presents the number of years state school students concerned have studied Greek. 31/214 student respondents of Project 3 had studied Greek all their school life, with 157/214 studying Greek for more than 6 years and 27/214 had Greek classes for only 1-2 years.

**No of Years Studying Greek**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No of Years</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
14.1.2. Parental Socio-Economic Background

In order to identify the socioeconomic circumstances of the three state schools concerned students were asked to provide information about their family home, the way they get to school, their parents education and occupation. The great majority (91% of them) lived in 3-4 bedroom homes in the Eastern and inner South Eastern suburbs, able to have their own bedroom (90%). 74% of them is transported to school by their parents, while 23% walked to school or caught the School Bus. Another 3% were driven by the grandparents.

Part A of the questionnaire included questions related to the education level of parents and their job. The aim was to identify the possible impact of parental education on the level of maintenance (or not) of Greek language and culture. Results from Project 2 identified a tendency among the educated parents, especially those who had completed university studies and hence acquired higher social status and higher remuneration, to activate mainstream Australian culture while those of lower socio-economic status were more likely to maintain Greek culture and language. There was therefore a need to investigate if in Project 3 the same pattern can be confirmed.

On Chart 22 the Education level of the students’ fathers has been presented.

![Chart 22: State School Students: Fathers’ Education Level](chart22.png)
Among the students' fathers in Project 3, 26% had received education related to a trade, technical college or TAFE, while another 25% of the respondents' fathers had completed secondary education. A robust 28% had tertiary studies, with 20% finishing University, while 5% continuing to a Masters Degree and 2% completing Doctoral Studies. However, students have declared that 12% of fathers had completed only primary school and another 10% of students either did not know or did not revealed their father's education level.

Project 3 fathers compared to Project 2 revealed a higher number of University graduates and secondary education completions. The trend observed in the fathers' sample of St George College Students is confirmed in this sample. However, living in the Eastern suburbs- as can be cross verified by the number of the students who live in a walking distance to the school, is indicative of a higher income in its majority. These fathers since they had trade related studies and since are living outside of Greek “Sprachinseln” (language enclaves), were excellent users of the English language they used for their business at a high written and oral level. Hence they do not match to Jerry -the Semi-lingual second generation Greek Australian, the one Smolicz identified in 1976 and we have still today have noticed in Project 2 fathers. The claim that Project 3 fathers represented a higher socioeconomic group attracted more to the Australian mainstream society can be also supported by students' statements on fathers' occupation. 21% of fathers were self-employed and another 21% trade people. 24% were Government employees, a percentage compatible with university and secondary education graduates and another 11% were employed in small businesses. A small percentage (3%) – 6/214 fathers- were working part time, another 3% were looking for a job and some (5%) were studying to get another job or studied and worked at the same time. Surprisingly there were a 5% (10/214 parents) who are pensioners —yet as the researcher can verify, not of low socio-economic status (See below chart 23).

83 This can also be verified by the researcher’s personal observations who had personal contact with them during the interviewing period.
The concrete data above verified that Project 3 fathers have middle class education and occupation while living in higher socioeconomic area. The inclination of these middle class fathers of Greek origin towards the mainstream Australian society was verified by the researcher’s own observations. As was observed by Papademetre (2001) and was identified in the chapter 8 of Project 1, state school fathers opted higher education and socioeconomic achievement for their children without emphasising the imperative need of maintaining the Greek language as St George fathers appeared to do. Projected from their children responses, fathers of Project 3 seemed to pass the message to their offspring that the Greek language is not considered important for their social and professional life. Later in section 14.2 this inclination will be supported by personal statements of the student participants in Project 3.

It is important though to understand the logic behind this mentality. When the first generation of low education level migrants arrived in the 50s there was no time for them to learn English. They started immediately working and maintained the Greek language as their only medium of communication. Their children learned English as part of their compulsory Australian Education but held up on the Greek language to help their parents communicate. It is logical for this second generation when
they have the ability to communicate in English with their children to opt it over Greek, especially since fathers of Project 3 were extremely comfortable with English and they expected that their children will continue their life and education in Australia hence they had to be educated in English. When Project 3 students completed the responses on questions related to their mothers’ education level and occupation, a similar tendency appeared as one can read in the chart 24 below.

![Chart 24: State School Students: Mother’s Education](image)

Among the mothers 29% had completed primary or secondary education, with 11% of them having completed primary school. Another 8% finished College, 5% TAFE studies, while 3% had a trader’s licence. In contrast to St George students’ data, as well as Project 1 state school parents as many as 35% of their mothers had completed tertiary studies. Of these 21% of mothers finished a university degree (compared to 20% of the fathers), and 13% had Masters Degree, compared to 5% of the fathers; another 2% of mothers had a doctoral degree. The comparison of parental tertiary education between Projects 2 (St George College) and 3 (State Schools) is surprising. Whereas it could be assumed that the Project 2 students attending a private school would indicate

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84 Please refer to Question 44 in student’s questionnaire of Appendix E, to verify the specific question students were asked to fill.
higher parental income as a result of higher education, the data in Chart 25 below) revealed that more of the mothers and fathers in the three schools had completed tertiary and postgraduate studies.

![Parental Tertiary Education](chart.png)

**Chart 25: Parents’ Education Level: Three State Schools v. St George College**

compared to the parents’ of students attending St George College. The significance of this trend will be validated and discussed when interpreting the personal responses of the students later in section 14.2. The higher socioeconomic status of Project 3 students can be also verified by the combined dual family income in these family units. In relation to the mothers’ occupation 15% of the mothers were not working (compared to 1% of St George Students’ mothers) but only 4% of the unemployed mothers were looking for work. Another one fifth of the mothers (22%) could afford to work part time.

Chart 26 on the next page shows that only 8% of the mothers were considered trade persons (indicative of a person who is not educated at tertiary level) compared to 12% at St George.
The low 8% of self employed mothers and another 6% who were employees in small businesses is consistent with the percentage of the mothers who had completed only primary education. A solid quarter of the mothers 26% worked in Government agencies or as professionals in areas known for high remuneration packages (compared with 10% of St George College mothers). Another 9% worked in full time employment that was not specified.

As it was expected the sample of 214 students was much larger than the 23 parents who participated in Project 1 from the three state schools. The range therefore of the socioeconomic status revealed in the student responses clearly present a lower proportion of the lower educational and socioeconomic end. Whereas state school parents in Project 1 were at 45% of secondary education, students’ responses revealed 20% parents of secondary education.

The student’s responses concerning the ethnic background of fathers and the language used with them is discussed initially and are summarised in Table 10 on next page.
In relation to ethnic origin, 90% of state school fathers were said to be Greek and 9% Australian, with 1% from Cyprus. These figures of father’s ethnic origin need to be considered in conjunction with father’s birthplace as was the case in Project 2. The fact that 42% were born in Greece, while 52% were regarded as Australian in ethnicity and 6% declared as born in Cyprus, is indicative of the fact that in the minds of the respondents, a person can be considered Greek even when born in Australia. This is the case for 48% of these fathers who were considered to be Greek in ethnicity yet were born in Australia.

From those born in Greece 34 migrated as young children during the migration wave of the 50s and 60s. This helps to explain the number (12% or 26/214 fathers) of those who completed only primary education. Another 63/214 fathers of Project 3 respondents came to Australia during the later migration wave of the 70s. The great majority of fathers, 193/21 were only Australian citizens, while 6/214 -those who arrived late –had only Greek citizenship. A low number of 15/214 fathers had dual citizenship. As with Project 2 data, 55% of the Project 3 students were actually grandchildren of the immigrant generation whereas the remaining 45% were technically children of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Total % rounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ETHNIC BACK GROUND</td>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>191</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POB</td>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>90</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAR MIGR</td>
<td>50s/60s</td>
<td>70s/80s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CITIZENSHIP</td>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LANG</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10: State School Students: Fathers’ Ethnic Background and Language Used
immigrants, who had come to Australia as young children who were educated in Australia, some up to tertiary level.

In relation to language use with fathers, as many as 70% of the students said they communicated in English. Only 14 students declared that they spoke mainly Greek with their fathers. Another 52 (24%) claimed to use both languages at home yet the follow up interviews proved that students considered that using the Greek Ethnolect, could qualify them for knowing and hence using both languages. More details about language use with fathers are given in the cultural data section.

Only 4 out of 214 students (2%) declared they considered themselves true bilinguals in a self-assessed valuation. Later personal contact between the students and the researcher related to conducting the interviews proved they could switch between the two languages and communicate with their fathers, mothers and siblings fluently in Greek and English and all of them were first generation migrants, newly –at the time around 2000- arrived from Greece. Only 14 out of the 214 (6.5%) students considered themselves efficient in Greek language. All had both parents Greek-born who migrated in the late 80s or early 90s. It is also significant that 9 of these 14 students were born in Greece, so they are considered themselves first generation migrants educated in Australia. 24% of Project 3 students declared using at home the Greek Ethnolect identified in the earlier Projects.

Table 11 on the next page reveals mothers’ concrete data which are somewhat different from the fathers’ data. Fewer mothers (86% of the mothers compared to 90% of the fathers) were said to have Greek origin. Subsequently as many as 27 Greek origin fathers were married to a non-Greek background spouse, a phenomenon also observed in Project 2 parental families of mixed marriages. All Project 3 students of mixed marriages admitted they were not practicing Greek culture at home, they had limited knowledge of Greek and only 1-2 years of proper Greek language classes.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(BACK GROUND)</th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Total % rounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>185</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POB</th>
<th>Greece</th>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>Elsewhere</th>
<th>Greece</th>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>Elsewhere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR MIGR</th>
<th>Greece</th>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>Elsewhere</th>
<th>Greece</th>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>Elsewhere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50s/60s</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70s/80s</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>134</td>
<td></td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not migrant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50s/60s</td>
<td>70s/80s</td>
<td>No migr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CITIZENSHIP</th>
<th>Greece</th>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>both</th>
<th>Greece</th>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>both</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LANG</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>ethnolect</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>ethnolect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 11: State Schools Students: Mothers’ Ethnic Background and Language Used.**

Only 33% of the mothers were Greek-born (71/214), while 33 of these had migrated as young children with the migration waves of 1950s and 1960s. Another 47 mothers had migrated during the 70s and 80s but none in the 90s.

A low 8% of mothers maintained their Greek nationality. Such decision can be considered a social action of students’ grandparents not to initiate the needed bureaucratic actions to claim the Greek nationality for their Australian-born children – the students’ mothers. The 7% of the mothers who had dual citizenship were those few earlier mentioned couples who had recently migrated. Project 3 parents’ citizenship status revealed the same trend identified in Project 2 with regards to the compulsory military service for the male citizens. Only 6 of the 90 Greek born fathers (6.7%) had Greek citizenship, while 18 of 71 Greek born mothers (25%) were Greek citizens.

As many as 94% of the students (200 out of 214 students) declared they did not use Greek at home when conversing with their mothers. 81% were communicating only in English while 27 students (13%) said they “use few Greek words here and there”.

More detailed interpretation on language use and student attitude towards the maintenance of Greek follows in section 14.2.2
14.1.3. Siblings

The following Table12 presents the Project 3 concrete data related to student respondents’ siblings and Greek origin friends.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO of SIB</th>
<th>Adelaide HS/ Norwood Morialta HS</th>
<th>UnleyHS</th>
<th>Total % rounded</th>
<th>N=214</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIBPOB</td>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>GR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>207</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIBLAN</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>ethnolect</td>
<td>Greek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRND ETHN</td>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>GR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LANG 2 FR</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>ethnolect</td>
<td>Greek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12: State School Students: Siblings and Friends.

The great majority (of students 81%) indicated that they had 1 or 2 siblings, 5% were the only child and 14% (32 out of 214 students) had 3 or more siblings. Almost all (207 of the 214, 99%) had siblings born only in Australia. The remaining 7 students were the Greek born newly arrived students identified earlier who had siblings also born in Greece. However, only 4 of the 214 students (2%) declared that they spoke mainly Greek when conversing with siblings while 98% used English as means of communication. In this percentage was included a low 5% (10/214) of students who said that they occasionally used the Greek Ethnolect developed in Australia.

In relation to friends, only 67% of Project 3 students revealed that a Greek person was their best friend. At St George College, the equivalent percentage was 92%. It can be assumed that parental aspirations of which school was better for their children impacted on the students’ choice of a friend. Project 3 students could become friends with people from different backgrounds very easily at
school. In contrast, at St George College students were surrounded with fellow Greek students. This freedom could be considered as a part of the wider inclination or attraction of the participants in project 3 towards the mainstream Australian society. When their friends were Greek, only 10 of the 214 state school students claimed they use Greek as means of communication. According to the researchers’ own observations, however, verified in a later time interviews that by Greek these state school students meant the Greek Ethnolect. It is important to clarify that the Greek-born students who consistently declared that they used Greek in all aspects of everyday life, revealed they insisted to spoke in Greek with their friends because they felt they could express better their thoughts in Greek.

14.1.4. Grandparents

The research findings of chapter 8 in Project 1 demonstrated the crucial role of Grandparents, the immigrants who brought the language and the culture with them to Australia and maintained it in the families of the respondent students. In Project 3 the grandchildren of these immigrants were asked to respond to close end questions concerning their grandparents’ background, whether they were currently living, the extent of contact the students had with them and the language used in communicating with them. Table 13 collates all this information as descriptive statistics concerning the students’ all four grandparents.

The data on Grandparents from both sides revealed a pattern consistent with Project 2 and with the *modus operandi* of the migrants at that time. The three migration scenarios mentioned in 11.1.3. were confirmed by Project 3 data. Grandparents migrated first mainly in the migration wave of the 1950s and later brought their wives. More than half of their children, however, were Australian born. Others who migrated in the 70s came with their family. Project 3 participants pointed out, and the researcher verified this during the follow up interviews, that many of the grandparents of students in these three schools left Greece in the 70s because they were politically prosecuted or left from
Cyprus due to the Turkish invasion. A reasonable number of grandfathers and grandmothers were said to have migrated separately as singles and met and married in Australia.

| Table 13: State School Students: Grandparents’ Demographics and Language Used

In terms of birth place paternal grandparents were born either in Greece (85%) or Australia (5%) or elsewhere (10%). Maternal grandparents were born either in Greece (77%), in Australia (12%) or elsewhere (11%). As in Project 2 those grandparents who were born elsewhere (neither Greece nor Australia) represented exogamous marriages. In Project 2 the rate of exogamous marriage was just 5%, while in Project 3 it represented 21% of the total grandparents, with 10% coming from the fathers’ side and 11% from the mother’s. The data revealed that only 58% of paternal but a strong 75% of maternal grandfathers were alive. The percentage of grandmothers alive was significantly higher and reached 80% for paternal and 81% of maternal grandmothers.

In Project 3 only 58 out of the 214 participant students (27%) declared they had contact with their paternal grandfathers, but this low figure was partly the outcome of 90 grandfathers were no longer
alive. The figures were higher for maternal grandfathers, three quarters of whom were still living. This reflects the earlier Greek custom of older men marrying younger women.

The contact with paternal grandmothers was higher since more grandmothers were still alive. There were 134 students out of 174, whose maternal grandmothers were still alive, had contacted with them frequently. The figures were slightly lower in the case of paternal grandmothers- 95 of the 171 parental grandmothers were alive, had contact with them. These figures on contact with the immigrant generation suggests that the connection and the continuity of the Greek linguistic and cultural tradition in Australia would be under jeopardy when students were no longer able to communicate in their family circle with someone who was a strong language pillar. It was clearly indicated in section 11.2 of Project 2 and will be also verified in the discussion of cultural data further in section 14.2 the fact that those were students who claimed to be learning Greek in order to communicate better with the Grandparents.

Chart 27 summarizes the factors related to contact and language use with each of the student’s four grandparents. Four different sets of numbers have been entered into each of the columns which represent a grandparent. These are (starting from the bottom figures):

- The total number of students respondents;
- The total number of that grandparent still living;
- The number who have regular contact with that grandparent;
- The number who speak Greek with that grandparent.
Students indicated that they spoke Greek to their paternal grandparents (more specifically 77 of 214 students used Greek with their paternal grandfathers and 116 of 214 used Greek to communicate with their paternal grandmothers. However, only 58 students of 214 claimed that they often saw their paternal grandfathers although 96 of 214 said that they saw their paternal grandmother often. The 17 missing paternal grandfathers had returned to live in Greece. The same applied for 21 paternal grandmothers, who were living in Greece.

Data on the language students used with their maternal grandparents revealed an atypical tendency; a few (10%) maternal grandmothers chose to speak English when they saw their grandchildren. Although 134 of the 214 maternal grandmothers saw often their grandchildren, only 108 of these used the Greek language during this contact. Perhaps these figures can be taken to suggest that the grandmothers concerned had a greater competence in English that other grandmothers and that they gave a higher priority to communicating with their grandchildren than to maintain the Greek language.
14.1.5. Cross Correlating Language Use and Parental Socio-economic Status

As in Project 2 Father’s and Mother’s education and occupation was cross tabulated with the language students declared they used to communicate with them. The table and the bar chart created by SPSS program for the state school students’ data are presented below and analysed and discussed in relation to the correlation patterns revealed initially at St George College between education and occupation on one hand and the language used at home on the other.

It is understood that students attending schools as Adelaide HS may not always come from a higher socioeconomic background yet those attending Norwood Morialta and Unley HS who live close to their school, reside in suburbs considered of the highest socioeconomic status in South Australia. In Australia the level of education is usually correlated to occupation, income, and hence lifestyle choices and social circle activities and preferences. In the sample of participants in this research it appears that when the education of both father and mother is higher their combined income is equally high and they consider themselves well-adjusted and assimilated in the South Australian mainstream society.

The result is that the parents -well-adjusted and assimilated themselves- guide their children to a lifestyle fully adjusted to the Australian cultural shared values and this impacts on following or not the Greek religion and tradition. Sometimes this is a result of successful second generation Greeks moving in suburbs with minimum Greek population where the Greek language and culture is not supported (Tamis 2001:224-2260. Thus Greek language and culture are considered a burden which is not needed, therefore not used in the everyday life. The participants in the research demonstrate a similar trend. Figure 11 below was generated by SPSS as a cross tabulation table between the language which students claimed they used with their father, and their father’s
education level\textsuperscript{85}. It revealed that English language (2) was used more when father had secondary education (green 2) or higher education. On the other side if father had only primary education (red) mainly Greek (1) or Greek ethnolect (0) was the means of communication between father and child.

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure11.png}
\caption{State Schools: Fathers' Education and Language Use}
\end{figure}

A similar pattern was revealed by cross correlating language with father and his occupation\textsuperscript{86}. Where the father was self-employed (blue 2) or government employee (light grey; 6) the language of choice for the majority was English (Fig. 12).

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure12.png}
\caption{State Schools: Fathers' Occupation and Language Use}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{85} 
\textsuperscript{86}
The same form of correlation - between higher socioeconomic status and language used with the mother- appeared; when mother’s education and occupation can be considered as offering higher socio-economic status, the language used as means of communication was English.

Figure 13: State Schools: Mothers’ Education and Language Use

Figure 14: State Schools: Mothers’ Occupation and Language Use
14.1.6. Overview of Descriptive Statistics

The concrete facts discussed in the above section have built up a profile of the families of the three state school student respondents. The students came from a wide range of socioeconomic backgrounds, much wider than was reflected in the responses from St George in Project 2. They also came from different migration waves to Australia, compared to Project 2 students. Their Grandparents came mainly between 50s and 1980s. Although the student respondents were attending a state school which was teaching the Greek language and hence culture, their responses point to many families where the English language and the cultural values of mainstream Australian society were dominant and the Greek language was hardly ever used. Orthodox religious practices and Greek customs and the previous Greek family core values had been pushed to the edges of their living. In an effort to map the language used by the state school students in their everyday life, as presented in the descriptive statistics above, the following chart 28 has been created.

![Diagram of language usage]

**Chart 28: State School Students: Percentage of Everyday Language Used at Home**
The meanings behind the descriptive statistics and the thoughts, feelings and intentions of the students in regard to Greek language and culture being formally taught to them at school are discussed at greater depth in the analysis of cultural data in the following section.

14.2. Respondents’ Comments

The core design that runs across the three studies of this research portfolio is based on the main concept that descriptive statistics as can be collected through fixed questions are not adequate or suitable to reveal the reason for social actions and the motivation for cultural activations of the participants in these studies. Thus the cultural data revealed by the personal statements of the participants who responded to the open ended questions of part B helped the researcher to understand the meaning and significance of the Greek language and culture for the Project 3 student respondents. These young people, who were studying Greek in the state schools differed from the Project 2 students since they were studying Greek in state schools, which means they did not have the church, the Greek community and the whole school to support their Greekness, as was the case at St George. In fact all of them were living literally away from Greek language and culture enclaves, such as St George College cannot be considered.

As it was the case in Project 2, the findings in Project 3 refer to students’:

- Personal pattern of language usage
- Attitudes to the Greek language and
- Views on Greek culture and cultural identity.

The students' comments are presented verbatim. Where applicable they were followed by discussion leading towards the development, in the portfolio conclusion, of a proposed taxonomy regarding trends in Greek language and cultural maintenance in South Australia.

14.2.1. Student’s Language Use
As it has been explicitly explained in 11.2.1-the analogous section of Project 2, the participants in this study were asked to comment on the language used in their everyday life twice. Many of the 42 fixed end survey questions of Part A were dedicated to the language the student used with a variety of people and in a variety of settings, while in Part B personal statements were requested as response to relevant open-ended questions. The interpretation of the personal statements and the comments made by the respondents at a later time during interviews, allowed the researcher to identify parameters and factors in the social and cultural choices made by the student respondent that potentially could have been missed.

This way the researcher became the native language speaker who could identify the possibly residual use of the language of students who had the impression that they could communicate in Greek. In fact they could use only a limited vocabulary with dysfunctional syntax, grammar and even intonation and accent; they were all using the local ethnolect, except only for four students of the 214 (2%). As was the case in Project 2, apart these four who had excellent command of Greek, all other students revealed different abilities in both oral and written language as well as different comprehension levels. However, the majority had such limited knowledge of Greek that they researcher could see that they needed classes set in the mode of delivering foreign language.

The three state schools concerned in this Project 3 are schools dedicated to promote multiculturalism in the South Australian context. In this context Greek was another community language offered, not the ethnic background language that was offered with pride as was the case for the St George College students. Students’ language abilities were minimal, and students knew that school in many cases was the only place they could learn Greek language and be exposed to the Greek culture at least learning about the Greek history, since at home they spoke English and activated the Australian mainstream culture. Many of the student respondents had Greek language lessons for first time when enrolled in the secondary school concerned.
Students were asked to respond an open ended question with regards to the language used at home and with whom. In the following Chart 29 is summarized the information which all participating students gave.

The numbers of students declared using English, Greek or Greek Ethnolect developed in Australia in their everyday life, with a range of people -grandparents, father, mother, siblings and friends are presented in coloured bar graph. Each stack of columns is dedicated to a specific person of the student’s social circle.

**Chart 29: State Schools Students: Language Used Everyday at Home and Social life**

The first purple column (common in all the cases) indicates the number of respondents who participated in this study (n=214). The second red column, when it is applicable, for the grandparents and although it is inserted as N/A represents all the possible reasons the students do not speak with their grandparents (either they are dead or the contact is extremely rare for any reason). In the case of the friends the N/A signifies that students cannot use Greek with their best friend, since the person is not of Greek background, -a significant difference compared to Project 2 students, who declared only Greek as best friends. The third (blue) and the fourth (yellow)
columns represent Greek and English language respectively and the last (green) represents the various forms\textsuperscript{88} of the Greek Ethnolect developed in Australia;

From the 214 students participated in the Adelaide, Norwood-Morialta and Unley High Schools research the data have revealed a trend consistent with the pattern earlier identified in Project 2. The students were predominantly using Greek with the grandparents. Some of them admitted that they learned Greek to understand yaya and papou or grandparents and old relatives. The students were choosing to use English with their siblings (210/214) They also—as typical third generation migrants- spoke English with their Greek origin friends except on certain occasions where they chose to code switch, so that 

\begin{quote}
non-Greeks will not understand what we say or that we swear at them \textsuperscript{(R126S, R199S, R242S)}
\end{quote}

What was significantly different from the St George data—as implied earlier- was that in Project 3, 67 out of 214 students (almost 1/3 or 31%) have moved away from the notion that their best friend should be a Greek. At St George the students felt more secure being with Greeks and a few even demonstrated an attitude of ethnic cohesiveness through exclusions in the sense “we the Greeks and… the others”. The multicultural character and culture of the three schools in Project 3, apparently managed to establish an umbrella of shared Australian values, as Smolicz defined it (1999:106).

As it was anticipated judging by the St George experience, the majority of the students communicated with both parents in English. When communicating with the father 69% used English and 81% when communicating with their mother.

\textsuperscript{88} It can be based in Greek -for the émigré Greek community- with plethora of English words, or it can be based in English with Greek words used within or across the sentences in a mode of language transference and constant code-switching.
The 14 students who used Greek in the majority of the domains belonged to those isolated cases where the parent (in all the cases the father) was a recent migrant whose English was not strong. In such cases the students used the Greek language with pride and total devotion to the ethnic medium of communication and they completely identified with the recent migrant father as it will be discussed further in section 14.2.2.

The personal meanings given by the respondents to the pattern of language usage illustrated in Chart 29 were further also verified by the responses to other open ended questions of Part B concerning the learning and use of their ethnic language.

14.2.2. Attitudes to Learning and Using Greek

Analysing student comments of Project 2 on learning and possibly using Greek in any aspect of their life revealed that students’ attitudes to the language was based on a plethora of reasons ranging from no use to extremely beneficial in all domains of everyday social and professional life. In contrast, Project 3 students have never expressed that they hated Greek –in the sort of a passionate statement made by a St George student- but, on the other hand, they were not extremely positive or advocating the language. They appeared rather undecided or unable to find a meaningful and significant reason to learn Greek. For some, there was the possibility –not a certainty- that it might help professionally, or in communicating in the social circle, or that it could be used in traveling. However, what came out very strong was that using Greek was to them as good as speaking Chinese or Japanese! The same sentiment was expressed the parents’ personal statements in Project 1. Parents considered Greek as an ornament in their children’s education and not a must or a necessity. Hence the maintenance of the Greek language and cultural background was considered a possible concurrence of events and not the result of choice and dedicated effort.
All the responses to the language related open-ended question were compiled for comparison in the following chart. To be specific, students have identified that knowing Greek could benefit them in the areas described in Chart 30.

**Chart 30: State School Students: Benefits of Learning Greek**

It is important to mention that 28% of participants considered Greek as significant as any other language one learns, which allows the assumption that these students at least do not considered the Greek language an important parameter for maintaining their identity and heritage, rather another language. 7% responded that Greek is not useful for them. Yet there is a 25% that considered Greek beneficial to their social or professional life. The known from St George college trend of using Greek as identity language and a secret code was declared by 10 students. Another 26 needed to learn Greek to communicate with their grandparents; an additional proof for the importance of the immigrant generation for the maintenance of the Greek language and culture in the Australian and especially the south Australian context.

Effort was made to maintain similar and comparable line of argument in both projects related to the students' responses. So as it was the case for St George students, in the present project 3 a chart (see below chart 31) was created to present the range of student's attitude towards the Greek
language learning from very positive to negative. Whereas in St George College a polarization in-between very positive to very negative was observed by a significant proportion of the student respondents, in the case of Project 3, the emotions and feeling lacks in passion. There is minimal commitment to the language (4/214 students for state schools as opposed to 3/82 for St George) as well as very limited rejection (2/214 students of state schools and 4/82 for St George), as one can assume because the state school students are not forced to take Greek, as it was the case of some St George students who were forced by their parents to learn Greek. Chart 31 provides an overview of the attitudes to Greek revealed by the student respondents from State schools with dominant response the indifferent uncertainty (154 students of 214) in 72% of the participant respondents of what the Greek language can offer them, who live work in the Australian mainstream society.

![State Schools Students on Learning Greek](chart31)

**Chart 31: State School Students: Attitude to Learning and Using Greek**

A summary of the answers students gave in the open-ended questions follows in an attempt to explain the reasons that drove Project 3 students to learn and thus possibly to maintain the Greek language and culture.
It came as no surprise to the researcher the fact that student responses to the open-ended questions revealed a dubious attitude towards the need and necessity or maybe the usefulness of learning Greek while living in the multicultural context of Adelaide. Project 3 students have chosen to enrol in a school, often far away from their home in order to study Greek.

This choice could be the reason there were no actually very negative responses towards learning Greek similar to the heavily emotionally loaded expression of “hate to learn Greek” written by a St George College student (see section 11.2.1.) In project 3 there is a 7% (15 students out of the 214) who believed that learning Greek will not help them (see Chart 30). However, they were not all of them negative towards learning Greek, rather indifferent. Only two (2) of 214 students –hardly 1%-appeared to be somehow negative. The analogous St George proportion was 4 of 82. One said:

*It [learning Greek] is not helping me in my social life what so-ever. It will make no difference in my career at all and I don’t care.* (R259S)

And the other added:

*I don’t really think it will change anything* (R260S).

On the other end, also a limited number (4 students from a total of 214, compared to 3 out of 82 in Project 2) considered Greek extremely beneficial for their professional and social life. One student elaborated the significance of learning Greek for maintaining both language and culture.

A student said:

*Yes I do believe learning Greek is going to help me, because when I go to Greece it would be much easier for me to communicate and would also like to pass my Greek knowledge onto my children. I would love to speak Greek fluently. I would like to make sure that my kids grow up with Greek language to keep it going throughout my family.* (R173S)

And another added a right and wrong parameter when revealed

*[I learn Greek] Because it’s not right being Greek and not knowing Greek* (R197S)
All students who were positive in learning Greek were born in Greece and use Greek with their family and Greek friends.

Another, -an immigrant born in Greece herself- is considering at a point of her life to return to Greece and then she plans to use Greek language should she be able to work in Greece.

*could work in Greece TEACHING ENGLISH* (sic) (R133S).

The remainder 97% of Project 3 students (208/214) appeared to be fluctuating between overall positive (25%) to uncertain and indifferent (72%). Their comments were polite, rationalised, sometimes with intrinsic motivation but certainly revealed a different level of passion towards maintaining Greek language and culture within the Adelaide society. As it was revealed in concrete data earlier and in chart 30, the students statements verbatim transcripted revealed four main areas the Greek language knowledge could be useful;

- in professional and social life,
- as secret code –in a similar way to the St George comments but in a politer extend,
- to communicate with elder relatives and of course grandparents –responses included not surprising comments that revealed the students’ lack of Greek language skills,
- to help them in a potential travel to Greece, and

What was prevailing was the number of students who considered learning Greek equally significant to learning any other language, as an additional advantage for their CV.

Those who considered Greek beneficial for their professional life, responded with a variety of reasons. One expressed his certainty that he will be benefited,

*Learning Greek will help me. Still, people will know because of the name that I am Greek and they will support me as Greeks always support their own race!* - (sic), (R199S).

Another one expressed the same belief found at St George College, where it was expressed that knowing Greek will help the businessman professionally because other Greeks will support them and help them- the identified by Smolicz (1979b:15-18) Greek culture cohesiveness was still there!
Yes, I believe it will help me, because if I start my own business and the Greeks know that I can speak Greek, they will come to me, and I will get more clients. (R200S).

Others stated that Greek will be a means of communication with non-English speaking Greek clients- a pattern also found at St George and indicative of students’ exposure to such Greek community population.

Yes I do believe that learning more Greek will help in my professional because if I have clients who are Greek and don’t know English I can speak to them in Greek. (R228S).

There were students who admitted that Greek could be an advantage –however, only when one has to be working with older Greeks-. There was a series of comments similar to the following, where one student identified that everyone in his social circle communicated in English, thus Greek- as a second language- was needed to communicate solely with the elderly.

It’s important if you know a second language for your career especially since many older people are of a Greek background with little or no knowledge of the English language. I therefore believe that I could be of assistance to them. Although I do associate with many Greek friends I don’t believe it is that important to be able to speak Greek with the young ones, since we all talk English (R176S).

Students expressed consistently the notion that Greek could be an advantage both in professional and social life. One said:

Yes, Greek could help me in both ways because in social it helps me talk to my relatives who don’t speak English and for my career life it always helps to have a second language (R274S).

Twenty six of the 214 students (12%) expressed their need to understand older relatives who use Greek. Comments revealed that currently due to the language barrier, students either had limited communication or could not communicate at all in Greek.

One student noted:
It is good because this way I will understand my Papou and Yiaya, and can get along well with them (R237S).

Another one revealed:

Greek relatives will be happy because he will be able to communicate with them in Greek and English. (R169S).

A student described the language barrier between third generation students and their immigrant grandparents, when said she was learning Greek to show my yaya that I can speak Greek (R209S)

Students were aware of the limited Greek they used in their everyday life. One student wrote:

I believe that Greek is helping me in my social life because I speak few Greek words with my family and friends, so when I learn to speak the language more fluently, I can speak to my family and friends in Greek with more confidence. (R213S)

There was a number of students who do not know even these few Greek words scattered within the English phrase. One student stated:

I started of this year. I knew nothing about Greek, now I know more than I did before I think it will help me understand my grandparents (R273S)

Another one with her statement revealed the reality and the conflict between the generations on the language frontier. The grandmother was the keeper of the tradition.

I believe it [Greek language lessons] can help in my social life because I will be able to speak Greek to my yaya and not say a word or that I do not understand her....So she will stop accusing me and my mum that we do not care for our language (R193S).

More dramatic is the following statement, where an immigrants' son educated in the Australian system has lost the Greek language and expressed the need and the feeling of inadequacy to communicate with his father and could not use Greek to communicate with him.

Greek is helping me as a language because I can speak to my father more in Greek. I want to learn to speak more in sentences to my father. (R222S)
There was a group of respondents who revealed that to them learning Greek could be a secret code of communication – the pattern was first identified at St George. There the trend of Greeks using their language in front of others in order not to be understood – a practice very common among middle age and elderly Greeks – was very loud and almost expressed vulgarly. In Project 3 students were more polite. One said:

*In my social life I would benefit from it [knowing Greek] coz (sic) when we want to talk about some1 in front of us we can just talk in Greek.* (R251S)

This common code to share special humour and jokes with friends, an identity language as Smolicz defined it, was expressed by the student who, apparently referring to a behaviour modelled in his social circle, wrote:

*It will help me in my social life because when I make lots of Greek friends we can make Greek jokes and understand it* (R175S).

Another student, considered Greek could be used within a group of friends to transfer encoded messages. He stated:

*Greek is good to learn because I can talk to my Greek friends without my other friends understanding,* (R237S)

A few Project 3 students – in contrast to a greater number of similar responses in Project 2 – considered learning Greek valuable in case of travelling to Greece for holidays. The difference to project 2 students is there Greece was the dreamed homeland, the place to return to, as if one is returning home. For the state school students, who see their life more attracted to the Australian context Greece is just a tourist destination. In this context Greek could be beneficial in the same manner Chinese is valuable when travelling to China.

With this attitude one student said:

*I’m not sure what I want to do with my life (what job, career, etc) but I think that learning a language can be helpful, say if you want to go to Greece, you can communicate with the people etc.* (R169S)
Another point out:

*Greece is a wonderful place to visit and learning Greek is going to help you feel more of a local and make more friends while in the country* (R279S)

Project 2 students reflected the culture and the ethos of a Greek College determined and supported by the local Parish and the cohesive Greek community to promote and maintain the Greek linguistic and cultural heritage in Adelaide. This was apparent in the mentality, the feeling and the thoughts of the students. On the other hand, the three state schools concerned in the 3rd Project endeavour to promote multiculturalism in the Australian mainstream society and education. Expressing this multicultural perspective distilled to students’ mindset a few students made comments similar to the following:

*I believe that learning Greek gives me a broader view with different cultures & languages & helps me relate with lots more people.* (R271S)

Another one appeared more aware of the importance of languages in any CV. He pointed out:

*Being bilingual looks good on a CV and can therefore help in professional life, as far as social life improvement goes, it improves it with fellow Greeks* (R314S).

Elaborating further the significance and value of another language, one student discussed the benefits he may get by learning Chinese compared to Greek. He found a rational reason –CV needs a LOTE, any of them; However, he had a sentimental reason that supported his choice of Greek -his “yiayia”90

*don’t think learning Greek will benefit my carrier as Chinese will do, because Greece isn’t a big importer or exporter but it will definitely help me to have in my CV that I know three languages and it will be of help for my relationship with my yiayia.* (R281S)

Almost the majority (92%) of Project 3 students appeared to be stronger in English and in mainstream Australian cultural patterns with very weak Greek language. For them Greek was not mother tongue. It was a foreign or their second language;

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90 Elsewhere written by researcher as yaya to match with the phonetics of the actual Greek word. Student’s orthography of the word resembles the way the word is written in Greek.
Well if you have a second language on your resume it looks good and it’s good to know a second language and you’re most likely to get a better job. (R209S)

For the majority of the students choosing to learn Greek was not to maintain the language or heritage. It was rather an additional qualification

with Greek in my CV I will have a professional edge over other applicants (R216S).

There was also the extrinsic approach of students who enrolled in these schools using Greek to enrol in a respected academic state school and get additional university entry points.

I think that learning Greek will help me when I get to university because you get more points if you know another language. (R256S)

After all as almost every one of students in Project 3 revealed

[I believe that] learning Greek is as good as it is good to learn any other language.

(R265S).

14.2.3. Views on Cultural Identity and Greek Culture

It is a common belief of all those who have a deep understanding of Greek culture and language, that Greek language and culture are inter-related. It was imperative therefore to request students to express their sincere thoughts and feelings on their sense of cultural identity. Student respondents in Project 3 were all but 9 born in Australia. As children of parents who themselves were born in Australia or came as very young children, have already revealed in concrete data discussed in section 14.1 of this Project and in cultural data presented earlier in 14.2.2, that they have limited exposure, knowledge and hence use of the Greek language. In Part B of the student questionnaires distributed they were asked a series of open ended questions. Their responses allowed the researcher to analyse the context of these statements and to compile all the information gathered with respect to the students’ sense of their own cultural identity. Specifically students asked to discuss how they perceived themselves with regards to the following categories: Australian-Greek, Greek, Australian or Greek-Australian.
The students’ perceptions are presented below (Chart 32) and they are followed, where applicable, by relevant comments leading to a proposed by the researcher typology of the cultural valency and linguistic preference of the students. This will help to describe the current Greek linguistic and cultural trends in South Australia and the implication for the future. The more distinguished responses have been compiled verbatim.

### Chart 32: State School Students: Sense of Identity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sense of Identity</th>
<th>Greek Australian (n=73)</th>
<th>Australian Greek (n=65)</th>
<th>Greek (n=45)</th>
<th>Australian (n=31)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>50</td>
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<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thirty one students (15%) of 214 participants in Project 3 broke some bridges with their background and ignored their heritage identifying themselves as Australians in their personal statements. However, these 31 students although identified as Australians, participated in the Greek language classes in a multicultural state school, although they could choose not to! Moreover, the fact was that the other 85% of Project 3 students to some extent and cultural combination they consider themselves Greeks.

The main reasons these 31 students they felt Australians was that they were Australia born. One stated:

*I feel Australian because I was born here, I have Australian ways and I like Australian things.*

The only Greek in my life are my grandparents. (R232S)

Two others tried to explain by describing parental upbringing choices; One said:

*I feel Australian more than Greek because I was born in Australia and more importantly I was raised as Australian and I like Australia more than Greece* (R259S).

I feel Australian because I was born here, I have Australian ways and I like Australian things. The only Greek in my life are my grandparents. (R232S)
Another added:

*I feel Australian because I wasn’t brought up as a Greek.* (R205S)

Among those who were identified by the place of birth, one found a piece of Greece in him because of the music he liked!

*I feel more Australian than Greek because I was born in Australia. There is still a slight Greek thing in me and this is that I like Greek music.* (R202S)

And another extended it more by expressing her love to dancing to the music she liked

...probably I feel more English than Greek BUT (sic) I like to sing and dance to Greek music.

(R234S)

Another significant factor that influenced students to identify with the Australian cultural because his linguistic experience is also compatible to the mainstream Australian society. R260S wrote:

*I feel more Australian than Greek because I have spoken English my whole life and I don’t really know the Greek language, we speak English at home and I have been in Australia my whole life.* (R260S)

There were few young Australians of Greek origin who were completely assimilated to the Australian context and they felt they do not match with their Greek background; one revealed

*I describe myself as an Australian. I don’t feel like a Greek, nor do I have the characteristics of a stereotypical Greek. Most of my friends are Anglo-Saxon, and when I’m around my cousins I don’t truly feel like I fit in.* (R272S)

In contrast to the 31 student respondents of Project 3 who feel Australians, there were forty five students (21%) who declared they identify not as Greek Australians or Australian Greeks, but as Greeks. Out of these only 9 students were born in Greece immigrants themselves to Australia as young children. The remaining 36 students responded they felt Greeks although - and this was the most important element of their statement- many of them (28/36) were not fluent in Greek. As student revealed:
I identify as Greek because I have a whole family who are Greeks and I love Sfakionaki [a singer from Greece] and Giannis [a Greek American music writer]. I love the Greek food too.

I can’t really read and speak Greek but I feel that I am Greek. (R243S)

Their sense of cultural attraction towards Greek culture beared more weighting since the connection with their ethnic background had gone further the core values identified by Smolicz (1984). Neither linguistic nor cultural attraction made them feel Greek, yet it was something in their blood and character –as it was also identified by the St George students and as Cultural psychology would support.. These students were the social actors of future choices that will impact the Greek community in South Australia. They did not practice Greek culture or did not speak the language but as one responded,

I think I am more Greek, although I am just learning the language. I think it is because my blood is Greek and my character is definitely not Australian, calm and introverted. (R172S)

Other students felt or identify as Greeks:

because the children at school see us as a different people so I feel like a Greek (R189S).

In section 14.2.1 students spoke about Greek language as a code of secret communication and identity language. In this section Greek language offered as a means of expressing anger adequately. A student felt Greek because swearing in Greek had a therapeutic result.

I feel really Greek but I also feel in some parts of my life Australian. I like also my life here; I do not think that I can live in Greece. But I like Greek music and I like swearing in Greek because you are able to express yourself, I swear in English too, but when I swear in Greek I feel like full that I have taken all my anger out completely. (R247S)

Earlier some students acknowledged that upbringing had contributed to their sense of identity. So one said he was Greek because:

I feel Greek not Australian Greek because I speak Greek to my grandparents and we celebrate all Greek traditions. And always I am eating yiayia’s food (R248S).

And another pointed out:
I feel Greek because I was brought up the traditional way. I love and follow the traditions. I love being a Greek. Greeks have life and laughter. (R191S)

A third one is outright Greek, as an immigrant himself:

I feel Greek because I was born in Greece and I have been bought up from a Greek family.

I also feel Greek because I have been following all the Greek traditions all my life (R190S)

However even the Australia born has family language food and culture Greek.

I feel more Greek. I feel this because my family is Greek, is only Greek, and I have been brought up with Greek food, Greek tradition and culture (R284S).

The last statement revealed the role of the core values of the once cohesive Greek Australian family as supported by Smolicz (1984) and how can contribute to one’s cultural identity.

I feel more Greek, although I was born in Australia, because my grandmother lives next to me and my dad talks always Greek with me and my brother, my mum talks mainly Greek, all my cousins are Greek, we go to church every Easter and Christmas but my Grandmother takes me to all the parties the church holds so I feel more Greek, especially when I eat all yiayia’s food (R302S).

These comments illustrate the way close contact with a grandmother living next door has a positive influence on the language and cultural maintenance and the significance of the immigrant generation.

Almost 1/3 of the respondents in Project 3 (64 of 214 students) identified as Australian Greeks mainly because they feel they are “missing the most important parameter” of the Greekness: the Greek language.

I feel that I am ‘Australian-Greek’ describe me best, but I feel more Australian, probably because I don’t speak much Greek, my friends are Australian and I do more Australian things than Greek things. (R233S)
Another considered himself Australian Greek because he was exposed completely and solely to the mainstream Australian culture.

*I am Australian Greek. The Greek comes 2\textsuperscript{nd} because I cannot deny I am Greek. I would say Australian because I don't speak that much Greek and I am more used to Australian customs, laws, society, Australia as a country, etc. And I know hardly any of this about Greece.* (R225S)

The fact that parents have chosen the Australian upbringing their children under the shared Australian cultural values had an impact on the specific student's identity as Australian-Greek.

*I consider myself to be Australian-Greek because I was born in Australia and I have been raised in an Australian background. This is because my mother is Greek but she was born in Australia and my father came here very young so they are behaving as being of an Australian nature as well.* (R176S)

There were few who made comments similar to the following. Third generation students were brought up by their second generation migrant parents completely assimilated to the Australian mainstream society. The only chance these students had to be exposed to the Greek linguistic and cultural heritage were the grandparents.

*[I feel Australian-Greek] The small amount of Greek culture in my personality is because I see my grandparents often and they passed on some Greek traditions. When I associate with my friends and my parents I feel more Australian however when I'm with my grandparents I am feeling some warmth and I feel it could be cool to understand them more and have more meaningful discussions. I wish I knew more for the Greek culture and lifestyle, which is why I have started this year Greek.* (P236S)

There were 73 out of the 214 students (34%) who identified as Greek-Australians. Some considered this combination as a normal result of the place of birth and the ethnic background the student belonged.

*I explain myself as Greek-Australian because my background is Greek and I was born in Australia. To me it feels normal* (R175S).
Another student articulated his sense of identity by what Smolicz considered as core values for the Greek culture almost 30 years ago:

$I am Greek-Australian because I was brought up in the Greek culture and I am also an Australian citizen. I am of Greek background and culture, religion, and family come first.$

(R181S)

In a similar way student (R216S) wrote:

$I feel Greek-Australian. This is because I live in Australia however my heritage is in Greece.

I live with Greek people, I am Greek Orthodox and my friends are Greek. This is not to say I think I am classed as a wog. However my heritage is Greek.$

In contrast, the next student admitted his Greekness was due to food, dancing and music preferences.

If Greek-Australian describes me best as I feel I am more of a Greek than an Australian because I like the things we do as a family, and go to family functions. I love the Greek food and I like dancing Greek than dancing to English music. (R178S).

As it was identified by those who consider themselves “Greeks”, the feeling of being different to Australians, the sense of belonging to a group because of blood relationship reoccurred in those students who identify as Greek Australians.

The following student gave few reasons that made him feel Greek; food and a relaxed attitude coupled with a feeling of difference helped the student to identify as Greek Australian.

$I feel Greek-Australian because I have no Australian blood in me although I was born in Australia. I feel more Greek because something inside me is different compared to Anglo Saxons. We listen to Greek music, eat Greek food and live carefree lives.$

(R188S)

On the same wave length another student added:

$I think I am Greek-Australian. I definitely feel Greek because of my family, the Greeks I'm friends with at school, my personality also explains I'm Greek. For example I enjoy the Greek
music, dancing, food ... etc. I can’t speak Greek fluently and I can’t really write it. I’m often
told that I am a proud Greek. After people have got to know me better they know that I love
to be of Greek origin. And it’s true. (R222S)

A third student was happy to move between the two cultures, enjoying both. He said:

I feel I am Greek-Australian because although I do not know the Greek language reasonably
well, I get along with people of Greek background a lot better than people with pure
Australian background. I would want to know more Greek verbally though I will never deny
being an Australian because my parents were born here and I like living here. (R183S)

The trend of students feeling they are in-between both cultures was well expressed and articulated
by the next student who was 15 years old, at the time of the statement. She was one of those who
appear to live and enjoy life with their Australian friends while keeping their partial connection with
their Greekness-enjoying been bit of both:

I describe myself as Greek-Australian. I feel Australian and Greek because every time I hear
Greek music, I just want to get up and dance. And every time I smell Greek food, I feel great.
And I feel Australian, because I speak English, I hardly speak Greek, because not only I was
born here but I’m surrounded by my Australian friends and I want to keep living here for the
rest of my life. I love being here free and with so many opportunities. (R237S)

In a completely separate category were few statements of those students who are children of mixed
marriages. These students feel they are attracted to more than one culture, demonstrating a poly-
valency as identified by Kloskowska (1998) and Hudson (1996)\(^1\). One child of a mixed marriage
said he identified:

I am Australian! No more Greek than Italian! Actually I feel the same. I feel that I am equally
the same. I love Italian food and I love Greek food (R208S)

Another made mention of an Italian connection:

\(^1\) Please refer to the Terminology Used by the Author section for the definition.
Because at home I always speak English except sometimes I talk a little general words with dad but I cannot speak fluent Greek. My mother is half Italian she is not Greek at all only by marriage so when I am with my mum’s side of the family (eg. gatherings, celebrations etc) I feel mainly Australian. When I’m with my dad’s side of the family, (eg. Gatherings, celebrations etc) I feel mainly Greek because everyone else is Greek and most talk Greek and even look Greek! (R169S).

By classifying the answers students gave in the open-ended responses, follow-up questions and interviews, the researcher compiled all the characteristics that the students felt were part of their Greekness, as in Project 2.

The common parameter emerging from all the Project 3 students was that it was not the Greek language, religion and historicity which were more important in making them feel or identify as Greeks. Following the Greek tradition, the Greek food, the Greek music and dancing, the sense of blood relations were the characteristics which students most often chose. The information which students provided has been compiled in Chart 33.

Chart 33: State Schools Students: Parameters Contributing to Greek Identity

Even among the 31 Project 3 students who identified as Australians, a few of them still considered the Greek food they loved to eat and the Greek music they listened or danced to, were the main parameters that still kept them close to their parents’ ethnic background.
From those who identified as Australian Greeks, again the music and the dances, along with the food and the Greek blood, the character and the Greek cultural tradition were regarded as playing a significant role. It is important to say that for these students' core values such as language and religion did not matter as much.

The researcher has crosschecked with follow up questions the student's statements they listen to Greek music, requesting explanation how their inadequate language skill can comply with the music preferences. Students responded that either they like the tune and the rhythm or they learn the song's lyrics without understanding really the meaning. A few also claimed that this is a nice way for them to learn words and expressions but it does not really help for language learning and meaningful communication. From the 73 students who called themselves Greek Australians 53 voted food and 47 character as identifiers of their Greekness, whereas historicity, songs music, dance and finally language received only 27 and 26 and 24 votes respectively. Language still got 24 votes and religion 18. All these allowed a comparison with the analogous group of St George College. Finally from those who considered themselves Greeks in the three state schools concerned, music and the dances, the food and the tradition scored the most. To them their Greek blood and character coupled with the pride of their past and historicity was equally important. Greek language and the contact with the church had limited preference from only 12 of the 64 students.

14.2.4. Overview of Personal Statements

Student participants' in Project 3, provided in their written personal statements and interview responses a plethora of cultural data and proved most successful in clarifying and confirming the concrete data (see section 14.1) information on language use. Their open ended question statements reinforced the earlier finding that, for most students, the English language dominated all domains of their life, even for the majority of them, the communication with grandparents and the Greek language classroom. Only four of 214 students came from homes where Greek was actually used as the language of the home.
Students who participated in this Project 3 were attending Adelaide HS, Norwood Morialta HS and Unley HS at the time of the initial data collection. Students were enrolled in these schools regardless their residential zoning mainly because of the individual School’s status as leading state schools in many academic areas. The schools –one has still the status of the unique state school in Adelaide with specialised language programs- offered in their curriculum many of the community language, Greek being one of them. Many students (68%) have revealed at some point–either in their statements or during the follow up interviews- that they gained entry in these schools because used their ethnic background and ethnic origin and enrolled in the offered Greek language classes. The significant number of students who never attended Greek language classes before expressed their happiness they were offered a chance to finally initiate or somehow improve the minimal communication in Greek with their grandparents.

Only 20% of the students expressed interest in maintaining Greek language and culture- to them Greek was part of their background, not their future. The majority saw themselves as Australian Citizens of Greek background, who were given the chance to live and work in a multicultural society. They demonstrated awareness and felt privileged to share the Greek rich cultural background; however, they knew Greek state’s pathogenic systematic limitations that make life in Greece difficult. They seemed indifferent to maintain Greek culture, since they were brought up in the “Australian way”. They saw their life in Australia and Greece was seen as another tourist destination. They were considering themselves as completely assimilated and Greek was a CV advantage. However, they still liked Greek food, Greek songs and to dance with Greek music. The majority appeared to share Australian cultural values, and only few practiced Greek culture and attended rituals, church and community events. Their sense of identity was predominantly Australian with a subordinate Greek component; these components were their Greek blood and

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92 Anecdotal comments unrelated to this research, emerged during the interviews; in these comments –indicative of attitude towards the “Greek way on making things”- it was predominant the bitter feeling Greek Australians experienced when they had to deal with the Greek bureaucracy, the corruption of the Greek state and the Greek “tradition” to avoid taxation. Migrants were often referred to Greek movies or TV shows that criticise, satirise this behaviour.
character. They saw themselves as socially and economically successful professionals within the Australian mainstream society, their Greekness and name could potentially support that.

The majority of Project 3 students see themselves neither as Greeks nor completely as Australians but in an indeterminate state moving between attitudes and behaviours that sometimes are attracted by the Australian cultural valency and sometimes are dragged away by their Greek character and blood. More than any other participant in this portfolio of researches the students of Project 3 seemed reminding “children who are trying to find their third place” (Crozet, 2006). In a similar way discussed in section 9.6 for the parents of the state school students, Project 3 respondents appear to look for something different. However, the fact is that, even those students who renounced their Greekness and chose to call selves Australians, are exposed -even if the family unit does not facilitate or allow it- in a limited extent to the Greek culture via the school. This exposure resulted in students claiming that are self-identified as “Australians”, yet they love Greek food, Greek music and to dance in the Greek music tunes. To cultural psychology –as is to the social actors themselves- this phenomenon is indicative of the dynamics of the culture and the subconscious imprinted knowledge and understanding of their own culturally-shaped behaviours. Weaver (1993) used the cultural iceberg (Fig. 15) to show that a large proportion of culturally-shaped knowledge is invisible and mostly subconsciously applied in everyday interactions. This could interpret the comments of all participants, who spoke about their Greek blood and character that are always there in all their sociocultural activations as almost a personality or a race trait.

![Figure 15: Weaver's Cultural Iceberg](image)

A conclusion of the Project 3 follows, by presenting the main points of the findings on participants' attitudes towards Greek language learning and use alongside with their sense of cultural identity.
CHAPTER 15. CONCLUSION TO PROJECT THREE

Project 3 was focused on state school students of Greek background who were attending Greek language classes within the context of formal schooling in Adelaide, South Australia during the first decade of the 21st century. They had elected to enroll in Greek language classes in state schools that till today take pride in their multicultural culture. The Project 3 students represented 8% of the state school's total student cohort. The majority of the state school students belonged to the many different ethnic backgrounds that reside in Adelaide and of course students who identified with the mainstream Australian society. The aim of the study was similar to the one of Project 2 to investigate how the students themselves, as the new upcoming Greek origin generation of South Australia responded to this exposure to Greek language and culture at home and school. Three key sets of findings emerged; one was related to Greek language usage and attitudes, the other concerned the students’ sense of Greek identity, and the last was related to parental aspirations on language and cultural maintenance within the Australian context.

15.1 Greek Language Usage and Attitudes

Concrete and cultural data from the three state schools concerned in this research revealed that English was the language the students used to communicate with parents, siblings and friends. Their only opportunity for the aural experience of the Greek language was with their grandparents -if they were still living and the Greek language classes at their school. What was disheartening though was the limitation of this already minimal communication in Greek for the majority of the students. As respondents revealed, their dream was to finally

use Greek in phrases and not say few words scarcely here and there (R123S)

The findings confirmed that, -although there were found few students who belonged to a lower socio-economic class commuting to the school from across Adelaide-, most of the Eastern suburbs
middle or upper class educated parents of the students enjoyed a higher socioeconomic status class. They were either professionals or Public sector employees, educated themselves who managed to become part of the establishment and the mainstream Australian society. Most were using English constantly at work and in their leisure activities. It is no wonder that they found it more convenient and comfortable to speak English at home, when communicating with the student respondents. Parents have slowly and steadily renounced or did not consider important for themselves and their children future the Greek language and culture. Thus they have stopped promoting and propagating it.

There were only 4 students (2%) who did use Greek in communication with fathers, mothers and even siblings and friends. They were recent immigrants themselves who were committed to maintaining the home as a Greek language domain. Students who were children of mixed marriages (24%) admitted they were not practicing Greek culture, they had no knowledge of Greek language, and were indifferent to both ethnic backgrounds but not the Australian. Finally there were a few (7%) who felt strongly that there was no need to know the Greek language or to feel Greek. A very significant number of students (72%) expressed indifference to the language. To many of them, knowing how to speak Greek was irrelevant in Australia.

Greek origin students of state schools had the option to learn other languages as elective subjects in the same school. Greek to them was not considered as part of their culture but as an extra skill and advantage. In this way they were encouraged to think of Greek not as the unique focal point of their culture but also as second language which it was an advantage to know.

15.2 Greek Identity, Language and Cultural Maintenance

Student comments revealed that the multicultural character of the three state schools had established an umbrella of shared Australian values and a multicultural ethos that influenced the students’ mindset and attitude. Apart from using English and practicing the Australian culture these
students demonstrated a willingness to be identified as Australians, but in most cases this was alongside some forms of conscious and subconscious identification as Greek. In their statements they considered themselves “monocultural” and they declared they accept the shared Australian values as their dominant culture; such thoughtful statements are concrete cultural data for Humanistic Sociology and as such they are reported. This differentiation in the shades and degrees of cultural activation made imperative the taxonomy of the participants, as presented in the chapter “Conclusions to the Portfolio”. It is significant to add the even though many did not practice Greek Culture or speak Greek language they seemed to celebrate the milestones of the Greek History (25th of March [Greek Independence Day]) and religion (Easter). Moreover they revealed they loved Greek music, and they felt like dancing (folkloric and modern) whenever they hear Greek music. These and the fact they sometimes felt different from Australians in character and behaviour, were the things that made them feel Greeks.

Apart from the few recent immigrant students who had a deep knowledge of the Greek language and culture, most of the state school students did not reveal the same pride in being Greek that the St George students did. The majority of the Project 3 students did not attend church often except when their grandmother –and in some rare cases their mother- was taken them to liturgies for Easter and Christmas. The families of the students and students themselves felt their life, future and homeland is Australia. This was apparent in student’s statements where the majority of the students envisaged their life in Australia, regardless if they identified as Greeks, Greek Australians or Australian Greeks; they were aware how they differ from those who live in Greece and they did not dream to visit, live in or return to Greece as St George students often declared as their dream.

15.3. Implications of Parental Aspirations

When ethnic languages were introduced in the Australian curriculum in the mid 70s and were taught by the state schools, ethnic community languages moved from the isolation and the periphery of the ethnic school system into the curriculum controlled by the mainstream Australian group. The
parent participants in this research admit something Papademetre has also found in his research (2001b:135): “parents in the 90s felt complacent that Greek language was in the school system and when the Austrade languages phase came they were caught by surprise”.

The results from this project could be said to support the proposition that some parts of the Greek community in Adelaide content with the victory to introduce Greek in the state schools they became “complacent”, lost the passion and the momentum and they felt that the state school will be always available for their children to attend. So they ignored or deferred the chance which resulted in constant fall of student enrolments in Greek classes since mid-1990s. A similar trend was described by Tamis (2001:173-177) for the South Australian Greek language education. Some of the parents (17 out of 23) of state school students in Project 1 and many (almost 3/4) of the students in Project 3 appeared to be indifferent for the maintenance of their ethnic language and culture. The researcher –as far as she could verify during the interview phase) could not find any balanced Greek and English bilingual and bicultural amongst Australian born young people of Greek background. Many Greek parents (96%, see chart 28) stopped using Greek at home and have transferred the onus of teaching to their children Greek to the schools and the responsibility for learning onto the young people themselves. The findings of the present study revealed that the majority of the second generation Greek parents -in the state schools- lacked real aspirations for their children to acquire satisfactory level of Greek language proficiency and some depth in the knowledge and understanding of the Greek tradition that could support students’ Greek cultural identity in the context of Adelaide. The young third generation Greek Australians of this Project were left by their parents with little or no exposure to the Greek linguistic and cultural heritage at home. Only 47% of the students had some exposure and this was due to the contact with grandparents (chart 28). They were rather diverted to appreciate and live by the cultural values of those of higher socioeconomic status in Australian society and aspire as parents a good education for their children that will allow them to succeed in the Australian context rather dedicated time focusing on the learning about Greek linguistic and cultural tradition, a trend Papademetre’s
longitudinal study (1994a; 1994b; 2001) had detected as early as in mid 90s; the present research has verified not only the parental aspirations but also its impact on students’ attitudes.

The distinctive difference between these students and those in project 2 from St George College is the fact that the Greek collectivistic core values identified by Smolicz (1976; 1982; 1999) - Family, Religion and Language- that are important in the maintenance of Greek language and culture, were no longer recognised as important or activated in daily living by many state school families. The expression of at least ¾ of the students’ indifferent feelings towards the Greek linguistic and cultural tradition can be seen as a matter of projection of their parents’ aspirations. State school parents expected their children to be part of the mainstream Australian society and considered more significant the socioeconomic and societal status achievement than the maintenance of the Greek linguistic tradition. In their statements at least 17/23 parents declared they were happy for the language to be gained as an additional bonus of a good education in an excellent state school, but did not regard it as a necessity.

In the next part V, the conclusions to the portfolio of researches will be presented. Initially the socioeconomic implications on the maintenance of the Greek language and culture as revealed by the collected data will be presented. Then a comparison of Project 2 and Project 3 main findings, will revise the finding to help understanding the different sub-categories of their typical and common characteristics that allowed to taxonimise the sub-categories identified in this folio of researches and create a typology of the Adelaide Greeks who participated in this study with regards to the way they activate their linguistic and cultural preferences and identity.

The researcher aims to present this typology in an effort to explain the linguistic and cultural forces that have formed the linguistic and cultural valency of Greek community in Adelaide as they were depicted the first decade of the 21st Century.
CHAPTER 16. INTERPRETING THE FINDINGS

This portfolio of research investigating Greek language and culture in the Adelaide Greek community involved 296 students who were studying Greek in Adelaide secondary schools, 33 of their parents and 11 of their teachers. Apart from a small number who were themselves born in Greece or Cyprus, the respondents were the children or grandchildren of Greek immigrants who had settled in Adelaide. The first part of the chapter reviews the socioeconomic implications of the data across the three research studies. This is followed by a comparison of the background and the attitudes of the two sets of student respondents – the 82 from St George College and the 214 from the three state schools.

To conclude this chapter, the researcher has mapped out the extent of Greek identity, Greek language use and Greek cultural maintenance revealed in the responses of all participants. The results gave a clear indication of how far the identity, language and culture of those within the Greek community in Adelaide had changed and diversified since the arrival of their immigrant parents and grandparents. They also provided some pointers to the future prospects for Greek language and culture in Adelaide.

16.1. Socio-Economic Implications of the Data

Papademetre and Routoulas (2001) reported in their research on Hellenic culture and language studies on 30 South Australian parents a trend that was developing in the late 90s between Greek
origin Australian born of educated parents related to their aspirations on whether is needed, appropriate or useful for their children to learn—or not- Greek while living and working in Australia. The general feeling was that these parents—at that point of time (1995-1996) were ambivalent and they appeared to opt proper Australian education over Greek language learning. The research findings from this portfolio of researches not only verified this trend for the educated parents. Data from the other end—of those of lower education—revealed further implications that will be discussed in this section. The socioeconomic implications revealed when the data were analysed came as a surprise for the researcher.

The pattern of correlation between the socioeconomic background of the students’ parents and their language use at home has been discussed in section 11.1.5 for the St George students and in section 14.1.5 for the state school students. The correlation was validated by using an SPSS program cross tabulating the Fathers’ and Mothers’ education and occupation with the language students used, when they communicate with father, mother, siblings and the extended family and social circle. The tables and the bar chart created by SPSS program were presented and analysed in the sections mentioned above. The same correlation also held in relation to the level of preserving the Greek linguistic and cultural tradition or not in the multicultural context of South Australian society.

On one hand, when the parents’ education level was high, the occupations they were able to achieve provided an income that enabled the family unit to move upward to a higher socioeconomic status\(^93\). The statistical findings from the descriptive data supported the cultural data gathered from the open-ended questions and follow up interviews, revealed that the language used at home within these family units was predominantly English, and the cultural patterns they activated were mainly Australian, even though many did activate their Greekness when the occasion or need demanded.

\(^93\) Greeks are renowned for their involvement in the small business industry. In 2011 Census there were almost 24% of Greeks involved in small business (ABS -2011 census); hence their socioeconomic status was also high even without higher education.
In such cases the parents' Greek language was limited, and in the form of the ethnolect, while the activation of their Greek culture was often superficial and spasmodic and usually related to contact with their immigrant parents. In humanistic sociology terms, these parents had made a choice, between the mainstream and Greek cultures and languages, in favour of the Australian with all the opportunities it offered them, but (except for a small minority who had lost all contact with immigrant parents) without completely cutting themselves off from the Greek culture of their family heritage. However, this choice was severely limiting their children’s access to Greek language and culture. In the long term this shift of the best educated with the highest social status was undermining the possibilities of the Greek community in Adelaide maintaining its heritage as a living tradition in the South Australian context.

As Tamis (1999) has pointed out, in the Victorian context, those of Greek origin in the higher socioeconomic class considered it as a matter of honour to expose their offspring to the Greek culture and pay the fees needed for them to attend Greek private schools. Those of the younger generation considered this action their privilege. However in South Australia, as Papademetre and Routoulas (2001) showed in their specifically South Australian study of 90 parents, the worry for the future of the language in Adelaide, was that higher socioeconomic status parents clearly appeared to favour Australian mainstream education and adaptation to mainstream Australian society as the best option for their children. For their part, the younger generation appeared to see their future in the social and professional life in multicultural Australia, while placing themselves somewhere between the Greek and the Australian cultures.

On the other hand, -and this finding is considered by the researcher to be sociologically extremely important-, when the education level of the parents was low, and the subsequent occupation options available limited, the family unit was locked into a low socioeconomic setting. In such cases, both Project 2 (see Fig. 7) and Project 3 (see Fig 11), the medium of communication was Greek and the cultural values the family activated and lived by were Greek at the fossilised level of
maintenance compared to the contemporary Greek culture. This phenomenon could be easily explained in that minimal education of their parents in Greece translated into residual, limited knowledge of the full range of Greek language and culture, but rather what has come to be perceived as Greek language and culture by members of the Greek community in Adelaide.

Additionally, lower socioeconomic class meant that there were not resources available for travel to Greece that could enhance interest in or the contemporary knowledge of Greek culture, while time spent in Greece could offer. This could explain the residual cultural awareness and the restricted maintenance of Greek culture, since the social actors maintained the language and culture in the forms they knew when their parents came from Greece in the early waves of migration. The lack of contact with the motherland has minimised the opportunities to expose their families to the changes that have occurred in homeland. At the same time the need to belong to the Greek community has kept the parents attached to the Greek culture, as activated by the Adelaide community which has not been exposed to the evolving cultural changes in the homeland. The parents’ low educational and socioeconomic level thus limited the children by exposing them only to this residualised knowledge and understanding of the family’s ethnic culture. This phenomenon will be considered further in the subsequent section 16.3 as an expression of “pseudo” Greekness.

Since the education level impacted on the occupation of the parents and their socioeconomic status, the correlation pattern had implications in another way. When their occupation was not offering the parents the income necessary to consider themselves part of the mainstream establishment, their low socioeconomic status became translated into the need to live and work within the Greek community where they were appreciated for their maintenance of the Greek language and culture. The language barrier also limited their occupation options to the Greek community since they did not feel comfortable and confident using English in the Australian context.

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94 The term Pseudo- Greekness is used to indicate that the social actor is feeling or considering that he is behaving and identifies as Greek, however this Greekness is amalgamated with and influenced by the Australian mainstream societal values.
Such parents lived in the past and the researcher has observed still living in the language island of the Greek community, with little opportunity to increase their income because of their lack of competency in English. It is the story of Jerry, the young Greek semi-lingual boy, whose case Smolicz presented on 1976, all over again even in the first decade of 21st century. Examples of this type of individual were found among the parental generation95. They used mainly Greek at home and felt and acted as Greeks and they often denounced Australian culture for its intrusion into their family life. Their children were exposed to Greek language and culture as they have been limited by the Greek Ethnolect developed in Australia.

However, their children, educated in Australian mainstream schools, where they mastered English and even learned some Greek, had more of a chance to escape this cycle of low education and socioeconomic status by choosing their stance within the Australian multicultural continuum. They could be Greek, Greek-Australian, Australian-Greek or Australian and activate the culture of their choice chose, while at the same time they could choose as a means of communication either of the languages or a combination of the languages, swinging and switching as they prefer, chose or need to. Living in multicultural Australia of the 21st century, those who have had the opportunity to learn both languages and cultures have a considerable degree of freedom at any point of their life, to activate or not to activate their ethnic linguistic and cultural heritage, as they draw in various possible combinations from the pools of linguistic and cultural sources available to them.

In the next section a comparison of the findings in Project 2 and Project 3 will be presented, in an effort to categorise the participants in types that can fit under descriptors demonstrating the combinations of their linguist and cultural stance.

16.2. St George and State Schools’ Student Data Compared

95 A more detailed numerical value/frequency of this type in the research sample can be found in Fig 20.
This research portfolio focused on investigating the attitudes of Adelaide high school students towards learning and using Greek in the multicultural context of South Australia. Concurrently the researcher endeavoured to investigate which culture, Greek or Australian, these students were attracted to and identified with. In Project 2 concrete and cultural data were presented from students attending the Greek Orthodox St George College, while Project 3 was related to those students who were enrolled to three state schools known for their multicultural context but governed by the South Australian education system which epitomizes the Australian mainstream culture.

Students enrolled at St George College, were given by their fee paying parent the chance to attend a school that was supported by the local Greek Orthodox Church parish to promote, reinforce and maintain Greek linguistic and cultural tradition in the context of Adelaide of 21st century. Parents who supported the schools’ Greek ethos, church and the local community around the College created a Greek linguistic and cultural enclave, advocating the maintenance of Greek.

On the other hand, those who attended the state schools were educated in institutions supporting the Australian mainstream culture but with a commitment to multiculturalism under the umbrella of shared Australian values. Greek in these schools was one of a number of community languages taught. In the cohort of the three schools, Greek background students were the same as the Vietnamese or Chinese background students, who often elected to study their language as a subject that was ‘easier’ for them and could give them extra university entry points.

In contrast to the Greek oriented ethos supporting the St George students in their effort to maintain their linguistic and cultural heritage\(^6\), students at the state schools were exposed by their family and “brought up in the Australian way”, rather than Greek traditions and without the Greek language as an ongoing reference point.

\(^6\) St George College is governed by a board that includes as Head the priest of the St George Greek orthodox Church Parish. So St George students are exposed –just by attending the school- to the Greek Orthodox religious, cultural and linguistic tradition and in the school socialise with students who are brought up rather the Greek than the Australian way.
The following chart 34 presents a comparison of selected students’ concrete data used to highlight some of the differences between the two cohorts.

### St George v. State Schools Concrete Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Best Friend Origin</th>
<th>State Schools</th>
<th>St George</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Greek</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learn other LOTE</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Chart 34: Comparative Concrete Data of St George and State School Students**

The students of both studies were predominantly born in Australia. The majority (92%) of St George students did not study any other LOTE but Greek, whereas almost 30% of the state school students studied Greek and another LOTE. In a similar reflection of the differences of the contexts, 91% of St George students’ best friends were of Greek origin, compared to the still high but clearly lower 69% of state school students. The multicultural ethos of the school and the family unit’s mindset towards assimilation to the mainstream Australian society, allowed 31% of these students to consider as their best friend a person from a different ethnic background.

With respect to the Greek language learning and use (see chart 15), English was the main language Project 2 students used in their day life, yet a few could communicate with family members in Greek either in its standard form or in the Greek ethnolect used in Australia. However, St George College students regarded learning Greek as significant and considered it could help their professional and social life and their everyday communication with the close family members and Greek origin friends as identity language. However, there was a group of St George students (20%) who were
negative to the language and expressed their feelings quire vehemently. A much smaller number (5%) were indifferent (see chart 35).

On the other hand, for the state school students of Project 3, Greek language is seen by many as another LOTE. A number of the students revealed in their concrete and cultural data that they started Greek for first time in their life at year 8. However, only 2 of the 214 state schools students expressed the strongly negative feelings towards the Greek language as a few of the St George College students did. The indifferent attitude revealed by the majority (72%) towards the Greek language from the Project 3 students was compatible with the outlook of students who saw that

![Chart 35: Attitude to Greek Language: Comparing St George and State school Students](chart35)

their future lives were in Australia and their first priority was to succeed socioeconomically as their parents had previously done (See chart 35 above).

The significantly high level of positive attitude of St George students (71%) towards learning and using Greek in their professional and social life was supported by their positive attitude towards the Greek culture and their sense of Greek identity. Most of the students who attended St George College (72%) had developed a deep sense of Greek identity. This Greekness was ranging from completely Greek to Greek-Australian and Australian-Greek (see chart 36). Pride for their heritage, love for the Greek food, traditions, customs and contemporary Greek songs and dances, respect
for religion and dedication to language, but mainly the Greek blood and character were among the parameters that made them feel Greek.

**Comparison of Cultural Identification**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>St George</th>
<th>State Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australian</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian Greek</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek Australian</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Chart 36: Sense of Identity: Comparison of St George and State School Students**

As chart 36 shows, 15% of state school students considered themselves Australians as against only 8% among the St George respondents. Another 30% called themselves Australian Greeks or Greek Australians (34%). For some of these the Greek component was just an indication of their ethnic ancestry or genetic background. Even those with the sense of Greek identity, nowhere in their statements or during the interviews expressed the sort of passion and the pride of being Greek that the St George students demonstrated. The greater level of indifference to the Greek language revealed in Chart 36 was reflected in the comments of those students in Project 3 who revealed that their home life was according to “the Australian way and [they] were not exposed to the Greek customs and tradition”. Nevertheless there were some state school students who recognised the importance of the Greek core values in their lives and a few younger students who expressed their appreciation for having the opportunity to learn Greek for first time in their life.
Overall St George College students felt responsible for maintaining the Greek language and culture and believed that family, religion, Greek tradition and Greek cohesiveness and solidarity could help them in their life as Greeks in Australia. With that respect the core values identified by Smolicz can still be able and valid explanation for their social actions and their choices of cultural activations. The same framework can be used to those students of the state schools that opt to identify as Australians or Greeks and even those who live within the shared values framework of multicultural Australia.

However, some of St George College students and many of the State school students felt they needed to see their future within the mainstream Australian society. They believed that their Greek family was a part of the Australian multicultural future. They felt that they enjoyed the “best of both worlds” and they appreciated the Australian lifestyle, while their character and blood kept them connected to their ethnic components that they loved, the Greek food, music and dances. They appeared to choose a stance which was not with the one or the other culture, and not even in between the two cultures. Some wanted to be and felt they were actually both, in a form of a crossbreed or hybrid culture that carried traits and characteristics of both, and were not able or willing to renounce either. Their loudly voiced out “best of both worlds” can be interpreted as meaning that they did not choose to belong to a different or a third culture. Semantically, third is not one or the other; it is neither of the precedents. The researcher constantly heard from the participants that they wanted to have the option of being able to activate both backgrounds when they wanted, as they wanted, according to their needs and feelings of the moment.

16.3 Valency in the Research Findings

In line with humanistic sociological principles, the mapping of Greek identity, language and cultural maintenance started from the respondents’ own thoughts and feelings about who they were. This sense of identity was then juxtaposed with responses from the respondents on the languages and cultures they used in everyday life. For this purpose, the concept of Valency proved most helpful
in interpreting the choices which individuals of Greek ethnic origin make for living within the multicultural and multilingual context of Australia. Some feel that they are pulled in two different directions by the cultural forces impacting on their personality - the Greek family, as against the mainstream Australian education and social structures. For them the differing cultures create emotional dysfunction and friction between family and friends. They experience a sense of conflict and ambiguity, especially at points where the two cultures crossover. Other individuals who view the two cultures as complementary and enriching, enjoy moving comfortably and easily between their Greek family and their mainstream schools, jobs and friends.

Valency refers to the strength of attraction that an individual feels toward the culture of a given group and to the members of that group. Kloskowska (1988, 1996, 2001:117) used the term when investigating how far individuals were attracted to a single culture (univalency), to two cultures (bivalency) or to three or more (poly-valency). The concept was also applied to research in Australia by Smolicz, Secombe and Hudson (1998:28). In her doctoral research study, Hudson (1996) identified within the univalent classification, a subtype related to individuals who lived within the confines of their own group, but appeared to have a more open and pluralistic attitude towards other cultures.

In the course of analysing questionnaires of respondents and interviewing respondents, the researcher recognised that there was a certain bond of attraction felt by participated in the research individuals towards the culture of one or more groups. It appeared similar to the attraction defined by the term valence or valency, which exists between atoms in chemical reaction that forces atoms to create new structures is. Psychology also uses the term to describe an individual’s intense intrinsic attraction (positive valence) or intense intrinsic aversion (negative valence) towards a particular social choice or action, a person or a situation (Mummendey, 1998; Feldman, 2006).

Kloskowska's valency distinctions seemed to be particularly pertinent for the respondents in this portfolio of research students (Kloskowska, 1998; Hudson 1996). As figure 16 indicates, univalency
(attraction to one group and its culture) has two possibilities in this research. Those respondents who were attracted to the mainstream Australian group and its culture alone could be said to represent examples of Australian Valency. Those who were attracted solely to the Greek group and its culture could be seen as examples of Greek Valency. On the other hand, the respondents who were attracted to both the mainstream Australian and the Greek groups, together with their cultures, could be regarded as representing Australian Greek bivalency. Moreover, the possibility of Poly-valency, attraction to three or more cultures, could be seen in cases of children from mixed Greek and Italian marriages, some of whom were studying Italian at St George College.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TERM</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
<th>POSSIBILITIES IN THE RESEARCH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNIVALENCY</td>
<td>Attraction to ONE group and its culture</td>
<td>Mainstream Australian Group and its culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>AUSTRALIAN VALENCY</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Greek Group and its culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>GREEK VALENCY</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIVALENCY</td>
<td>Attraction to TWO groups and their cultures</td>
<td>BOTH Mainstream Australian AND Greek Groups and their cultures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>AUSTRALIAN GREEK BIVALENCY</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLYVALENCY</td>
<td>Attraction to THREE or more groups &amp; their cultures</td>
<td>Possible for children of Greek and Italian marriages in Australian context</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 16: Categories of Valency Related to Current Study**

The individual respondents in this research could be assigned to a valency category by reference to their comments on who they felt they were, and which culture they felt comfortable with and wanted to activate. Of course, these individual thoughts and feelings were influenced by other members of the group or groups they identified with, as well as by the actions of those from other groups than their own. Social psychology has highlighted the impact of group dynamics, through positive, negative, or neutral pressure on group members to feel, think and act in certain ways in order to gain the approval or acceptance of their group (Kast et.al. 2011:25-26). It is this influence which helps to explain the link between individual’s personal cultural worlds and the cultural values of the group or groups they seek to belong.
The respondents in these studies were influenced by the dynamics within the Greek group in the decade before the research began. The strong multicultural movement of the seventies and the eighties, to which the Greek community in Adelaide had contributed a number of key leaders, had slowed. The push to maintain the Greek language had eased with the introduction of Greek as a subject in a number of schools can be considered the trojan horse for the Greek linguistic and cultural tradition as it will be argue later in section 17.1.

By developing a typology derived from combining the individual respondent’s valency and activation of linguistic and cultural tradition, the researcher hoped to capture something of these influences the participants in these research have been exposed to and see the implications of these attractions on the extent of their maintenance of Greek language and culture in the context of multicultural South Australia.

16.4. Mapping the Valency Groups and their Sub-categories

The various categories of valency (Figure 16) fitted somehow well with the attraction of respondents to the two main groups, the mainstream Australian and the Greek, which were the focus of the research. However, they did not take into account the complex mixture of cultural and linguistic activation found among the respondents. The reality of living in the context of Australia made it very difficult for Greek immigrants and their children not to acquire some aspects of mainstream culture, even when they preferred to think and act only as Greeks. The demands of Australian schooling in particular, meant that the children and grandchildren were forced to acquire and use the English language and the patterns of social relationships which typified the mainstream Australian group. Some, like the student respondents in this study were fortunate enough to study Greek as a subject in the school curriculum, and even to attend a school like St George College, which was and is still committed to Greek language and culture maintenance.
It is undeniable the fact that the children of Greek immigrants and to a lesser extent, their grandchildren, were exposed to the Greek culture and the Greek language forms used as the means of communication at home. Even when they were personally attracted to shifting to the language and cultural patterns of the mainstream Australian group they had learned at school, they were expected to conform to Greek linguistic and cultural values, as long as they remained at home. As adults, however, some did follow their personal predilections by cutting themselves from contact with their ethnic tradition – with exception of keeping contact with family and their parents, if they were alive, while at the same time their social and professional life was conforming with the Australian mainstream society. Others tried to maintain their childhood learnings of Greek language and cultural forms. Thus in many domains and circumstances, the particular cultural and linguistic values activated by the respondents were not a matter of being attracted to the cultural concerned, but rather of the need or requirements of the particular situation.

Many could not manage to become completely Australian or Greek but found themselves in a form of Limbo inbetween the competing attractions of the Australian and the Greek cultural forces. In some contexts they were more Australian than Greek, and in other cases more Greek than Australian. This constant shift, according to social needs and actions required, was described positively by the majority of them as “using the best of both worlds”. Some took it further, saying they were not Greek anymore, neither could they be called completely “Australianised”. They could be seen as creating their own space, the third place (Kramsch, 1993; Liddicoat et al 2003), where their Australian Greek adaptation was regarded as a third cultural form in its own right, rather than a spot, a third place on the cultural continuum from Greek to Greek-Australian to Australian-Greek or Australian.

The researcher will try with this typology to point out that this is not the case, since Greekness is deeply imprinted in their character, genes attitudes and behaviors even when they have tried hard to altered it and to comply with the social norms and behaviors of the mainstream society they are
educated in, as long as have some kind of exposure to their Greek self, either by home or through the education and Greek language classes. In order to map out the two possibilities of univalence – Australian valency and the alternative Greek Valency- as described in Figure 16, Figure 17 (see on next page) was created in an effort to plot in the varying subcategories of cultural and linguistic activation of the person who chooses to identify with one cultural tradition, while being born within an ethnic group.

The four circles down the centre of the figure represent the four possible cultural and linguistic sources from which the respondents could theoretically draw in their day to day living in Adelaide. For each group, culture and language have been isolated as separate criteria to reflect the different choices people make. The various sub-categories of Australian valency, labelled A1 to A4, are on the left of the circles, while the categories of Greek valency (G1 to G4) are on the right hand side. The coloured lines provide a visual link between the cultural and linguistic sources and the individual responses of the various subcategories, with dashed lines indicating a partial or weaker activation than that shown by the solid coloured lines.

For each valency, the first sub-category (A1 and G1) represent individuals whose patterns of acting, thinking and feeling are linked to the cultural and linguistic values of a single group, mainstream Australian in the case of A1 and Greek for G1. In the other A2-A4 categories the activation of Australian culture and the English language predominate, but with some residual, partial or limited use of Greek language or culture. In comparable fashion, the sub-categories of G2 and G4 represent the dominant activation of Greek culture and language, with the usage of English and Australian culture in a subordinate role.

It is important to mention at this point that the subcategorie G3, where the individuals may chose to activate Greek language and culture with limited use of Australian culture appears to be a choice of those few individuals –all of them belong to the parent subgroup of participants - who
Figure 17: Map of Australian and Greek Valency with Sub Categories of Cultural and Linguistic Activation
have either limited education and need to function only within the confines of a Greek functioning community, or are the recent immigrants themselves who have limited exposure to Australian culture.

The possibilities of bivalency, in which individuals favour activating the cultural and linguistic values of both the Greek and the mainstream Australian group, are presented in Figure 18 (see on next page). Here too, various subcategories of bivalency have been plotted. Six types of individuals were found to qualify for the bi-valent types. However, distinctive variances were easily seen under the umbrella of bivalent linguistic and cultural attractions. For this reason some new terms had to be utilised to distinguish these fine differences between the 5 types and the sixth. They have been chosen specifically in an effort of the researcher to transfer the zest of the cultural and linguistic valencies and attractions the respondents felt exist in the way they saw themselves. The figure 18 (see on next page) therefore incorporates the terms Dyadic, and Pseudo-Dyadic.

The term “Dyadic” was used to express the bi-valency, the dual attraction the individuals activate from the pool of both their linguistic and cultural sources. However, this valency is not able to exist always in its true and balanced form. Whenever it was identified in the participants’ responses, the individual was allocated in the type of this typology identified as D1 or balanced bilingual and bicultural. For the other types were the valency and the activation is not balanced across both cultural and linguistic forces the term Pseudo-Dyadic has been employed.

The term ‘Pseudo’ derived from the Greek word and it is used in its Greek connotations. It should be stressed that ‘pseudo’ as used here does not incorporate the meanings associated with it in English – the idea of pretence or being fake and artificial. It has been used to suggest that although the respondents themselves considered that they knew and used Greek language and culture, in fact their activation was limited and partial from the perspective of anyone born and educated in Greece; so in its sense, it highlights the participant’s lack of awareness of the narrow and limited nature of their knowledge and activation of Greek language and culture. Only when they visited Greece, or
Sub-categories of Australian - Greek Bivalency or Dyadic Attraction
Cultural and Linguistic Sources

Figure 18: Map of Australian-Greek Bivalency with Sub Categories of Cultural and Linguistic Activation

KEY: C: Culture  L: Language
AUS/Aus : Australian  UPPER=DOMINANT
ENG/Eng : English  Lower =Subordinate
GK/Gk: Greek  + = Balanced
P - D = Pseudo - Dyadic Attraction
D = True Dyadic Attraction
Dominant attraction
Subordinate attraction
Dominant & Subordinate attraction

P - D1. C---AUS/Gk
L---ENG/Gk or GK/Eng

D1. C---AUS+GK
L---ENG+GK (Balanced)

P - D2. C---AUS+GK
L---ENG/Gk or GK/Eng

P - D5. C---Gk+Aus
L---Gk+Eng
Pseudo - balanced

P - D3. C---AUS/Gk or GK/Aus
L---GK+ENG

P - D4. C---GK/Aus
L---GK/Eng or ENG/Gk
family members came from Greece to stay with them, did they come to realise how limited were the language they knew and considered as Greek and the cultural patterns they had been exposed to and activated while in Australia and had taken for granted as Greek in the Adelaide context. At the same time the term recognised that in their own eyes they felt they were Greek, to the extent of Greekness they have been exposed to by their family in the context of Adelaide and in ways they could not escape, and usually did not want to.

This way the notion of Greek Pseudo-Dyadic attraction of the individual has been used to identify the various combinations of the participants’ subgroups –be parents, teachers or students- who feel that they are in-between the cultures, the mainstream Australian they are educated work and function as well as the Greek heritage they are exposed to and value still in any way, regardless of the depth or breadth of this exposure. In the way it is seen for the purposes of this typology the Pseudo-dyadic attraction to the Greekness mainly represents all those who loudly declared they feel rather Greek-Australians. While they are educated in the Australian education system and are exposed to the mainstream Australian culture, the Greek cultural tradition and heritage is so strong that takes precedence even if they live and work in Australia. On the other side of the Pseudo-bivalent continuum are those who revealed they consider themselves as Australian-Greeks; in a similar way they place more emphasis on their Australian part and their need or choice to identify with the Australian mainstream society, while they maintain pasts of their Greekness.

The circles down the middle of the figure 18 again represent the cultural and linguistic sources from which individuals drew to develop their bivalency. Sub-categories P-D1 to P-D4 all involve cases in which one of the dual cultural or linguistic components were more limited or only partially developed. These are taken as examples of pseudo-dyadic attraction, where the favoured attraction to two cultures had not been fully achieved.

Sub-category D1 However, represents they type of balanced bivalency where in both culture and language the individual has acquired equal competence and capacity to move between the two groups.
The case of P-D5 represents those whose level of education has left them with restricted forms of expression in both languages and cultures.

16.4.1. A Typology of Linguistic and Cultural Valency and Activation among the Greek Community of South Australia.

In order to adequately represent the responses of all the Adelaide students of Greek, their parents and their teachers who participated in these studies, a typology figure linking valency and activation was developed (see Figure 19, on next page). As in figure 18, allocation of respondents to the valency types of Monad Dyad and Pseudo Dyad has been based on their identification of who they were, while the variations within each type reflects the patterns of activation revealed in the concrete data from the questionnaire, as well as their comments in the personal statements and interviews.

In the left hand column of Figure 19 are the types of Australian Monad, individuals who are attracted to the mainstream Australian group, as revealed in their sense of both cultural identification and language mainly used by the individual in everyday life. So type A1 activated only Australian mainstream culture and the English language. In Type A2, Australian culture alone was known and practised but alongside the dominant English language, there was evidence of partial or residualised knowledge of Greek. This sort of language adaptation has been labelled Pseudo-bilingualism. With type A3 English was the sole language activated, but some pseudo biculturalism was demonstrated in the partial activation of the Greek culture. In the case of type A4, represented a Pseudo Bicultural and Bilingual situation where the dominant Australian culture and the English language was found alongside a restricted Greek component in both culture and language.

In the right hand column of Figure 19 are the types of the Greek Monad. These correspond to the Australian Monad types, depicting all those respondents who indicated at some point their loyalty to
Figure 19: A Typology of Valency and Activation among Adelaide Students of Greek, their Parents and Teachers

KEY:
A = Australian
a = Subordinate Australian
E = English
e = Subordinate English
G = Greek
g = Subordinate Greek
their ancestral culture and language by identifying solely as Greek. The main difference to the Australian Monad is that these types identified, felt the Greek linguistic and cultural tradition is more dominant and thus activated more into their everyday life and social behaviour. Considering the fact that all these Greek Monad types have a social and professional life within the Australian mainstream society and they do not live in an isolated ghetto, it is anticipated that English language and mainstream Australian culture are the weaker, more limited elements within the specific combinations. Needless to say that again the term “pseudo” is used to reveal the residual knowledge of the contemporary Greek culture and of course the “invisible culture” (Lo Bianco & Crozet, 2003) within the language that is closely linked to the knowledge of the language as used in everyday interactions and that could express contemporary behaviours used in Greece of the 21st century but not in the Greek community of Adelaide.

Thus in case of G4 there is an identified bi-directional relationship between pseudo-biculturalism and pseudo-bilingualism, in the sense that because they respondents do not have a direct exposure to the contemporary culture they do not know newly acquired language and vice versa. In case of G3 there is some partial knowledge and activation of the Australian culture and there is some limited activation of English in G2. Finally G1 represents the pure univalent type, monolingual and monocultural in Greek alone that is met in the newly arrived immigrants.

The top section of the central column of Figure 19 sets out the types of Pseudo Dyad, representing those who have identified with both groups as Australian Greek or Greek Australian. However, their patterns of cultural activation are weighted toward the language and culture of one group that becomes the dominant, leaving to the other group some, yet subordinate activation of the language or the culture. Type P-D5 represents those whose lack of education has resulted in partial or restricted activation of the cultural and linguistic elements of both groups in a way they are equally residualised in both cultures and languages. Type P-D1 represents individuals who have been exposed to both Australian and Greek cultures yet the Australian is more dominant and in more everyday life activities
compared to the limited Greek cultural activations. In P-D1 can be allocated individuals that either have dominant English language with some Greek language knowledge and use (P-D1)\(a\) – the majority of the individuals in this type are students-, or those who are functioning better in the dominant Greek and English is their second language (P-D1)\(b\). The corresponding case, weighted towards the activation of Greek language and culture is represented in P-D3. Here it is the use of mainstream Australian culture that is not prioritised and in any possible chance the Greek language is utilised, even in its ethnolect substandard form while English language is put aside. The outline of both these types allows for a rather unlikely second language combination.

The types of P-D2 and P-D4 come close to a true Dyad, where the language and culture elements from both groups are balanced. In P-D2 the activation of Greek and Australian culture is balanced, while in the linguistic dimension one language has a greater activation - either English or Greek - while the other is not as strong. Correspondingly, in P-D4 the two languages equally at a high level and balanced in their activation, while either the Greek or the Australian culture predominates the other either as knowledge or as activation. In the second half of the central column, the type of the true dyad is presented. This type is marked by more or less equal levels of competence and activation in both the English and Greek languages and in mainstream Australian and Greek cultures. Such a balanced bilingual and bicultural person can move easily between the two groups as wishes both linguistically and culturally.

Overall, Figure 19 represents a taxonomy of the combined linguistic and cultural stances that those of Greek ethnic origin can adopt in the course of their living in the Australian context. It shows clearly how the respondents from all the studies in this portfolio fell into three main groups. The Australian Monads associated themselves with the mainstream Australian group, while the Greek Monads aligned themselves with the Greek groups. Those who fell into the middle dyadic group sought to maintain their links with both groups. The central column illustrates graphically the considerable range
of adaptation among the pseudo dyads, who felt commitment to both groups but did not have the level of cultural or linguistic knowledge to be regarded as the true dyad.

This level can only be achieved with proper tertiary education in both languages and cultures.

16.4.2. Distribution of Research Participants in the Taxonomy

Using responses from concrete fact questions, the personal statements and the interviews, the researcher categorised each of the research participants (340 in all) according to the taxonomy types presented in Figure 19. The results are presented in Figure 20.

The type that occurred least (9 times), 3% of participants, was D1, the bilingual bicultural dyad, which was identified at least once in all the respondent groups. The types in the Greek Monad category (G1 to G4) also appeared infrequently (21 times). The Greek monocultural and monolingual (G1) was the type most often identified (14 times) and was found in all four groups of respondents. The A1 to A4
types of the Australian Monad were identified more than three times as often as the Greek Monad categories. Although 66 respondents (19% of participants) came from all four respondent groups, the numbers of state school students identified was considerably much higher than for the other respondent groups. The type most frequently occurring (22 times) was A4, where the dominance of Australian culture and English language was associated with evidence of both Greek language and culture limited use, resulting in pseudo bilingualism and pseudo biculturalism.

The majority of the participants (244 or 72%) were identified as one of the pseudo dyadic types, with the highest numbers in each type coming from the state school participants. Among these the case of P-D5, with restricted activation of the cultural and linguistic elements from both cultures occurred only once. The most frequently identified type (82 times) was P-D2, where individuals were categorised as bicultural, together with pseudo bilingualism because of their restricted activation of either the English or (most often occurred) the Greek language. The next most frequent type was P-D4 which was identified 61 times. In this case individuals were judged to be bilingual, but pseudo bicultural because of their limited knowledge and activation of either of the cultures they lived by, the Greek or the Australian. Together, the two groups of P-D2 and P-D4 accounted for well over half of the participants in the pseudo dyadic category. It is important to recognise that the pseudo-dyadic types are the two closest to the balanced bilingual and bicultural dyad type.

The above taxonomy has been based on both concrete and cultural data of parents, teachers and students. This is the reason why some types can be represented by only parents and teachers who have stronger sense of the Greekness culturally and better knowledge of the Greek language regardless if they choose to activate it or not while communicating with their children. It is very important for the future of the Greek language and culture in South Australia to see the typology under the eyes, the feeling and the personal statements of the students, who represent the future of the Greek linguistic and cultural tradition in South Australia. When only students’ data were isolated it was clear that certain types are not applicable to them. Especially all the Greek monad types, that need as prerequisite very strong Greek cultural valency
cannot be met in the students’ cohort unless the students were born in Greece have lived there and have immigrated in Australia after having some years formal education in Greece. These students since are educated in the Australian mainstream schools are exposed also to the mainstream culture and they can be either G1 or D1.

The impression on can form when reading only the numerical values in a column graph can be very deceiving. This is the reason the researcher decided to present in the next Figure 21 the percentile values of students’ taxonomy, so the reader will have a chance to “see” each type as a percentage within its school and against the other school category. In this format the taxonomy can be really eye opening. When seen in this form, data reveal that in absolute values St George College students appear to have higher percentage in the D1, G1, P-D1 and P-D4 types that indicate stronger Greek component, whereas state schools appear shifting to the their Australian component. However, this way of seen the data revealed also that there is no so much difference between the two school categories with regards to the way students perceive their Greekness. After all they do choose to have Greek language classes. Some credit has to be given to the role of this education.

![Student Percentile Distribution](image)

**Figure 21: Students’ Percentile Typology Distribution**
In educational research data play significant role and the majority of the researchers use quantitative data. The present research based on humanistic sociology was designed to approach the data combining both traditions quantitative and qualitative. This decision has allowed collecting information about the way parents, teachers and students see Greek language and culture in the context of South Australia.

Language concrete data revealed that Greek language is not used the way it was used in the past but is still alive in the third generation of Greek immigrants. English is used mainly but those who attend Greek classes use some Greek. Cultural data revealed that almost 75% of the participants to some extend they see themselves as Greeks. When the data were combined, it was allowed the cross-correlation that suggested the taxonomy presented in the section 16.4. It emerged that students who attend Greek classes have the chance to maintain to some degree their Greekness and they can still, although educated in the mainstream education system, feel Greek. Since the Greek language in its standard form is not used anymore at home to the degree it was used in the past and the culture is not practised as much, the last remaining chance for the Greek language is the teaching of Greek in the mainstream schools. This has to be maintained at any cost.

The Types of Dyad even in its Pseudo forms that were revealed among the students are there because they are exposed to their Greekness through the schooling and they maintain the pride and the belonging to the Greek nation, even they are also identify as Australians. This dyadic identification is maintained by the education. The researcher’s personal observations of those students of Greek background who do not attend Greek classes and who have been completely assimilated suggest the importance of further research into the extent of Greek language and culture maintained among young people who do not study Greek.

97 The researcher is currently employed as Secondary school Teacher in an Australian State school close to the vibrant Greek Community of Salisbury SA. She has student of Greek background who have never had the chance or the positive attitude to learn Greek.
16.5. The Overall Picture

The findings from this portfolio of research demonstrate clearly the decline in activation of the Greek language among the children of Greek immigrants (the parents and teachers of this study and their grandchildren (the student participants). Some of the students expressed their negative disposition for, and many often, their indifference to, the Greek language. There was a comparable decline in regular attendance at Orthodox worship and the sense of its importance. At the same time, all but a few of the respondents claimed to feel Greek in some way or another, even when they were pseudo-dyadics, activating predominantly mainstream Australian culture and language. They associated their Greekness mainly with Greek food and music, and most often, their Greek character and temperament, but also to a lesser extent with language or religion or even their historicity.

From the point of view of Smolicz’s (1980; 1981; 1983; 1999) core value theory, these respondents would be interpreted as the respondents’ progressive loss of the core values which could keep the Greek group’s cultural heritage alive and creative into succeeding generations. Those values they continue to activate were residual, from the periphery of their cultural heritage, the ones it was easy to practise occasionally, while behaving in all the key areas of life as mainstream Australians. However, their personal comments suggest a slight variation of this interpretation. These respondents give evidence of shifting their Greek identity link from cultural to more Psycho-biologically oriented factors—“their Greek blood”! Participants spoke often of feeling Greek in their blood, of not being able to escape their Greekness.

Maintaining the cultural markers of Greek identity is a matter of personal choice, and the opportunities available in a given community. If the link to Greek identity is perceived as more psychobiological or genetic, it is immutable and inescapable, outside of the individual’s direct control. Interpreted in this way, the sense of Greek identity in Australia is secure. However, as Smolicz pointed out (1980; 1999)
such individuals are far more limited in the contribution they can make to the Australian society through cultural interaction, the sharing of their distinctive culture with others.

In contrast, the detailed application of the taxonomy categories has highlighted a number of counter-balancing realities. Although only a small number of students could be classified as genuine or true dyadics, in both English and Greek, about one third of the student respondents were considered to be pseudo-dyadic types that were only just short of a genuine dyad- given the opportunity. This group reflected the more positive attitudes to Greek expressed by many St George students and many of the senior students, in the state schools who had chosen to continue their study of Greek.

With secondary teaching that took more account of most student’s' lack of home experience in Greek and of technological access to contemporary standard forms of the language coming from Greece, as well as continuing opportunities for study Greek at university level, these students’ Greek language skills and cultural knowledge could be considerably improved. Such individuals could then reach a point of becoming a heartland of culturally committed Greeks, maintaining the core values of their heritage within the wider Adelaide Greek community.

In the next chapter it will be discussed how the education can support the teaching of Greek, the limitations this research encompasses, some suggestions for future research and a light at the end of the tunnel the researcher has seen during her data collection face, as a light of hope for the future of Greek in South Australia.
CHAPTER 17. IMPLICATIONS ON EDUCATION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND A POSITIVE POSSIBILITY

In this final chapter of this Portfolio of researches it will be discussed the future of the Greek language and culture in South Australia with regards to the continuation of teaching and learning Greek as the only hope and remaining solution for the Greek linguistic and cultural tradition in the specific context. This discussion will be followed by the presentation of the limitations this research confronted with and hence recommendations for future research.

Last but not least it will be presented –as emerged from the researcher’s observations- a light at the end of this tunnel that maybe the last chance and hope for the Greek language and culture revitalisation in the context of South Australia.

17.1 The Future of Teaching Greek in SA Secondary Schools

The findings of this research portfolio have a number of implications for the teaching of Greek in South Australia.

In the first place, the level of Greek activation within the home reported by the students and their parents confirmed the concerns expressed by a number of teachers. Except for a small number from recently arrived families, these students were not exposed to the on-going use of standard Greek language Greek at home. They had not heard it spoken on a regular basis as they grew up and hence had not absorbed in early childhood the sounds and intonation of the language- as it was the usual case 20 years ago. This perhaps explains why a number of students commented that they found the learning of Greek at school very difficult.

Most of the students in this research could not be regarded as mother tongue learners, who by the time they reached school already had achieved much informal learning of the language, grounded in their oral/aural experience in the home and perhaps within the wider Greek community. What then is the most
appropriate approach to the teaching of Greek in South Australian schools? Is the alternate to teach Greek as a second or foreign language, with the appropriate methodology?

The evidence of this research would question whether Greek really is a foreign language to those students who choose to learn it in ethnic, state or independent schools in South Australia?

Yes, it is most likely the present youngest generation in this research descended from Greek migrants, has not been exposed to Greek linguistic and cultural tradition as their parents and grandparents were. Yes, they have lived and been educated within the mainstream Australian society where Australian cultural values have been instilled into them. However, we must also say that those who have made the decision to attend Greek classes and still have some exposure at home, are definitely pre-disposed to and have some knowledge of Greek and have developed their individual sense of Greekness. Many see Greek as their identity language, not their first, or their second language, not a third stance, a third place in the way that they are the third generation. For the majority of the participants in this research, even when they strongly expressed their Australia-ness, being Greek was part of who they were; it was in their blood, their character, and the food they eat, the music they hear.

Their experience of Greek and Greekness may be limited and residual, but definitely Greekness is not foreign to them! Moreover, language educators like Kramsch (2009) used the metaphor of third culture to capture language learners' growing awareness of the "predicament" of language and of the larger social and political forces that govern its use. For them, striving for intercultural competence does not mean assimilation into the target culture. Rather, intercultural language learning involves the development of a "third place" between the learner's native culture and the target culture, i.e. between self and the other (Liddicoat, Crozet & Lo Bianco, 1999, p. 181). This approach does not seem appropriate where the culture of the language is already part of the conscious of the learner.

Nevertheless if the family unit ceases to be as Greek-centred as it was in the past, as the evidence of this research would suggest, Greek language teaching and learning at school is the only remaining option for the future of Greek linguistic and cultural tradition in Australia. Therefore Greek language teaching and learning has to be exceptional, interesting to students, governed by the language teaching standards developed in and for the SA context (Scarino et al 2004), but predominantly relevant, contemporary and able
to transfer the beauty, depth and the invisible culture (Lo Bianco & Crozet, 2003) the Greek language bears, and to baptise students in the Greekness, already imprinted in their personality.

The issue of teaching Greek to the current generation of students has multiple levels. As the teachers who are still leading the Greek language teaching and learning feel, since the third and fourth generation Greeks in South Australia have English as their first language, when students chose to learn this language via the school, the teachers need to adopt the strategies for the second language learners, by giving them first the necessary oral/aural experience of the language. Furthermore they need to adjust appropriate methodologies that attract and maintain the interest of the student and give them a sense of mastery and achievement.

The researcher has a long exposure in teaching Greek across all the year levels in the South Australian context. Her experience persuaded her that when incorporating ICT in Greek language teaching and expose the students to contemporary standard Greek via u-tube videos, music and blogs from Greece, the direct exposure to the modern vibrant Greece of today attracts the interest of the students. Interactive online access to Greek museums from Australia and the use of internet resources as a means of constant research on Greece, the videoconferencing and emailing with young Greeks in Greece in the form of email-pals, has made Greek language teaching and learning interesting, meaningful and contemporary. With the impetus of the digital age the use of multimedia, the synchronous communication via videoconferencing with native speakers across the world or via asynchronous communication (email, blogging, wiki’s) can demonstrate to the prospective students that learning Greek can be delivered using 21st century methodology. Unless students are intrigued to learn Greek and they are offered the opportunity to practice it, if not within the family, in other contexts, there is arguably no apparent other option for maintaining the Greek linguistic and cultural tradition in South Australia when the first generation die and the second generation, used and exposed to English, find not so important the continuation of the language.

On the other hand, those who had Greek classes at school, regardless if this was the ethnic, the “very Greek St George College” (in participant words direct reference), or the multicultural State schools that still taught the language, they were exposed to their Greekness via schooling. This research findings
proved that they choose not to be just Greeks or just Australian; on the contrary they choose in their majority to swing in-between the different forces they attracted them in the course of their life, either towards their Greek or their Australian self. And this is due to their exposure to Greekness either via family, or school, or in some cases via both.

Form the current research was revealed that the role of education in maintaining the Greek linguistic and cultural tradition is not any more complementary to the role of the family as it was in the 70s, 80s and maybe 90s. Currently offering Greek language classes in the school context is the only option for the younger generation to have the Greek language taught in its standard form. This is why teaching Greek in South Australian schools, be ethnic, state or Independent is essential for the future of the Greek language and culture in the 21st century. At this point of time, having lost the momentum of the 70s and 80s, Greek are still offered at secondary level – level this research was interested in – by few remaining state schools, few ethnic schools and St George College. It is critical for the future of Greek in South Australia to have the language taught at secondary level and equally essential to maintain the continuity of this learning at tertiary level, since this will be the way to create new teachers and maintain the prestige of Greek language as not only a community language but as the European language that is interconnected to such a rich cultural heritage as the Greek. Flinders University is the only University in South Australia that has Modern Greek as part of the language Studies Division within its Education, Humanities and Law Faculty. Established in 1989, for 23 years now, university students in South Australia can take Greek at tertiary level, regardless their background. University of Adelaide and the University of South Australia students can elect Modern Greek studies offered through the outreach program and Flinders’ Greek topics are also available from Charles Darwin University to cater for the vibrant Greek community of Darwin. Most important, Modern Greek at Flinders offers the training necessary for younger teachers to major in Greek and be able to teach Greek in its standard form, while at the same time as participant observers of the culture, they will be able to know and transfer the invisible Greek culture incorporated in the richness of the language. This is why Greek has to be taught

98 However Greek still remains the strongest Oeclect in Greek households in comparison with any other language. Adelaide Advertiser (16 April 2012, p.49) presented an article pointing out that according the Australian Early Development Index 47000 surveyed teachers responded that their pupils spoke at home mainly Arabic (11.8%), next was Vietnamese with 8% and Greek was third with 4.3% in front of Mandarin (3.7%) and Cantonese (3.6%).

with appropriate and contemporary methodology, meeting the needs and the language level of the students, be second or even foreign language methodology, for those who have lost the aural and oral contact with the language and still feel and are in their hearts Greek.

Greek is a language that was elevated to the status of community language in Australia, due to the high numbers of using it in the 80s. Now new languages have taken her spot and the recent migration from other places of the world has placed the spotlight of language education to other more needy ethnic groups that are now as vibrant Greek language was in the 50s and 60s. Following the way Greek and Italian migrants have opened, they request their right to have their ethnic languages taught. So it is understood that the lack of funding may have a huge impact on the money allocated to a “tired” or “not in demand” community language as is Greek\textsuperscript{100} and should numbers fall further it may impact teaching Greek only in the specialised language Interest State Schools. The fact that Greece is not so important trade partner as is China, Indonesia or Japan, also weights against the Greek language.

The only way to keep up the Greek language appears to be the pressure motivated and dedicated leaders can put onto the policy makers to continue the support of the Greek Language teaching in South Australian Schools. If nothing happens towards this direction, unfortunately the prognosis seems negative.

17.2 Limitations of Research

The limitations of this portfolio of research were of two kinds –those in the design of the research itself, and those related to the practical issues encountered in the course of completing this portfolio. Both have been introduced in chapter 1 (1.5 specifically) and here are discussed in their own right and as a lead into recommendations for future studies.

\textsuperscript{100} Greek remains since 1986 a Priority Language according to the National Policy of Languages. In 2012 ACARA selected Greek again to be one of the 12 languages to be taught as a second Language in Government Schools.
The research was designed to target secondary school students who were studying Greek as part of their regular school curriculum. As a native speaker of Greek, involved at that time in teaching the language in Adelaide and some country schools, the researcher had a keen interest in understanding the influence of learning Greek on the attitudes and language activation of the students. Hence the research’s focus was on the comparatively small and privileged group of secondary school students who were living in Adelaide and learning Greek at school.

To evaluate fully the influence of learning Greek at school, however, it is important to know the attitudes and activation levels of those young people of Greek origin who have had no access to classes in Greek. Her work with the South Australian Department of Education took the researcher to country regions of the state where she encountered families of Greek immigrants. Living in regional and remote South Australia, the children of these families had no access to Greek classes (except for those in Coober Pedy for a brief period when the researcher was teaching there). Children of Greek families living in outlying suburbs of Adelaide experience the same lack of opportunity to learn Greek at school, since their zone state schools stopped offering Greek classes. Their parents are unable or unwilling to send their children to the specialist language schools still teaching Greek, all of which are situated close to the city centre, be east, west or south of the city.

In contrast families of Greek origin in big metropolitan centres like Adelaide and even more, Melbourne and Sydney, have come to expect that schools and classes for the teaching and learning of Greek are available for their children.

The other limitations in this portfolio of research arose out of organisational and supervision difficulties in the course of completing the portfolio, as well as changes in the personal circumstances of the researcher.

The research began at a time which proved to be a turning point in the extent to which community languages, such as Greek, Chinese and Vietnamese, were offered within a school’s curriculum became more and more dependent on student demand, the numbers of students opting the language
subjects as Greek began to fall (partly for demographic reasons, partly because of declining interest in languages at school). When classes became too small to be viable, and projected future numbers were few, language subjects were withdrawn from a school's offerings.

This process began to happen in the case of Greek soon after the research commenced in 2003-2004 depending on the school involved, as can be confirmed by the research timeline in chapter 1. The initial pool of 387 respondents from which data were collected came from nine state high schools and four ethnic schools101 as well as St George College. When the second stage of data gathering began (the phase of interviewing participants after the initial thematic analysis) six of the state schools were no longer teaching Greek and the ethnic schools that had participated in the research, had ceased to function at secondary level. Hence the data used in the final write up of the portfolio were limited to 296 students from three state schools and St George College with responses from a much smaller number of their parents and teachers. This represented a loss of 23% of the initial data.

The data collection and analysis process, proved much more time consuming than initially expected. After the first set of data were collected entered, processed, analysed and the initial interpretation was attempted, the researcher realised that many respondents' statements were in need of more follow up than originally expected. Clarifications were imperative, since the data collected revealed other parameters and characteristics of the South Australian Greek community that the researcher had not been aware of. After thorough discussions with the supervisors, the timeframe of the research changed the design became longitudinal. This solution allowed the follow up data to be added. In this way, the difficulties encountered were turned to advantages.

The research continued with a different principal supervisor, due to Professor's Smolicz long illness and subsequent death. This first change in the supervision was followed by the death of Professor Marjoribanks in 2006, the second principal supervisor, an event which delayed the researcher even

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101 The initial research design aspired to investigate 7 Ethnic Schools. The protocol to approach the schools and to distributed/collect the Questionnaires was similar to the one used for the state schools and St George College. However responses were returned by only 4 ethnic schools, in the first phase of data collection 2003-2004.
further. She was forced to become a part time student and commence working as a teacher away from Adelaide. This can be considered another limitation, since the researcher was not able to begin follow-up contact for some time with her research participants. The phase of interviewing parents, teachers and students was completed at the beginning of 2010. This was a result of the researcher being appointed at Coober Pedy Area School, so contact could only be made during the school holidays, and this further extended even further the data compilation and interpretation.

17.3 Recommendations for Future Research

As the above discussion of the limitations of the research indicated, a number of issues worthy of further investigations emerged during the present study. The first follows from the limitations of the research design. To begin with the fact that most of the parent respondents are female limits the generalizability of the data. It would be interesting to have the fathers’ male perspectives. Also it would be very elucidating to investigate the aspirations and the attitudes of the student participants with regards to their intention for their own children, the future fourth and fifth generation Greek background Greeks; are they positive in the idea of promoting Greek language and culture learning; would they be positive in transmit to their own children the sense of Greekness they still carry?

The researcher acknowledges that to have a holistic understanding of the present reality and the future prospects for the Greek linguistic and cultural heritage in South Australia, there needs to be further research into those young people of Greek origin, who have not had the chance to learn Greek at School. It is important to understand whether the key factor in this situation was parental indifference, student rejection or lack of access to Greek language classes. There is also need for data on the extent to which they have learned some Greek at home and continue to activate the language in this context. Then there is the issue of how far such young people maintain their sense of Greek identity and have the opportunity to express it culturally.

A second issue to be explored further in research lies in the field of social and cultural psychology. Many of the respondents associated their sense of Greekness with what they called Greek character
or temperament, rather than with the traditional core values of Greek language, religion and family collectivism\textsuperscript{102}. Even those students who claimed to be assimilated in their cultural activation through the pressures of the educational system, yet stated they felt their Greek blood and character often, in times of crisis. How will such individuals identify later in life? Will they come to terms with and need to connect to their Greek cultural heritage? Just what is meant by this term “Greek Blood” and how it has come to function among members of the Greek community as a sign of Greek identity, even when language and cultural values are lost? Is there a link to the historic ability of Greeks to maintain their ethnicity, even when they are suppressed or conquered – in the Greek speaking villages of Calabria for example, or the Greek communities under the Ottoman rule?

These are important area of investigation for those interested in understanding the workings of a multicultural society.

By the end of the research another topic had emerged as very relevant to the teaching and learning of Greek in South Australia. New developments in technology and the availability of cheap and direct communication in Greek language with the Greek culture became available via cable, satellite or WebTV. Videoconferencing and the extended use of Skype available in both Greece and Australia and supported by the fast broadband internet connection has really brought Greece and Australia into synchronous communication at a very low cost. The use of this new media and technology by those Greek origin Australians interested in maintaining their Greekness was evident during the third face of data collection, from 2008 till mid-2010. The researcher witnessed the use of U-tube as a source of unlimited and cheap contact with Greek music, videos and shows which the young Greeks in Australia constantly make use of. The success of the song called “soupa avgolemono” on YouTube (see section 11.2.3) is not coincidental. The researcher observed an almost excessive use of online interaction with Greece in Greek among young IT savvy Greek Australians. It was also observed later in a few families

\textsuperscript{102} In his research related to Australian men individualism versus the Greek men collectivistic approach to the way they see and behave towards their family, Marjoribanks, used the term collectivism Smolicz had used in his 1976 study of Jerry and the rest of the Greek community. Hudson (1998) in collaboration with Smolicz and Secombe published a paper titled “Family Collectivism and Minority Languages as Core Values of Culture among Ethnic Groups in Australia” refers again to the Greek cohesive and close kni family.
who have well-educated relatives from Greece who have migrated in Australia due to the World Financial Crisis. Even more among families of Australian born Greeks who had married Greeks and were living in Greece but now were activating their return citizen’s right to reside in Australia.

This is another phenomenon which it is important to research. Teachers of Greek language and culture need to understand how the availability of the internet can support the electronic teaching and learning of Greek through an oral and aural exposure to standard forms of Greek language and contemporary expressions of the cultural heritage which can also be linked to written communication in Greek via emailing, skyping or chatting.

17.4 A new Wave of Greek Migrants: A new Chance for the Greek language?

In contrast to the negative trends of declining home use of Greek and a decreasing number of schools teaching the language, a third more positive possibility appeared unexpectedly in the final stages of the research. It emerged as a result of the 2008 World Financial Crisis which embroiled Greece, in particular in a serious economic downturn. In the course of her last contact with respondents, the researcher became aware from her own observations and discussions with respondents that the situation in Greece was impacting directly on Greek families in Australia. The possibility of a new wave of Greek immigrants\(^{103}\) pointed to a chance for Greek language in Australia to make a comeback and be renewed through well-educated new arrivals from Greece.

The financial crisis in Greece has become steadily worse over 2012. A bleak Greek economic prospect till at least 2020’s, an unemployment\(^{104}\) rate that reaches 25% on average with 50% for males under 25 years old and 65% for females under 25, especially among highly qualified university graduates with postgraduate qualifications and the Greek emigration tradition every time there is fiscal crisis in

\(^{103}\) Theoretically the majority of those returning are members of the Australian Diaspora in Greece, that is 135000 Australian citizens of Greek ancestry who are repatriating to Australia together with an estimated 5000 Greek economic migrants.

\(^{104}\) http://www.dfat.gov.au/geo/greece/greece_country_brief.html
Greece, and the negative prognosis for the Greek economy till at least mid-2020’s have sparked a new exodus of Greek emigrants, initially in Europe and later across the world.

So as a response in the crisis many well educated Greeks have been requested entry and work visas to Australia to leave behind the troubles in Greece. There are two types of migrants expressing an interest in coming to Australia at this point, as data collected from Australian and Greek consular sources have verified.

a. The first are new migrants who have expressed an interest in migrating to Australia under the skilled migration Visa Schemes. Many of these have relatives or friends already living in Australia.

b. Greek origin Australian expatriots (citizens or residents) who were born in Australia of Greek migrant parents. As adults or children they moved to Greece to work or because they were married there. They are now activating their right to return, as Australia offers them a safe haven from the financial and potentially the sovereignty crisis in Greece.

In relation to the first of these types, since October 2011, well over 12000 Greeks have made enquiries to Greek consular services in Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide regarding the legislation on migration to Australia. Greek mass media have been regularly promoting or showcasing families that were unemployed or struggling financially in Greece and made the decision to move to Australia. Greek newspapers have published articles on how migration to Australia can be achieved. These media activities mirror the public interest and demand for information. The last indicative evidence of the interest in emigration wave was the sold out information sessions, held by the Australian Consulate in Athens in March 2012, which 12500 people attended.

Within South Australia, 25% of parent and teacher participants in Project 1 revealed to the researcher that since 2008 they have had relatives in Greece questioning what was required for them to migrate in Australia. Another 15% had relatives already in Australia investigating their prospects, or in the case of some who were highly qualified, already on skilled migrant residency visas.
Many of those seeking to migrate are highly qualified, with tertiary and often postgraduate qualifications or specialisations. It is basically a generation of overqualified young ambitious professionals who are abandoning Greece due to the economic outlook for the next 20-30 years. These young people do not see any future in their homeland and since they are citizens of the world with the ability to communicate –if they choose to- with their homeland and relatives every day, using the modern communication technologies from anyplace of the world via Skype and videoconferencing, they are prepared to make their home anywhere they can find job.

The second type of immigrants are really Australian expatriots who have been living in Greece and now are seeking to return to Australia. Greece was the dreamland for many Australian born second generation Greeks who had the love of Greece in their hearts, transferred to them by their migrant parents. Having fluent language skills and the opportunity to holiday in Greece, together with their parents’ support for a Greek spouse, they married and remained in Greece while Greek economy appeared to be booming\textsuperscript{105}. They kept contact with Australia -their birth land-, since many have left behind parents and siblings in their “reverse migration”. Their children are citizens of both countries, with all citizen rights reserved. Now the financial situation has deteriorated in Greece, having kept the Australian door open, they can activate the right to return, applying for a returning citizen or permanent resident visa. These people bring with them their knowledge and activation of contemporary 21\textsuperscript{st} century Greek culture and language, in contrast to the language and culture transferred to Australia by the earlier immigrants of the mid-20\textsuperscript{th} century.

\textsuperscript{105} For those unaware of the situation in Greece at that period the following represents a brief description of the situation. From mid 80s till 2008, Greece went through a period of prosperity, due the fiscal support received from the European Union in order to succeed the scope and the targets set to achieve the benchmarks set by the EU related to its inflation level and the DPI index so as to qualify as equal member and enter the European Monetary Union and change its currency from Drachma to Euro. When Euro was introduced as the unified currency in all European Union full members, (except Great Britain) in 2002 Greek economy was shocked, yet the boost to the economy by the borrowed funds to complete the infrastructure needed for the Olympics of 2004, concealed the fact that Greece was operating at a huge financial deficit and its borrowing capability was reaching dangerous limits. When the WFC hit on 2008 and borrowing became conditional on repaying ability and strict criteria were set, Greek Economy was struggling to overcome the situation and was forced to ask the support of the IMF at the end of 2009, that has resulted in harsh fiscal policy, the increase of the unemployment rate up to 25%, the loss of 50% of the annual income for the taxpayers and deceleration, if not standstill, of the Greek economy with a negative outlook for at least the next couple decades.
Waves of new immigrants from Greece have been a cyclic phenomenon for the Greek community in Australia. Considering that the majority of the Greeks immigrants in Australia emigrated mainly

- In the 30s due to the impact of the Great Depression in the Greek Economy and later in 40s Aegean and Ionian Island communities migrated in large numbers to Australia after World War II
- in the 50s and 60s due to the poor financial situation of Greece of that period that led to Greeks immigrating all over Europe and of course to the Americas and Australia, and
- in the 70s when the exodus of Greek migrants was due to the political turbulence in Greece and the Turkish invasion in Northern Cyprus as a result of this.

In all previous migration waves, the majority of Greeks decided to settle either in Sydney or Melbourne. South Australia has always had a limited Greek community compared to Victoria or Sydney. Should the ratio of immigration patterns remains similar, during this anticipated new wave, the outcomes in South Australia in terms of possible the Greek language and culture revival could be very different from those to the Eastern States.

This latest migration wave differs from the massive immigration of Greeks in Australia during the middle of the 20th century. This time the new arrivals are not minimal educated unskilled workers needing to maintain cohesiveness and contact with their Greek roots, in order to survive and communicate. Moreover they are well educated and fluent in English at a very high level. Those the researcher has come across are qualified to work in Australia at their profession which means they have successfully passed the language test that requires academic level knowledge of English.

What linguistic and cultural choices they will have is not clear. Will they shift mainly to the English language of mainstream Australian society? This is a dubious choice for Greek first generation immigrants, as the researcher assumes from her own experience with such new arrivals.
Or will they wish to use Greek in the well-developed standard and even intellectual forms they know, as the language of communication in their homes and social circles?

This newest wave of Greek migration and their linguistic and cultural impact need to be thoroughly researched as they establish themselves in Australia.
APPENDIX A: research project description and impact statement. Sent to DECS requesting approval to conduct the research at state schools.

**UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE**  
**GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION**  
**RESEARCH PROJECT DESCRIPTION AND IMPACT STATEMENT**

1. **Date:** 21/08/2002
   
   **Project Title:**
   
   Factors affecting the teaching and learning of Greek in the multicultural and multilingual environment of Adelaide, SA.

2. **Content Keywords**
   
   1. Multicultural Education  
   2. Non-English Speaking Background Issues  
   3. Curriculum-LOTE

3. **Subjects**
   
   Four (4) subjects
   - Students
   - Teachers  
   - Parents
   
   Nine (9) sites
   - Age groups:
     - 12-15 years
     - 15 years +

   **Schools sites to be involved:**

   **Start Date:** approximately 10/09/2002  
   **Expected Completion Date:** 15/12/2003

4. **Researchers**
   
   Alexandra Holeva, University of Adelaide, Graduate School of Education  
   1 Rushworth Street, Blair Athol, 5084 SA  
   Phone: 08-82629130  
   FAX: 08-82629130  
   email: alpe@iprimus.com.au

   Postgraduate student in a Doctorate of Education Degree.

   **Supervisors:**
   - Professor J.J. Smolicz, Adelaide University, Graduate School of Education  
   - Dr M.J. Secombe, Adelaide University, Graduate School of Education

5. **Department of Education, Training & Employment involvement**
   
   - Departmental consultation in project development
   
   **Name of persons consulted:**
   - Mr. Mark Williams  
   - Mrs. Eleni Glaros

6. **Project rationale and objectives:**
Greek language teaching and learning in public and private schools, as well as in the Ethnic Schools, appear to be in a transitional status, with student numbers declining. Parallel to that the young second and third generation students with Greek ancestry seem to have a residual view of both Greek language and culture. Since speaking at home mainly English and not Greek is a common experience in young students' families, the breakdown of the Greek language maintenance is more than expected and the young students who are being taught Greek as mother tongue do not have anymore, the listening and the oral experience of the Greek language their parents used to have. The proposed research involving High School students, their parents and teachers, is expected to ascertain how effective is the language acquisition and the Greek culture maintenance for Year 8-12 students and is aiming to investigate the problems arising from teaching Greek as mother tongue in the language and cultural preservation, whereas teaching Greek language and mainly culture the way second language teaching is, may motivate students to further continue their contact with their ethnic heritage alongside being Australians.

7. Research methods/procedures to be used:

Data will be collected from students, parents and teachers of Greek language through an interpretative, qualitative approach, which will employ an empirical research analysis and interpretation of data collected via:

- ethnographic means such as observations of the researcher – a participant observer in teaching Greek,
- personal statements and experiences of respondents gained through answering a questionnaire with open-ended questions, as well as survey oriented questions in order to collect concrete and cultural data,
- selected interviews (both personal and group interviews as needed) of the group of respondents so as to cover follow-up questions to their answers in the questionnaires.

The researcher anticipates to collect written data from approximately 3-4 students from every class of each school (130-140 in total students' answers) and the same amount of parents' answers. The teachers involved are 9-10. Where needed interviews will be conducted for approximately the one third of the participants, although this is highly dependent on the data collected through the personal statements and the possible need for further explanation that might arise from the respondents answers.

Students, their Parents and Teachers will be asked to answer a questionnaire that will provide data regarding their age, gender, school attending, number of family members and kind of family (extended or nuclear), language spoken at home etc. This survey style questionnaire will provide the researcher the data necessary to socially identify the group of respondents.

Following to that Questionnaire, another one covering issues related to teaching/learning of Greek language and their relation with their Greek heritage will be given so as to be answered at the respondents own pace. Should they agree, the respondents may provide their names and a contact number to the researcher so a follow-up interview will be arranged to cover any problematic areas.

Alternative the respondents may have the choice instead of writing the answers to discuss the whole questionnaire with the researcher in an interviewed mode of answering the questionnaire. The researcher is keen on having as broad group of respondents as possible, therefore it has been decided to follow respondents will.

For reliability and triangulation purposes the researcher will need to be given info (without violating any confidentiality policy) regarding the Greek origin students’ numbers in each class who attend Greek language and who don’t attend. (No names, just numbers).

8. Resources required/provided

The research will initially require the researcher to address students and teaching staff so as to explain what is asked. Following to that the questionnaires will be distributed with a returning stamped envelope. The potential respondents will be asked to return to the researcher via the University of Adelaide their answers and the signed Consent form. This method amongst others ensures anonymity, confidentiality and free-will answer. The researcher in case there will be students or teachers who will accept to be interviewed will arrange a time for group and/or individual interviews as needed. The parents will be addressed through their children and their potential interview will be arranged separately. A minimum time may be necessary for the language teachers to remind occasionally the students to complete the research. The researcher anticipates that the total time needed for the language teacher to help the researcher, apart from feeling the questionnaire and possibly be interviewed, will be less than an hour in total.
9. Method of ensuring confidentiality of information:

To ensure anonymity and confidentiality of information as well as avoiding any fear of disclosing information, the researcher will not be aware of the names of the students and their parents that respond the questionnaire, since no names are asked and the collection of the questionnaire will be completed by returning mail.

Where a personal contact potentially is employed, always after the participants’ informed consent, the researcher personally and the Code of Research Practice the University of Adelaide endorses, will ensure that no names will be used or no given information will be disclosed that possibly could identify the participant.

Further more all the personal statements and the interview transcripts will be held securely and accessed by the researcher's University supervisor and the researcher herself only during the research period.

10. Method for obtaining informed consent:

A Consent form and an Information Sheet according to DEC’s proforma has been created.

11. Safety considerations:

I am adhering to the requirements of the Education Department and the University of Adelaide through the research process and since there is no danger or unexpected unsafe situation involved I do not envisage and/or expect any safety concerns.

12. Expected outcomes and significance to the Department and the Community:

The findings of the research are expected to give an indication of where Greek language is placed in the consciousness of the Greek origin students and their family. It is expected to demonstrate the level of Greek language acquisition and/or maintenance in the Adelaide region. Hopefully that will lead to suggestions on how necessary changes can be made, if needed,

- to curriculum and instructional design,
- to Greek language teachers’ training,
- to the availability of the necessary resources,
- to the use of more contemporary techniques and means in teaching Greek mainly as second language,
- to policy changes and
- to the Greek-Australian community’s current core and shared values identification.

The researcher aims to contribute on the debate of the language education’s effectiveness in maintaining Cultural identity and developing Australia’s multiculturalism and multilingualism.

13. Planned products

The researcher expects to use the material for a dissertation and a portfolio required to be assessed for a Doctorate of Education degree at the University of Adelaide. Based on conclusions of the research, the principal investigator, Mrs. A. Holeva expects to publish few articles both in Australia and overseas, namely in Greece. Furthermore papers presented by the researcher during conferences related to Greek language teaching in Australia will use material and data selected during the specific research.

14. Any additional information

- The research is aiming to collect parallel data from the Governmental Schools offering Greek, from the non-governmental Greek Ethnic High Schools as well as independent High Schools as is the St. George College. A similar Research Project Description and impact Statement will be forwarded to the above-mentioned Schools.
- Please find attached the students’, teachers’ and parents’ questionnaires.
- During the interviews the same questions as above will be meticulously explained.
RESEARCH UNDERTAKING

Project Title:
Factors affecting teaching and learning Geek in the multicultural and multilingual Environment of Adelaide, SA.

I have read and understood the Department’s Research Ethics Statement of Principles and agree to obtain appropriate consent and maintain confidentiality of information in accordance with these principles. This includes not revealing any personal information that may identify a person without their consent.

At the completion of the research project I agree to ensure that all data records will be either destroyed or kept in a secure environment.

I agree to notify the Research Unit of any major changes to the project.

I undertake to provide feedback to the local site involved in the project, and to provide the Research Unit with a true copy of the research report as soon practicable after its publication.

I agree to give prior notification to the Public Affairs Unit of the Department of Education, Training & Employment of any planned media coverage of the project, so that the Department is able to respond appropriately.

I understand that any breach of this undertaking may result in my being denied further access to education and children’s services sites for research purposes.

I DO agree to have information on my research project circulated to interested people within the Department.

I DO agree to have a summary of my research project published in the DECS internal newspaper and/or included on the Department Web site.

Contact details to be published:
Alexandra Holeva
Phone /Fax: 08-82629130, E-mail: alpe@iprimus.com.au
Principal Researcher

Dated this 20th day of August 2002

Principal Researcher
Signature:
Name: Alexandra Holeva
Address: 1 Rushworth st., Blair Athol, 5084, SA
Phone: 08-82629130

Witness
Signature:
Name: Dr M. J. Secombe
Address: Adelaide University
Graduate school of Education
Phone: 08-83035630

Research Supervisor
Signature:
Name: Prof. J.J. Smolicz
Address: Adelaide University
Graduate school of Education
Phone: 08-83035631

Research Supervisor
Signature:
Name: Dr M. J. Secombe
Address: Adelaide University
Graduate school of Education
Phone: 08-83035630
APPENDIX B: Adelaide University Graduate Centre re Completion of Core Component- Approval of Proposed Research at State Schools

Ref: DM

13 December 2002

Ms Alexandra Holeva
1 Rushworth Street
BLAIR ATHOL SA 5084

Dear Ms Holeva

APPROVAL OF CORE COMPONENT OF THE STRUCTURED PROGRAM

I am pleased to advise that you have successfully completed the Core Component of the Structured Program as at 6 December 2002.

I encourage you to take the opportunity now to go through the Dr of Education Rules or General Academic Program Rules and Specific Academic Program Rules of your degree, as well as the Code of Practice, so that you are familiar with the program requirements and your obligations as an enrolled research student.

I also take this opportunity to remind you that:

- you are required to re-enrol each year and to participate in the Annual Review. Re-enrolment and Annual Review forms will be sent out in September each year for re-enrolment in the following year. However, your re-enrolment is subject to satisfactory progress and the payment of any fees due or outstanding. If you are enrolled in a remote candidature, you are required to participate in an additional Minor Review about six months after the Annual Review.
- the first twelve months of candidature is on a provisional basis; satisfactory completion of the Major Review of Progress at the end of this period will determine whether your candidature is confirmed, extended provisionally or terminated. In the case of extension of provisional candidature, a further review (normally) after three months will form the basis for confirmation, or termination or conversion to a Masters enrolment.
- if any change in the conditions of your candidature appears desirable, you must complete the appropriate application form. These are available from the Graduate Centre and downloadable from the web at: http://www.adelaide.edu.au/graduatecentre/poladmin.html

Please contact the Graduate Centre on 8303 5982 should you require any further information or assistance.

Please accept my best wishes for a successful completion of your study.

Yours sincerely

ANNE WITT
Manager, Graduate Administration and Scholarships

cc: Postgraduate Co-ordinator via the Head, Graduate School of Education
Ref: DW
Empl. ID#1086020

4 March 2003

Ms Alexandra Holeva
1 Rushworth Street
BLAIR ATHOL, SA 5084

Dear Ms Holeva

COMPLETION OF THE MAJOR REVIEW OF PROGRESS

I am pleased to advise that you have successfully completed your Major Review of Progress and are confirmed in candidature as at 21 February 2003.

I remind you that continuation of your candidature (and any scholarship payment) each year is dependent on satisfactory completion of the Annual Review of Progress and where applicable (remote students only), the Minor Review of Progress.

Should you wish to change your attendance status or any detail of your candidature, please complete the appropriate application form and return it to the Adelaide Graduate Centre. All forms are available for download from the web at: http://www.adelaide.edu.au/graduatecentre/poledmin.html or on request from the Graduate Centre.

Please contact the Graduate Centre on 08 8303 5582 should you require any further information or assistance.

With best wishes for the successful completion of your study,

ANNE WITT
Manager, Graduate Administration and Scholarships

cc: Postgraduate Co-ordinator via the Head, Graduate School of Education
APPENDIX C: Letter Sent to School Principals Requesting Entry to the School and Permission to Conduct the Research

UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Alexandra Holeva,
1 Rushworth Str., Blair Athol, 5084, SA
Phone/fax : 08- 82629130
Mobile: 0403517805
E-mail: alpe@iprimus.com.au
Or alexandra.holeva@adelaide.edu.au
Adelaide 15 / 8 /2003

REQUEST TO ENTER THE SITE FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES

To: Principal/Director/Site Manager

Dear Madam/Sir

Alexandra Holeva is a secondary school permanent educator with the Greek Ministry of Education, having worked in South Australia for the last five years attached to the Education Office of the Greek Consulate General of Adelaide and is currently undertaking a Doctorate of Education at the University of Adelaide and is conducting in South Australia a research focused on Factors affecting teaching and learning Greek as SL/MT during secondary education, in Adelaide, SA

The researcher has applied for and was granted approval for this Doctoral research project by the Adelaide University Ethics committee (see attached document).
Also she has applied and granted approval to conduct this research by the DECS research Unit.

In order to contact Greek origin Students and through them their parents, it is imperative for her to be allowed to enter your site and distribute questionnaires and contact your students.

The research project involves as Research targets,

- **Students** of Greek background/Ancestry, learning Greek at any High School (Public/Private/Independent/ethnic School), in the school years 8-12 included.

- Greek language **Teachers** of Greek Ancestry, teaching in any Public, Private, Ethnic High School, qualified as a teacher locally or overseas or accredited.

- **Parents** of Greek language students and/or of Greek ancestry students who don’t study Greek.
All documents that will be given to your students and personnel are attached hereafter for your information.

The researcher will distribute Information sheets to students and their parents as well as the Teachers of Greek in your site. Questionnaires constructed for each group will be also given at the same time to the students, and they will need to have their parental approval in a signed form of consent in order to participate.

At this point I need to make absolutely clear that the participants are free either not to participate or to withdraw from the project at any time. This research does not affect at all the participants and does not harm them at any way.

Should student, teachers or their parents decide to participate, it is imperative to sign the appropriate consent forms.

To ensure anonymity and confidentiality of information, as well as avoiding any fear of disclosing information, participants have to be aware of the fact that no names of the participants will be asked, unless they consent to reveal their name and contact details for follow up interviews.

A stamped returning envelope will be also given with the questionnaires so the responses can be sent to the researcher via the Graduate School of Education.

- Where a personal contact potentially is employed (e.g. during an interview), always after the participants' informed consent, the researcher personally and the Ethics of the University's Code of Research Practice, will ensure that no names will be used or no given information will be disclosed that possibly could identify the participant in any way.
- Furthermore all the personal statements and the interview transcripts will be held securely and accessed only by the researcher and her University supervisors during the research period.

Thank you for considering this request.

Alexandra Holeva

Master of Education (online)
Appendix D: Letters distributed to students, notifying the scope and the reason of the research, requesting parental approval and signed permission to participate in the research.

Students’ Information sheet

UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

INFORMATION SHEET

Dear Student,

Alexandra Holeva is a secondary school permanent educator with the Greek Ministry of Education, having worked in South Australia for the last five years attached to the Education Office of the Greek Consulate General of Adelaide and is currently undertaking a Doctorate of Education at the University of Adelaide and is conducting in South Australia a research regarding Factors affecting teaching and learning Greek as SL/MT during secondary education, in the multicultural and multilingual Environment of Adelaide, SA.

The research project involves as Research targets,

- **Students** of Greek background/Ancestry, learning Greek at any High School (Public/Private/Independent/ethnic School), in the school years 8-12 included.
- **Greek language Teachers** of Greek Ancestry.
- **Parents** of Greek ancestry students.

The data are expected to be representing the answers of the targeted groups of respondents to a QUESTIONNAIRE that will include

a. Questions that will help the researcher to get objective data concerning the respondents’ background, as it is usual to any survey (e.g. age, gender, year of birth, and questions regarding to your ancestors)

b. Open ended questions. I expect you to write down your personal believes in a form of a personal statement and/or memories that will provide me, the researcher with the needed cultural data.

Both questionnaires will be given at the same time and the participant is expected to fill them at own pace or at a standard time jointly decided.

At this point I need to make absolutely clear that the participants are free to withdraw from the project at anytime, without this creating any prejudice since this research does not affect at all the participants. Yet for the students to be able to participate, parental consent is necessary. So should you participate I need a consent form signed by your parent/caregiver. Also you have to be aware of the fact that the use of any language in the responds is considered acceptable, as long as you feel happy and able to express your opinion better in the language you choose for your answers.

Below I have answered some of the questions you may raise.

- To ensure anonymity and confidentiality of information, as well as avoiding any fear of disclosing information, you have to be aware of the
fact that I will not ask for the names of the participants in the questionnaires.
• You will receive a stamped returning envelope to send your answers to me through the Graduate School of Education.
• I personally and the Ethics of the University’s Code of Research Practice, will ensure that no given information will be disclosed that possibly could identify you as a participant in any way.

This research has been approved by the Department of Education, Training & Employment and follows the guidelines of the University of Adelaide Ethics Committee.

If you are prepared to take part, a Consent Form is attached for your parent/caregiver to sign and return it with your respond. Also there is a copy for you to keep for future reference.

Should you require additional information regarding this research, please contact Alexandra Holeva on:
Phone/fax : 08- 82629130 Mobile: 0403517805 E-mail: alpe@iprimus.com.au
Or write to
Alexandra Holeva,
1 Rushworth Str., Blair Athol, 5084, SA

Thank you for considering this request.

Alexandra Holeva
Master of online Education

Date: /2002
### STUDENTS QUESTIONNAIRE:

#### PART A

**CONCRETE DATA**

1. Date of birth: 
2. Place of birth: 
3. Gender: (please circle) 
   - Male 
   - Female 
4. Your mainstream school is: (please circle) 
   - Public 
   - Private 
5. What is the name of your day school: 
6. What Year / Level student are you? (please circle) 
   - 8 
   - 9 
   - 10 
   - 11 
   - 12 
7. What is the name of the Ethnic School you are attending Greek? 
8. What Year / Level student are you in the ethnic school? (please circle) 
   - 8 
   - 9 
   - 10 
   - 11 
   - 12 
9. How many years do you learn Greek? 
10. What was your grade last year in Greek? 
11. Do you study other languages? (Please circle) 
   - YES 
   - NO 
12. If yes which? 
13. How many brothers and sisters do you have? (Please circle) 
   - NONE 
   - 1 
   - 2 
   - 3 
   - 4 
   - 5 
14. Where they were born? (Please circle) 
   - AUSTRALIA 
   - GREECE 
   - BOTH 
15. In what language do you speak MAINLY with your brothers and sisters? (Please circle) 
   - ENGLISH 
   - GREEK
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Options</th>
<th>Reflections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16. My best friends are: (Please circle)</td>
<td>Greek Anglo-Saxon Other ethnicity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. In what language do you speak MAINLY with your friends of Greek origin? (Please circle)?</td>
<td>ENGLISH GREEK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Is your father of Greek origin? (Please circle)</td>
<td>YES NO</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Is your mother of Greek origin? (Please circle)</td>
<td>YES NO</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Where was your father born? (Please circle)</td>
<td>AUSTRALIA GREECE ELSEWHERE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Where was your mother born? (Please circle)</td>
<td>AUSTRALIA GREECE ELSEWHERE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. When did your father arrive in Australia, if born overseas? (Please circle)</td>
<td>50's 60's 70's 80's 90's</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. When did your mother arrive in Australia if born overseas? (Please circle)</td>
<td>50's 60's 70's 80's 90's</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. What is your father’s ethnicity (Please circle)</td>
<td>AUSTRALIAN GREEK OTHER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. What is your mother’s ethnicity? (Please circle)</td>
<td>AUSTRALIAN GREEK OTHER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. In what language do you speak MAINLY with your father? (Please circle)</td>
<td>ENGLISH GREEK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. In what language do you speak MAINLY with your mother? (Please circle)</td>
<td>ENGLISH GREEK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Where was your maternal grandfather born? (Please circle)</td>
<td>AUSTRALIA GREECE ELSEWHERE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Where was your maternal grandmother born? (Please circle)</td>
<td>AUSTRALIA GREECE ELSEWHERE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Do you see him often? (Please circle)</td>
<td>YES NO</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Do you see her often? (Please circle)</td>
<td>YES NO</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Options</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. In what language do you speak MAINLY with your maternal grandfather? (Please circle)</td>
<td>ENGLISH</td>
<td>GREEK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. In what language do you speak MAINLY with your maternal grandmother? (Please circle)</td>
<td>ENGLISH</td>
<td>GREEK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Is your paternal grandfather alive? (Please circle)</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Is your paternal grandmother alive? (Please circle)</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Where was your paternal grandfather born? (Please circle)</td>
<td>AUSTRALIA</td>
<td>GREECE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Where was your paternal grandmother born? (Please circle)</td>
<td>AUSTRALIA</td>
<td>GREECE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Do you see him often? (Please circle)</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Do you see her often? (Please circle)</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. How many bedrooms do you have at home? (Please circle)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Do you have your own room? (Please circle)</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. How do you get to school every day? (Please tick)</td>
<td>Is your mother driving you to school every day? Is your father driving you to school everyday? Whoever is available is driving you to school?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. How can you describe your father’s education? (Please circle)</td>
<td>a. He has finished primary school</td>
<td>b. He has finished secondary school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. How can you describe your mother’s education? (Please circle)</td>
<td>a) She has finished primary school</td>
<td>b) She has finished secondary school.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### PART B
**OREN-ENDED QUESTIONS**

1. Which of the following describes yourself better: Australian? Greek? Australian-Greek, Greek-Australian? Try to explain to me whether you feel more Australian, more Greek, or both and how you explain this feeling.

2. Do you believe that learning Greek is helping or going to help you in your professional and social life? How do you anticipate that Greek will benefit you in your career and/or your social life?

3. Greeks often claim that Greek language and culture are interrelated and interconnected. What is your opinion about it? How do you expect that learning Greek will help you to maintain the Greek culture and characteristics? In your response describe your personal ideas about Greek language and culture. How do you relate yourself to them?
4. What is the language you use mainly and what is the ratio of Greek language you use in your everyday life compared with English? In your answer include the following: Do you speak Greek with your parents at home? In what language do you speak with your grandparents and your other relatives (uncles/aunties, cousins)? In what language do you speak with your brothers and sisters and with your friends of Greek origin? Try to remember in what language you speak in your dreams. Do you believe that children of Greek Ancestry must and/or need to learn Greek?

5. Which factors are affecting the choice of the day school you are attending? If you were allowed to choose your day public school, would you choose to attend a School that offers Greek? In case you are enrolled in a private school, was the school your choice because of the Greek language offered (if any) or because of the school’s status and reputation?

6. Have you ever considered why you learn Greek. Do you learn Greek because you have chosen to or because your parents enforce it on you? In the second case how do you explain why your parents might press you to learn Greek?
7. Did you find it easy or hard in your social/school life being a Greek or of Greek Ancestry child? How do you feel about it?

8. When was the last time you’ve been in Greece? Do you expect to visit Greece soon? Do you dream of visiting Greece? Have you heard good things about Greece or bad? How do you feel about it?

9. Do you feel efficient in Greek? For example, can you read, write and understand Greek? Do you confront any problems when learning Greek? If so, what is your problem with the Greek language and how do you expect to solve this problem? In your answer you may include issues like the following: Are you happy with the teaching/learning procedure as far as the Greek language is concerned within your school? What changes would you suggest in teaching/learning Greek?
APPENDIX F: Letters distributed to parents via students, notifying the scope and the reason of the research, requesting participation in the research

UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

INFORMATION SHEET

Dear parent

Alexandra Holeva is a secondary school permanent educator with the Greek Ministry of Education, having worked in South Australia for the last five years attached to the Education Office of the Greek Consulate General of Adelaide and is currently undertaking a Doctorate of Education at the University of Adelaide and is conducting in South Australia a research regarding Factors affecting teaching and learning Greek as SL/MT during secondary education, in the multicultural and multilingual Environment of Adelaide, SA.

The research project involves as Research targets,
- **Students** of Greek background/Ancestry, learning Greek at any High School (Public/Private/Independent/ethnic School), in the school years 8-12 included.
- Greek language **Teachers** of Greek Ancestry, teaching in any Public, Private, Ethnic High School, qualified as a teacher locally or overseas or accredited.
- **Parents** of Greek language students and/or of Greek ancestry students who don’t study Greek.

The data are expected to be representing the answers of the targeted groups of respondents to a:

2. DESCRIPTIVE QUESTIONNAIRE that will include
   a. **CONCRETE DATA.** That is objective data concerning the respondents’ background through questions usual to any statistical analysis, as age, gender, year of birth, etc.
   b. **OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS.** The answers of the group of the respondents are expected to have the form of personal statements and/or memories that will provide the researcher with the needed cultural data. Both questionnaires will be given at the same time and the participant is expected to fill them at own pace or at a standard time jointly decided.

3. **INTERVIEWS.** For validation and clarification purposes if there is an ambiguous or not completely clear personal statement, provided the participant agrees and consents, it might be necessary to arrange individual or/and group interviews as needed.

At this point I need to make absolutely clear that the participants are free to withdraw from the project at anytime, without this creating any prejudice since this research does not affect at all the participants. So should you participate, I need your signed consent forms. Be aware also of the fact that the use of any language in the responds is considered acceptable, to the extent the respondent feels happier to use it in order to better self-express.
Below I have answered some of the questions you may raise.

- To ensure anonymity and confidentiality of information, as well as avoiding any fear of disclosing information, you have to be aware of the fact that I will not ask for the names of the participants in the questionnaires.
- You will receive a stamped returning envelope to send your answers to me through the Graduate School of Education.
- Where a personal contact potentially is employed (e.g. during an interview), always after the participants' informed consent, I personally and the Ethics of the University’s Code of Research Practice, will ensure that no names will be used or no given information will be disclosed that possibly could identify you as a participant in any way.
- Furthermore all the personal statements and the interview transcripts will be held securely and accessed only by my University supervisor and me during the research period.

This research has been approved by the Department of Education, Training & Employment and follows the guidelines of the University of Adelaide Ethics Committee.

If you are prepared to take part, a Consent Form is attached for you to sign and return it with your respond. Also there is a copy for you to keep for future reference.

Should you require additional information regarding this research, please contact Alexandra Holeva on:
Phone/fax : 08- 82629130  Mobile: 0403517805  E-mail: alpe@iprimus.com.au
Or write to
Alexandra Holeva,
1 Rushworth Str., Blair Athol, 5084, SA

Thank you for considering this request.

Alexandra Holeva  Date: /2002
Master of Education (online)
### PARENTS’ QUESTIONNAIRE

#### PART A

**CONCRETE DATA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Options</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14. Date of birth:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Place of birth:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Gender: (please circle)</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. The school your child is attending Greek: (please circle as</td>
<td>Public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appropriate-more than one)</td>
<td>Private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ethnic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mainstream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Day school your child is learning Greek:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Year /Level your child is:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Ethnic School your child is learning Greek: (if applicable)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Year/ level your child is in Ethnic School:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. How many years do your child is learning Greek?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Does your child study any other language? (Please circle)</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. If yes, which?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. How many brothers and sisters do you have? (Please circle)</td>
<td>NONE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Where were they born? (Please circle)</td>
<td>AUSTRALIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GREECE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BOTH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. In what language do you speak MAINLY with your brothers and sisters?</td>
<td>ENGLISH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Please circle)</td>
<td>GREEK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. How many children do you have? (Please circle)</td>
<td>NONE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. What is your spouse’s ethnicity? (circle)</td>
<td>AUSTRALIAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GREEK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OTHER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. In what language do you speak MAINLY with your children and spouse?</td>
<td>ENGLISH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Please circle)</td>
<td>GREEK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
18. My best friends are: (Please circle)
- Greek
- Anglo-Saxon
- Other ethnicity

19. In what language do you speak MAINLY with your friends of Greek origin? (Please circle)
- English
- Greek

20. Is your father of Greek origin? (Please circle)
- Yes
- No

21. Is your mother Greek? (Please circle)
- Yes
- No

22. Where was your father born? (Please circle)
- Australia
- Greece
- Elsewhere

23. Where was your mother born? (Please circle)
- Australia
- Greece
- Elsewhere

24. When did your father arrive in Australia, if born overseas? (Please circle)
- 40's
- 50's
- 60's
- 70's
- 80's
- 90's

25. When did your mother arrive in Australia if born overseas? (Please circle)
- 40's
- 50's
- 60's
- 70's
- 80's
- 90's

26. What is your father’s ethnicity? (Please circle)
- Australian
- Greek
- Other

27. What is your mother’s ethnicity? (Please circle)
- Australian
- Greek
- Other

28. In what language do you speak MAINLY with your father? (Please circle)
- English
- Greek

29. In what language do you speak MAINLY with your mother? (Please circle)
- English
- Greek

30. Do you see him often? (Please circle)
- Yes
- No

31. Do you see her often? (Please circle)
- Yes
- No

32. How can you describe your education? (Please circle)
- h. Finished primary school
- i. Finished secondary school
- j. Finished college
- k. Finished TAFE
- l. Completed studies related to a trade
- m. Finished University
- n. Have a Master Degree
- h. Have a Doctorate Degree

33. How can you describe your occupation? (Please circle)
- a. Trade person
- b. Self-employed
- c. Employee
- d. Government Employee
- e. Working part-time
- f. Working full time
- g. Looking for a job
- h. Studying to find a job
- i. Working and studying
34. How many bedrooms do you have at home? (Please circle)
   1......2......3......4......5.....

35. Who is driving children to school every day? (Please circle)
   YOU       YOUR SPOUSE       BOTH

If you are willing to be one of the persons that might be interviewed for validation purposes please write your name and a contact number.

NAME:

CONTACT NUMBER:

SIGNATURE:

PART B
OPEN ENDED QUESTIONS

1. Which of the following describes yourself better: Australian? Greek? Australian-Greek, Greek-Australian? Try to explain to me whether you feel more Australian, more Greek, or both and how you explain this feeling.

2. Do you believe that the children of Greek Ancestry must or need to learn Greek and that this will benefit them? How do you explain this?

3. What do you believe about your child's/children's future career? Is tertiary education a must and why? In your response include issues as: Do you believe that your child's/children's career will be benefited or disadvantaged by their involvement with the Greek language and culture to the extent they are living in Australia?

4. Greeks often claim that Greek language and culture are interrelated and interconnected. In your response please include your opinion about it. How do you expect that learning Greek will help your child to maintain the Greek culture and characteristics? In your response describe your personal ideas about Greek language and culture. How do you relate yourself to them?
5. What is the language you use mainly at home and what is the ratio of Greek language you use in your everyday life compared with English. In your answer include the following: Do you speak Greek with your parents at home? In what language do you speak with your children, your spouse, your brothers and sisters, with your friends and your other relatives (uncles/unties, cousins)? In what language do you dream?

6. What would be the ratio of Greek, Anglo-Saxon and/or people of other ethnicity that belong to your social / family circle? How do you explain this and how do you feel about this?

7. Discuss the issue of choosing your child’s school. In your response please include issues like the following: Which factors are affecting the choice of the day school? Would you choose to send your child to a School that offers Greek as SL, MT and/or LOTE? In case your child is enrolled in a private school, have you chosen the school because of the Greek language offered or because of the school’s status and reputation?

8. Describe your opinion for the ethnic schools that offer Greek. Here some guidelines for your response: Is your child attending Greek language classes in an ethnic school? If Yes why? If No, why? Do you believe that ethnic schools’ Greek classes promote the learning of the Greek language and the culture? If Yes why? If No, why? Are you happy with the teaching/learning procedure as far as the Greek language is concerned within your child school? If Yes why? If No, why? What changes would you suggest?

9. Did you find it easy or hard in your social/professional life being a Greek or of Greek Ancestry person? How do you feel about it?
APPENDIX H: Letters distributed to Teachers, notifying the scope and the reason of the research, requesting participation in the research and support when research visits school.

UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

INFORMATION SHEET

Dear teacher,

Alexandra Holeva is a secondary school permanent educator with the Greek Ministry of Education, having worked in South Australia for the last five years attached to the Education Office of the Greek Consulate General of Adelaide and is currently undertaking a Doctorate of Education at the University of Adelaide and is conducting in South Australia a research regarding Factors affecting teaching and learning Greek as SL/MT during secondary education, in the multicultural and multilingual Environment of Adelaide, SA.

The research project involves as Research targets,

- **Students** of Greek background/Ancestry, learning Greek at any High School (Public/Private/Independent/ethnic School), in the school years 8-12 included.
- **Greek language Teachers** of Greek Ancestry, teaching in any Public, Private, Ethnic High School, qualified as a teacher locally or overseas or accredited.
- **Parents** of Greek language students and/or of Greek ancestry students who don’t study Greek.

The data are expected to be representing the answers of the targeted groups of respondents to a:

4. **DESCRIPTIVE QUESTIONNAIRE** that will include
   a. **CONCRETE DATA**. That is objective data concerning the respondents’ background through questions usual to any statistical analysis, as age, gender, year of birth, etc.
   b. **OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS**. The answers of the group of the respondents are expected to have the form of personal statements and/or memories that will provide the researcher with the needed cultural data. Both questionnaires will be given at the same time and the participant is expected to fill them at own pace or at a standard time jointly decided.

5. **INTERVIEWS**. For validation and clarification purposes if there is an ambiguous or not completely clear personal statement, provided the participant agrees and consents, it might be necessary to arrange individual or/and group interviews as needed.
At this point I need to make absolutely clear that the participants are free to withdraw from the project at any time, without this creating any prejudice since this research does not affect at all the participants. So should you participate, I need your consent form signed. The use of any language in the responds is considered acceptable, to the extent the respondent feels happier to use it in order to better self-express.

Below I have answered some of the questions you may raise.

- To ensure anonymity and confidentiality of information, as well as avoiding any fear of disclosing information, you have to be aware of the fact that I am bounded by the research Ethics University of Adelaide has established.
- You will receive a stamped returning envelope to send your answers to me through the Graduate School of Education.
- Where a personal contact potentially is employed (e.g. during an interview), always after the participants' informed consent, I personally and the Ethics of the University's Code of Research Practice, will ensure that no names will be used or no given information will be disclosed that possibly could identify you as a participant in any way.
- Furthermore all the personal statements and the interview transcripts will be held securely and accessed only by my University supervisor and me during the research period.

This research has been approved by the Department of Education, Training & Employment and follows the guidelines of the University of Adelaide Ethics Committee.

If you are prepared to take part, a Consent Form is attached for you to sign and return it with your respond. Also there is a copy for you to keep for future reference.

Should you require additional information regarding this research, please contact Alexandra Holeva on:
Phone/fax : 08- 82629130   Mobile: 0403517805   E-mail: alpe@iprimus.com.au
Or write to
Alexandra Holeva,
1 Rushworth Str., Blair Athol, 5084, SA

Thank you for considering this request.

Alexandra Holeva
Master of Education (online)
# APPENDIX I: Questionnaires distributed to Teachers of Greek.

## TEACHERS’ QUESTIONNAIRE:

### PART A

**CONCRETE DATA**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1.</strong> Date of birth:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2.</strong> Place of birth:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3.</strong> Gender: (please circle)</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4.</strong> The school you are teaching is: (please circle as appropriate-more than one)</td>
<td>Public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ethnic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5.</strong> Which is the day school you are teaching Greek? (optional)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>6.</strong> Which Year/Level are you teaching?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>7.</strong> Which is the Ethnic School you are teaching Greek? (if applicable)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>8.</strong> Which Year/level are you teaching in the Ethnic School?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>9.</strong> How many years do you teach Greek?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>10.</strong> What other subjects do you teach? (If applicable)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>11.</strong> How many brothers and sisters do you have? (Please circle)</td>
<td>NONE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>12.</strong> Where were they born? (Please circle)</td>
<td>AUSTRALIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>13.</strong> In what language do you speak MAINLY with your brothers and sisters? (Please circle)</td>
<td>ENGLISH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>14.</strong> In what language do you speak MAINLY with your children and spouse? (Please circle)</td>
<td>ENGLISH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>15.</strong> My best friends are: (Please circle)</td>
<td>Greek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>16.</strong> In what language do you speak MAINLY with your friends of Greek origin? (Please circle)</td>
<td>ENGLISH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Options</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Is your father of Greek origin? (Please circle)</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Is your mother of Greek origin? (Please circle)</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Where was your father born? (Please circle)</td>
<td>AUSTRALIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Where was you mother born? (circle)</td>
<td>GREECE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. When did your father arrive in Australia, if born overseas? (Please circle)</td>
<td>40's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. When did your mother arrive in Australia if born overseas? (Please circle)</td>
<td>50's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. What is your father’s ethnicity (Please circle)</td>
<td>AUSTRALIAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. What is your mother’s ethnicity? (Please circle)</td>
<td>GREEK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. In what language do you speak MAINLY with your father? (Please circle)</td>
<td>ENGLISH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. In what language do you speak MAINLY with your mother? (Please circle)</td>
<td>GREEK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Do you see him often? (Please circle)</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Do you see her often? (Please circle)</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. How can you describe your education? If not a qualified teacher. (Please circle)</td>
<td>o. finished primary school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p. finished secondary school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>q. finished college.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. finished TAFE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s. completed studies related to a trade.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t. finished University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>u. Have a Master Degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>h. Have a Doctorate Degree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. ETHNIC SCHOOL TEACHERS ONLY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How can you describe your occupation IF TEACHING GREEK IS PART TIME JOB AND/OR HOBBY: (Please circle)</td>
<td>a. Trade person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Self –employed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Employee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d. Government Employee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e. Working part –time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f. Working full time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>g. Looking for a job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>h. Studying to find a job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i. Working and studying</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If you are willing to be one of the persons that might be interviewed for validation purposes please write your name and a contact number.

NAME: 

CONTACT NUMBER: 

SIGNATURE: 

361
1. Which of the following describes yourself better: Australian? Greek? Australian-Greek, Greek-Australian? Try to explain to me whether you feel more Australian, more Greek, or both and how you explain this feeling.

2. How would you describe the current process of teaching/learning Greek language in the South Australian School? In your response you can include issues like the position of the Greek language in the school today, the problems you as a Greek language teacher confront (if any)?

3. What difficulties do you feel you confront during the teaching/learning process (if any)? I would appreciate if you could include in your response issues like the following: differences between the current students' attitude towards the Greek language and the students' attitude of the past, how would you explain these differences? You could also include feelings like: Are you happy with the teaching/learning procedure as far as the Greek language is concerned within your school? What changes would you suggest (if any)?
4. What are the problems you as a teacher believe that students have when they learn Greek language- to the best of your knowledge. Some guidelines for your response could be: How would you describe the position students of Greek ancestry have towards learning Greek? How would you describe the parents' position and attitude towards their children learning Greek? Do you find parents to be helpful and supportive in your efforts to teach Greek? Would you support the argument that students don't undertake Greek language lessons at school?

5. Discuss the attitude students and parents have towards the Greek

6. Do you believe that the children of Greek Ancestry must or need to learn Greek and that this will benefit them? How do you explain this?

7. Is tertiary education a must and why? In your response include issues as: Do you believe that your own child’s/children’s career will be benefited or disadvantaged by their involvement with the Greek language and culture to the extent they are living in Australia? What is your view regarding your children learning Greek? Does your child attend Greek language lessons? Where and for how long?
8. What do you believe about your own child’s/children’s future career?

9. Greeks often claim that Greek language and culture are interrelated and interconnected. In your response please include your opinion about it. How do you expect that learning Greek will help your students to maintain the Greek culture and characteristics? In your response describe your personal ideas about Greek language and culture. How do you relate yourself to them?

10. What is the language you use mainly and what is the ratio of Greek language you use in your everyday life compared with English. In your answer include the following: Do you speak Greek with your parents at home? In what language do you speak with your children and your other relatives (uncles/aunties, cousins)? In what language do you speak with your brothers and sisters and with your friends? In what language do you dream?

11. Did you find it easy or hard in your social/professional life being Greek or of Greek Ancestry person? How do you feel about it?

Please say yes or no if you want me to contact you for further clarifications
UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

CONSENT FORM

I, ______________________________________________________________________________________
(name)
Teacher, parent, parent/care giver of a student (please circle as appropriate) hereby consent to my and/or my child’s involvement in the research project entitled: Factors affecting teaching and learning Geek as SL/MT during secondary education, in the multicultural and multilingual Environment of Adelaide, SA.

I have read and understood the Information Sheet on the above project and understand that me and/or my child is being asked to answer questions to a descriptive questionnaire and a statistical survey questionnaire. Also in case me and/or my child agree it may be interviewed individually or in-group.

I understand that me and/or my child may not directly benefit by taking part in this research.

I understand that while information gained in the study may be published, me and/or my child will not be identified and all individual information will remain confidential.

I understand that I can withdraw myself and/or my child from the study at any stage up until the end of the collection of data.

I understand that there will be no payment for me and/or my child taking part in this study.

I am aware that I should retain a copy of the Information Sheet and Consent Form for future reference.

I consent to me and/or my child being involved in this project.

Signed ______________________________ Date ___/___/____

Relationship to child: ______________________________________________________________________
(Where applies)
(In case of consent to be interviewed)

Name: ____________________________________________________________________________________

Contact number: __________________________________________________________________________
APPENDIX K: Approval of Research Proposal by DECS-Research Unit

DECS 0017/02.g

Thursday, 12 September 2002

Ms Alexandra Holeva
1 Rushworth Street
Blair Athol SA 5084

Dear Ms Holeva,

Thank you for your letter requesting approval for your project 'Factors affecting the teaching and learning of Greek in the multicultural and multilingual environment of Adelaide, SA.' Following consideration by a senior DECS consultant, I am pleased to approve your application.

Your project has been reviewed with respect to protection from harm, informed consent, confidentiality and suitability of arrangements and has been found to fit within DECS guidelines.

Please note that it will still be necessary to obtain the agreement of the principals of schools involved. Enclosed is a letter that should be shown to them.

Please supply the department with a copy of the final report, which will be circulated to interested staff and then made available to DECS educators for future reference.

I wish you well with your project.

Barry Dolman
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, STRATEGIC PLANNING AND INFORMATION
APPENDIX L: Letter to Principals by DECS-Research Unit- re Approved Research

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
AND CHILDREN’S SERVICES

Strategic Planning and Information
Research Unit

10th floor, Education Centre
S1 Riveter Street
Adelaide 5003
South Australia
GPO Box 1153
Adelaide 5001

Tel: 8226 2472
Fax: 8226 3448
Sharrock.Kylie@saegov.sa.gov.au

DECS 0017/02.g
Thursday, 12 September 2002

Dear Principal/Director/Site Manager,

The research project entitled ‘Factors affecting the teaching and learning of Greek in the multicultural and multilingual environment of Adelaide, SA’ being conducted by Ms Alexandra Holve from Adelaide University has been reviewed centrally and approval granted for access to DECS sites. However, the researcher will still need to obtain your agreement to proceed with this research at your particular site. Consequently, your approval for access to your site is sought.

Once approval has been given at the local level, it is important to ensure that the researchers fulfil their responsibilities in obtaining informed consent as agreed, individuals’ confidentiality is preserved, and safety precautions are in place.

Researchers are encouraged to provide feedback to sites they use in their research, and you may want to make this one of the conditions for accessing your site. To ensure maximum benefits to DECS, researchers are also asked to supply the department with a copy of their final report, which will be circulated to interested staff and then made available to DECS educators for future reference.

If you have any queries regarding research issues, please feel free to contact Kylie Sharrock, Knowledge/Research Officer on telephone (08) 8226 2472 for further information.

Barry Dolman
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, STRATEGIC PLANNING AND INFORMATION
October 16, 2002

Alexandra Holeva
1 Rushworth St
Blair Athol, SA, 5084

Dear Alexandra

I write in response to your letter dated 20/09/2002. Thank you for selecting Unley High School for your research proposal. You are quite correct when you recognise the strong Greek community element within our school and its suitability for the research you are suggesting.

There are however some problems in doing your research with all year levels, particularly those in the senior years. I consider it unwise to make our senior classes available at this time of the year; the year 12 students are very close to their SSABSA exams, the year 11s are working on the final parts of their SSABSA STAGE I work and the year 10s are having soon their Work Experience and Australian Business Week in addition to the pressure and extra work needed for their Year 10 project.

The two Unley High School Greek teachers, Joanne Costa and Andreas Botsaris, have discussed your proposal and sought my approval, to allow you to do your research in Andreas’ year 8 class. It is understood, of course, that the research will be on a voluntary basis and it will be up to the individual students and parents to respond or not.

If you wish to pursue this option of access to a year 8 class of Greek students and their parents for your research proposal I invite you to contact Andreas Botsaris at our school and, at your convenience, to follow the matter through.

I hope this is a satisfactory outcome for you.

Yours sincerely

Terry Woolley
Principal
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