

RAXEN Special Study: Roma, Sindi, Gypsies and Travellers in public education in Cyprus

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Report for the Cyprus National Focal Point for the EUMC¹

¹ This report was written on behalf of the Cyprus Labour Institute as a special study for the EUMC.

Executive summary

At its outset, this Report explores the general context of the Roma in Cyprus and their identity as Cypriot citizens, their legal classification, cultural identity and population concentration. It then examines the legal framework within which the Roma of Cyprus are educated by describing the provisions regarding access to education, as well as recent legislation transposing the anti-discrimination acquis. According to the Constitution of the Cyprus Republic, the vast majority of Roma are classified as belonging to the 'Turkish community' without a minority rights status and as such their access to education in a divided education system between the two communities, the Greek and Turkish, must be seen in this light. Since the war and the de facto division of the island in 1974, most Roma moved along with most Turkish-Cypriots to the northern part of the island. Over the last four years however, a number of Roma have crossed over and reside in the Republic-controlled south; there is regular migration between the two sectors. The recent settlement in the towns of Limassol and Paphos, the divided and ethnocentric education and the continued division of Cyprus has an impact on the education provisions of Turkish-speaking Roma in the Greek-Cypriot education system.

Furthermore, the Report examines the poor living conditions of the Roma and their negative impact on the education of their children. An analysis of the available data on enrolment, attendance, attainment and dropout rates of the Roma pupils is indicative of the seriousness of the situation in these fields, as a result of which most Roma children end up almost illiterate. The inadequacy of the school curricula, the absence of any teachers' training, the language barriers and the overall failure of the system to recognise Roma culture and contribution to society, are all factors which predetermine the poor performance of the Roma in education.

On the issue of segregation, the Report draws on research indicating the practice of Greek-Cypriot parents to transfer their children to schools not attended by Roma (or other minority) pupils, against and despite the policy of the Ministry of Education *against* segregation. Although the official policy is *non-segregation*, there is a trend towards segregation in schools with high concentration of migrants, minorities and Greek-Cypriots from poorer backgrounds. Furthermore, seemingly positive local measures intended to desegregate Roma by dividing classes where there are 'too many' Roma, coupled with the measure of additional language classes at the time when other pupils attend History and Religious Studies, result in further marginalising the Roma pupils from the rest of the class.

The Report locates evidence of racial prejudice towards the Roma that affects education and school participation. The attitudes of the Roma towards educational provisions are negative, often viewing education as an unnecessary burden that offers them very little. From the brief examination of the educational situation of Roma children in the northern part of the island, it appears that there are similar patterns of discrimination and exclusion.

The Report finds that the policy-makers' perceptions of Roma children in terms of language ability, are similar to their perceptions of other migrants' children. The fact that the Roma are Cypriot citizens entitled to be educated in Turkish, an official Cyprus language, is afforded marginal attention. The failure of strategies in addressing educational underachievement and exclusion is located in, firstly, a linguistic exclusion, secondly the lack of focus on Roma identity and culture, as a special target group and, thirdly, the general absence of a comprehensive intercultural education.

Although education in Cyprus is compulsory up to the third grade of secondary school there is little impact of this on Roma non-participation in education. The measures adopted by the Ministry of Education depend upon the number of Roma attending each school. Schools of low Roma attendance adopt few measures such as extra language classes, free meals and

uniforms. Only one primary school with a high Roma attendance has received additional support measures beyond the above, such as the appointment of a Turkologist and other short-term relief measures. The additional language classes have had little effect in alleviating language problems. The other lessons are not conducted in the mother-tongue of the Roma children, which is Turkish.

The strategies adopted are new and ad hoc and do not form part of a general policy. Apart from the occasional inspection, there is no procedure for evaluation of the measures adopted. Roma pupils are seen as Turkish-speaking citizens, i.e. part of the Turkish-Cypriot community, and policy is thus set against the backdrop of the unresolved Cyprus problem with attention on avoiding possible tensions.

Even though officially strategies are said to be in line with anti-discrimination legislation, on close examination, there is very little, if any, link to European-level anti-discrimination policies and recommendations about the Roma children. No attention is placed on the Roma special characteristics, identity and culture in the school curricula, which makes the content of education alien and distant to them.

There are few or no examples of “good practice” initiatives specifically targeting the Roma population by actors other than the public education authorities, but brief references are made to a handful of positive private initiatives on inter-cultural education in general. The Report considers that the inter-cultural educational model proposed by the comprehensive educational reform proposal currently on the table as a historical development that will alleviate many of the educational problems faced by the Roma today in the spirit of anti-discriminatory education.

1. Data and Information

1.1 Introduction

There is no official information on the precise number of Roma or Kurbet² in Cyprus. According to the 1960 Constitution, the vast majority of the Romas in Cyprus is deemed to be part of the ‘Turkish community’³. The Roma in Cyprus not afforded ‘minority rights or any other form of ‘minority status’ as granted by the Constitution to the three recognised ‘religious groups’⁴. Following the geographical separation brought about by the de facto partition, most Romas in Cyprus moved to the north, together with the rest of the Turkish-Cypriots population. Since the lift of the ban on freedom of movement between the occupied

² The terms “Roma” and “Kurbet” refer to the same group and are used interchangeably. For the purposes of this Report, the term “Roma” is used.

³ Only the ‘Greek community’ (i.e. the Greek-Cypriots) and the ‘Turkish community’ (i.e. the Turkish-Cypriots) are recognised by the constitution as ‘communities’, endowed with specific power-sharing rights; three other ethnic groups (Armenians, Latins, Maronites) are treated by the constitution as religious groups, who only have certain minority rights.

⁴In 1960 Turkish-Cypriots constituted eighteen per cent of the population, whilst the smaller ‘religious groups’, as referred to in the Constitution, consisting of Armenians, Latins, Maronites and ‘others’, constituted 3,2% of the population. A ‘religious group’ refers to ‘a group of persons ordinarily resident in Cyprus professing the same religion and either belonging to the same rite or being subject to the same jurisdiction thereof, the number of whom, on the date of the coming into operation of this Constitution, exceeded one thousand out of which at least five hundred become on such date citizens of the Republic’. The Constitution recognises three ‘religious groups’ (Maronites, Armenians and Latins), which were obliged to opt to belong to either of the two ‘communities’ in order to exercise their civil duties and enjoy their political rights and thus opted to belong to the ‘Greek community’. The Roma were not considered at all; the uncertainty about their numbers, their life-style and the fact that most were Turkish-speaking (and Muslim), and only a few were Greek-speaking (and Christian) who were gradually ‘assimilated’, presumably made matters complicated in granting a ‘religious group’ status. They were certainly never politically organised and, on the whole, have always belonged to the poorer sections of the population, never wielding economic power.

north and the Greek-Cypriot controlled Cyprus Republic in the south, there has been a massive fluctuation of the numbers of residents Turkish-Cypriots and Roma residing in the two areas, which results in even more uncertainty as to the exact figures. In any case there are no separate figures from the general category of Turkish-Cypriots. Few hundred Turkish-Cypriots and Roma remained in the south after 1974.⁵

Officially, neither the Cyprus Republic controlled south, nor the unrecognised Turkish Republic Northern Cyprus (“TRNC”, in the occupied northern part of Cyprus), recognise the Roma as a separate ethnic minority group; they are considered to be Turkish-Cypriots. Their total number in north and south is disputed and the estimations vary from 500 and 1,000, the majority nomadised⁶, to 700⁷ up to between 2000- 2500.⁸ In the south the figure is estimated to be about 550 or 570 Roma⁹.

The majority of Romas in Cyprus are Turkish-speaking and have been classified as belonging to the Turkish-Cypriot community. Most were Muslims who were thought to have more affinity with the Turkish-Cypriot people, hence the generally accepted rationale for their ‘moving’ to the northern area following the Turkish invasion in 1974. However scholars suggest that their affinity is more closely tied to the Turkish language than it is to a religious persuasion¹⁰. However, there is a section of Romas who were Christians and Greek speaking, known as *Mantides*¹¹, who were classified as part of the Greek-Cypriot community in 1960. They abandoned the nomadic lifestyle and inhabited the inner city of Larnaca, in what was for decades more or less a ghetto, known as *ta Mantika* or *Mantomahallas*; they carried on their traditional crafts and arts of the Gypsies¹². Today they are largely assimilated and their descendants can be recognised, if at all, primarily by their surnames (and their dark complexion).¹³

The Romas in Cyprus have to a large extent been ignored, avoided and marginalised in society, never recognised as a national minority, religious group or anything that refers to their identity and culture¹⁴. There are regular reports in the press as well as complaints filed with the Commissioner of Administration from residents in same or neighbouring areas where

⁵ Kyle, K. (1997) ‘*Cyprus: In Search for Peace*’, *Minority Rights Group International Report*, Minority Rights Group, UK.

⁶ Kenrick, D. and Taylor, G. (1986) “*Gypsies in Cyprus*”, *Roma*, January (1986), 24: 36-38, available at <http://www.domresearchcenter.com/reprints/body4.html>

⁷ Newspaper Reports quote CIA figures that in 2001 some 700 gypsies and Turkish-Cypriots crossed over to the Republic controlled south, most of whom reside in the old Turkish quarter of Limassol, but the of crossing over has been reduced since then (see Hadjicostis, M. (2002) “Gypsies in Limassol ‘explosive’ situation”, in: *The Cyprus Weekly*, (14-20.6.2002).

⁸Williams, A. (2000) “The Gypsies of Cyprus, a DRC update”, *KURI*, Vol 1 No 2 Spring/Summer 2000, available at <http://www.domresearchcenter.com/Kuri>

⁹ There was a reference to a study conducted during 2003 (Interview with of Social Security Bureau Officer Anthi Peri in the presence of Ms Lauri, deputy director of Social Security Bureau, Limassol 22.10.2004). The total figure for 2004 is similar, if we add the 302 estimated living in Paphos (Interview with of District Officer of Paphos, Mr Metaksas, Paphos 21.10.04) and the 350, who are estimated to reside in Limassol (Interview with the officer for Management of Turkish-Cypriot Properties, Ms Eleni Christodoulou, 19.09.2004).

¹⁰ Williams, A. (2000) “The Gypsies of Cyprus”, a DRC update, *KURI*, Vol 1 No 2 Spring/Summer 2000, available at <http://www.domresearchcenter.com/Kuri>

¹¹ See Kyrris, C. (1985) “*I Mantides tis Larnacas*” [The Mantides of Larnaca], Rousounides, A. (ed.), *Praktika tou Protou Symposiou Laografias* (Limassol 20-25 May 1978), Nicosia, Cyprus. See also Kyrris, C. (1969) “*I Atsingani en Kipro*” [“The Gypsies of Cyprus”], *Morfosis*, September-October-November 1969.

¹² Kyrris, C. (1985) *I Mantides tis Larnacas* [“The Mantides of Larnaca”], Rousounides, A. (ed.) *Praktika tou Protou Symposiou Laografias* [Minutes of the First Symposium of Folklore Studies], Limassol 20-25 May 1978, Nicosia, Cyprus.

¹³ Information about the origins of the Roma, their numbers, language and name by which they are known can be found in Appendix 1.

¹⁴ In version 3 of the Annan plan, the Romas in Cyprus were proposed to be upgraded into a ‘religious group’; nevertheless both the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot leaders were apparently opposed to this move and in the subsequent versions of the plan this provision disappeared. In any case the Greek-Cypriot majority rejected the Annan plan in April 24, 2004.

families of Roma are housed, complaining about the Roma lifestyle and demanding that they are evicted from the area¹⁵.

This Report mainly covers the Republic-controlled area of Cyprus. Although efforts have been made to secure data and information about the situation in the Turkish-Cypriot controlled north, the information collected is so limited that conclusions cannot really be drawn.

For the purposes of this study, the term used will be “Roma”.

1.2 Legal framework

Primary and secondary education (up to the age of 16 or the third grade) in Cyprus is compulsory and free for all persons, irrespective of their financial situation, racial or ethnic origin, colour, religion or belief. At a formal or official level, as far as the ‘right to education’ is concerned, ‘equality before the law’ is upheld as a cornerstone of the ‘rule of law’. Article 20 of the Cyprus Constitution provides for the right of education for the citizens of the Cyprus Republic and for foreigners (or ‘aliens’ as they are legally referred to) alike.¹⁶ Allegations of discrimination are strongly rejected by the Cypriot authorities¹⁷. Cyprus has transposed the relevant anti-discrimination sections of the acquis.¹⁸ Nevertheless, discrimination may well persist at the level of practice, everydayness and more ‘sophisticated’ informal policies or social processes, particularly at a micro level, may produce indirect discriminatory results, as the provisions of the anti-discrimination directives provide.¹⁹

According to the Cyprus constitution educational matters are left to be regulated by the ‘Communal Chambers’. In any case, education had already been divided under the British colonial authorities, which took over and ‘modernised’ the *Ottoman millet system*, and allowed for separate education on the basis of religion and national or ethnic background. Both ‘communal’ education systems have been exclusionary and ethnocentric: the Greek-Cypriot education would be fostering ‘Greek-Orthodoxy’/ Hellenism, whilst the Turkish-Cypriot one ‘Turkishness’²⁰; hence the spread of the opposing nationalistic aspirations of the two communities²¹. Some provisions are made for non-Greek citizens of the Republic such as exemption from certain lessons (e.g. Religious Instruction and History) or state subsidy in order for the pupil to attend private non-Greek speaking schools, which is usually one of the many English-speaking establishments or minority schools²².

¹⁵ The Commissioner of Administration has received a letter signed by a number of Greek-Cypriots residing close to the area where the Roma are housed, demanding their eviction with overtly racist language.

¹⁶ The Attorney General of the Republic has issued a relevant Opinion on the 6.8.2002. The constitutional provision is in line with Article 2 of Protocol 1 of the European Convention of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms.

¹⁷ “The Ministry of Education and Culture rejects any form of discrimination and racist action based on the grounds of race and ethnic origin, religion and disability, as well as any form xenophobia and intolerance. There are express and clear instructions on the subject by the Ministry to all educationalists so as to promote tolerance and respect towards difference”, (Cyprus Labour Institute *National Annual Report 2004 – Cyprus*, RAXEN, which quotes the Ministry of Education and Culture (2003) Measure to Combat Discrimination in the Field Education in Cyprus, Document of the Ministry submitted in reply to relevant questions by the Research team.

¹⁸ Directives 43/2000 and 78/2000 were finally transposed by Cyprus / N. 42(I)/ 2004 (19.03.2004), Cyprus / N. 58(I)/ 2004 (31.03.2004) and Cyprus / N. 59(I)/ 2004 (31.03.2004).

¹⁹ EU anti-discriminatory directives provide for direct and indirect discrimination. See for example Directives 43/2000 and 78/2000.

²⁰ See the Report on Educational Reform titled: “*Dimokratiki kai Anthropini Pedia stin Evrokypriaki Politia*” [Democratic and Humane Education in the Euro-Cypriot Polity], available on the Ministry of Education and Culture Website. A summary can be viewed at <http://www.moec.gov.cy/metarithmisi/manifesto.pdf> and the full report at http://www.moec.gov.cy/metarithmisi/ethesi_epitropis.pdf

²¹ See Attalides, M. (1979) *Cyprus, Nationalism and International Politics*, Q Press, Edinburgh; Kitromilides, P. (1979) “The Dialectic of Intolerance: Ideological Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict”, Worsley, P. and Kitromilides, P. (ed.) *Small States in the Modern World: Conditions for their Survival*, Revised Edition, New Cyprus Association and Cyprus Geographical Association, Nicosia, Cyprus.

²² See Cyprus Labour Institute (2004) *National Annual Report 2004 – Cyprus*, RAXEN.

Upon Cyprus' accession to the EU on 1st May 2004, a new body of laws came into force, transposing, inter alia, EU Directive 2000/43. The law²³ contains a wide definition of discrimination and is wide in scope too, covering inter alia, education, and opening the way for "positive action" measures to ensure that the anti-discrimination principle is implemented. However, seeking recourse to the Courts or even filing a complaint to the Commissioner of Administration under this law is a procedure that requires both a level of awareness of the existence of this law as well as a certain degree of literacy, which are hardly ever present in the case of the Roma of Cyprus. An interesting provision²⁴ is to be found in Section 12 of the Law, which enables organisations whose objects include the fight against discrimination to file on behalf of and with the consent of the complainant an action in the Courts or a complaint at the Commissioner's office under this Law. Although this provision has not been utilised so far, it is hoped that anti-discrimination NGOs, which are very few in Cyprus, will take up this challenge and open corridors of communication with the Roma with a view to promoting their rights.

1.3 General description of educational situation of Romas in Cyprus contextualised in terms of the general conditions of life.

The general picture of the educational situation of the Romas in Cyprus is rather bleak. The living conditions of the Romas in Cyprus residing the southern part of the island are those of poverty, unemployment or semi-employment, facing wide-spread prejudice, racial discrimination and social exclusion. The authorities do not acknowledge the seriousness of the problem: the recent governmental Report on Social Exclusion does not even refer to the Roma and the Turkish-Cypriots as a group at risk of social exclusion²⁵. In fact, the Roma are by far the most deprived Cypriot citizens²⁶.

The Ombudsman's Office examined a study conducted by the Limassol Regional Welfare Office concerning the social exclusion of Turkish Cypriots in Limassol, seventy-five percent of whom are Roma, and has found that there is clearly a pattern of low educational attainment of this specific group and a lack of interest by the parents over the educational opportunities of their children²⁷. The same study establishes that the severe economic difficulties faced by these families, the squalid living conditions, low parental educational level and the wide spread prejudice against this group, generates a negative attitude from the Turkish Cypriots and Roma toward the educational system. The eventual outcome is the quick exit from the classroom seeking to enter the labour market, either as a beggar or working in unskilled manual labour. Furthermore, even if a child goes to Greek or English-speaking school, the linguistic barriers arising from the lack of understanding of the teaching material and instructions may and usually do drive the pupil out of education. In one research project, Turkish Cypriots and Roma parents raised doubts about whether it is worth sending their children to school at all, as the children do not understand a word of what is being said in the classroom and are subject to abuse.²⁸

It is apparent that the generally poor living conditions of the Roma impacts on the education of their children. Spyrou refers to the inadequacy of light, the lack of space, desks,

²³ The Equal Treatment (Racial or Ethnic Origin) Law 2004 [Cyprus / No. 59(I)/2004 (31.1.2003)]

²⁴ To be found in Section 12 of the Law Cyprus / No. 59(I)/2004 (31.1.2003)

²⁵ National Action plan for Social Exclusion 2004-2006, Social Welfare Office.

²⁶ Information on general living conditions of the Roma in Cyprus can be found in Appendix I to this Report.

²⁷ Interview with the Ombudsman's Office Human Rights Officer, Mr. Aristos Tsiartas 16.6.04.

²⁸ See Trimikliniotis, N. (2003) "Discriminated Voices - Cyprus Report", Work Package 2, *The European Dilemma: Institutional Patterns and the Politics of 'Racial' Discrimination*, Research Project Xenophob, EU Fifth Framework Program 2002-2005, http://www.multietn.uu.se/the_european_dilemma/.

bookshelves or tables and chairs in their homes²⁹, with references to a relevant study conducted the Social welfare Office of Limassol:

“some Turkish-speaking parents explained that they do not send their children to school because they do not have money to buy clothes and to provide them with food, and because they lack water in their homes to wash and clean them”³⁰.

The educational system in Cyprus is, however, undergoing change which will inevitably have an effect on the Roma education as well. With the advent of over 50,000 persons migrant workers in Cyprus, the increasing influence of European ‘ideals’ such as ‘social integration’, ‘social cohesion’ and multiculturalism have had significant effects on educational policy over the last years. There is a policy direction that where there are migrant pupils and/or other minorities, there is scope (need-driven) for ‘inter-cultural education’, however this is confined to a school-wide or micro-level and not at a level of macro planning³¹. Nevertheless, ultimately there is a conflict between the notion of ‘inter-cultural education’ on the one hand and the ethnocentric core of the education system on the other. The Ministry may recognise the need for ‘inter-cultural education’, however it has historically been opposed to moves to create a genuine multicultural system organised at national level that treats all cultures as equally valuable to the Greek culture, as one former Minister of Education said.³²

1.4 Enrolment, school attendance, educational performance, dropout rates.

All four elements in the subheading are crucial indicators that provide a very poor picture as regards the public education of the Roma in Cyprus. There is some improvement with regard to attendance to the primary school as a result of certain measures adopted, such as school meals and a small subsidy paid to the parents to allow them to buy school uniforms and material. However the enrolment and attendance for secondary school children is particularly bad, as out of at least fifteen Roma school children who are obliged to attend secondary school, only two pupils have enrolled (see relevant section in ‘**2. Part A**’).

No official study exists to examine the educational performance of various ethnic and social groups; as such there are no figures to report. However, there is an abundance of evidence that Roma children generally fare far behind all other children. Many of them leave school ‘functionally illiterate’. Studies and appraisals show that that the current curriculum is such that Roma children are not likely to succeed; far from it, as one study shows,

“...most of the children are predestined for failure in school. As one teacher explained, the main problems are “the weakness of the system to accept them, to help them rather, to offer them the alternative solution, so that they are not simply viewers, simply listeners in the classroom, but to have substantial participation.”³³”

A study conducted in 2003 shows that Roma parents in Limassol see no reason to send their children to school as they understand nothing, they get into fights and are excluded.³⁴ There has been some improvement in the school years 2003-2004 and 2004-2005 as far as attendance at primary school is concerned. However, there is a serious problem with the

²⁹ Spyrou, S. (2004) *Educational Needs of Turkish-speaking Children in Limassol*, UNOPS, February-March 2004.

³⁰ Spyrou, S. (2004) *Educational Needs of Turkish-speaking Children in Limassol*, UNOPS, February-March 2004.

³¹ For more details see Zikas, G. (2004) “Towards a Reflexive Intercultural National Curriculum”, Intercultural Education and Antiracist Culture, 27th March 2004, <http://www.humanrights-edu-cy.org/projects.htm>.

³² This was quoted in Trimikliniotis, N. (2001) *The Educational Problems of the Pontians in Cyprus: Preliminary Research and Report on Primary Education*, Report on behalf of the Cyprus Association of Sociologists submitted to the Ministry of Education, pp. 30-31.

³³ Spyrou, S. (2004) *Educational Needs of Turkish-speaking Children in Limassol*, UNOPS, February-March 2004.

³⁴ See chapter ‘Voices of the Subaltern in Cyprus: A Study of Racial Exclusion’ in Trimikliniotis, N. (2005) *A European Dilemma: Racism, Discrimination and the Politics of Hatred in an Enlarged EU*, (forthcoming).

extremely high level of drop outs as well as the transition between the primary and secondary education.

1.5 Segregation in different schools, different classes and “special schooling”³⁵.

The official general policy of the Ministry of Education and Culture is the adoption of measures to integrate pupils of all cultural backgrounds and the desegregation of pupils from ethnic or minority origin, to avoid ghetto-based schools. This policy is followed with particular persistence by the Ministry, as illustrated by the institution of educational districts in Paphos.³⁶ There is however evidence of segregation at schools attended by migrants and Roma. Many Greek-Cypriot parents try to transfer their children from the school to avoid schools attended by migrants and Roma pupils; if they cannot succeed, they instruct their children avoid contact with Roma children and many Greek-Cypriot children do in fact show racial prejudice towards the Roma children³⁷.

It is apparent that ‘family and socioeconomic problems’ penetrate school life with a vengeance. Studies show there is segregation between schools, in part reflecting the wealth or poverty of the surrounding neighbourhood with certain schools becoming the schools of the poor, the migrants, the Turkish-Cypriots and the Roma³⁸. The primary school with more concentration of Roma in the south, the 18th primary school, apparently has a large number of children from many families under the supervision of the Social Welfare Office (e.g., families with divorced or imprisoned parents), with problems that existed before the arrival of the Turkish-speaking children in large numbers³⁹.

As stated above, Greek-Cypriot parents tend to move their children away from schools with high concentration of migrants, Turkish-Cypriot/Roma⁴⁰. In a recent research conducted at a

³⁵ The term “special schooling” refers here to schools established initially for mentally and physically handicapped children or for those with learning difficulties.

³⁶ In April 2003 the Council of Ministers approved the school districts on the basis of a balanced distribution of pupils and the avoidance of concentration of pupils of Pontian origin in one school, with the aim of social integration of non Greek-speaking pupils into the wider educational system. The Commissioner investigated the issue as to whether has been adhered to or not in the case of the school of “Panagia Theoskepasti” in Paphos (See Cyprus Labour Institute (2004) *National Annual Report 2004 – Cyprus*, RAXEN).

³⁷ See Trimikliniotis, N. (2003) “Discriminated Voices - Cyprus Report”, Work Package 2, *The European Dilemma: Institutional Patterns and the Politics of ‘Racial’ Discrimination*, Research Project Xenophob, EU Fifth Framework Program 2002-2005, http://www.multietn.uu.se/the_european_dilemma/. Spyrou, S. (2004) *Educational Needs of Turkish-speaking Children in Limassol*, UNOPS, February-March 2004. Trimikliniotis, N. (2004) “Institutional Discrimination in Cyprus”, Work Package 4, *The European Dilemma: Institutional Patterns and the Politics of ‘Racial’ Discrimination*, Research Project Xenophob, EU Fifth Framework Program 2002-2005, http://www.multietn.uu.se/the_european_dilemma/. Some recent studies by graduates focusing on participant observation and interviews at the same school has an abundance of examples that illustrate the pupil relations between Greek-Cypriots and Roma (see Agathokleous, G. (2004) *Politismikes Eterotites ton Tsiganon Mathiton stin Lemeso: Ekpedeftika Provlmata kai Anages*, [Cultural Differences of Gipsy Children in Limassol: Educational Problems and Needs], Dissertation for Graduate Degree, University of Cyprus. Keskenidou, A. and Tsakiri, M. (2003) *I Eterotita tou Politismikou Kefaleou ton Athiganon tis Kiprou os Plesio Erminias tis simmetohis tous stin Ekpedefsi*, [Difference in Cultural capital of the Gypsies of Cyprus as a framework of interpretation of their participation in education], Dissertation for Master Degree, University of Cyprus.

³⁸ See Trimikliniotis, N. (2004) “Mapping Discriminatory Landscapes: Ethnic Discrimination in a divided Education System”, *The Cyprus Review*, Vol. 16, N. 1, Spring 2004, Research and Development Centre – Intercollege, Cyprus and University of Indianapolis, USA.

³⁹ Spyrou, S. (2004) *Educational Needs of Turkish-speaking Children in Limassol*, UNOPS, February-March 2004.

⁴⁰ Hence there is a concentration of these groups in certain schools [see Trimikliniotis, N. (2004) “Mapping Discriminatory Landscapes: Ethnic Discrimination in a divided Education System”, *The Cyprus Review*, Vol. 16, N. 1, Spring 2004, Research and Development Centre – Intercollege, Cyprus and University of Indianapolis, USA. This paper draws on the report “Discriminatory Landscapes”, Work Package 1, *The European Dilemma: Institutional Patterns and the Politics of ‘Racial’ Discrimination*, Research Project Xenophob, EU Fifth Framework Program 2002-2005, http://www.multietn.uu.se/the_european_dilemma/.]

particular school in Limassol⁴¹, the principal of the school stated there are problems because Greek-Cypriot parents reacted very negative to the fact that Turkish-Cypriot and Roma students study at this school, claiming that “gypsy children have something violent attached to their character”. A number as high as twenty-five Greek-Cypriot pupils were moved from the school by their parents because of the presence of Turkish-Cypriot and Roma children⁴². During the same interview, the school principal rejected any claims of discrimination taking place but was critical of the systemic failure; moreover, the principal seemed worried that children could not integrate in the school system: “A lot of gypsies learned to read and write but up to a point. What puzzles us is that they don’t integrate. They don’t feel that this school has rules, which they have to obey”⁴³.

In spite of the fact that Cyprus has ratified the *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination* (ICERD) since 1966⁴⁴, which obliges states to “prevent, prohibit and eradicate all practices of racial segregation”, as developed by the United Nations Committee for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination in its General Comment 19, there is still segregation of the Roma in the Republic controlled south, in part as an unintended consequence of policy, and in part reflecting discriminatory attitudes, the ‘cultural capital’ and socio-economic and family conditions of the Romas in Cyprus.

The situation in the north

Given that the “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus” is not recognised by any state except Turkey, there is little pressure to comply with international standards. Nevertheless, since the assumption of office by the coalition led by the Turkish Republican Party, efforts have been made to harmonise laws and policies with the EU and to promote education reform, textbook revisions and generally support initiatives that foster understanding and rapprochement between Turkish-Cypriots and Greek-Cypriots. In spite of this change and a generally more tolerant approach, there has been little change in educational policy as regards the Roma who are still considered to be ‘Turkish-Cypriots’. There are no statistics on Roma enrolment in schools or their attainment, but teachers report that there is a higher failure rate amongst Roma children than amongst Turkish-Cypriot children. It is, however, assumed that the difference in performance between non-Roma and Roma may not so huge in the north as it is in the south, partly because the language problem they face in the south does not exist in the north.

According to the teachers interviewed, non-Roma pupils usually avoid sitting together with Roma pupils in classrooms. Teachers believe that this is due to the attitudes of non-Roma pupils and parents who pressurise their children not to mix with Roma pupils.

Teachers commented that the Roma pupils’ families generally do not care about their children’s education and stated that Roma pupils are almost impossible to bring under the usual disciplinary rules that apply in the school. They note that Roma children of those families living outside Roma communities tend to perform better at school than those pupils who come from families living as part of a Roma community. There is also wide-spread stereotyping as Romas are often stigmatised as ‘rich people disguising themselves as poor’,

⁴¹ Trimikliniotis, N. (2004) “Institutional Discrimination in Cyprus”, Work Package 4, *The European Dilemma: Institutional Patterns and the Politics of ‘Racial’ Discrimination*, Research Project Xenophob, EU Fifth Framework Program 2002-2005, http://www.multietn.uu.se/the_european_dilemma/.

⁴² Trimikliniotis, N. (2004) “Institutional Discrimination in Cyprus”, Work Package 4, *The European Dilemma: Institutional Patterns and the Politics of ‘Racial’ Discrimination*, Research Project Xenophob, EU Fifth Framework Program 2002-2005, http://www.multietn.uu.se/the_european_dilemma/.

⁴³ Trimikliniotis, N. (2004) “Institutional Discrimination in Cyprus”, Work Package 4, *The European Dilemma: Institutional Patterns and the Politics of ‘Racial’ Discrimination*, Research Project Xenophob, EU Fifth Framework Program 2002-2005, http://www.multietn.uu.se/the_european_dilemma/.

⁴⁴ The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) of March 7 1966, was ratified and incorporated as Law 12/67, as amended by Laws 11/92, 6(III)/95 and 28(III)/99.

‘dirty’, ‘petty criminals’, ‘low social and family values’, ‘lazy and irresponsible’, ‘trouble makers’⁴⁵.

2. Part A

2.1 What are the main strategies in education for the groups in question?

There are three major issues that cause concern with regard to the participation of Roma in the Greek-Cypriots educational system, which require specific strategies in order to be tackled. The first issue concerns the enrolment and attendance which is at very low levels; the second concerns the school curricula itself; and the third the methodology of policy development and implementation as well the management of a new group of school population which the system was not designed to accommodate. The strategies developed by the Ministry of Education are designed to meet local needs and vary according to the number of Roma/ Turkish-Cypriot pupils attending a particular school.

2.1.1. Initiatives by the Ministry of Education and Culture

Although certain measures have been adopted by the Ministry of Education and Culture in an effort to address the educational problems faced by other minority pupils⁴⁶, no measures have been taken targeting the Roma children specifically, despite the special characteristics and vulnerability of this group. A set of initiatives has been adopted by the Ministry of Education and Culture in 2001 to address *in general* the issue of cultural diversity of the various ethnic minorities, to assist non-Greek speaking students to learn Greek as their second language and to facilitate their smoother transition and integration in Cypriot society. The latest report made available from the Ministry on monitoring, implementing and evaluating these initiatives sets out the actions taken, which are appended to this Report as Appendix 3. The impact of these measures on the attendance, integration or attainment of Roma pupils is questionable.

It should also be noted that although the Cyprus Constitution entitles religious groups or communities to set up and operate their own schools, there are no schools operating in the Republic-controlled area of Cyprus for the Turkish-Cypriot or Roma pupils. However, in the current general climate, the setting up of a separate school for the Roma and the Turkish-Cypriot children may carry the risk of further marginalisation and exclusion of these children from society.

2.1.2 Compulsory education

In spite of the Constitutional provisions which provide for all issues concerning education to be determined by the communal chamber of each community, a legal opinion given by the Attorney General concludes that upon entering the territories controlled by the Cyprus Republic, and on accepting to attend schools in this part of the island, all persons are deemed to have accepted all laws and regulation of the Republic. This means that the Roma students are obliged by law to attend schools in the south until the third grade of the secondary school and that the parents who fail to enrol their children to school are committing a criminal offence. In the course of the school year 2003-2004, Roma children did not attend school regularly. Nevertheless, because 2003-2004 was the first school year during which a large number of Roma people entered the Republic- controlled areas, the Ministry of Education decided to follow a flexible policy on the matter aiming at encouraging both parents and

⁴⁵ These labels are usually employed by the population to refer to Kurbet people, as witnessed and noted by Mete Hatay during the interviews held with the non-Kurbet people, who reported about the situation the northern part of Cyprus.

⁴⁶ The children of Pontian migrants, in particular.

children to accept school attendance without imposition and pressure. As a result, the previous Ministry Director for Primary Education and the Police Chief demonstrated flexibility and refrained from criminally prosecuting parents who did not enrol their children to schools. They stressed, however, that the regulations regarding compulsory school attendance would be observed for the school year 2004-2005⁴⁷.

2.1.2 Intercultural Education or Language Support?

The official line of the Ministry of Education and Culture is that the Roma are just like other children and must not be separated from the other non-Greek speakers. At the level of general education policy, the key distinction made by the Ministry is that of language competence i.e. the level of understanding of the Greek language, and classifies the Roma pupils as belonging to this “wider category” of non-native Greek speakers; however, the Ministry recognises that each of the “population group has its own separate and particular needs”⁴⁸. At the level of policy, there are no measures targeting the Roma specifically. At the same time, the Ministry of Education and Culture draws a distinction between the non-native Greek speakers whose mother tongue is Turkish, as is the case with Turkish-Cypriots and Roma, and those whose mother tongue is a third language, to the extent that the former category is, since February 2004, offered lessons in their mother-tongue (i.e. Turkish) in afternoon sessions along with their parents. The latter category, being the pupils whose mother tongue is neither Greek nor Turkish, is only offered Greek language classes. No provision for, or indeed no reference whatsoever, is made to the local Roma language, *Kurbetcha*.

The official from the Ministry of Education and Culture who was interviewed for the purposes of this Report stated that “without learning the language of the country one is residing in, whether non-native speaker or Turkish-Cypriot, one cannot integrate in the social system”, thus sidestepping the fact that Turkish is also an official language of the Cyprus Republic⁴⁹. However, according to the same official, the Roma people did not show any interest in the afternoon Turkish language classes for pupils and their parents hence the measure was discontinued.

The aforesaid measure is therefore not a significant step towards intercultural education; it amounts to nothing more than providing some extra teaching hours and making allowances for the ‘cultural differences’ of migrants and other ethnic groups. It may well be the case that most schools attended by migrants and ethnic minorities and communities, such as the Turkish-Cypriots and Romas in Cyprus, are located within deprived residential areas. It is also true that the vast majority of these persons are themselves in the lowest income and socio-economic brackets of the population. Despite this condition, the educational policy of the Ministry of Education and Culture treats these groups as merely ‘linguistically inadequate’, which directs to the idea that they are somehow ‘culturally deficient or deprived’.

The Cyprus Constitution recognises the Turkish-Cypriot ‘communal’ identity, culture, religion and tradition; but the Roma identity and culture is subsumed within the category of Turkish-Cypriots. The Constitution itself, by providing autonomy to each community to organise its education, combined with the stalemate over the search for a solution to the Cyprus problem for forty years now, has created a situation whereby the education of Turkish-Cypriots and Romas living in the south is not considered to be an issue for Greek-Cypriot educators and policy-makers to address. Instead it appears to be treated as ‘an additional extra’, a kind of ‘charity’ and a ‘necessary nuisance’ in order to comply with the legal obligations, and not as a genuine concern about the welfare and upgrading of a

⁴⁷ Interview with the officer of the Ministry of Education and Culture, Mr Tsiakiros, Nicosia, 04.10.2004.

⁴⁸ Interview with the official of the Ministry of Education and Culture, Mr Tsiakiros, Nicosia, 04.10.2004.

⁴⁹ Interview with the officer of the Ministry of Education and Culture, Mr Tsiakiros, Nicosia, 04.10.2004.

particularly deprived ethnic group of Cypriot citizens. Generally speaking, the recognition of ethnic groups' culture, tradition and belief within an exclusive and ethnocentric education system is made half-heartedly. As a result, the provisions made in order to address cultural diversity in schools amount to little more than addressing the 'language deficiency' by adding extra Greek language classes and other 'extra-curricula' activities.

Policy-makers insist that Greek-Cypriot education ought to take place only in the Greek language, despite the fact that Turkish, which is spoken by Romas, is the other constitutionally recognised official language. The result of this policy is a general as well as linguistic exclusion. Language can be and is a major barrier in the educational advancement of a pupil. A positive measure recently implemented in the case of the 18th Primary School in Limassol, a school attended by a large number of Roma pupils, is the appointment of a Turkologist for three hours a day in order to facilitate communication between teachers and Turkish-speaking pupils and their parents. However, the fact that the Turkologist has no substantial role or educational responsibilities beyond the facilitation of communication and translation goes to show that the concept of the alleged 'inter-cultural educational' is rather vacuous⁵⁰.

Although the Second ECRI Report on Cyprus 2001⁵¹ recommended that the Cypriot authorities ensure that "all teachers are properly trained to teach in a multicultural environment and to react to any manifestations of racism or discriminatory attitudes in schools", the training provided is deemed inadequate by many teachers. Most teachers believe that there are no incentives for teaching in schools where a large number of Roma pupils attend and consider their appointment to any such school as a negative and undesirable assignment, as they feel unqualified to teach in ethnically-mixed schools or to deal with the challenges they pose⁵². Few, if any of the newly appointed teachers, who are asked to teach in an environment they are not familiar with are equipped with the appropriate theoretical and practical tools. The fact that voluntary seminars are offered during the course of the year, well after the commencement of the school year, is of little use to them.

The existing curriculum is designed for Greek-Cypriot children; as a result, non native Greek speakers and children who do not speak Greek cannot follow the class and very often resort to mischief and other forms of misbehaviour in the classroom. As Spyrou points out, "this means that most of the children are predestined for failure in school", who quotes one teacher saying: "[the main problem is] the weakness of the system to accept them, to help them rather, to offer them the alternative solution, so that they are not simply viewers, simply listeners in the classroom, but to have substantial participation."⁵³

Teachers complain that there is little support and very limited knowledge of specialised and culturally aware teaching methods, no multi-cultural textbooks in an overall conservative ethnocentric educational system and curriculum.⁵⁴ It is left to the school's own devices to develop a local action plan and many teachers are simply not interested due to their own prejudices, ideologies or priorities. There are no appropriate materials either in Greek or Turkish, to support a genuine intercultural education system.

⁵⁰ See Trimikliniotis, N. (2004) "Institutional Discrimination in Cyprus", Work Package 4, *The European Dilemma: Institutional Patterns and the Politics of 'Racial' Discrimination*, Research Project Xenophob, EU Fifth Framework Program 2002-2005, http://www.multietn.uu.se/the_european_dilemma/.

⁵¹ ECRI (2001) *Second Report on Cyprus, European Commission against Racism and Intolerance*, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 3 July 2001, available at CRI (2001) 35, 3 July 2001, available at http://www.coe.int/t/E/human_rights/ecri/1-ECRI/2-Country-by-.

⁵² Spyrou, S. (2004) *Educational Needs of Turkish-speaking Children in Limassol*, UNOPS, February-March 2004.

⁵³ Spyrou, S. (2004) *Educational Needs of Turkish-speaking Children in Limassol*, UNOPS, February-March 2004.

⁵⁴ See Spyrou, S. (2004) *Educational Needs of Turkish-speaking Children in Limassol*, UNOPS, February-March 2004 and Trimikliniotis, N. (2004) "Mapping Discriminatory Landscapes: Ethnic Discrimination in a divided Education System", *The Cyprus Review*, Vol. 16, N. 1, Spring 2004, Research and Development Centre – Intercollege, Cyprus and University of Indianapolis, USA.

It is a dilemma for many teachers whether to follow the existing curriculum or to cover the material that the group can absorb. Under pressure to cover the whole of the curriculum, many Greek-Cypriot teachers tend to “focus more on the attention to the Greek-speaking majority of pupils and allocate only a very limited time to the Turkish-speaking children in their classrooms. Some teachers do in fact feel that the education of the Greek-Cypriot children suffers from this situation since they cannot devote the time necessary to them to cover the prescribed material.”⁵⁵

Prior to the introduction of the Turkish-language classes for Roma and Turkish Cypriots which are given at the time when other pupils take History and Religious Instruction classes, Spyrou reports two incidents in which Roma pupils reacted strongly to the teachings contained in the Greek history lesson. History and Religious Instruction curricula are generally painted with nationalistic colours. As one teacher in the Study of Spyrou indicates: “Conflicts and other forms of tension also arise during the lesson when the Turkish-Cypriot Gypsies react to what is being taught. For illustrative purposes consider the examples provided by one teacher:

‘Sometimes in the history class for the 6th grade, as I am teaching, the Turkish-Cypriots react, when they hear the word ‘Turk.’ The curriculum for the 6th grade is the history of the Greek revolution of 1821. I face this issue every day. They tell me: ‘Not the Turk- You should be afraid of the Turks.’ When I talk about Athanasios Dhiakos, who was skewered⁵⁶, they tell me: ‘he deserved it.’⁵⁷

Problems such as this, involving curricula revision are addressed by the comprehensive educational reform proposal⁵⁸ recently submitted by a group of experts to the Ministry of Education.

2.1.3 Measures according to Local School Needs

There are three types of policies adopted by the Ministry of Education and Culture: (i) where there is a large number of Turkish-Cypriots and Roma pupils, such as the 18th Primary School in Limassol; (ii) where there are very small numbers of Turkish-Cypriot and Roma pupils and (iii) where the school is one of secondary level, which covers only two schools, given that only a total of two Roma pupils so far have enrolled in secondary education.

(i). At the 18th Primary School in Limassol, where the total number of pupils is 166, out of which 50 are Roma, some of the measures adopted include:

(a) After-class lessons of Greek and Turkish language for Roma people (pupils and parents).

⁵⁵ Spyrou, S. (2004) *Educational Needs of Turkish-speaking Children in Limassol*, UNOPS, February-March 2004.

⁵⁶ This is a celebrated Greek national hero from the Greek revolution against the Ottomans of 1821 and it is a story that is said with sentiment and national pride for the martyr and a revulsion for the ‘barbaric’ Ottoman foes, who are presented collectively as the ‘Turks’, as if history is a linear line and the average modern Turk ‘represents’ somehow the Ottoman yoke. A similar but opposite picture is presented by the official Turkish historiography for the Greeks (see Gokcebel, T. (2004) “How We Teach History in Turkish Cypriot Secondary Schools” and Irkad, U. 2004 “How We Teach History in Turkish Cypriot Primary Schools”, in Philipou S and Makriyianni C (ed) (2004) *What does it mean to think historically: Approaches to Teaching and Learning History*, UNOPS, Nicosia. For a critique of Greek-Cypriot historiography see Trimikliniotis, N. (2004) “I Chrisi kai I Katachrisi tis Istorias, To Parelthon os Mellon?” [“The Use and Abuse of History. The Past as Future?”], OPEK(ed.) *On History*, Forthcoming.

⁵⁷ Spyrou, S. (2004) *Educational Needs of Turkish-speaking Children in Limassol*, UNOPS, February-March 2004.

⁵⁸ Report on Educational Reform titled: *Democratiki kai Anthropini Paidea stin Evrokypraki Politeia (Democratic and Humanistic Education in the Euro-Cypriot Republic)* available on the Ministry of Education and Culture Website (for a summary see <http://www.moec.gov.cy/metarithmisi/manifesto.pdf> and for the full report see http://www.moec.gov.cy/metarithmisi/ethesi_epitropis.pdf).

(b) Appointment of a Turkologist to teach Turkish and to facilitate communication between teachers and Turkish-speaking pupils and their parents.⁵⁹

(c) Advice offered to the headmaster and teachers by way of a seminar of a general nature on inter-culturalism and respect for diversity.⁶⁰

(d) The extension of the school's operation hours into the afternoon (on an 'all-day basis') for all children. Apparently the Roma children stand to benefit more from this measure than other pupils, as they tend to stay in the school longer to receive free meals and at the same time to participate in afternoon activities and attend extra classes.

(f) Additional teaching hours of Greek as a second language and mathematics for the Turkish-speaking children. This measure inevitably creates feelings of segregation for the Roma pupils, who are separated from the rest of the class to be taught special lessons and are, at the same time, exempted from History and Religious Instruction for this purpose.

(g) An allowance of CY£30⁶¹ paid annually to the pupils' parents by the Social Welfare Office in order to purchase school uniforms; the provision of school meals to Roma pupils (lunch and afternoon); visits to the homes of Roma families, to inform parents about the importance of schooling and that it is the legal obligation of parents that their children attend school.

The textbooks used by the Roma pupils are the same as the ones used by all other pupils. At some point in time the Ministry of Education contemplated the acquisition of textbooks from Greece which were specially designed for the Turkish minority⁶² of Thrace. In the end this idea did not materialise apparently because the books had to be paid for.⁶³

(ii). Most of the above measures do not apply to schools where there are small numbers of Turkish Cypriot and Roma pupils (i.e. at all other schools except the 18th Limassol Primary). Children in these schools are treated basically as non – native speakers.

(iii). As far as secondary education is concerned, very little can be said, given that there is only one student attending in Paphos and one in Limassol this year. The measures are again those applying to non – native language speakers plus exemption from History and Religious Instruction.

2.2 Is the implementation of these strategies evaluated and how?

There is no comprehensive system of properly evaluating the strategies and measures adopted by the Ministry of Education and Culture. When interviewed by the researcher, a Ministry official summed up the evaluation system into the occasional inspection visits to the school carried out by Ministry inspectors. The only specific measure that involves some sort of a feedback, to the extent that it has a system of calculating how many pupils are receiving it, is the provision of the free school meals and the payment of the allowances given for each child. As far as all other measures are concerned, they are of a high degree of generality and lacking specific targets. They seem to be concentrated more on the attendance of the Roma children, in making them behave and not be obstructive for the other (i.e. Greek-Cypriot) pupils. There

⁵⁹ A detailed narrative of the events surrounding the appointment of the Turkologist appears in Appendix 4 below.

⁶⁰ Interview with the official of the Ministry of Education, Mr. Tsiakiros Nicosia, 04.10.2004.

⁶¹ Roughly equivalent to 50 Euros.

⁶² Termed by the Greek state as "Muslim minority".

⁶³ Interview with the official of the Ministry of Education, Mr. Tsiakiros Nicosia, 04.10.2004.

have been no targets set for the education and advancement of the Roma children themselves, which constitutes a great educational failure.

An important measure which is based on an initiative of a group of teachers and funded by non-governmental sources is the strategy of 'Zone of Educational Priority'. This is a three-year program, which is based on a similar concept applied to schools in France, was approved and adopted by the Ministry of Education and Culture and was introduced in 2003. Aiming at helping underprivileged students and bringing about more equality in education, this program involves the classification of certain particularly depressed residential areas within the 'educational priority zone', so as to examine the needs of schools so classified and address the problems. This measure also includes a review perspective, in that it provides for an evaluation of the implementation in three years' time.

Generally speaking, all measures adopted by the Ministry of Education and Culture are obviously new, evolving and rather ad hoc and the 'strategies' are only now being formulated. Nevertheless, it is apparent that there are no content – based targets about the Roma education; one perhaps ought not to speak about 'strategies' but ad hoc policies designed in order to tackle specific problems. For example the language teaching of Turkish was introduced only for last year and approval is currently being sought in order to re-introduce this measure for the academic year 2004 – 2005. It is therefore hard to develop an evaluation and monitoring methodology when the goals themselves are short-term and lacking targets as to the curricula and content.

2.3 Do these strategies differ from those focusing on the majority population or other minority groups and how?

The strategies employed are based on a general approach which classifies children in accordance with their level of competency in the Greek language. As a result, the issue of Roma education is seen as part and parcel of the Turkish-speaking children' education; their linguistic diversity is seen as a language difficulty or deficiency and not as a cultural characteristic, to be enhanced and promoted.

The constitutional provision which recognise Turkish as an official language and which renders all members of the Turkish community citizens of the Republic has made the policy makers more conscious of their responsibility towards the Turkish-Cypriot pupils, which are deemed to include the Roma pupils. In addition the long standing non-settlement of the Cyprus problem causes the Ministry of Education to be particularly aware to avoid potential tensions in Greek-speaking schools as a result of the attendance of Turkish speaking students. Nevertheless, what is being completely denied as far as educational policy is concerned, is the inclusion of Roma history and culture into the school curricula. In this respect, it should be noted that the school curriculum makes no provision whatsoever for the inclusion of the history of culture of any community or minority other than the Greek-Cypriots. Even measures such as the employment of a Turkologist, although positive up to an extent, would have been more effective if the person appointed was a specialist in Roma culture and identity and/or preferably originating himself from the Roma community.

2.4 Have these strategies been significantly revised in the last decade or so?

All such strategies are new and have only been introduced one or maximum two years ago. They have not been revised since their introduction.

2.5 Who are the main actors involved in the planning – development and implementation of these strategies?

General policy decisions are made at the highest possible level which is the Council of Ministers and executed by Education Minister who also enjoys a degree of discretion to formulate policies. The Ministry of Education and Culture is bureaucratic and centralised, but there is a limited scope for school autonomy based on an action research program. The Ministry has sub-divisions for primary and secondary schooling, who appoint an officer, usually a teacher on secondment, for intercultural affairs. An important role in the implementation of policies is ascribed to the regional/district directors, as well as the school headmasters and teachers.

2.6 Is the educational participation and achievement of the groups in question monitored and how? Please provide detailed information on any participation and achievement monitoring in place or planned.

Education participation and achievement is only monitored to the extent that grade and evaluation is made for all students. No monitoring as such exists specifically either for Roma or for other minority pupils. However a number of studies show a very low participation and performance level for Roma (see section 2.8).

2.7 Are these strategies linked to anti-discrimination policies/strategies, for example Council Directive 2000/43/EC or are they related to language policies in conformity with the European Charter of Regional or Minority languages of the CoE or with national anti-discrimination legislation in general?

The Roma children are treated as children with special language requirements, in spite of the fact international conventions on human rights⁶⁴ as well as on specific rights in the fields of education.⁶⁵ Over the past years the Cyprus Republic has been quite positive on ratifying treaties in the field of education and thus adopting some measures as a result,⁶⁶ particularly the European Social Charter (Revised)⁶⁷ and other international instruments⁶⁸. There is generally little connection as far as policy-making with the fact that Romas are in fact citizens with rights under anti-discrimination/ human rights law, apart from the general provisions for the right to education and general ‘humanistic’ education. The second ECRI report recommends further expansion of extra curricula activities and human rights awareness at schools.⁶⁹ At local level, some elements of multicultural education and teacher training for primary and secondary education have been introduced to cope with an increasingly multi-ethnic and multicultural setting, but this is at an embryonic or at least at a very infantile, stage⁷⁰.

⁶⁴ Convention of the United Nations against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment (ratified by Law 235/90 and Law 35(111)/93). Also Cyprus ratified the European Convention against Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, together with Protocols No. 1 and 2. (Rat. Law No. 24/89 and 8(III)/97).

⁶⁵ The Convention against Discrimination in Education (ratified by Law 18/1970).

⁶⁶ Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities pursuant to Article 25.

⁶⁷ Incorporated in Law 27(III)/2000, Articles 11 and 12 state: to promote and facilitate the teaching of the national language of the receiving state or, if there are several, one of these languages, to migrant workers and members of their families; to promote and facilitate, as far as practicable, the teaching of the migrant worker’s mother tongue to the children of the migrant workers.

⁶⁸ E.g. Resolution ResCMN(2002)3 on the implementation of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities by Cyprus.

⁶⁹ “ECRI encourages the Cypriot authorities to continue their extra-curricular initiatives aimed at promoting human rights awareness in schools and, in this framework, to devote particular attention to the fight against racial prejudice, respect for difference and promotion of tolerance. It also encourages the Cypriot authorities to extend education in human rights to the curricula of all school children.”

⁷⁰ Multicultural education is not available across the board. For more details on discrimination in education see Trimikliniotis, N. (2004) “Mapping Discriminatory Landscapes: Ethnic Discrimination in a divided Education

Municipal law

Council Directive 2000/43/EC has been transposed into Cyprus law⁷¹ but its applicability to educational policies is rather general and access to its implementation mechanism is rather difficult for the Roma population, given their low literacy level.

European and International Law

(a). According to Article 12 of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities⁷², the Republic is under an obligation to “foster knowledge of the culture, history, language and religion of [its] national minorities, ... provide adequate opportunities for teacher training and access to textbooks, and facilitate contacts among students and teachers of different communities.” Article 14 of the same Convention establishes the right of all minorities to be taught their own language “without prejudice to the learning of the official language or the teaching in this language”⁷³.

The absence of Roma history, language, culture and religion from the school curriculum, the lack of training for the teachers and the fact that the Turkish language classes are offered at a time that deprives the Roma pupils from attending teaching in Greek are *prima facie* contraventions of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.

(b). According to Article 8 of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages⁷⁴, the Republic must make available pre-school education in the relevant regional or minority languages or provide for the teaching of the relevant regional or minority languages as an integral part of the curriculum or at least apply one of these two measures to those pupils whose families so request and whose number is considered sufficient. The same Article casts an obligation on the Republic to make available primary, secondary, technical and vocational education, in the relevant regional or minority languages or at least to those pupils so requested by the parents and provided their number is sufficient to justify this measures.

The qualification regarding the number of the pupils justifying the measure and the possibility to restrict the measure to those pupils whose parents request it, renders the effectiveness of this Convention rather weak in the case of the Roma who are not only small in numbers compared to the size of the population⁷⁵ but they are also unlikely, at least at this stage of the process of their social integration and participation, due to their low level of awareness and literacy, to request the Ministry of Education to take such measures. It is hoped that, through the education of Roma children, a process of transformation will soon begin within the Roma community to raise levels of literacy and awareness and thus enhance their capacity to pursue their rights.

As in the case of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages requires states to ensure that Roma history and culture are reflected in the regional or minority language and that teachers are trained to implement those. Also, the same provision requires the setting up of a supervisory body for monitoring the measures taken and progress achieved in establishing or developing the teaching of regional or minority languages and for drawing up periodic reports of their findings, which must be made public.

System”, The Cyprus Review, Vol. 16, N. 1, Spring 2004, Research and Development Centre – Intercollege, Cyprus and University of Indianapolis, USA.

⁷¹ The Equal Treatment (Racial or Ethnic Origin) Law 2004 [Cyprus / No. 59(I)/2004 (31.1.2003)]

⁷² Strasbourg, 1.II.1995. Cyprus signed this Convention on 01.02.1995. It entered into force on 01.02.1998.

⁷³ Section 14(3) of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, Strasbourg, 1.II.1995.

⁷⁴ Strasbourg, 5.XI.1992. Signed by the Republic of Cyprus on: 12.11.1992. Entered into force: 1.12.2002

⁷⁵ Although due to the high concentration of Roma in particular areas, their number in specific schools, such as the 18th Primary school in Limassol can be significant.

It is clear that the Cyprus Republic is not in line with its obligations under these two instruments. It should, however, be borne in mind that the language commonly spoken by the Roma of Cyprus is Turkish, which is not a regional or minority language but an official language of the state.

ECRI, CoE and OSCE recommendations

The ECRI General Policy Recommendation No. 3⁷⁶, the Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers to member states on the education of Roma/Gypsy children in Europe⁷⁷ and the OSCE Action Plan on Improving the Situation of Roma and Sinti Within the OSCE Area⁷⁸, set out a number of recommended measures for implementation by the member states in the field of education and anti-discrimination. These include pre-school educational schemes, communication with and involvement of Roma community in curriculum design and policy development, inclusion of Roma history and culture in the school curricula, encouragement of the development of good practices, encourage computer literacy among Roma, offer scholarship schemes, introduce policy monitoring mechanism, recruitment and training of Roma teachers, encouraging research, exchange of expertise with other member-states, provision of legal aid to Roma, support to NGOs active in combating racism against Roma, confidence building measures and many more. None of these measures have been adopted by the Republic.

In reply to a question by the interviewer for the purposes of this study, the competent officer of the Ministry of Education and Culture claimed that all the measures proposed are in line with the anti-discrimination laws and international treaties⁷⁹. In practice, however, there is little actual linking of educational policy to international instruments or national anti-discrimination legislation in general.

2.8 Present any official statistical data for the groups in question regarding enrolment, dropout rates, school performance, transition to secondary, vocational, and higher education.

There is little or no official statistical data available on this subject and, inevitably, the figures appearing below may be self-contradictory and should be treated as indication rather than as statistical information.

Enrolment

At *primary school level* the figures of Turkish-Cypriot and Roma pupils residing in the Republic of Cyprus were:

Table 1: Turkish-Cypriot and Roma pupils in Primary Education 2000-2004

School Year	Number of Turkish-Cypriots and Roma pupils
2000-2001	30
2001-2002	55
2002-2003	80
2003-2004	90

Source: Statistical Service of Cyprus.

The Statistical Service does not have the figures for the academic year 2004-2005. However the figures of enrolled Roma and Turkish-Cypriots were available from the Education Ministry District Officers and the school authorities themselves. A total of ninety or ninety-one Turkish-speaking pupils enrolled for the year 2004-2005, of whom twenty-nine are

⁷⁶ CRI (98)29 rev

⁷⁷ Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 3 February 2000 at the 696th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies

⁷⁸ Decision No. 566, PC.DEC/566, 27.11.2003

⁷⁹ Interview with the official of the Ministry of Education, Mr. Tsiakiros Nicosia, 04.10.2004.

enrolled in Paphos⁸⁰ and sixty-two in Limassol⁸¹. It is our estimation that the figure of ninety primary pupils for 2004-2005 probably represents Roma pupils.

Table 2: Number of students enrolled in primary education 2003-2004

Source: Ministry of education and Culture

	Registered	Not registered	Total
Kindergarten	2	26	28

Number of Students Per District	Displaced Persons (G/C)	Non Displaced Persons (G/C)	T/C (and Roma) residing in the south	Aliens	Total Number
NICOSIA	9547	10440	3	1218	21208
LIMASSOL	5897	9231	49	577	15754
LARNACA – FAMAGUSTA	7707	6872	2	413	14994
PAPHOS	1139	4443	36	950	6568
Total N. of Students	24290	30986	90	3158	58524

Primary	34	12	46
Gymnasium	0	19	19
Lyceum	0	7	7
Total	36	64	100

There are about fifty-seven children between ages 5-13 residing in Paphos⁸² and only thirty six enrolled for the year 2003-2004.

Table 3: Roma children enrolment in schools during 2003 in Limassol

Source: Spyrou, S. (2004) *Educational Needs of Turkish-speaking Children in Limassol*, UNOPS, February-March 2004, who states that these figures were collected by the Social Welfare Office in September 2003 and should only be used as indication rather than accurate measurement.

Table 4: Turkish-Speaking children attending schools during 2003-2004 in Limassol

	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	5 th	6 th	Total
4 th Kindergarten	4						4
18 th Kindergarten	3						3
4 th Primary (A)	1		1				2
4 th Primary (B)				2	2	3	5
18 th Primary	13	6	9	4	10	4	46
Ayios Anthonios	5						5
Secondary							
Total							65

Source: Spyrou, S. (2004) *Educational Needs of Turkish-speaking Children in Limassol*, UNOPS, February-March 2004.

⁸⁰ Interview with the Assistant District Officer of Paphos, Mr Andreas Metaksas, 21.10.2004.

⁸¹ This is an adding up of the figures provided by the three schools visited by the researcher of this Report: Interviews with head teacher 18th Primary School, Loucas Philipou, Limassol, 19.10.04; head teacher of 1st Primary School (A), Andreas Stefanou, Limassol, 19.10.04; head teacher of 1st Primary School (B), Christina Arnefti Limassol, 19.10.04; head teacher of 4th Primary School (B), Costas Karayiorgis, Limassol, 19.10.04.

⁸² Interview with the Assistant District Officer of Paphos, Andreas Metaksas, 21.10.2004.

At *secondary school level* again we have no officially compiled figures by the National statistics but we can draw some conclusions from figures drawn from official sources.

During school year 2004-2005 only nine Roma children between the ages of 14-17 enrolled at schools in the district of Paphos⁸³, whilst twelve Roma children had enrolled for the year 2003-2004. Although no official figures are available, study visits to these schools established that in 2003-2004 three 13year old Roma pupils had enrolled, who did not show up for the 2004-1005 school year. We also know that in Limassol only one Roma pupil attends secondary school, at the village of Polis⁸⁴, whilst other sources report that there are two more at the village of Makounta⁸⁵.

Although there estimated figures available for the district of Limassol, the numbers must be generally higher as there is a concentration of Roma families residing there. Yet, there are no Roma pupils attending secondary school in Limassol at all. From Table 4, we see that there were seven pupils who were in the 6th grade, some of whom were thirteen years old which is the legal maximum age for primary school education, and who should attended secondary school this year. It is believed that the number of Roma children within these age brackets that do not attend secondary school is in fact higher.

Dropout rates

There are no official figures about Roma pupils formally dropping out. The national average drop out rate, which presumably includes Roma drop out (but not as a separate category) is kept by the statistics department. The latest figures date back to year 2000-2001:

School Year	Percentage of drop outs
2000-2001	1.3
1999-2000	2.2
1998-1999	2.5
1997-1998	3.2
1996-1997	4

There is a clear downward tendency of the drop-out rate. This trend is likely to have continued for the year 2003-2004 too and it may well be even smaller than 1.3 percent at the time of writing this Report. There is no doubt however that the Roma drop out rate is enormously higher than the average, as the indicative figures available illustrate. Apart from the transition from primary to secondary education, which will be referred to in the next section, it is apparent from the official figures that there is a high rate of discontinuation of school particularly at secondary school level: during 2003-2004 in Limassol, there were five Roma in secondary school and this year 2004-2005 there is none. It is believed that most of these five were not third grade pupils (i.e. the legal maximum education level) or of school leaving age. In Paphos, out of the twelve Roma pupils attending in the year 2003-2004, there is only one or two in 2003-2004. This corresponds to an alarming rate of drop outs: out of a number of at least fifteen that attended school in 2003-2004, only one or two attend in 2004-2005.

Transition to secondary Education

The national average for successfully making the transition to secondary education in Cyprus is about 99%. For the Roma population it is the vast majority who discontinue. This remains a

⁸³ Interview with the Assistant District Officer of Paphos, Andreas Metaksas, 21.10.2004.

⁸⁴ Letter from Andres Skotinos, Director of Secondary Education, 25.10.04, in reply to question by the NFP.

⁸⁵ Interview with the Assistant District Officer of Paphos, Andreas Metaksas, 21.10.2004.

fact even if we take into account that a number of Roma move from north to south and vice versa, which in reality is an exaggeration given that since the opening of the borders in April 2003 there has been a general trend for internal migrants travelling from the deprived north to the prosperous south

Vocational and Higher education.

We have no information about Roma attending vocational education. We also have no data relating to higher education. All indications are that it is highly unlikely that Roma would reach such level in the educational setting of Cyprus. Similarly, no such information is available about the north of the island.

School Performance

Statistical data regarding school performance is not classified according to ethnic/religious background and no records of the performance of children of ethnic or religious background are being kept. However, *all* indications show that Roma children fare badly in all scores, as various studies drawing on the experiences of teachers in this field indicate.⁸⁶

2.9 Is segregation or desegregation part of the official educational policy for the groups in question?

The official policy is not to segregate and on occasion the Ministry of Education has been particularly drastic in taking measures to avoid segregation and the creation of ghetto-based schools, without much success. This failure is attributed to the concentration of migrants, Turkish-Cypriots and Roma in a handful of schools. More than half of the Roma pupils are concentrated in one school, the 18th Primary School in Limassol, which has fifty Roma out of a total of 166 students. In itself such a situation is not necessarily negative, if this ‘concentration’ (a) was the result of the free movement of populations utilising their local affinities, family networks, ties and support, (b) the local area which they reside is not deprived but vibrant, multicultural and open to persons of different ethnic mix for cultural exchange; and (d) the multi-cultural mix of the school itself would act as solid basis for developing expertise and innovative teaching geared towards a multicultural environment and not as the basis for a marginalised, deprived and second rate school. In short, if the policy aims at the avoidance of deprived, ghetto-like schools in deprived areas and neighbourhoods, then the policy is in compliance with anti-discrimination and international law and human rights standards. By contrast, if the policy is one of blanket ‘dispersal’ with motives, such as to spread around ethnic minorities as a concession to native sentiment and attitudes that minority populations should ‘not affect native culture and tradition’, or to ensure that minorities and migrants are ‘not visible in public’, then it is clearly racially-motivated and is in breach of anti-discrimination laws and standards.

2.10 Is there a trend towards segregation (in school, classes or “special schools”) or an opposite trend in the direction of desegregation?

There appears to be a trend in the direction of Roma children to be concentrated in certain schools. The available statistical data points to the direction of certain discrepancies in the implementation of educational policies. Whilst the official policy is in favour of desegregating the schools by allocating the minority children in several schools to prevent ‘ghettoisation’, there is failure in dispersing minorities, and in particular Roma across the

⁸⁶ See Trimikliniotis, N. (2003) “Discriminated Voices - Cyprus Report”, Work Package 2, *The European Dilemma: Institutional Patterns and the Politics of ‘Racial’ Discrimination*, Research Project Xenophob, EU Fifth Framework Program 2002-2005, http://www.multietn.uu.se/the_european_dilemma/. Spyrou, S. (2004) *Educational Needs of Turkish-speaking Children in Limassol*, UNOPS, February-March 2004. Trimikliniotis, N. (2004) “Institutional Discrimination in Cyprus”, Work Package 4, *The European Dilemma: Institutional Patterns and the Politics of ‘Racial’ Discrimination*, Research Project Xenophob, EU Fifth Framework Program 2002-2005, http://www.multietn.uu.se/the_european_dilemma/.

country. Not only the numbers of minority children have slightly risen at a specific school, there is an inverse relationship between the increased concentrations of students with a specific ethnic minority background correlated to a decreased enrolment of Greek Cypriot pupils in the specific schools.

In Limassol, on two occasions during the last two years classrooms attended by many Roma pupils were separated: in 2003/2004 the first form of this school and this year the sixth form were, following permission from the Ministry, divided into two. In the case of the first form, a total of twenty-nine pupils attended, whilst the total number of children permitted in one classroom was thirty. Nevertheless, and contrary to the existing regulations, the Minister of Education gave instructions for the division of the first form into two, on the basis that the large number of Roma pupils in the class posed obstacles in the successful education of the pupils. This year the sixth form was divided due to the large number of Roma pupils attending it. The total number of pupils attending the sixth form is thirty-two, out of which fourteen are Roma pupils.

2.11 What are the requirements for attending “special schools”; are pupils of the groups in question disproportionately represented here?

No such problem has been recorded.

2.12 Are there any studies regarding the attitudes of the majority population towards the pupils of the groups in question?

There are very few studies dealing with the attitude of the majority population towards the Roma in Cyprus. As a rule, the studies attempt to tackle wider issues such as racial discrimination against all migrant and minority groups, including the Roma,⁸⁷ survey research on Greek-Cypriot pupils and teachers,⁸⁸ the educational needs of the Turkish-speaking communities in Limassol (most of whom are Roma), which include research on attitudes about Turkish-Cypriots and Roma.⁸⁹ Also there are some recent studies focussing specifically on Roma education by postgraduates and undergraduates students which is illuminating as to the attitudes of the majority population towards the Roma pupils.⁹⁰

2.13 Are there any studies regarding the attitudes of the groups in question towards educational provisions made available to them?

Within the few studies conducted there are some elements regarding the attitudes of the Roma towards educational provisions made available to them, but there is no study directly dealing with this subject. The study on the educational needs of the Turkish-speaking communities in Limassol (most of whom are Roma) reveals a serious problem attributed partly to the

⁸⁷ See Trimikliniotis, N. (2003) “Discriminated Voices - Cyprus Report”, Work Package 2 and Trimikliniotis, N. (2004) “Institutional Discrimination in Cyprus”, Work Package 4, *The European Dilemma: Institutional Patterns and the Politics of ‘Racial’ Discrimination*, Research Project Xenophob, EU Fifth Framework Program 2002-2005, http://www.multietn.uu.se/the_european_dilemma/.

⁸⁸ The title of the research is *Antisocial Behaviour of Youth in Cyprus and Racist Trends* was funded by the Cyprus Research Promotion Foundation, available at <http://www.research.org.cy>. The survey comprised of a representative sample covering the ages 15-23 and a sample of teachers and head-teachers in response to the question of ‘which community is disliked most’. Teachers and head teachers place among seven groups the least favourable to be the Turkish Cypriots, then the Gypsies, followed by Arab workers. The youth sample places Turkish Cypriots to be the least preferable groups, then the Arab workers and finally the Gypsies.

⁸⁹ Spyrou, S. (2004) *Educational Needs of Turkish-speaking Children in Limassol*, UNOPS, February-March 2004.

⁹⁰ Agathokleous, G. (2004) *Politismikes Eterotites ton Tsiganon Mathiton stin Lemeso: Ekpedeftika Provlmata kai Anages*, [Cultural Differences of Gipsy Children in Limassol: Educational Problems and Needs], Dissertation for Graduate Degree, University of Cyprus. Keskenidou, A. and Tsakiri, M. (2003) *I Eterotita tou Politismikou Kefaleou ton Athiganon tis Kiprou os Plesio Erminias tis simmetohis tous stin Ekpedefsi*, [Difference in Cultural capital of the Gypsies of Cyprus as a framework of interpretation of their participation in education], Dissertation for Masters Degree, University of Cyprus.

language barrier, as many Roma tend to do better in subjects which do not require a strong command of Greek, and partly to the inadequacy of the school curriculum.⁹¹ Another study, utilising a focus group methodology, which includes a Roma and Turkish-Cypriot group casts light upon the attitudes of Roma parents towards education and of teachers' perceptions of the Roma.⁹² University papers from postgraduates and undergraduate students are also useful sources of information about the attitudes of the Roma towards the education provisions.⁹³

3. Part B

3.1 Briefly outline what in your view are prime examples of “good practice” initiatives by actors other than the public education authorities (impact – possible unintended segregation effects -, outcome, sustainability).

The concept of multicultural education is at its infancy in Cyprus. There have been few initiatives on the subject and no initiative targeting the Roma education in Cyprus. In the following section we embark upon a brief description of some good initiatives, which although have no direct bearing on Roma education, are likely to have a positive impact on the overall framework of education, including Roma education.

Report on Educational Reform

The most important development in the history of Greek-Cypriot education is the comprehensive educational reform proposal,⁹⁴ prepared by a Commission on Educational Reform, sanctioned by the Ministry of Education and Culture. The proposal is still under the Ministry's consideration, attracting both criticism and support from different political parties and groups. Educational reform has been on the table for years now but this is the first time that a comprehensive report is presented. Until presently, education in the Greek-Cypriot controlled south is based on the so-called Helleno-Christian ideals, which inherently contradict humanistic, democratic and multicultural education and respect for diversity. Until a comprehensive proposal on education reform, such as the one recently submitted, is adopted all action plans, programs or initiatives employed by the Ministry of Education and Culture will have little or no effect: Helleno-Christianism will act as a straight-jacket on multi-cultural education, excluding all groups that are non-Greek and non-Christian Orthodox.

The proposal involves, inter alia, the re-writing of history books in co-operation with other schools in Europe, a program for co-operation with schools of the Turkish-Cypriot community, common training programs for Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot children and implementation of a program for anti-racist education.

The Report recognises that in spite of the various reforms initiated to the Cyprus educational system, this retains its “Helleno-ethnocentric” and “Orthodox-Christian-centric”

⁹¹ Spyrou, S. (2004) *Educational Needs of Turkish-speaking Children in Limassol*, UNOPS, February-March 2004.

⁹² See Trimikliniotis, N. (2003) “Discriminated Voices - Cyprus Report”, Work Package 2 and Trimikliniotis, N. (2004) “Institutional Discrimination in Cyprus”, Work Package 4, *The European Dilemma: Institutional Patterns and the Politics of ‘Racial’ Discrimination*, Research Project Xenophob, EU Fifth Framework Program 2002-2005, http://www.multietn.uu.se/the_european_dilemma/.

⁹³ Agathokleous, G. (2004) *Politismikes Eterotites ton Tsiganon Mathiton stin Lemeso: Ekpedeftika Provlimata kai Anages*, [Cultural Differences of Gipsy Children in Limassol: Educational Problems and Needs], Dissertation for Graduate Degree, University of Cyprus. Keskenidou, A. and Tsakiri, M. (2003) *I Eterotita tou Politismikou Kefaleou ton Athiganon tis Kiprou os Plesio Erminias tis simmetohis tous stin Ekpedefsi*, [Difference in Cultural capital of the Gypsies of Cyprus as a framework of interpretation of their participation in education], Dissertation for Masters Degree, University of Cyprus.

⁹⁴ Report on Educational Reform titled: “Democratic kai Anthropini paedia stin Evrokypriaki Politia” [Democratic and Humane Education in the Euro-Cypriot Polity], available on the Ministry of Education and Culture Website, summary available at <http://www.moec.gov.cy/metarithmisi/manifesto.pdf> and full report available at http://www.moec.gov.cy/metarithmisi/ethesi_epitropis.pdf

orientation⁹⁵ which needs to be reformed “in view of the multi-cultural make up of the Cypriot student population and the prospect for reunification of Cyprus.”⁹⁶

If and when adopted, the proposal will mark the beginning of new era in Greek-Cypriot education. In spite of the fact that there is nothing specific about the Roma, it is certain that the framework provided is such that would allow for certain key problems to be alleviated in the spirit of intercultural and anti-discriminatory education.

NGO initiatives on multi-cultural Education

A two-day educational seminar was organised by the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research on 07.02.2004 and 08.02.2004 in Nicosia under the heading “What does it mean to think historically- Approaches to teaching and learning history”. The seminar was aimed at “contributing to a dialogue about improved pedagogical practices ... [that would teach] students to ... come to grips with multi-perspectivity, to evaluate historical significance, to construct their own interpretations through disciplined argument and debate”⁹⁷. Papers were presented by teachers of history from the Greek-Cypriot, the Turkish-Cypriot and the Armenian communities, as well as by experts from other countries and European institutions on various aspects of teaching history in a multi-cultural society. There was no Roma participation in this initiative.

Another worthwhile initiative is the study⁹⁸ commissioned by the Bi-Communal Development Program (executed by UNOPS) in Cyprus and carried out by Spyros Spyrou on the Educational Needs of Turkish-speaking children in Limassol in 2004.⁹⁹ The present report draws significantly on this study, as it is the only available work on the education of Turkish-speaking pupils, including Roma in Cyprus, compiling data and analysis drawn from original research. Most significantly, the Study offers a comprehensive list of recommendations which ought to be seriously considered by policy-makers. However, as the Study was only published this year and it is thus too early to say whether it has had any impact on policy development. As at present, Spyrou’s Study is a valuable tool for researchers.

Various other seminars and conferences have been held during 2003 and 2004 on the subject of multi-cultural education, organised by NGOs and participated by Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot teachers, following the lifting of the restrictions in movement in April 2003. However, none of these initiatives targeted the Roma pupils specifically but dealt with the issue of multi-culturalism in education in general.

It should be noted that the initiatives set out above, as well as most other initiatives in this field are, to the extent that they are bi-communal in character, in other words if they benefit both communities equally (Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots) mostly funded by UNOPS, which is currently under attack by the press as well as politicians for allegedly financing the campaign in favour of UN peace plan for Cyprus. The crisis which, at the time of writing, dominates news headlines, is likely to deter many NGOs from applying for UNOPS funding

⁹⁵Report on Educational Reform titled: “*Dimokratiki kai Anthropini Paedeia stin Evrokypriaki Politia*” [Democratic and Humane Education in the Euro-Cypriot Polity], available on the Ministry of Education and Culture Website, summary available at <http://www.moec.gov.cy/metarithmisi/manifesto.pdf> and full report available at http://www.moec.gov.cy/metarithmisi/ethesi_epitropis.pdf, p. 15.

⁹⁶ Report on Educational Reform titled: “*Dimokratiki kai Anthropini Paedeia stin Evrokypriaki Politia*” [Democratic and Humane Education in the Euro-Cypriot Polity], available on the Ministry of Education and Culture Website, summary available at <http://www.moec.gov.cy/metarithmisi/manifesto.pdf> and full report available at http://www.moec.gov.cy/metarithmisi/ethesi_epitropis.pdf, p. 82.

⁹⁷ Philippou, S. and C. Makriyianni, C. (ed.) (2004) *Proceedings of the First Educational Seminar by the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research*, Nicosia, p.3.

⁹⁸Spyrou, S. (2004) *Educational Needs of Turkish-speaking Children in Limassol*, UNOPS, February-March 2004, Nicosia.

⁹⁹ It is stressed that the study does not focus on Roma pupils but on all Turkish-speaking pupils including the Roma.

in the future, for fear of being branded as “spies” or as “serving foreign interests” and can even mark the end of the UNOPS funding program in Cyprus.

3.2 Do the groups in question participate themselves in the design, development or implementation of these initiatives and how?

So far there has been no involvement of the Roma, either as a community or as individuals, in the design, development or implementation of any initiatives. The issue of Roma education on the whole has not received much attention.

3.3 Are such initiatives adopted or supported by the public education system?

The Zone of Educational Priority program is adopted and supported by the public education system. The proposal for educational reform was initiated by the education authorities at the highest of levels, however we do not yet know whether and to what extent it will be adopted, supported or implemented.

Appendix 1

The origins, the language, the number and the name of the Romas in Cyprus

Various groups of Roma have lived in Cyprus for over 500 years, the first immigrants of whom arrived between 1322 and 1400¹⁰⁰. Their nomadic lifestyle changed with the de facto partitioning of the island in 1974¹⁰¹.

Today only a few hundreds live in the territory under the control of the Cyprus Republic. The majority of the Turkish Romas in Cyprus or *Kurbets* resides in the northern part of the island, mostly concentrated in and around the towns of Morphou / Guzelyurt; and some reside in Famagusta and Yeni Iskele. Most Romas in Cyprus, who arrived in 2001 and 2002 to the Cyprus Republic controlled territory from north reside in concentrated areas, such as the old quarter of Limassol, whilst some were temporarily settled in the village of Kofinou¹⁰²; a few more are scattered around in the district of Paphos. The names by which the Romas are referred to “Gypsies” or “Roma” in English and . “*Tsiggani*:. “*Athiggani*”, “*Yifti*”, “*Kouroupetti*”, “*Fellahi*” in Greek. *Çingane*, *Fellah* or *Kurbet* in Turkish¹⁰³. The term of their self-designation in their own language, is “*Kurbet*”. According to one expert:

“The Roma accept these designations from outsiders, but when asked what they call themselves they responded, ‘Kurbet’ and their language ‘Kurbetcha’. Turkish [as a language] has basically displaced Kurbetcha (...) Some of them said they understood a few words of Kurbetcha, but they did not speak it. In fact, their knowledge of the language was so limited that they did not realize there is a distinct numeric system. Only one ‘older’ woman who was approximately forty-five years of age knew some of the numbers--at least the first three numbers. (...) They generally agreed that only the older people who are still in the occupied area know the language [of Kurbercha] well. Everyone else has adopted Turkish”.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Kenrick and Taylor claim that “although there are no official records confirming the arrival of Gypsies in Cyprus, it has been estimated by historical calculation that the first immigrants came between 1322 and 1400, when Cyprus was under the rule of the Lusignan (Crusader) kings. These Gypsies were part of a general movement from Asia Minor to Europe. Those who landed on Cyprus probably came across from the Crusader colonies on the eastern Mediterranean coast (present day Lebanon and Israel)”. See also Kyrris, C. (1969) “I Atsingani en Kipro” [“The Gypsies of Cyprus”], *Morfosis*, September-October-November 1969.

¹⁰¹ The occupation of the northern part of the island by the Turkish army marked a change from the nomadic life to a more settled existence. The larger groups of Gypsies are now settled in the towns of Morphou and Famagusta, both cities in the occupied, northern part of the island. Approximately six hundred Gypsies were settled in these two cities. Current total population estimates for the entire island range between one and two thousand Gypsy people. The Gypsies were Muslims with more affinity to the Turkish people, hence the generally accepted rationale for their moving to the northern area after the Turkish invasion in 1974. See Kenrick, D. and Taylor, G. (1986) “Gypsies in Cyprus”, *Roma*, January 1986, 24 pp. 36-38, available at <http://www.domresearchcenter.com/reprints/body4.html>

¹⁰² See Kambas, M. “It’s a bitter struggle for the gypsies”, *The Cyprus Mail*, 14.11. 2001.

¹⁰³ The Scholars Kenrick and Taylor refer to a number of terms used by the host population: “*Tsingos*: The official term used in Greek documents and written material. It comes from the term ‘*Cingani*’ (used already in the text of 1468) which in turn comes from the archaic word ‘*Adsincan*’ used in mediaeval Byzantium. *Yleftos*: The Cypriot dialect form of mainland Greek ‘*Giftos*’. This is common in speech and comes from earlier ‘*Aigiptos*’, a reference to the earlier belief that the Gypsies came from Egypt. *Kouloufos*. From the root *koul*.-This is a pejorative term with the meaning ‘untidy, not settled.’ *Kilinghros* (also, *Kollingogy*). This may be connected with the term *Kaliguri* (plus ‘*ghir*’, turning) and just means ‘nomad’. *Cingane*: The Turkish version of ‘*Adsincan*’. The word has no pejorative meaning in Cypriot Turkish.” (Kenrick, D. and Taylor, G. (1986) “Gypsies in Cyprus”, *Roma*, January (1986), 24: 36-38, available in <http://www.domresearchcenter.com/reprints/body4.html>

¹⁰⁴ Williams, A. (2000) “The Gypsies of Cyprus”, a DRC update, *KURI*, Vol 1 No 2 Spring/Summer 2000, available at <http://www.domresearchcenter.com/Kuri>. This expert refers to the Roma as ‘Roma’ in his paper.

Appendix 2

General living conditions of the Roma in Cyprus

One of the few studies on the subject of the education of the Turkish-speaker¹⁰⁵ points to ‘a number of serious problems’ faced by the Turkish-speaking community in Limassol, the most important of which being housing. The said study points out that “some houses in the community lack basic necessities such as electricity and water supply as well as basic hygiene”, large number of individuals are crammed under the same roof and there is “lack of adequate space and children very often share their sleeping space with their parents”¹⁰⁶. The problems of poor housing in the area are known to the authorities for many years: a study in 2001 into the housing in the area by the Limassol municipality found that most houses were derelict and recommended that they be demolished because they were hazardous and dangerous for their inhabitants¹⁰⁷. Various newspaper reports have also pointed to the squalor and poverty of these houses¹⁰⁸.

Studies indicate that there is wide-spread resentment by the local Greek-Cypriot residents to the Turkish-speaking Roma arriving in their neighbourhood in Limassol and ‘causing trouble’. Even Turkish-Cypriot residents seem to want to distance themselves from the Roma population for fear that they would also be targeted and blamed by the Greek-Cypriots. There have also been allegations of Police harassment.¹⁰⁹ There is strong evidence of discrimination against Roma in the Republic¹¹⁰, as they are generally viewed with suspicion by Greek-Cypriots, even Turkish-Cypriots. The arrival of a large numbers in the south was greeted with fear and suspicion¹¹¹, particularly when the then Minister of Justice and Public Order alleged that they may well be ‘Turkish spies’,¹¹² whilst the Minister of the Interior assured Greek-Cypriots that the authorities “shall take care to move them to an area that is far away from any place where there are any people living”, in response to the racially motivated fears of local Greek-Cypriot residents.¹¹³ During a certain period of time, when a greater than usual number of Roma were crossing over from the north to the south, some families were held in Central Prison. Responding to criticism on this matter, the Interior Minister at the time alleged that they were being ‘hosted there’ in order to find suitable housing for them,¹¹⁴ until the attorney general ruled that it is illegal to detain them there.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁵ Spyrou, S. (2004) *Educational Needs of Turkish-speaking Children in Limassol*, UNOPS, February-March 2004.

¹⁰⁶ Spyrou, S. (2004) *Educational Needs of Turkish-speaking Children in Limassol*, UNOPS, February-March 2004. Research conducted in 2003 shows that Romas themselves consider housing to be their most serious concern (see Trimikliniotis, N. 2005 *A European Dilemma: Racism, Discrimination and the Politics of Hatred in an Enlarged EU*, forthcoming).

¹⁰⁷ Confidential Report on the housing in the Turkish quarter of Limassol 27.09.2001.

¹⁰⁸ See Frankou, M. “Ti eginan oi koullofi tis Kiprou” [“Whatever happened to the Koulloufi of Cyprus?”], *Selides* 324, 06.02.1998, Savvides, G. “O keros ton tsinganon”, *Haravgi* 04.11.2001, Economides, S. «I Roma tis Kyprou kai to dikaioma tous stin evimeria» (The Roma of Cyprus and their right to prosperity), *Economiki* 27.10.2001).

¹⁰⁹ See chapter ‘Voices of the Subaltern in Cyprus: A Study of Racial Exclusion’ in Trimikliniotis, N. (2005) *A European Dilemma: Racism, Discrimination and the Politics of Hatred in an Enlarged EU*, (forthcoming).

¹¹⁰ See Spyrou, S. (2003) *Educational Needs of Turkish-speaking Children in Limassol*, UNOPS, February-March 2004. Also see Trimikliniotis, N. (2003) “Discriminated Voices - Cyprus Report”, Work Package 2, The European Dilemma: Institutional Patterns and the Politics of ‘Racial’ Discrimination, Research Project Xenophob, EU Fifth Framework Program 2002-2005, http://www.multietn.uu.se/the_european_dilemma/.

¹¹¹ Hadjicosta, M. (2001) “Fears over gypsy influx”, *The Cyprus Weekly*, 13-19.04.2001 available at *Dom Research Center* <http://www.domresearchcenter.com/news/cyprus/index.html>

¹¹² Remarks by Mr. Koshis, see Matthews, J. (2001) “More gypsies crossing from north as Koshis warns about spies”, *The Cyprus Mail*, 03.04.2001, available at <http://www.domresearchcenter.com/news/cyprus/index.html>

¹¹³ Apparently, the Interior Minister at the time, Mr. C. Christodoulou, now Governor of the Central Bank, said that he would not reveal the options discussed, because, “in this country, when it comes to illegal immigrants or gypsies (moving into an area), everyone reacts”. See Editorial (2001) “Our reaction to Gypsies raises some awkward questions”, in *The Cyprus Mail*, 10.04. 2001, available at <http://www.domresearchcenter.com/news/cyprus/index.html>

¹¹⁴ A former Interior Minister and the Chairman of ADIK, Dinos Michaelides stated that “To date all Turkish

In 2001-2002 and for a couple of years on after the initial hysterical reaction against the arrival of the Roma from the north, the situation seemed to have stabilised and to a large extent calmed down. The opening of the 'borders' which allowed many thousands of Turkish-Cypriots to come to south was generally greeted by both Turkish-Cypriots and Roma residing in the south with relief and optimism as they thought that they could no longer be singled out, targeted and harassed and there was a general feeling of optimism and rapprochement¹¹⁶. However, there was a tense atmosphere generated in the run up and aftermath of the referendum on the Annan plan to reunite the island on the 24th of April 2004, the rejection of which by the Greek-Cypriots has given rise to nationalist sentiments in the south.

The general conditions of Roma population in the south were adversely affected by a murder of the 14-year-old Roma pupil, Salih Mehmet Ez Houvarda, on the 13th July 2004, after he was stabbed at the old port of Limassol in Cyprus by a Greek Cypriot, who was allegedly "under the influence of drugs"¹¹⁷. Police mobilised units around the hospital and the Turkish Cypriot quarter of the town fearing reprisals. The Government spokesman and political parties rushed to play down the incident, expressing deep regret and condemning it as a "heinous crime". A human rights organisation, KISA, issued a press release after the incident regretting the attempts by the government and all the political party leaders to interpret this act exclusively as a result of the psychopathic or drug abuse by the murderer, which is directed towards managing the political repercussions of the events rather than their in-depth and objective assessment and criticised the way authorities made use of psychopathologic factors or the drug abuse were invoked failing to condemn the nationalist and racist motives of such behaviour¹¹⁸. KISA connected the incident with the situation and attitudes prevalent today and in particular the rise of nationalism in the Greek-Cypriot and that Turkish-Cypriots have been practically abandoned to their fate without any protection and are treated as second-class citizens¹¹⁹. Since then the situation has been calm with no other incident occurring but it certainly left a scar, particularly for the child's family who abandoned the south apparently to live in the north. They buried their child in Morfou / Guzelyurt.

Cypriots, Turkish settlers and gypsies who have attempted to cross into the Republic have been sent back to where they came from," as "they are all considered to be spies." See Zenon, M. (2001) "Gypsies 'offered accommodation' in jail", *The Cyprus Review*, 20.04.2001.

¹¹⁵ Hadjicosta, M. (2001) "Gypsies released from remand cells", *The Cyprus Weekly*, 20-26.04.2001.

¹¹⁶ See Trimikliniotis, N. (2003) "Discriminated Voices - Cyprus Report", Work Package 2, *The European Dilemma: Institutional Patterns and the Politics of 'Racial' Discrimination*, Research Project Xenophob, EU Fifth Framework Program 2002-2005, http://www.multietn.uu.se/the_european_dilemma/.

¹¹⁷The victim died in hospital and the assailant, a 29year old Greek-Cypriot was arrested and taken immediately for a medical examination at the hospital psychiatric ward and is facing murder charges (Police Press release n.10, 13.07.2004).

¹¹⁸ KISA are initials which stand for "Kinisi gia tin Isotita, tin Stiriksi kai tin Allilegii" [Action for Equality, Support and Anti-racism] previously called ISAG- Immigrant Support Action Group. KISA press release 16th July 2004.

¹¹⁹ KISA press release 16th July 2004.

Appendix 3

Initiatives by the Ministry of Education and Culture

1. The Ministry maintains data on figures of foreign pupils and pupils belonging to minority groups for the purpose of optimum planning of its educational policy.
2. The tuition fees and fares of Turkish-Cypriot pupils (including Roma children) attending private schools of primary and secondary education are fully subsidised, provided their parents reside in the Republic-controlled area.
3. The curricula of various subjects, such as Modern Greek, History, Civics, Geography, Political Economy etc offer “the right messages for positive attitudes towards the various racial groups among our population”¹²⁰. Under the same heading (“Curricula”) this Report refers to the institutions of support teaching, immersion classes, career guidance and counselling, the program for prevention of violence and non-discipline¹²¹ as measures promoting respect for diversity.
4. Support Greek language lessons are offered to children of repatriated Cypriots and “foreigners” whilst Turkish language classes¹²² are offered to children whose mother tongue is Turkish (Turkish-Cypriots and Roma).¹²³ In particular, an additional 835 periods of support Greek language lessons were offered during the school year 2002-2003, which increased to 1058 periods during school year 2003-2004. In order to properly evaluate this measure, one needs to set it against the backdrop of the number of non-Greek speaking pupils in primary education, who were 2.843 during 2001-2002 and 3.248 in 2003-2004.¹²⁴ In secondary education, the number of non-Greek speaking pupils for the school year 2003-2004 was 1582 in a total of 52.221 pupils.
5. Commemoration days are organised at all schools at all levels for the UN day, the International Day for Human Rights, the International Day for Racial Discrimination. ‘Commemorations’ are mainly carried out by speeches¹²⁵. Some schools run clubs and committees for UN, UNESCO, Human Rights, the Red Cross, Prevention of Cruelty at school and at home. Additionally, the schools run competitions of essays or paintings aiming to awareness raising and sensitization of pupils on humanitarian issues such as the plight of refugees internationally.
6. 1000 books of the series ‘Open Windows’ were given to schools for teaching Greek to children of “aliens” or repatriated Cypriots.
7. Inspectors of primary education visited¹²⁶ Athens and were briefed by the Greek Department of Education on the philosophy, policy and legislation implemented in Greece with regard to non-Greek speaking pupils, programs of intercultural education, teaching of Greek as a second language, curricula and other material produced by the Pedagogical Institute of Greece.

¹²⁰ Report by the Ministry of Education and Culture on Monitoring, Implementing and Evaluating the National Action Plan for Racism, undated, p.2.

¹²¹ No details were given for such program.

¹²² Elaborated in section 2.1 above.

¹²³ The Ministry of Education and Culture has proposed measures in the direction of recognition of the Turkish-speaking communities in the areas under the control of the Republic, with the introduction of Turkish as a subject on a voluntary basis for all children. Considering that this is one of the two official languages of the Cyprus Republic, it may sound like hardly a step forward. Nevertheless, considering the historical baggage and the fact that the divided educational system between the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus precedes the establishment of the Republic in 1960 and has continued right through today, it is an important step.

¹²⁴ This figure must have increased significantly in 2003 and 2004, as the number of migrants who entered the country has increased, whilst at the same time the partial lifting of the restrictions in movement has made it possible for a lot Turkish-Cypriot children to attend schools in the south. However, no figures for 2003-2004 were given by the Ministry.

¹²⁵ It should be added, however, that the school authorities carry out more extensive commemorations of several “national” holidays from Greek or Greek-Cypriot history, which generally exclude minority groups.

¹²⁶ No details were given as to when, how many or how often.

8. Secondary education inspectors participated in an international conference of the Intercultural Education Centre of the University of Patra (Greece) in 2001 and 2002 titled 'Intercultural Education, Greek as a second or foreign language'.
9. A series of seminars were organized by the Pedagogical Institute of Cyprus covering subjects such as intercultural education for teachers, emotional education for teachers, teaching of English, the European dimension of education, educational programs for teachers from the Pontus area, career guidance and counselling etc.
10. A series of seminars were offered at different locations around Europe under the 'Comenius' program which were attended by Greek-Cypriot educationalists on subjects such as national minorities in school, combating racism and social exclusion, inclusion of children of minorities, Europe-roots-identity-culture etc.
11. Career guidance and counselling service operates within the schools to assist and support excluded pupils.
12. An educational psychology service offers psychological support to parents and children of migrants and minorities to assist with their adaptation to the Cypriot cultural environment.
13. The institution of Educational Priorities Zones (ZEP), introduced for the first time during school year 2003-2004 and subject to review in three years' time, aims at promoting literacy and school achievement in economically and socially depressed areas. One of the criteria as to whether a certain area is deemed as an Educational Priority Zone is the number of non Greek-speaking residents.

Appendix 4

The appointment of a Turkologist at the 18th Primary School in Limassol

In January 2003 a Turkologist was appointed to teach optional afternoon Turkish classes to Turkish-Cypriot and Roma pupils as well as to their parents. Out of the twenty-nine Turkish-speaking pupils attending the school, initially eight pupils registered for this class, subsequently two or three attended the class and finally none attended, so the class was discontinued.

In January 2004, following pressure from the school administration and the teachers, the Ministry of Education appointed a Turkologist for three hours per day, to facilitate communication with Turkish-speaking pupils. This person's appointment subsists through to school year 2004-2005 as well.

On 29.12.2003 a Committee comprising of five Ministers studied the situation in schools in Limassol and Paphos and approved the appointment of Turkologist, not merely for communication purposes but also to teach Turkish to the Turkish speaking pupils during the school periods when the other pupils are taking history and religious instruction classes. Finally, this person was only appointed three months later, in March 2004, but peculiarly enough her contract expired in June 2004 with the closing of the school year. The regulations are such that in order for her to be re-appointed, a fresh decision of the Ministerial Committee must be made, which has not been done so far. The Ministry official interviewed¹²⁷ stated that the Ministry intends to reappoint the Turkologist to this post.

¹²⁷ Interview with the official of the Ministry of Education, Mr. Tsiakiros Nicosia, 04.10.2004.

Interviews

Interview with of Social Security Bureau Officer Anthi Peri in the presence of Maria Lauri, Deputy Director of Social Security Bureau, Limassol 22.10.2004.

Interview with the Officer for Administration of Turkish-Cypriot Properties, Eleni Chrystodoulou, Limassol 19.09.2004.

Interview with of District Officer of Pafos, Andreas Metaksas, Pafos 21.10.04.

Interview with the officer of the Ministry of Education and Culture, Mr Tsiakiros, Nicosia, 04.10.2004.

Interview with head teacher 18th Primary School, Loucas Philipou, Limassol, 19.10.04

Interview with head teacher of 1st Primary School (A), Andreas Stefanou, Limassol, 19.10.04

Interview with head teacher of 1st Primary School (B), Christina Armefti Limassol,19.10.04

Interview with head teacher of 4th Primary School (B), Costas Karayiorgis, Limassol,19.10.04

Interview with teacher, 1st Primary School, (A) Eleftheria Vouti, Limassol, 30.09.04

Interview with Turkologist at 18th Primary School, Chriso Pelekani, Limassol 19.10.04

Interview with the Assistant District Officer of Paphos, Andreas Metaksas, 21.10.2004.

Interview with officer for Secondary Education in Pafos, Clelia Skotinou, Nicosia, 21.10.04