

THE POLITICS OF THE SECONDARY SCHOOL CURRICULUM IN GREECE

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I DEDICATE THIS THESIS TO MY HUSBAND LABIS, MY DAUGHTERS
MELINA AND FOTEINI AND TO MY PARENTS

ABSTRACT

This thesis describes the role of politics of the Greek secondary school curriculum and focuses on the system of control of education as well as the influence of some interest groups on the policy formation.

The study of the educational system from the foundation of the modern Greek state in 1828 up to the present gives the historical context of the traditional and the new secondary school curriculum. It also points out the demands for curriculum reform, especially since 1950s, in the view of the broader social, political and economic changes and it underlines the difficulties of the system to be changed.

The obstacles to educational modernization and democratization are sought in the traditional views of valued knowledge in Greece, such as humanism, and in the politics of the curriculum.

The Greek educational system has still an academic and humanist orientation which is based on the Orthodox Christian ideas and the Ancient Greek values and it is characterized by a non progressive attitude to curriculum change.

The politics of the curriculum control in Greece, on the other hand, is very much affected by the role of the state which is centralized, bureaucratic and

authoritarian. Consequently, the influence of some important interest groups such as the political parties, the University of Athens Faculty of Philosophy and the Federation of Secondary School Teachers (O.L.M.E.) on the educational decision-making process is examined in detail.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.E.I. Anotata Ekpaedeutika Idrymata (Higher Education Institutions)

A.E.S. Anotaton Ekpaedeutikon Symvoulion (Higher Education Council)

D.O.E. Didaskalike Omospondia Hellados (Federation of Primary School Teachers)

E.A.M. Ethniko Apeleutherotiko Metopo (National Liberation Front)

EC European Community

E.D.A. Eniaia Demokratike Aristera (United Democratic Left)

E.DE.K. Enose Demokratikou Kentrou (Democratic Centre Union)

E.K. Enosis Kentrou (Union of Centre)

E.L.A.S. Ethnikos Laikos Apeleutherotikos Stratos (National People's Liberation Army)

E.R.E. Ethnike Rizospastike Enosis (National Radical Union)

GDP Gross Domestic Product

K.A.T.E.E. (Kentra Anoteres Technikes/Epagelmatikes Ekpaedeuses (Centres of Higher Technical/Vocational Education)

K.E.M.E. Kentro Meleton kai Epimorphoses (Centre of Educational Studies and In-Service Training)

K.K.E. Kommunistiko Komma Hellados (Greek Communist Party)

K.N.E. Kommunistike Neolaia Hellados (Greek Communist Youth)

MPs Members of Parliament

N.D. Nea Demokratia (New Democracy)

OECD Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

- O.E.D.B. Organismos Ekdoseos Didactikon Biblion (Student
Text-Books Editing Company)
- O.E.S.B. Organismos Ekdoseos Scholikon Biblion (School
Text-Books Editing Company)
- O.L.M.E. Omospondia Leitcurgon Meses Ekpaedeuses
(Federation of Secondary School Teachers)
- O.S.K. Organismos Scholikon Ktirion (School Buildings
Organisation)
- PA.SO.K. Panhellenio Socialistiko Kinema (Panhellenic
Socialistic Movement)
- T.E.I. Technologika Ekpaedeutika Idrymata
(Technological Education Institutions)
- VS. Versus

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CHAPTER 1

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

An entry in the official handbook introducing foreigners to Greece highlights the national regard for education: "The starting point and the support of the future of the Greek nation is education. It is on education that our economic progress and the raising of the country's spiritual and cultural level depends".

J.A. Lauwerys (1965) says (1):

"The approach to general education differs from country to country because those who guide the schools and those who teach in them make proposals which are, more or less unconsciously, affected by the history of thought and by the philosophy current in their own cultural environment. Nevertheless, the problems of modern civilisation and modern education are much the same everywhere - urbanisation, impact of new technology, the explosion of knowledge, increased geographical and social mobility, rising standards of aspiration and so on. Everywhere there will be talk about the introduction into secondary curricula of modern Mathematics and Physics, about the application of activity methods and group work, about the uses of visual aids and television. There is a marked confluence of views as a result of the growing resemblances between the great urban centres which increasingly dominate the life of nations. Nevertheless, differences of style and approach remain because the assumptions made are themselves the outcome of cultural history".

Modern Greeks have been much conscious of their Hellenic and Byzantine origins. Despite their uneven fortunes since the golden period of Periclean Athens, despite the four centuries of Ottoman occupation between the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the emergence of the modern state in 1828, they feel themselves

descendants of the Greeks of antiquity⁽²⁾. This helps to explain why they have adhered so strongly to teaching Ancient Greek literature in schools and why classical texts have played so dominant a part in the school curriculum (3).

Religion, which symbolises the Byzantine tradition also plays an important part in the life of Greece. The power of the Greek Orthodox Church is great. It stems from the critical role played by the Church during the centuries of occupation when the monasteries and village priests were the focus of independence and the guardians of the traditional culture and values (4).

This humanistic ideal and its Hellenic-Christian basis have characterized Greek secondary education up to the present time. A well-known spokesman on humanism illustrates:

"The Greek civilisation for us, the descendants, did not have as its major aim to satisfy our curiosity in historical matters, nor to increase our wisdom but to strengthen our historical memory and consciousness, to uplift our national unity and to develop in our souls faith towards man, and love towards higher things" (5).

The history of the education system, on the other hand, is marked by constant demands for reform. Parents and students, teachers and intellectuals, politicians and administrators at every period seem to have severe criticism of the structural and philosophical conservatism of the system.

The major periods of reform that 20th century Greek education has witnessed (i.e. 1913, 1917, 1929, 1957-59, 1964-65, 1976-77 -some changes also took place in the 1981- 1985 period-) indicate the need of the education system to correspond to the demands of the country's economic development. Nevertheless, as A. Dimaras (1978) argues,

"during these "official reform" periods, certain fundamental characteristics of the Greek system were not subjected to change. The highly academic and bookish approach to learning at all levels, and the literary orientation of the curricula at secondary level have never been really challenged" (6).

1.2 THE GREEK CURRICULUM TODAY

The question of lack of curriculum reform in Greece becomes clear by reference to the current education content of the school system.

The primary school curriculum contains the following subjects: Religion, Greek, History, Geography, Study of Environment, Arts and Crafts, Arithmetic, Science, Music, Civics and Physical Education. A similar core curriculum applies at both levels of secondary education which still contains a classical bias. For example, the first year of the lower secondary gymnasium is classically orientated; there is no teaching of Physics or Chemistry, though Botany and Zoology are taught. Biology is also absent from the first and the second year whereas Anthropology is taught only in the second year (Chapter 3, Table 3.2).

In the upper secondary lyceum the bias towards humanities is even stronger, with even more hours for classical Greek as well as Latin. This is apparent in the first two grades where there are no electives (Chapter 3, Table 3.3).

This humanist curriculum is national and compulsory. There are standard numbers of hours, content and textbooks dictated by the national Ministry of Education for all levels of schooling, modified only by limited choices in the final grades of upper secondary schooling and by different curricula of the technical lyceum. The association of humanism with individualism and specialisation that emerged in England (7) never had any place in Greek schools.

This prominent humanist character of the Greek educational system seems to become more crucial in the view of the forthcoming Single Market Europe in 1992. A unified European economy will be based on high technology production. Consequently, Greece as a member of the European Community faces the pressing need to be competitive in a free-market situation and the increased emphasis on industrial development. Nevertheless, although it has made sense to reassess education in economic terms, to stress the importance of scientific and technical education and to prepare schools for a new European context, the depth of a long-termed humanist

tradition associated with the Greek nationalism and the Orthodox religion means that radical change may be very difficult.

M. McLean (1990) argues:

" The defeat of a humanist tradition in Greek education may depend on political rather than educational action. For it is in political-social attitudes that a humanist view is entrenched. It may be a formalist and sterile view of a literary legacy. But this formalism is based upon conceptions of a national culture and of the characteristics of an elite which are not easily changed simply within the school system" (8).

1.3 RECENT EDUCATIONAL CHANGES IN GREECE AND RESIDUAL CONFLICTS

What pressures are there to change the curriculum in Greece? These can be sub-divided into economic, social and political.

The period from 1828 up to 1950s seems to be characterized by the establishment of the Greek humanism in education through the emergence of a nationalist high culture, and the restriction of education to limited groups of society. The contemporary relevance of these developments, such as historical strength of the humanist tradition and its association with elite education, non-democratic government and non-industrial society, might lead to the question of whether economic and political change could challenge the humanist dominance. This issue became, in fact, apparent in Greece since 1950s.

The political imperative, i.e. democratizing access to education and consequently adjusting the content of schooling to reflect popular culture, seems to be dominant in the 1957-1967 period and, after its reversal during the Junta period, re-emerges in the 1976-77 reform.

The economic theme, on the other hand, becomes increasingly important since 1960s in Greece. The economic transformations that took place stressed the necessity for a closer correspondence of the educational system to the needs of the labour market and of the economic development.

Despite, however, of the debates and the attempts made for educational reform, the Greek curriculum has not been essentially changed as curriculum change is relatively slow although it is part of democratization and modernization.

It has been highlighted, with regard to the role of politics in the Greek educational system, that educational modernization and democratization have been arduous tasks in all liberal societies. They have been more so in Greece, a country with deep traditions, very limited resources, conflicting ideologies and a history of educational conservatism as well as frequent political changes.

However, one might argue that educational systems have a great deal of inertia and changing them takes a long time. A variety of groups have vested interests in the existing system and fight changes overtly and covertly but usually quite effectively; and changes in educational systems tend to be extraordinarily costly in terms of financial as well as human resources.

This becomes more obvious in Greece, where the state with its powerful political groups greatly influence and control the educational policy formation.

1.3.1 PRESSURES FOR REFORM IN THE GREEK EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The desire in Greece to make economic progress within the European Community has led to a determined commitment to vocational and technical education. The esteem for education as an intrinsic good comes from admiration for the peaks of intellectual achievement attained by the Ancient Greeks. But the critical question is: What sort of education?

Since the turn of the century, the ideological foundation of the national educational policy proposed by liberal political forces has clearly been the principle of equality in education, namely that all members of the Greek nation have the moral and political right to enjoy

the social benefit of education (9). On this basis, the principal elements of such educational demands have been the adoption of "demotike" (the Greek popular language) as the medium of instruction; a change in school programmes so as to stress rationalism and critical thought; and the promotion of technical and vocational education (10).

Since 1950s the need for educational reforms in Greece, as in other countries of Western Europe, began to be recognised and significant changes began to take place. The 1957-1963 period was characterized by a rapid quantitative growth both in the demand for education and in educational provision. There were official discussions about the need for structural and qualitative reforms which led to the enactment of Law 3971/1959, which established a small number of secondary level technical schools for the first time (11).

In the 1960s, the necessity for a closer correspondence between the educational system and the needs of the labour market and of economic development became evident. In 1964, the motivation seems to have been more political, the main targets being the formation of a free, thinking citizen and a concern for some underprivileged groups. According to A. Dimaras (1978), this was the belated Greek expression of the educational reorientations which were under consideration in post-war

Western Europe in the mid-1940s (12). School knowledge would no longer concentrate on values of the past but would also include major intellectual developments of the twentieth century.

With the coup of 1967 and the accession of the military Junta to power, however, few reforms were maintained; the school curriculum as a whole returned to its pre-reform state by placing renewed emphasis on traditional attitudes, i.e. on classical Greek and the Greek Orthodox religion.

Soon after the fall of dictatorship, in 1974, the new government determined to introduce a comprehensive education reform. The prevailing political and public opinion of the mid-1970s was that the country was falling behind in terms of modernization which had been an explicit pre-condition for entry into the European Economic Community. The country had to catch up quickly and benefit from the reactivation of the Common Market Agreement that had been kept frozen during the seven year military rule. A combination of political, economic and wider social changes that had accumulated through previous years created a platform dictating education reform (13).

In regard to the 1976-77 educational reform, there were three principal concepts cited by one of the vice-Ministers for education to which any OECD country

would readily subscribe:

"The first is the concern over the intellectual, cultural and social development of the young and their evolution into conscientious and free human beings able to cope with contemporary pressures. The second is the transmission of knowledge and the development of cognitive abilities, which will enable students to pursue the scientific disciplines. The third is the provision of a relevant body of cognitive knowledge and vocational training" (14).

Underlying these concerns is a set of specific objectives, also cited by the vice-minister and thus expressed government's education policy, designed to modernize Greek education and to tie it more closely to social and economic exigencies:

"The objectives set forth through educational policy are: a) to create the human resources necessary for the economic, social and cultural development of the country; b) to increase the productivity of public investment in education; c) to reduce inequality in educational opportunity; d) to contribute to the betterment of social and cultural life by increasing participation in the education process; e) to increase the income of the trained labour force; f) to increase productivity of labour through technical and vocational training; g) to reduce the number of untrained graduates of classical education; h) gradually to eliminate the entrance examination to higher education (technical colleges, teacher colleges, universities); i) to develop middle-level technicians and bridge the existing gap between highly educated labour and unskilled workers" (15).

The most important innovation among the 1976-77 educational reforms arguably can be seen to be the establishment of technical-vocational lycea, which reflects the need for a curriculum more relevant to the country's economic demands. This innovation also reflects the impact of traditions which obstruct reform. A

presupposition of the new policy was that the reform would provide the basic institutional structure for the education and training of various levels of manpower essential for increased productivity and economic development. This was felt to be especially crucial for the future of the country in view of its entry into the European Economic Community (16).

So far, however, the technical-vocational lycea are struggling to establish their credibility. In order to reach the university, students in technical lycea must master additional topics besides the subjects already taught (i.e. technical and economic subjects) and similar to the optional courses of the general lyceum. In any case they are not eligible for entry into the University Schools of Law, Literature and Theology (17).

The technical-vocational lyceum has to enable those students who so choose to qualify for admission to a post-secondary institution and also to enable all students to acquire an occupational qualification. This pursuit of two important educational goals, although desirable in itself, has to be completed in three years whereas the general lyceum is pursuing the solitary goal of university entrance (18).

Parents, on the other hand, very much want their children to stay in the academic stream at all cost and to strive for post-secondary education. They believe that

possession of a university degree is the road to a career and perhaps more importantly social status. Such aspirations "are built on long-standing values pertaining to education and work, which, in many respects, do not reflect any longer the actual situation" (19).

As soon as the new reform was introduced, in 1977, under Law 576 on vocational education, it was estimated that the new technical-vocational lyceum would provide the labour market each year with 18,000 entrants or 13 per cent of the age cohort. These estimates were predicated of course, on student satisfaction with the new lycea, an expanding economy and the existence of a pent-up demand in the labour market for skilled workers and technicians on a large scale and in occupational categories directly linked to the courses offered in the lycea (20).

The prestige however of the traditional type of theoretical education leading to universities is still very high in Greece. It seems therefore very difficult to change the flow of students in favour of technical and vocational education. Characteristically, of over 80,000 candidates who sat for the entrance examinations of the universities in September 1977, less than 4,000 indicated higher technical colleges as their first choice (21).

A closer thus analysis of the 1976 Education Act reveals that despite its apparent success in settling

educational controversial issues, such as the language problem and the teaching of classical Greek in translation, and in establishing by law technical vocational schools, the reforms it introduced did not threaten or radically modify the epistemological base of Greek educational practice. As P. Persianis declares, "far from proposing a new orientation in educational practice, national values associated with a humanist classical culture continue to be an important part of education" (22).

During the 1980s, the political change that took place in Greece with the establishment of a socialist government brought forward new demands for democratization and modernization of the educational system. The fact, however, is that despite the attempts made for further educational reforms general education still remains more prestigious rather than technical vocational education. The valued knowledge is predominantly academic associated with its traditional humanist attitudes.

1.4 THE PROPOSED INVESTIGATION

Is curriculum reform more difficult in Greece than in other countries and why?

1.4.1 GREECE IN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT

Since 1974 democratic governments have produced demands for educational reforms in Greece as much as in any other country in Western Europe. The structural framework of the re-organised Greek education system displays characteristics of the Western European, especially the continental, pattern of schooling. Like France, for example, there is a common lower secondary stage followed by diversified selective upper secondary. There are, however, some differences between the Greek system, at its present stage of evolution, and comparable Western European counterparts (23).

By the late fifties and early sixties, many Western European nations had initiated legislation or plans either to combine all secondary courses of study into comprehensive high schools that would be attended by all youth at that educational level (as in Sweden) or to initiate a common junior secondary school so as to postpone specialisation until the senior secondary level (as in France) (24).

The historical discussions underlying these reforms were based on two types of rationale. First, it was argued that under the traditional system the schools tended to reinforce class differences by providing a more elite education for those students from wealthier class

backgrounds than for those from poorer ones (25). Accordingly, it was believed that alterations in the structure of secondary education toward the comprehensive school would increase the democratization of educational opportunities and social mobility.

Second, it was asserted that societies themselves suffered a loss of talent from the early selection and channeling procedures. It was believed that the traditional system of secondary education failed to develop much of the talent that was latent in families of lower social class and that this loss of talent necessarily created a society with less vitality, productivity, culture and progress than one that identified and developed the talents of all of its members (26). It can be suggested, however, that the equality argument has been more prominent in Greek politics.

Throughout Western Europe the post-war years brought changes that dramatically affected education, especially at secondary level. Population increases meant that there were more children than ever before, and expanded elementary and middle schools meant that a greater proportion of these children entered the upper secondary schools. Demands of industry and commerce for educated manpower could no longer be satisfied by limited output and traditionally theoretical and humanistic character of

the education of existing institutions. The rise to power of social democratic and labour parties presaged demands to democratize public education, to tear down the elitist institutions of the past and build new ones that could provide greater equality of both opportunity and outcome.

In relation to the structural reforms, traditional European patterns, consisting essentially of binary patterns of provision in parallel and separate elite and mass sections, began to give way to something like the current picture of broadly unitary structural patterns consisting of a series of stages in which comprehensive provision is offered at least as far as the completion of lower secondary schooling (27).

In regard to the curriculum, its traditional pattern which was bequeathed to post-war Western Europe had followed the duality of school structures. The curricula of the elite sectors -the lycee, gymnasium, grammar school and so on- were framed for the few, selected usually at the age of ten or eleven on the basis of scholarship examinations. In most cases, the approach was essentially theoretical and academic and the objective was preparation for higher education. Consequently, these schools catered almost for children of the higher social classes (28).

Since 1950s and during the educational reform periods the high status curricula of the former elite sectors were under attack. For example, classical studies and history - particularly traditional political history- generally lost ground. In contrast, the sciences, technical and practical studies and social subjects grew in importance. Additionally, subjects were modernized in terms of objectives, content and teaching methods.

Nevertheless, as P. Bourdieu and J.C. Passeron (1977) argue, there can be little doubt that traditional curricular elements continued to exert their influence even within educational structures which had been reformed (29).

This becomes more obvious in Greece where the strength of curriculum traditions and the politics of education have very much influenced any attempt for educational reform.

1.4.2 AIMS OF THE STUDY

In this thesis an attempt will be made to study the interference of politics in the Greek educational system and its influence on the formation of the educational policy-making. The focus will be placed on the secondary school curriculum because it is secondary education that has been affected more than any other sector of the

entire system by recent reforms.

It will examine the demand for curriculum reform in Greece, that is, the need for a curriculum relevant to students in common secondary education who will have diverse futures; the need for economic relevance especially in the light of a Single European Market in 1992; and the implications of these pressures for change for the curriculum (greater status for Mathematics and Science, vocationally relevant curriculum). Then the survival of the humanistic curriculum and the support for it can be investigated as an obstacle to change.

Two approaches to analysis will be taken: Firstly, examination of the traditional and proposed new curriculum content of the Greek secondary education in light of the conflict between: (1) the demand for curriculum change entailed by the democratization of secondary education in Greece since the 1950s and governmental economic and social policies; and (2) the obstacles to changes in established traditional views of worthwhile knowledge in Greece, such as humanism. The elements of the humanist position will be established from historical, literary, philosophical and political sources.

Secondly, the politics of curriculum control will be examined in an attempt to explore how a quite traditional curriculum remains unchanged despite the pressures of

certain groups to reform it. The analysis will focus mainly on the role of the state (issues of centralization, decentralization); the political parties, the universities, especially the University of Athens Faculty of Philosophy; and the teachers unions (in particular, the Federation of Secondary School Teachers -O.L.M.E.-) in defending the traditional curriculum or supporting a new one. I have chosen to investigate the aforementioned interest groups but not, for instance, government officials, inspectors, the church, employers, parents, press and media because I think that despite their differences the former are among the most powerful groups that can influence curriculum change in Greece. To help this element of the inquiry, the "interest" group approach will be used. Models (e.g. corporatism) which may take account of educational politics in centralized/collectivist states will be developed at a later stage of this thesis to relate the "interest" group approach to a centralized system of administration.

These approaches will be followed in an attempt to find out whether the slowness of the curriculum change in Greece is due to the adherence to a particular philosophy (humanism), to the centralization of the system or to the balance of power among the groups which have a major say in education.

1.4.3 STRUCTURE OF THE INVESTIGATION AND OF THE THESIS

The main aim of this thesis is to try to examine and interpret why the demands for curriculum change in Greece have not yet effectively been attained. In the question therefore "who controls the curriculum in Greece?" and by considering the role of politics in the Greek centralized educational system, an attempt will be made to study the need for curriculum reform in relation to the country's socio-political and economic demands and to identify and analyse certain obstacles to reforms. The study will focus on the contemporary era.

Chapter two will focus on the pressures for curriculum reform in the Greek educational system since 1950s through an historical perspective. It will examine the question of whether the attachment of the system to the traditional values of the past and the influences of the political conflicts on education prevented curriculum change.

Chapter three, which will try to investigate the Greek curriculum philosophy, proposes that humanism is the predominant type of worthwhile knowledge in the secondary school curriculum. It will also explore the association of humanism with conservative views on the curriculum reform attempts in the history of education in Greece.

Nevertheless, although the "humanistic" education model may not be able to satisfy the contemporary socio-economic and technological demands, the centralized system of education administration may also be an obstacle to a radical education reform. So, in Chapter four the control of education and the role of the state in the educational policy formation will be analysed. Here, the survival of the traditional educational views will be examined.

In Chapter five the participation of the major political parties in the educational policy-making will be examined together with their positions in supporting or opposing to traditional curriculum views since 1950s. The focus will be put on the periods from the 1970s onwards.

Furthermore, higher education institutions, especially the University of Athens Faculty of Philosophy, also may have influenced educational policy-making. The study of the role of the School of Philosophy in the educational matters since its establishment in the nineteenth century will investigate its influences on the content of the secondary school curriculum as well as the limitations on its overall control on education. This will be discussed in Chapter six of the thesis.

Chapter seven will examine the role of some other interest groups in the politics of education in Greece.

The Federation of Secondary School Teachers (O.L.M.E.) will be the prominent group in this aspect of the study. The question is whether O.L.M.E. had a strong professional status and whether therefore it could challenge the central hierarchy of the educational control and administration. For the purposes of this analysis I shall also briefly consider the role of the Federation of Primary School Teachers (D.O.E.) in the control of education in Greece. Chapter eight will be the final conclusion of the thesis.

Two earlier theses of the politics and education in Greece have provided useful guides to my examination of educational reforms. The first one (30) mainly dealt with the post-war attempts at educational change and the other (31) focused on the development of the Greek educational system from 1828 up to 1981.

My thesis extends these earlier works by presenting new facts and attempting to develop a new interpretation. It thus examines the control of education in Greece in an attempt to explain why although there has been a pressure for curriculum change in Greece the educational system has not yet satisfied the current socio-economic and political demands. In this regard, the following questions will be mainly elaborated in Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 of the thesis: How it can the correlation be understood between the power of the state and the power

of some interest groups? Is Greece a pluralist corporatist state, is it a traditional corporatist one or it is a traditional authoritarian state in which the involvement of some interest groups strengthen its power? Then, how does the authoritarian system function in a democratic society where there are elections and there are interest groups which are involved in educational matters?

1.4.4 SOURCES OF DATA FOR THE THESIS

The sources of data are documentary. The original material that has been used is of four types. Firstly, there are government documents including Legislative Decrees (1834, 1836, 1837, 1959, 1964) and Presidential Decrees (1977, 1978, 1983); the Laws (1834, 1836, 1892, 1895, 1914, 1925, 1929, 1933, 1937, 1939, 1947, 1967, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1982, 1983, 1985) and the official reports announced in the Greek Parliament by either the Ministers of Education or other MPs together with the Law-Plans and the Parliamentary Proceedings (1976, 1977, 1982, 1983, 1985). In addition, the Greek Constitution of 1911, 1952 and 1975 respectively as well as Governmental Gazettes (1911, 1947, 1967, 1975, 1977, 1982) provided a further legislative background. The conclusions also of the committee on education (1957-58)

were valuable sources for the examination of the 1957-59 educational reform.

Secondly, there are materials on the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Athens including the Annals of the academic year 1964-65 of the University of Athens, the Memorandums of the Faculty of Philosophy (1914, 1929, 1964) and other archives of the School.

Thirdly, documents on the teachers unions include the bulletins of the Federation of Secondary School Teachers (1957, 1958, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1967, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1991), and the proceedings of the first (1985) and second (1989) educational meeting of the Federation of Primary School Teachers together with the newspaper of the union since 1930s and its new Constitution (1987).

Fourthly, in relation to the political parties information was basically found in their pre-election material (1963, 1981, 1989), public political speeches, Parliamentary Proceedings (1976, 1977, 1982, 1983, 1985) and the press (1953, 1956, 1967, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1981, 1990, 1991).

I used such material because I wanted to look at the policies of different groups. Questionnaires and interviews for instance might have helped but may not have added greatly to documentary sources.

Despite the difficulties in collecting data,

especially as regards the Parliamentary Proceedings in the library of the Greek Parliament as well as the legislative material in the Greek Ministry of National Education and Religion, this documentary approach provided me with considerable and reliable written sources relevant to my investigation.

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CHAPTER 2

THE PRESSURE FOR CURRICULUM CHANGE IN GREECE SINCE
THE 1950s



2.1 INTRODUCTION

The overall aim of the thesis is to investigate contemporary obstacles to the modernization of the Greek educational system. The more specific approach to this aim is the examination of the politics of the curriculum. The purpose of this Chapter is to identify the historical origins of the barriers to reform on which the politics of the curriculum have centred.

On the one hand, the core of Greek education is national and hellenistic with particular emphasis on the teaching of Classical and Modern Greek. This tradition is connected with the patterns of classicism and nationalism over a long period of Greek history. These historical roots may make contemporary reform more difficult.

On the other hand, the passing of the Greek state from independence in 1828 to conservatism, and then from nationalism to the more democratic movements in the later twentieth century (with dramatic interval of the dictatorship) may have created new opportunities for reform while leaving contemporary residues of older political attitudes.

2.2 GOVERNMENTAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IMPACT POLICIES: AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT (1828-1949)

This section will be mainly concerned with the historical bases for traditional attitudes in the Greek education system. It will identify the most significant changes (or lack of them) that took place in the period under consideration, in order to describe the situation that was being challenged from the 1950s.

2.2.1 THE POLITICS OF EDUCATION

Soon after the establishment of the new Greek state (1828) the central government itself got the responsibility of formulating and exercising a unified education policy over the country.

The first ruler of the independent Greek nation-state was I. Kapodistrias, a Greek diplomat of considerable reputation throughout Europe. He had strong power as an autocratic leader of the new state, but also a desire to see the rebuilding of the state of Greece through the establishment of an educational system (1). He was assassinated by his political opponents on 27th September 1831 and in the period followed the majority of the schools he had established were dissolved and chaos was prevailing not only in education but in any aspect of the

social life. The instability was ended up with the Bavarian Prince Otto who arrived in Greece as king on January 25th, 1833. He was very young, however, and the royal power was thus exercised by a three-member Committee of Regency made up of the Bavarian politicians Armansberg, Maurer and Heyden (2).

Maurer issued an Education Act in 1834 which made provision for primary education and which was fundamentally a translation of the French Law 1833 (the Loi Guizot) with minor amendments according to relevant Bavarian official texts (3). Armansberg also issued the Education Act of 1836 which made provision for secondary education, and the 1837 Education Act which established the University of Athens. The pattern of both Acts was the Bavarian education system.

The system of administration was also strictly centralized. The Secretary of Ecclesiastical and Educational Affairs was responsible for educational policy, and exercised administration directly at all levels of education. A few responsibilities for primary education were granted to local authorities, but supervision and control of education were exercised by the Secretary through a system of supervisors and inspectors (4). King Otto was deposed for good in October 1862 (5) leaving an educational system centrally controlled and a school curriculum strongly attached to

classicism and the academic knowledge.

The second half of the 19th century is characterized by political, economic and ideological changes in Greece. These were related with the new orientations of the independent state towards liberalism and the industrial development. In this context, the intelligentsia of the time strongly supported the idea that such changes presupposed an educational system for all people of the society (6). Prince George of Denmark, of the House of Glucksburg, was chosen as king of Greece in March 1863 (7) and he granted the country the Constitution of 1864 so that the Parliament started to work.

The 1909 revolution, which was led by almost all junior officers of the army, and it had the support of a large part of the population, meant that a great political change took place in Greece. As N.G. Svoronos (1976) says, "bourgeois social class took the power in its hands" (8). Between 1910 and 1936 there were violent conflicts between the liberal and royalist political parties. Power changed hands both violently and through elections. These political changes seriously affected education. In 1910, E. Venizelos won the elections and established a new liberal political party. In a short time he had completely transformed the state mechanism, imposed equality before the law and equality of civil rights, strengthened Parliament and enforced progressive

policies in all areas of public life. The provision in the 1911 Constitution for education was: "Education is under the higher supervision of the state and is funded from the state budget. Elementary education is compulsory and free" (9).

At the same period (1910) a group of progressive educationists established the "Ekpaedeutikos Homilos" (Educational Club). In the first article of its Constitution it was stated that " "Ekpaedeutikos Homilos" is constituted with the aim of establishing a model primary school in Athens and of helping Greek education" (Chapter three) (10).

The protagonists in the first reform plan in 1913 were the leaders of "Ekpaedeutikos Homilos". The main intention of the reform was to built up a system whose different levels would meet the particular needs of corresponding social classes as well as the needs of economy (11). However, it was abandoned following reactions by influential members of the party that had introduced it and by concervative strongholds, such as the University of Athens.

The influence of the University of Athens on educational policy after 1837 was very strong. Educational policy makers frequently asked for the advice and the cooperation of the University of Athens. At all times some professors were called upon to assume policy

making responsibilities. Other professors of the Faculty of Philosophy took part in the educational committees and some of them even served as Ministers of Education. The University of Athens represented stability in the educational system and was opposed to any innovative change (see Chapter six).

The Greek Orthodox Church, also, although not directly involved in the formulation of educational policies, it provided ideological and cultural support for the evolving institutions and policy orientations (Chapter six).

Later on, in the 1929 educational reform, priority was given to economic considerations and the system was planned to incorporate and develop its technical and vocational sector. The central aim of education was, however, the "formation of the honourable citizen" (12).

As regards the political scene, King George II returned to Greece on November 25, 1935 and on August 4, 1936 a dictatorship was imposed under General I. Metaxas. In education, he appointed conservative educationists who were most hostile to the 1929 reform. They strictly controlled the school teachers, especially members of "Ekpaedeutikos Homilos" and liberal teachers.

On October 1940 Greece came into the Second World War. During the 1941-1944 German occupation, a lot of school-

buildings had been destroyed (80%), many villages had never had a school and many schools were without teachers (13).

The German forces of occupation retreated from Greece in October 1944 but soon afterwards a civil war was broken out between E.A.M./E.L.A.S. (National Liberation Front/National People's Liberation Army) guerillas and the government forces who had returned to Greece from their refuge in Egypt. This disastrous war was ended up in August 1949. In that period, Law 838/1948 extended the centralized control of the state to those areas which were joined to Greece after the war.

By the end of the civil war, the Greek bourgeoisie emerged victorious but it was economically and politically very weak. Moreover, its insecurity in the ideological level together with the "communist threat" and the "civil war fear" led it to a dependency on the Western powers and in particular, since 1950s, on the United States (14).

Consequently, those in power reverted to a traditionalist, pre-industrial ideology, rejecting as subversive of the national ethos not only socialist but all rationalist critical approaches to society.

2.2.2 CHANGES IN ACCESS TO EDUCATION AND THE STRUCTURE OF INSTITUTIONS

When I. Kapodistrias came to power (1828), education was in confusion. There was a lack of teachers, a lack of school buildings, a lack of educational services and accommodation. He started to cope with this situation by turning his attention to the supply of teachers. The majority of teachers was provided by the Central School in Aegina. This School trained primary school teachers and included an Orphanage so that able but under-privileged pupils could receive support and be able to become teachers. He also introduced the monitorial system where the best pupils could be made the teachers of other pupils. In this way educational opportunity was extended to a wider range of young people in society, at the same time as the foundation was laid for the expansion of the educational system (15).

In 1830, the total school population of Greece was about 9,000 , of whom some 6,500 were in 71 primary schools and 2,500 in the 39 "hellenic" schools which provided some post-primary education in "katharevousa" (the artificial language of the new governing elite) and they aimed to lay the foundations of national pride and of religious and moral education (16).

In the Bavarian period, the structure of education which was formally set out in legislation and decrees (1834, 1836, 1937) in fact only operated at the secondary and higher levels. The provision for seven years of compulsory education was not implemented mainly because of the lack of adequate finance and the lack of teachers (17).

In addition, the strict and selective system of examinations throughout secondary education together with the very limited opportunities of the poor children to be educated at least at the primary level (at that time illiterates comprised 87.5% of the total population) (18) illustrate the fact that only the children from privileged social classes could proceed to the higher levels of education.

The education system of the new state appeared therefore to be separate from the Greek reality. First of all it was structured on a legislative pattern borrowed from developed countries (i.e. France, Germany) where education was serving the already well established social class system. Secondly, it was organised according to the aspirations and plans of the Bavarian Regency Committee rather than in relation to the needs of the new nation. The increasing disappointment reached its apex by the end of the nineteenth century.

In 1899, the Law-Plans "on primary and secondary education" were submitted to the Greek Parliament and they proposed changes in the structure and the content of the educational system. As A. Frangoudake (1977) notes "the 1899 Law-Plans expressed for the first time the need for a close relationship between the school and the economy" (19). Unfortunately that measures were never implemented.

Later on, with the 1929 education reform, the "hellenic" school was abolished and a six-year gymnasium was established as the second "cycle" of formal education, the first being a six-year elementary school and the third the university. In addition, some other secondary schools developed: The six-year scientifically oriented lyceum, the two-year semi-gymnasium, the three-year practical urban school and the girls schools. Nevertheless, the gymnasium was not only the most highly esteemed secondary school, but also the one with the highest enrollment. In 1932-33, for example, there were 148 gymnasia with 48,617 pupils, 218 semi-gymnasia with 8,552 pupils and 13 lycea with 2,474 pupils (20).

This educational system was never fully implemented except of the six-year gymnasium. The government paid more attention to primary education for all because the pre-reform education system had mainly favoured those children with middle and higher social class origins. The

classical elitist gymnasium remained the only prominent type of secondary schooling which could lead to higher education institutions. In the 1930s, because of the country's economic difficulties and the conflicting ideological differences between powerful groups in Greece, conservatism appeared to be strengthened. Consequently, education reform and communism were taken to mean the same thing. The conservative educationists who were appointed by I. Metaxas (1936) amended the structure of education introducing the eight-year gymnasium. Universal education was neglected and great attention was given to educating the few selected students well in the gymnasium (21).

Consequently, such an educational system deprived children from lower social background of the right to be educated. There was a return therefore to the elitist Bavarian model of schooling and selection. In 1937, for example, although a number of 281,000 pupils had been enrolled in primary schools, however, only 140,000 of them reached the fourth class at this level (22).

Later on, during the civil war (1944-1949), the admission of pupils to higher education depended not only on success in examinations in each school but also on the certificate of political convictions which was issued by the security service of police. This certificate determined political selection to higher education and it

divided the candidates into communists and anti-communists. The certificate was provided for by Law 509/1947, as a measure of defence of state security and stability (23).

By the beginning of 1950s the new government assigned the educational institutions the sole function of ensuring the political and ideological control of the new generations.

2.2.3 THE CONTENT OF EDUCATION

If there were administrative and nationalistic justifications for the content and philosophical orientation of the Greek educational system in the nineteenth century, it is more to socio-economic reasons that one should attribute its stability and longevity (24).

As a result of the general esteem for the German system of the time, Wilhelm von Humbolt's ideas dominated Greek education at all levels. His idealistic principles, based on Greek humanism allied with nationalism and controlled by a centralized service, were in accordance with the aspirations of the new nation trying to establish its relation to a glorious past and also suited the aims of its foreign administration. All this established a cultural dependence of Greece on Germany

which lasted for over a century (25).

Ideologically the system has been oriented toward clearly middle-class values, leaving little, if any, room for the introduction of new ideas or methods which might lead to more general socio-political changes. This is most obvious in the content of primary school readers, in the textbooks used at the primary and secondary levels to teach History, Classical and Modern Greek literature, Civics and Religion and in the equivalent syllabi (26).

During the 1863-1909 period some attempts were made to bring education more in line with the wider society. Most of them, however, remained uncompleted because they had to cope with the economic problems of the country and the elitist character of the system.

At the end of the nineteenth century the language problem arose also in education. Only since the 1880s did demands for their solution develop. Use of the purist language ("katharevousa") in schools as well as in public administration reflected an authoritarian attitude, a conservative political stance and an elitist conception of education since this was the language of the law, the educated classes and the political elite. In education the language question remained in the forefront of all debates and policy planning which had also been related with the movement of the bourgeois liberal social class (see Chapter three).

In 1917, "demotike" was introduced as the language of the primary school and textbooks were made more child-centred. Despite periodic relapses into more traditional approaches these changes remained as basic characteristics at this level of schooling (27). In the 1929 educational reform, the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens together with the associations of parents, students, merchants (the new bourgeois social class) and the press claimed the abolition of some progressive measures (e.g. co-education of boys and girls, use of "demotike" (popular) language etc.) and supported the idea that the reform attempts had adopted a communist ideology that could damage the new liberal nation (28).

Later on, under Metaxas's dictatorship, new textbooks were introduced into the schools, written in "katharevousa" with an orientation to Helleno-Christian ideals and an authoritarian conception of the state.

After the end of the World War II and the Greek civil war, official pronouncements on education defended the existing school system based on the predominance of Classics by consistently stressing the dangers for the nation's social morality inherent in modern, technological civilisations as well as in the use of "demotike" language in schools (29).

Summing up one might argue that the Greek educational system has not been particularly responsive to the needs of Greek society. From the beginning it has been attached to the glories of Ancient Greece that has characterized the official ideology of the Greek state.

The issue seems to be that Greek humanism together with the Christian Orthodox faith are very much part of the cultural and political heritage of Greece, so they have been seen to have an important role in developing cultural awareness and national identity among Greek children. They have also, however, been linked to conservative elitist views of education and have been associated with conservative attempts to resist the democratization of Greek education and to make its content more relevant to economic development. So, since 1950s further efforts have been made to modernize and democratize education.

2.3 THE EDUCATIONAL REFORMS IN GREECE SINCE THE 1950s: THE PRESSURES FOR CHANGE

Since the 1950s the social and economic necessity of educational reform was so important and so obvious that not only the representatives of liberal political forces but the right-wing government itself recognized the need

for a change in the educational system that would modernize and rationalize it.

2.3.1 THE 1957-1975 PERIOD

This period will focus upon the 1957-59 and 1964-65 educational reforms which came to nothing because of the dictatorship (1967-1974).

The economic and socio-political demands for educational reform

To what extent has the economic factor supported and reinforced attempts at educational reform in Greece? Until the late fifties post-compulsory work-oriented education and training were left overwhelmingly to private endeavour (accounting for 85 per cent in 1961) (30). Thereafter, however, the Greek authorities in common with the authorities in many other countries, perceived the economic value of human capital and the consequent importance of technical and vocational education.

"Human capital" theory imported in Greece from the country of its origin, the United States, stresses the use of a nation's intellectual resources for its economic development and presupposes an objective, economic need for skilled technicians and technological experts (31).

Reforms in many educational systems of Western Europe since the end of the World War II may be attributed to the efforts of the political authorities to overcome the delay of their technological growth and thus improve the competitiveness of their economies. The necessities of their economies impelled the measures to be taken: a great increase in the number of students, the abandonment of traditional institutions and methods, and the emphasis on scientific research and postgraduate studies (32).

Some examples might be helpful to illustrate the issue: a) The movement toward "comprehensivisation" in secondary education in Great Britain; b) the introduction of a comprehensive school in the then Federal Republic of Germany (to overcome the built-in stratification of the traditional three-tier system); c) the widespread reform of the French secondary education (1959 and 1964) and the protest movement of 1968 in France, which influenced the reform projects of the 1970s (33).

Within this international setting Greece received increased attention through the OECD Mediterranean Regional Project. The methodology used was of the "manpower requirement" type, hence reinforcing the following concept: "The country needs given kinds of skills in order to grow" (34).

In the 1960s, important economic transformations took place in Greece. From 1960 to 1970, agricultural

production fell whereas the percentage of industrial production went up. Imports quadrupled while exports tripled, clearly showing the Greek economy's integration into the world market. These transformations posed the problem of government involvement in the formation of the labour force and the improvement of labour productivity (35).

Furthermore, since 1950s there has been a dramatic shift in the regional composition of the population with a decline of those living in rural areas and the rise of the urban population. One of the results of rural-urban migration has been an increased pressure for the expansion of secondary education. In addition, the emigration of workers to other countries in Western Europe reached 80,000 to 100,000 a year during the period 1951-1971 (36). Thus the necessity for a closer correspondence of the educational system to the needs of the labour market and the economic development became evident.

The 1957-59 educational reform

Almost ten years after the end of the civil war an attempt made by Greece to bring its educational system more in line with modern demands. The monolithic and humanistically oriented six-year gymnasium with its

unilateral emphasis upon Classical studies could not meet the demands of a changing society and serious problems were created.

First of all, the large number of drop-outs before completion of the six-year gymnasium course created unemployment problem for these people were not prepared for any kind of occupation. According to the statistical evidence about 50% of the students entering the gymnasium dropped out before completing their studies (37).

Secondly, the standards of secondary education suffered because of the increasing numbers of students who found themselves in the gymnasia but who did not possess the requisite intellectual competence. Finally, it was becoming increasingly evident that private agencies, which had hitherto been largely responsible for the training of skilled technicians, could no longer do the job adequately.

Under the pressure of this unsatisfactory situation, and in the view of the rapid international technological development the government, under the Prime Minister K. Karamanles, appointed a special committee in 1957 to examine educational problems.

Early on its work the committee on education formulated certain general principles which were to underlie its proposed reforms. Among the main themes in the reports and policy statements about educational

reform were the educational ramifications of economic development and, in turn, the economic significance of schooling. "Without good education", the committee on education noted in 1958, "our national income cannot be increased nor can our social welfare and stability be ensured" (38).

Several educational policy implications were drawn from this "education for development" perspective. A very significant one was the expansion of educational provision and the revision of the curriculum in order to make it, as argued in the OECD Mediterranean Regional Project, "relevant to modern life" (39).

i) Changes in school structures and access

The six-year gymnasium was to consist of two successive three-year stages: a general "junior" or lower stage, the "pre-gymnasium", and a differentiated "senior" or upper stage (40).

The "pre-gymnasium" would be open to graduates of the elementary school who had passed examinations in Greek and Mathematics; its purpose would be the completion of the elementary general education and the provision of the necessary preparatory training of higher studies or for the various vocations. Admission to the second "cycle", however, would depend on successful completion of the

"pre- gymnasium" course and on passing strict examinations. This second stage would aim at the intellectual stimulation and the disciplining of the student's faculties through an introduction into the cultural values of the Hellenic- Christian tradition, and the development of self-sustained Greek Christian citizens and leaders (41).

To provide flexibility, parity and better vocational orientation, the upper stage was to be differentiated into eight streams: purely classical, scientific, technical, economic, agricultural, maritime, foreign language and home economics. Each of these branches would perform a dual function: prepare students for post-secondary studies in corresponding university faculties and for direct employment in corresponding occupational categories. Nevertheless, in order to ensure the acquisition of a humanistic culture, a core of subjects (Ancient and Modern Greek, one Modern foreign language, Physics and Mathematics) would be required of all students in all types of schools (42).

The implementations of the committee's recommendations began in 1959. On June 11, the Minister of Education submitted a bill titled "Reform of technical and vocational education, organisation of secondary education and administration of education". After a stormy debate the bill was passed in July and signed by the king in the

same year (43).

Perhaps the most revolutionary element in this reform was the conception and re-organisation of vocational and technical education. Implicit in the provisions of the Act was the notion that vocational and technical education should be regarded as another kind of secondary education. In providing that technical, commercial, agricultural and naval gymnasia should enjoy parity of esteem with the classical, scientific and foreign language gymnasia, the Act went beyond even further (44).

ii) Changes in the content

In addition to the democratization of education and greater orientation to current needs, the committee recommended that "humanism" inspired by the Hellenic and Christian spirit, should remain the basis of Greek education. Hellenism, interpreted in a broader sense to include the Ancient, the Byzantine and the Modern Greek heritage, should be unifying and overriding force in the education of Greek youth. Under this principle the committee included the "linguistic problem" and maintained that both forms of the modern Greek language the "demotike" (popular language) and the "katharevousa" (pure language) should be taught (45).

The curriculum of the lower gymnasium, uniform in all schools, was to be based on the concept of "general humanistic paedeia (education)", basically denoting such subjects as Ancient and Modern Greek, Religion and Modern foreign languages (46). The time devoted to Mathematics and Physics was slightly increased and a short time was allocated to Civics and the "Study of the Environment".

New programmes for the upper level of the gymnasium were also drawn up, but the distribution of subjects in terms of categories such as humanities vs. sciences and literary- linguistic vs. other subjects and the amount of time allocated to the traditional staple of the curriculum, for example Ancient and Modern Greek, History, Religion, Physics and Mathematics remained substantially the same.

In its prefatory statement the new 1959 Education Act gave official sanction to the principles promulgated by the committee on education (47). However, these changes that took place in the Greek education with the Law 3971/1959 did not affect the educational problem itself, i.e. the language problem, the change of orientations, the curriculum, the textbooks, teacher education, etc.

In this regard, it has been argued that "education is still the privilege of the elite because the distinction between short-term schools for poor children and long-term schools for the elite remains intact" (48).

The 1959 reform was thus not radical enough to prevent public discontent during the 1960s. The need for modernization became urgent in Greece in the early 1960s because of the pressure of rapidly changing worldwide technology and because Greece might join the European Common Market. Full membership depended on the country's ability to develop economically so that it could approach the level of development accomplished by the other member states. The re-organisation of industrial sectors, the emergence of new occupations and the introduction of new technology were some of the main issues. These economic pressures for change were reflected in public demands for a more efficient educational system. In this context a new education reform was initiated in the mid-1960s.

The 1964-65 educational reform

On February 16, 1964, the liberal party "Kentro" (Centre) led by G. Papandreou won the elections and replaced the right-wing government of K. Karamanles.

In the prefatory memorandum to Legislative Decree 4379/1964 "On organisation and administration of general (elementary and secondary) education" it was stated,

"inter alia..., at a time when Greece is facing stiff competition in the international economic arena, she has only one sure hope of national survival: through education to equip her citizens with the means to exploit her natural resources and to develop the material and intellectual civilisation of the country" (49).

According to the then Prime Minister, G. Papandreou, who was also in charge of the Ministry of Education, the problem of education is financial and intellectual. It is of a financial character the number and the salary of teachers, the school buildings, the means of instruction. Of an intellectual character are the ideals of education, which according to the Constitution are the ideals of the Hellenochristian civilisation, the curriculum, the structure of education (50).

i) Changes in school structures and access

Some policies sought to expand opportunities for education, and they were justified on political, social and economic grounds. They were felt to be consonant with the goal and ideology of a liberal democratic policy (freedom, equality and justice) and the requirements of economic efficiency (development and full utilization of human resources) (51). Specifically these policies included:

1. Free education at all levels of the publicly supported system, including higher education. According to E. Papanoutsos (1965), by making education free and compulsory up to the age of 15, the system would become more open and could claim to provide educational opportunity for all (52). G. Papandreou justified this

measure by referring to the social importance of equality of educational opportunity. He stated: "There is no worse example of social inequality than that of education being the privilege of the fortunate few" (53).

2. Nine year compulsory education (ages 6-15). In justifying the extension of compulsory schooling, the government argued that, through education, the country would be able to develop further both economically and intellectually. To exemplify this point, the government provided examples of Western industrialized countries.

3. Division of secondary general education into a self-contained and unselective three-year general gymnasium that followed the elementary stage, and a highly selective and equally self-contained three-year lyceum.

ii) Changes in the content

The first cycle of secondary school, the modified gymnasium, was to continue and supplement the general education of the first stage (primary cycle), provide more "fundamental" education and allow for the exploration of children's vocational interests (54). It was an independent school of general education with a humanistic basis but also practical character (55).

The second cycle of secondary school, the lyceum, had a dual purpose. This was to provide a richer general

education to young people who would enter the professions or seek appointments requiring qualifications of a higher level, as well as prepare those intending to attend institutions of higher education (56). The first year of the lyceum was common for all students but in the second and third years the school was subdivided into humanistic- theoretical and scientific-practical branches. This meant that students, in addition to their common and compulsory curriculum, would study in greater specialisation either in the humanities or the natural sciences.

There were two major aspects of the curriculum where the G. Papandreou government went further than its predecessors: The language question, and the study of Ancient Greek. For the first time in its history, the folk language of Greeks, "demotike", was to be the medium of instruction at all levels of education. The Legislative Decree 4379/1964, however, stated that the grammar and syntax of "katharevousa" should be taught in the secondary schools and the lyceum with reference to "demotike" and to the Ancient Greek language in those classes where Ancient Greek was taught (57). Although one could not dismiss the validity of the criticisms made by the opposition, that this linguistic measure was likely to lead to chaos, one equally cannot fail to see how this reform reflected the Act's underlying aim to modernize

and democratize the educational system.

In regard to Ancient Greek, Law 4379/1964 provided that in the gymnasium the teaching of Classical Greek literature should be carried out through accepted translations and that systematic study of the language, i.e., in its grammatical and syntactic form would begin in the first class of the lyceum (grade 10) (58). Latin was also abolished in gymnasium curriculum. Nevertheless, the core curriculum of the gymnasium remained the same in terms of subject composition. Ancient Greek, Modern Greek, Mathematics, Physics, History and Foreign language constituted the core of both the old and the new gymnasium curriculum. The new time allocations varied slightly, showing a decrease in the teaching time devoted to Classical Greek, but on the whole these teaching differences did not seriously affect the hierarchical importance of subjects in the curriculum.

Curriculum changes in upper secondary cycle provided a more comprehensive example of the reformers' aim to modernize education. In addition to the core subjects (Classical and Modern Greek, Mathematics, Physics, History and Modern foreign language), there was a series of new subjects which appeared on the Greek curriculum for the first time. The new subjects were derived from the social sciences and were to be studied at an introductory level. Philosophy, Law, Economics would be

taught in the last two grades of the lyceum and like other subjects on the curriculum they were compulsory for all students.

Through this new subject composition in the curriculum, the past stopped being the only overwhelming example of the present and did not limit the students to a study of the intellectual development of the classical era. The introduction of social science subjects implied that Classics would be studied in relation to modern intellectual developments and therefore from a critical perspective. As G. Papandreou stated in the preface of Law 4379/1964, the school "has very many things to teach to the youth about our time" (59).

Emphasis on humanism and classicism in Greek schools had led to an imitation of past values and virtues. The underlying philosophy of the reformers was not a move away from humanistic principles that had traditionally informed Greek educational philosophy, but a more realistic approach towards these principles. They stated:

"Our national education ought to have a basically humanistic character. This has traditionally been the case and will continue to be so. But the humanism that will inspire our national education at all levels must not be a passive worship of dead features from the past, nor must it conflict with the physical sciences and technology; it must be faithful to the deeper meaning of Greek education and the Christian faith with the ability to embrace the intellectual influence of our time. Its goal is the improvement and cultivation of the personal and intellectual life of man" (60).

Despite the resistance, and with the help of a small but articulate group of educators, the reforms were officially approved by Parliament in 1964. The success of the military coup in 1967, however, meant that few of the reforms were maintained. Though not enacted, the 1964-65 educational reform helped to facilitate preparation of the 1976-77 reform.

The Junta educational policy (1967-1974)

i) The politics

Junta can be characterized as an extreme expression of the authoritarianism in Greece which resulted after the political instability of the 1965-1967 period. In fact, the most conservative groups of the liberal party (Centre) in association with the right-wing political party of E.R.E. (Chapter five) and with the royal support opposed to G. Papandreou's policy, who was finally obliged to resign. On the other hand, the dynamic political interference of the king caused the dissolution of the Parliament in 1967, which facilitated, in turn, the military intervention (61).

As soon as the colonels established their military government, they immediately reversed the educational policies of the liberal government of G. Papandreou.

According to its protagonists, the coup attempted to save the country from "the shameless party political dealings, the reckless conduct of a part of the press, the degradation of Parliament, the slander of everyone and everything, the paralysis of the state machine, the total lack of understanding of the problems of our young people" (62).

The aim of the dictatorial regime was clearly not to bring about any radical change in the existing political and social status quo in the country, but, in the words of one of its main theoreticians, "to "sanitize" public life" (63).

The coup of the 21st of April 1967 signalled "the disbanding of political parties, the prohibition of every political activity, the gagging of the press and all the mass media" (64). The army, which, according to the dictators, "preserved in its mind and heart the Greek traditions unaltered, gave the law to the country so that we may be able once more to come back to the source of national ideals" (65).

This conservative national identity can be seen as an expression of a confused ideology which had been adopted by an extremely right part of the army and it served the elite as well as the plans of the foreign supporters of Junta (66). It was clear that the authoritarian character of the regime endowed the public interest group

of the state organisation with enormous power in educational decision making. At the same time, special advisers and councillors employed by the state were deposed (67).

Among the first to go were the members of the Pedagogical Institute: "The Pedagogical Institute established by 4379/1964 Law is abolished, its members and employees returning to their previous positions" (68). The reasons for these changes were made explicit by the colonels:

"The real aim of establishing the Pedagogical Institute was the submission of education to the will of a certain political party; the influence of many of its members on teachers has been extremely corrosive, and the tackling of the educational matters on their part has also been contrary to the nation's interest and to its long history" (69).

By the same token the state openly involved in university affairs without any real reaction on the part of the institutions of higher education or individual professors, some of whom (professors) did on contrary provide active support to the regime. This matter makes clear that university power was curtailed during this period (70).

Similar was the situation prevailing in the rest of the organisations usually involved in the politics of curriculum change. In all of them their elected governing bodies were substituted by either a selected by government leadership or at least by an "elected" one who

enjoyed, however, the regime's approval. O.L.M.E. (Federation of Secondary School Teachers) and parental associations fell under this category, while student unions were abolished altogether (71).

ii) Educational changes

In this context, the new Constitution of 1967 indicated the direction of educational change chosen by the dictators. "Education will determine the moral and intellectual behaviour and the development of national consciousness of the young. It will be based on the ideals of the Hellenic-Christian civilisation" (72). Emergency Law 129/1967 "On organisation and administration of general education and on several other provisions" outlined the alterations to be made in secondary education. The school curriculum as a whole returned to its pre-reform state by placing renewed emphasis on Classical Greek and Greek Orthodox religion.

The colonels identified the "problem" from their own point of view and made their position clear:

"The prime and most significant aim of the school is the development of national consciousness; in recent years education has suffered a serious derangement mainly in terms of orientation to the lofty principles of Hellenochristian civilisation and to the noble tradition of the nation" (73). "This was the cause for a part of the pupils and of the students went astray carried away by ideas and habits alien to our tradition" (74). It was thus ordered that "respects should daily be paid to the national flag and that the national anthem should be sung

in all the educational institutions of the country every day" (75). "In addition, liturgy attendance on the part of pupils and teachers as well as the fulfilment of religious duties, such as confession and holy communion, are made compulsory" (76).

In this respect, therefore,

"the study of selected works from the Classical Ancient Greek and from the Orthodox Christian literature aim to introduce pupils into the spirit of the Hellenochristian civilisation, while the study of selected works from the Modern Greek literature and the study of the history of the nation aim to make pupils understand the uninterrupted intellectual and linguistic unity and continuity of our national life as well as the historical and cultural role of the Greek nation" (77).

In the lower three grades of the secondary school the teachers were to teach the grammar and syntax of "katharevousa", and at the same time to teach the grammar of the Ancient "attike" dialect. In the higher three grades the grammar and syntax of the Ancient "attike" dialect was to be taught in more detail (78).

Besides, the parity of status between "katharevousa" and "demotike" was abolished: "Simple "katharevousa", being the official language of the state, according to Constitutional provision, becomes the means of instruction, written and oral, for both teachers and pupils in the gymnasium" (79).

Secondary schools had one of two emphases -classical or scientific. Table 2.1 overleaf shows the programme of studies of the classical six-year gymnasium. The study of Ancient Greek and Classical literature dominated the programmes of both the lower and upper cycles. Students

Table 2.1

Curriculum of the six-year classical gymnasium during
1967- 1974

Hours per week by grade

<u>Subjects</u>	<u>Lower cycle</u>			<u>Upper cycle</u>			<u>Total</u>
	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Ancient Greek	5	6	6	7	7	8	39
Anthropology	-	1	-	-	1	-	2
Biology	-	-	1	-	-	1	2
Civics	-	-	1/2	-	-	1	1 1/2
Elementary							
Technology	1	1	1	1	-	-	4
Foreign language	3	3	3	2	2	2	15
Geography	2	1	2	1	1	-	7
History	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
Home economics							
(girls)	2	1	1	1	1	-	6
Hygiene	-	1	-	-	1	-	2
Latin	-	-	-	3	3	2	8
Mathematics	4	4	4	4	4	4	24
Modern Greek	4	4	4	4	4	4	24
Music	1	1	1	1	-	-	4

Occupational							
career guidance	-	-	1/2	-	-	-	1/2
Philosophy,							
Psychology, Logic	-	-	-	-	2	2	4
Physical							
education	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
Physical science	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Physics	2	3	3	3	3	3	17
Religion	2	2	2	3	2	2	13
Total (boys)	30	33	34	35	36	36	
Total (girls)	32	34	35	36	37	36	

Source: Hellenic Republic, Government Gazette, Athens, November 10, 1969.

also received instruction in Modern Greek History, Philosophy (in the upper two forms), Latin (in the three-year upper cycle of studies), Civics, Mathematics, Physical Sciences and Foreign languages (French or English) (80).

The scientific gymnasium differed from the classical only in placing a greater emphasis on Mathematics and Physics and less on Ancient Greek, Latin and History (81).

In addition to the curricular changes the structure of the educational system was also modified with the substitution of the nine year compulsory education by the six-year one.

It is thus obvious that the educational politics of that system were overshadowed by the abnormal function of the political system of the country as a whole; under an authoritarian regime one cannot, of course, expect to find a balanced power sharing in education.

The dictatorship overthrown in 1974 strongly affected all democratic Greeks conservative and progressive alike.

2.3.2 THE 1976-1985 PERIOD

The period from 1976 up to 1985 will give the background to the contemporary situation in Greece.

The economic and socio-political demands for educational reforms

In the election of 1974, the newly formed right-of-centre "New Democracy" party, headed by K. Karamanles, won the elections and created an optimistic climate for educational reform. It was believed that social, economic and educational changes demanded adjustments in the school system to make it more efficient and more in line with the country's goals of development and modernization. This also implied making the system more democratic.

According to P.K. Persianis (1978), the emergence of Greece from a seven year period of ruthless dictatorship generated a new political spirit and a determination to create the conditions which would make the repetition of such a tragic experience impossible. As a result, there was an emphatic pursuit of democratization in education as an instrument for democratizing society (82).

A major purpose of the 1976-77 education reform was to close the gap between education and labour market. Greece

was still conscious that labour productivity still was low, that many workers were underemployed, that regional development had been behind because of the lack of skilled workers, and that the outflow of labour through emigration still remained a problem. At the same time, in the view of its entry into EC (January 1st, 1981), Greece had to ensure that the qualifications of its workers could match those of the workers in the other member countries.

On the same line, further attempts took place in Greece in the 1980s in order to modernize the vocational sector of schooling for the country's economic development.

It can be said, therefore, that the need for more and better vocational and technical education has long been recognised in Greece. The problem, however, has been how to create the right structures and curriculum while enhancing its low status. The popular attitude towards technical and vocational education has been traditionally circumspect. On the other hand, the academic curriculum still remains prominent in the Greek educational system and determines the preparation of students for entry into higher education.

The 1976-77 educational reform

The wish of the new government was indeed to provide a comprehensive solution of the problem of education. After a long period of debates on education outside and inside Parliament, they legislated, on the one hand, Article 16 of the Constitution and, on the other hand, Laws No. 186/1975 dealing with the establishment of the Centre for Education Studies and In-Service Training (K.E.M.E.), No. 309/1976 "On the organisation and administration of general education", No. 576/1977 "On the organisation and administration of technical and vocational education", No. 682/1977 "On private education" and No. 815/1978 "On some problems of the organisation and operation of higher education" (83). All the above mentioned Laws were passed by the overwhelming majority of the ruling party of the New Democracy and the large opposition party of the Centre Union.

The Constitution of 1975 clearly defines the new educational principles:

"Education, a basic function of the state, aims at the ethical, intellectual, vocational and physical training of Greeks, the development of their national and religious identity and the creation of independent and responsible citizens" (84).

According to the same article, compulsory education "cannot be less than nine years, and all Greeks have the right to free education in state institutions of all levels". Furthermore, the Constitution stipulates that the state is responsible for the provision of vocational

and any other types of post-secondary technological institutions of not less than three years duration, and for the specification of the employment rights of the graduates of such institutions.

i) Changes in school structures and access

In regard to the structure of the general education (public and private), as this appeared after the 1976-77 reform, it is consisted of the kindergarten, the primary school, the gymnasium and the lyceum. The kindergarten was to involve 2-year of voluntary attendance of children aged 3 years and 6 months on 1st October. The primary school was to require 6-years of compulsory attendance of children aged 5 years and 6 months on 1st October. Secondary education given in the gymnasium was a 3-years of compulsory attendance until the age of 15 years. Pupils who finished the primary school could be registered in gymnasium without entrance examination. The lyceum (general, technical-vocational) was 3-years of voluntary attendance by day or 4-years by night; pupils were to be registered in class A after the entrance examination. Both the gymnasium and the lyceum were self-sufficient schools (85).

A presupposition of the new policy was that the reform would provide the basic institutional structure for the

education and training of various levels of manpower essential for increased productivity and economic development. This was felt to be especially crucial for the future of the country in view of its entry into the European Community (86).

The development benefits of technical education were stressed on several occasions by the Under-Secretary of Education in his introduction of the Law-Plan. He stated: "Education is an investment in fixed capital since it creates the human resources which are required for the economic, social and cultural development of the country" (87).

Law 576/1977 provided, therefore, for three types of technical and vocational schools at the secondary and higher levels of education: a) 1-or-2-year vocational and technical secondary schools, b) 3-year vocational and technical lycea, and c) higher technical colleges (K.A.T.E.E.) (88).

The prefatory statement attached to the Law-Plan -later Law 576/1977- noted that the technical lyceum would be equivalent to the general lyceum, as established by Law 309/1976, and would allow a student to continue his education into higher technical schools. As finally legislated, students attending a technical lyceum could compete for entrance into "highest" institutions (A.E.I.) as well, provided they satisfied the same additional

course requirements as the students in the general lyceum, and participated in the same panhellenic examinations (89).

An important issue, in relation to the aforementioned points, is that the type of re-organisation in the general and technical vocational system of schooling embodied in Law 309 and 576 was part of the government's policy to resolve what were felt to be serious problems created by the increasing individual demand for tertiary education, especially into A.E.I. . Over the last 30 years the increasing number of candidates seeking admission into tertiary institutions has caused difficulties for entry into university and non-university institutions, with all the attendant social and psychological consequences. It was thus anticipated that the new arrangement would ultimately draw more students into the technical vocational branch (secondary and higher). This would alleviate the pressures for university admission by allocating a number of students into the technical lycea and would strengthen the K.A.T.E.E. (technical colleges) (90).

Technical and vocational lycea went into operation in 1977-78. The technical and vocational department of K.E.M.E. developed programmes of study and the syllabuses for all three classes of these schools and for all areas of specialisation as envisaged by Law 576/1977.

ii) Changes in the content

In late January 1976, Premier K. Karamanles called a conference at the Ministry of Education. The purpose of that meeting, according to his opening remarks, was to see whether "a correct, objective, just and national solution would be found to the elusive "educational problem" which for decades has been enmeshed in party politics" (91).

Some of the major items that were discussed extensively was the traditional differentiation or hierarchical conception of knowledge. Some were quite definite about the superior educational value of the Classics, especially Classical Greek, while most accepted the general type of education of the lyceum (the standard Greek academic school curriculum) as the best means of selecting the ablest students for universities and thereby for leadership in society (92).

Reform Law 309/1976 provided for considerable change in how Ancient Greek literature was to be taught. Teaching of Ancient Greek from the original texts has been abolished in the gymnasium and replaced by Modern Greek translations. So the student will be able to establish direct contact with concepts of selected works of Ancient Greek literature through translations. In this way he/she will know the ancient civilisation more

profoundly and will not stop at the surface of grammatical forms of syntax. Gymnasium is thus going to acquire a practical and humanistic basis.

According to the same Law, Ancient Greek will be taught from original texts only in the lyceum of a general academic orientation. Greek children will be thus offered the chance of knowing the older forms of the Greek language, as it was written and spoken by their ancestors. At the same time, however, they will study Ancient Greek through literary translations as well, so that they can communicate with the cultural values of the ancient world and acquire a humanistic education.

Latin has been practically abolished, its teaching being restricted to the classical lyceum only or having become an optional lesson for C grade in lyceum of a general academic orientation (Chapter three, Table 3.3).

Although the education reformers did not underestimate the importance of the cultural treasures of Latin, they believed, however, that there is a most imperative need to save time for the study of living languages, such as English, German, French, particularly in view of Greece's joining the European Community (93).

The language question, on the other hand, was eventually solved by Article 2 in the final Bill, which was introduced in April 1976 and became Law by vote (Law 309/1976).

Article 2 of the 1976 Bill stated:

"Beginning with the school year 1976-77, the language of instruction, the object of teaching and the language of textbooks at all levels of general education is the neohellenic language. The neohellenic language is understood to be the "demotike" written without idioms and extremities".

K. Aposkites, who introduced Law 309/1976, described it as "a work of people who really believe in democracy and as a piece of legislation which is, in every aspect, inspired by democratic and popular ideas" (94).

Furthermore, one of the objectives of the 1976-77 educational policy was to provide vocational information in order to help lower secondary school leavers (age 15) decide about their future jobs. The intention was to see larger numbers of students turn toward technical and vocational education. Two measures were designed for this purpose: a) the inclusion of subjects giving information about technology and vocational life, and b) re-organisation and expansion of technical and vocational education.

The task of implementing the new policy directives regarding technical vocational education was as complex as it was immense. The policy goal of strengthening this type of education and bringing about what was considered to be a more appropriate balance in student flows between general and technical schooling required among other things that:

- Suitable units and equipment be found;

- new curricula be designed that would satisfy the general and technical vocational components of the programme;
- new textbooks be written or adapted from those available;
- qualified personnel be secured; and
- systematic efforts be made to allay public anxiety and ambivalence, and to create a more favourable attitude towards technical and vocational schools (95).

Nevertheless one issue which is to be considered here is the status-granting role of schooling. Education in Greece is seen by the public as a potent vehicle for upward social mobility. It is also important to note that until the period of the 1976-77 reform, technical education in Greece did not enjoy the same prestige as general education. Some of the main reasons suggested for the reluctance to follow a technical course have been the following:

- Fear of not entering into higher education;
- fear of entry into professions with low prestige;
- technical vocational education was generally of lower quality and status than general education; and
- the Greek concept of liberal education and the educated man was defined in general, humanistic-cum-literary terms (96).

Summing up one can argue that the 1976-77 education

reform was the result of external social forces than the natural outcome of the educational system itself. The well-known conservatism of teachers and educators and the absence of serious educational research in Greece render internally generated educational reform rather difficult.

The 1976 education reform, A. Dimaras (1978) states, has introduced structural amendments which were long overdue, but it has not changed the traditional conservative, selective and authoritarian character of the Greek educational system. It is very unlikely that it will help create a new type of mentality, a new approach to knowledge, a new culture, all of which have long been the rhetorical background of all liberal plans and appeals for reform (97).

Further attempts for democratization and modernization of the educational system was taken place in the first half of the 1980s.

The 1981-85 educational policy

In 1981 P.A.S.O.K. (Panhellenic Socialistic Movement) under the leadership of A. Papandreou won the elections and took office until 1989.

In his speech to the inaugural gathering of the national council for university Prime Minister A.

Papandreou stated:

"Education is a social good and something to which every citizen has a right. The state has an obligation to ensure this provision for every young person as an urgent priority in every corner of our land -with the same level and quality of preparation, the same upright, transparent and objective procedures, the same reliable and full provision of information about opportunities and conditions of study at all levels, about the specific needs of the economy, and about the situation in employment. One of the basic objectives of our educational policy is to seek out and develop the creative abilities and talents of our young people, to give these young people a systematic preparation for shouldering the difficult task of regenerating our country and ensuring its progress, in a responsible way, with critical understanding and, above all, as socially conscious workers and citizens equipped with adequate scientific and technical expertise" (98).

On the line of the aforementioned statement PA.SO.K. government went further than the 1976-77 educational reform policies in introducing some new measures in education.

i) Changes in school structures and access

In relation to the structure and operation of the education system (99), education is provided on three levels: primary education (nursery and primary schools), secondary education (gymnasia and lycea) and tertiary education which encompasses university-level education (A.E.I.) and non-university education (T.E.I.). Compulsory education lasts for 9 years (6 years at primary school and 3 years at gymnasium).

At general and technical-vocational secondary

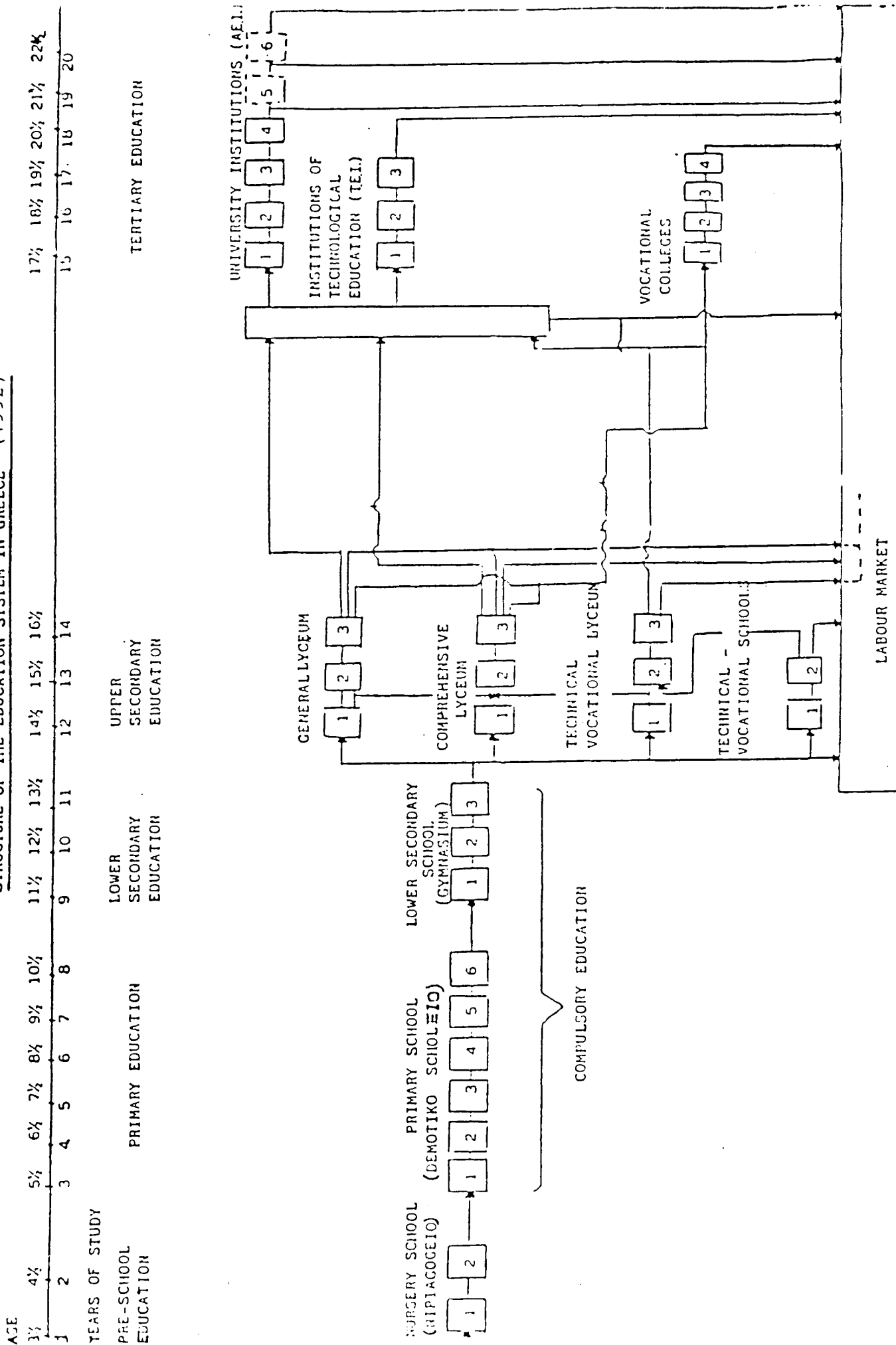
education level the responsibility for issuing guidance on teaching matters rests with the school adviser whose duty it is to assess the performance of teachers and to arrange for their further training as well as to encourage educational research. The position of school adviser was brought into being by Law 1304/1982.

The structure of the current Greek education system together with the relevant age groupings and the duration of study at each level is shown in the diagram overleaf.

In relation to secondary education, attendance at the gymnasium lasts for three years and is compulsory. Pupils who have completed the normal six years of primary education are admitted without examinations. There is no special end-of-year written examinations for each class; graduating pupils are awarded a gymnasium leaving certificate.

Lycea, on the other hand are divided into the following types: general lycea, classical lycea, technical-vocational lycea and comprehensive lycea. Comprehensive lycea were instituted with Law 1566/1985. The provision was to consolidate the organic link between general and technical vocational education and provide all pupils with opportunities for the balanced development of their abilities and the cultivation of their interests and skills, so as to facilitate their

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participation in the productive processes and development of the country. Comprehensive lycea are gradually being established over the whole country according to geographical, educational and financial circumstances and needs.

In regard to the selection system for higher education, young people who do not gain admission to tertiary education at the first attempt have the right to seek to improve their marks in order to satisfy the entrance requirements of the particular institutions of their choice (up to a maximum of four times -three since 1991). To assist them in this, post-lyceum preparatory centres were set up in all parts of the country. These began functioning in January 1983 and were established in order to help overcome the enormous geographical, social class and other inequalities which, over the country as a whole, affect the level of educational opportunity open to young people to do away with "parallel education" methods (100). These centres have been abolished by the "New Democracy" government (according to a report disseminated by the Ministry of Education (3.5.89), they worked until May 31st, 1989).

ii) Changes in the content

In the first class at comprehensive lycea all pupils follow a common core of subjects and are also able to take elective subjects as well as optional subjects in their free hours. Class 2 is divided into courses of study and class 3 into branches of study. Pupils in these classes receive teaching in a common core of subjects and in course or branch subjects accordingly.

The courses of study provide the basic grounding and act as starting points for groups of similar vocations and for the preparation of the pupils for tertiary education. The branches of study prepare the pupils to:

- a) continue study at tertiary level -the curriculum include the teaching of the corresponding preparatory subjects;
- b) carry out a profession, and
- c) acquire a specialisation after study at a specialisation department for lycea graduates (101).

In addition, great emphasis has been given to the modernization of the primary school curriculum. Up to 1981, the primary curriculum was based on the patterns of the 1913, 1917 and 1929 Education Acts. The education reforms in 1964-65 and 1976-77, on the other hand, were mainly concerned with the structure and the content of secondary education. According to the new governmental education policy, new syllabi (introduction of foreign

languages - especially English-, technology etc.) and textbooks have been adopted in primary schools.

Democratization was also attempted with the involvement of some interest groups (i.e. parents, scientists, social representatives) in the education administration at the national, regional and school level (Chapter four).

In conclusion, it can be said that the reform policies undertaken by P.A.S.O.K. government in the 1981-1985 period seem to have a new dimension -that of popular modernization- as well as the element of the transition to social transformation. The prevailing element (either modernization or socialism) in this educational reform seemed to be related to the social-economic development with which education was called to be connected.

Nevertheless, since 1985 the state reinforced again in the educational system the centralization, autocratic and bureaucratic characteristics of the past. Some of the reasons can be sought in: a) the serious economic problems which have been very obvious since then in the country; b) the frequent intervention of the government in the implementation of the reform Laws with the introduction of new circulars (as in the case of Law 1268/1982) and the inability of other Laws to operate (eg. Law 1566/1985) (see Chapter four); c) the nature of the Greek state itself, which remained centralized and

bureaucratic and it facilitated therefore the conservative turn of the government in the 1985-89 period.

2.4 CONCLUSION

Summarizing, one might argue that the attempts made to modernize and democratize the curriculum since 1950s have been much in the way advocated by OECD review of 1965 in connection with the Mediterranean Regional Project:

"It is useless to enrol vast numbers of young people in schools unless the education they acquire is relevant to modern life. The curricula should be designed to create a wide cultural outlook which, though linked to traditional values, would ensure the understanding of modern life and create the intellectual flexibility required in an era of rapid social change" (102).

In event, however, the curriculum still contains a classical bias and falls short of harmonizing educational with social and economic development aims in the way intended.

In conclusion, one can say that the process of education in modern Greece as it was outlined in this Chapter seems to have all those elements which characterized the social and political fight of Greek people for national independence, democracy, social and economic justice. As M. Eliou (1978) says,

"the backward-looking aspect of attempted educational reforms had tied our education in Greece to outdated structures is the expression, in the educational and ideological field, of other conflicts and impasses. Until

now it has not been possible in our country to advance really beyond these" (103).

Conservative views on curriculum have been strong in the history of Greek education, even in relatively liberal reform periods. This conservatism can be illuminated by considering Greek curriculum philosophy.

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CHAPTER 3

THE CURRICULUM PHILOSOPHY IN THE GREEK EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

3.1 INTRODUCTION

It was suggested in the previous Chapter that the Greek secondary school curriculum is biased towards humanist studies which are perceived to be opposed to modernization. This Greek humanism differs from the moral variant in England and the metaphysical type of Germany. It is based on Ancient Greek values and Christian Orthodox ideals and it has given emphasis on the development of the national identity. Nationalism, in turn, has appeared to be associated with conservatism in Greece. The traditional and enduring values of Greek humanism should be examined for the effect of their persistence in the attitudes of participants in the politics of the curriculum.

In Greece sustained and vigorous efforts have been made to improve the system of education, the curriculum of schools, the method of teaching. The overall aim is modernization; that is, the adjustment of education to the needs of the present and the foreseeable future so that it may serve to improve material conditions and the cultural and spiritual aspirations of the people. If professional and vocational preparation is postponed until, say, the age of fifteen, this leaves the difficult problem of deciding what to teach up to that age, and, in addition, how to provide general education as the

complement to specialised training beyond that age.

A.N. Whitehead (1962) said that "three main avenues should exist in a national system of education: the literary, the scientific and the technical curricula, each including the other two" (1). How far did the Greek educational system follow such a pattern? Where can the sources of dominant curriculum practices be found in Greece?

To answer these questions an attempt will be made here to illustrate how normative patterns of beliefs relating to man, society and knowledge are legitimized and reflected through educational practice. Once these values have been characterized then the basic issues over which the different groups contend in the politics of curriculum reform can be understood.

Educational theories provide us with three major assumptions which determine the functioning of an educational system. T. Moore (1978) claims:

"First, the assumption about an end to be achieved. In general terms this will be an "educated man". Plainly, what counts as an "educated man" will depend largely upon the society one has in mind. The interpretation of "educated man" will be culture-bound, or ideological in character. Secondly, there will be assumptions about those to be educated, and these too will vary, according to the philosophical, religious, psychological man. Finally, there will be assumptions about the nature of knowledge and about the effectiveness of methods. Differences in conviction about the nature of knowledge, that knowledge is basically scientific or religious, will result in different educational theories, with different emphases on the methods recommended for practice" (2).

The impact of these traditions upon the content of the contemporary school curriculum as well as on debates about language and technical education in Greece will be examined in the latter part of the Chapter.

3.2 TRADITIONAL VIEWS OF WORTHWHILE KNOWLEDGE

3.2.1 SOME ISSUES FOR CURRICULUM CONTENT SELECTION

Content selection presupposes the presence of some criteria, of a set of assumptions and views on the aims of education, on the structure and the worthwhileness of knowledge, on society and social change, on man as an individual human being and as a member in a society. The nature of these criteria may vary. They may be philosophical in their conception; quite naturally since philosophy is preeminently involved in the study of knowledge -its nature and worthwhileness- of man and of society, the concepts that are at the centre of the criteria for justifying the selection of curriculum content.

Almost every philosopher, although "he is in the first place a reformer of society and of man, and only as a consequence an educator" (3), offers a set of such criteria. As a result, content selection can be made on various philosophical grounds.

But justifying selection need not necessarily have a philosophical basis. After all, some would argue that "philosophers are much more the creatures of their own upbringing" (4), thus suggesting that philosophical criteria for content selection are not entirely uncontaminated by the kind of society in which they originated.

Others would carry this view a step further attesting that all knowledge is socially constructed in the sense that "those in position of power will attempt to define what is to be taken as knowledge, how accessible to different groups any knowledge is, and what are the accepted relationships between different knowledge areas" (5), an assertion which devalues philosophical criteria and provides a different basis for justifying the selection of curriculum content.

These positions are not irreconcilable. Certain philosophical positions may be dominant because they are supported by certain powerful groups. The methodology may also be different. It can be related with questions like what is the kind of philosophy? what are the power groups? how do they maintain power?

But regardless of these theoretical arguments on the structure of knowledge and its worthwhileness as the criterion for selecting what would be taught in schools, more immediate considerations may very well determine

selection. Industrialisation (and the consequent need for scientific knowledge), willingness to preserve cultural continuity (and appreciation of Classical studies), democratization (and the wish to provide political, economic and social knowledge to every one not just the elite few) are some of these considerations that may constitute the basis for justifying the selection of curriculum content (6).

3.2.2 THE WESTERN EUROPEAN HUMANISTIC TRADITION

One might say that the overall purpose of education remains to provide the young with an understanding of man and the world; to develop human action and man himself; to reconcile man with his social and natural environment; to stabilise and strengthen personality; to prepare young people to discharge effectively their tasks as citizens and producers.

According to E. Durkheim (1977),

"there are two major categories of things which it is essential for man to understand: the first is man himself, the second is nature. Hence the two great fields of study: On the one hand, the humanities, human minds, the manifestations of consciousness; on the other, the physical universe" (7).

That man needs to understand man is superfluous to

demonstrate. The emphasis on this need has been seen to be excessive. At the end of the eighteenth century, secondary education still consisted entirely of the study of humanities in Western European countries.

Throughout the nineteenth century general education for the English meant above all the attempt to foster the development of personality through the training of moral character. The "gentleman ideal" was reflected in the public school curriculum (from which the state grammar school curriculum was derived); the main intellectual instrument was the teaching of Classics, that is, of Latin and Greek. The study of Classics seemed not only to throw light on the intellectual and moral world in which pupils lived but also to distinguish public schools' curricula from the schools below them (8).

Science, on the other hand, could not compete successfully with literature at a time when the skills of the administrator and the industrial leader were not based on technological competence but almost solely on the understanding and management of men (9).

In regard to the old traditional French views, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, in the aftermath of the revolution, a kind of alliance was formed between Humanism and Church. The champions of traditionalism, in religious as well as in social and political matters,

rightly or wrongly saw in the old literary education the best support for what they regarded as sound doctrine, while, by contrast, for them scientific education was suspect (10).

The French, of course, have realised the importance and value of science in education. During the whole of the nineteenth century there was a continuous battle between those who wished to promote the sciences and those who had continuing faith in the power of the classical and literary formation of their youth (11).

Furthermore, at the same period certain German humanists like Herder and Wilhelm von Humboldt took the view that, in order to remain true to the very principles of humanism, it was necessary to overthrow Latin civilisation and replace it with Greek (12).

Friedrich Schneider considers that the central aim of German education is ethical and that it is concerned primarily with the moral personality and with inner freedom of the individual. There is even now a belief in the notion that there exists an inner reality and unity in the "kosmos" (world), and that it can be apprehended in almost mystical manner by a process of identification with the inner nature of things. It can also be helped by coming into sympathetic contact both with creations of God and with permanent achievements of the human spirit. Nationalism too exerted its very powerful effects.

Herder, Fichte and Hegel gave expression to the idea that general education should develop a burning patriotism, a love of the fatherland (13).

These three strands -the English, the French and the German- are most influential in the complex web which is the European tradition of the liberal or general education. It embodied at once a doctrine of the nature of man and a doctrine of the nature of knowledge.

In such a context, which was dominated by the ideas of new humanism and idealism, the new Greek nation state turned to its own tradition and to the West (France and Germany, in particular). Traditional curriculum practice in Greece can be understood in terms of the ideas of Plato, particularly as expressed in the "Republic". The essentialist view, derived from Plato and developed in Greece in the nineteenth century, held that a truly liberal education could be best provided through certain selected subjects (14).

It has been difficult to reconcile the democratization of the secondary school curriculum with a residual view that high status knowledge could be acquired only by the political, social and intellectual elite. Nor has it been easy to introduce knowledge into the curriculum which is related to the occupational and social futures of the majority of students when traditional concepts of high status knowledge have been so restricted (15).

Platonic views about man, society and knowledge still, however, inform educational practice in the Greek context. The purpose is the development of moral capacities and the reinforcement of nationalism through the study of the classical Greek antiquity.

In fact, the aims of the gymnasium, as they have been formulated after the 1976 Education Act, reflect a national humanism: "...To help pupils to become conscious of their abilities and inclinations; to sharpen their moral judgement; to develop their religious and national conscience" (16). Nevertheless, there is little reference in the Law to the importance of the development of rational or scientific type of thinking.

In this respect, the main aims of the teaching of Ancient Greek in secondary schools are concerned with "the humanist education of students" (gymnasium and lyceum level) and "the study of Ancient Greek language" (lyceum level) (17).

Plato's views, therefore, will provide us with a theoretical framework through which educational practice and its philosophical assumptions can be examined .

3.2.3 "PLATO'S JUST SOCIETY"

Plato's concern in the "Republic" (18) was to describe

the "ideal society" and he offered a coherent pattern of normative propositions about the characteristics a society ought to have, how people ought to be classified and treated, and how knowledge ought to be acquired and what status it ought to have. The arguments in favour of his proposals were logical rather than empirical and can be contrasted with the theories of the sophists, of whom Protagoras is a representative, and the materialists, of whom Democritus was an early spokesman.

Plato's assumption was that perfect society was a just society and the just society was one that most closely corresponded to a transcendent ideal. Social change was a process of degeneration or social decay. Since Plato's main interest was in the political aspects of society, he considered that of the three forms of government -the rule of one man, of the few and of the many- a monarchy most nearly approached the ideal. Any change in society makes it less perfect.

The ideal society should be stable, preferably static, or at least one that changed as little as possible. The typically conservative reaction to politics is that governments ought to use their power to arrest all political change; that new tendencies are subversive and should be opposed; for only by maintaining the status quo can justice be ensured.

"Just" society ought to be functional. Since Plato's

conception is principally political there should be in the just society rulers and ruled. From this point of view there ought to be two main classes in society: the ruling class, which can be subdivided into the true leaders (the guardians) and their armed auxiliaries or warriors, and the workers. Plato's concern is, of course, with the education of leaders. In contrast, the training of workers is quite another thing. Its aims are different and its status is derived from the class of individuals for whom it is intended.

There can be little doubt that in his ideal-typical model education and training are functionally related to class structures in society: education for the leaders and their auxiliaries; training for workers who have economic tasks to perform.

In this kind of society the stability of the class structure is important. The rulers should rule; the workers should work. Leaders may be selected from the auxiliaries but only very exceptionally from among the workers. Social and political mobility is antithetical to good government. Indeed, the economic model is one in which each individual does only one, specialised job. The carpenter should confine himself to making furniture; the shoemaker to making shoes. Each person should perform the job for which he is best suited.

This theory of society is based on notions of

function. Plato believes that social inequalities are the consequence of the natural differences between individuals. A few men are fit to rule and the rest need to be ruled.

"In the Republic, the guardians and the auxiliaries, who are going to understand the responsibility of managing the affairs of the state, have been assigned to their respective positions of power on the basis of their intellectual and physical virtues. They personify the four cardinal virtues of courage, wisdom, discipline and justice. It is these abilities that make them fit to rule. The guardians accept their position of power not for the honour they get, but as a matter of necessity" (19).

Plato's theory of individual differences is expressed in an analogy:

"You are, all of you in this community, brothers. But when God fashioned you, he added gold in the composition of those of you, who are qualified to be rulers; he put silver in the auxiliaries and iron and bronze in the farmers and other workers. Now, since you are all of the same stock, though your children will commonly resemble their parents, occasionally, a silver child will be born of golden parents, or a golden child of silver parents, and so on. Therefore, the first and most important of God's commandments to the rulers is that in the exercise of their functions as guardians their principal care must be to watch the mixture of metals in the characters of their children. If one of their own children has traced of bronze or iron in its make up, they must harden their hearts, assign its proper value, and degrade it to the ranks of the industrial and agricultural class, where it properly belongs: similarly, if a child of this class is born with gold or silver in its nature, they will promote it appropriately to be a guardian or an auxiliary. And this they must do, because there is a prophecy that the state will be ruined when it has guardians of silver or bronze" (20).

Social stability therefore depends upon the willingness of members of the ruling classes to recognise that their internal unity should be preserved. Education

should be an instrument of class rule and, in so far as it prevents disunity among the rulers and hence in habits change, is necessary if society is to remain stable (21).

Education should promote reason or rationality. It should develop class-consciousness and team spirit. For Plato, gymnastics ought to promote fierceness; literary studies ought to promote gentleness. A balance should be found between these two aspects of education so that a proper balance of qualities is produced. Given this balance, rulers will be able to treat the ruled neither too cruelly nor too softly. In another context wisdom should be the virtue possessed by guardians and coinage the virtue proper to their auxiliaries or warriors. Education should make sure that these virtues are rewarded and the school system should be used to select future leaders and train them. Wisdom is essential; it is the source of good and both should be informed by knowledge.

As for knowledge, a major question for Plato and other Greek thinkers was: In a world of changing experiences, what is knowable? The answer philosophers of at least two schools of thought gave was similar.

"In the ceaseless flow of experiences only knowledge of what is permanent can be acquired. Atoms were permanent for the materialists. Ideas or essences were permanent for the idealists. For Plato, knowable ideas transcend but determine the nature of things, plants, animals, human beings and social institutions. In the event pure ideas are imperfectly realised in practice and as things change they become less perfect. Knowledge is of pure

ideas that cannot change" (22).

The type of knowledge imparted to the future leaders should reflect the nature of the qualities to be acquired. Such knowledge is beyond the realm of the visible world; a changing world, which can be perceived and understood through the senses. It is knowledge of pure and permanent ideas which can be acquired intuitively through the exercise of pure reason. Such ideas help to determine the functioning of the visible world, but are not involved in its transitional and changing character (23).

At the level of specific knowledge a philosopher should be trained among other things in pure Mathematics, pure Astronomy, pure Harmonies and, most important of all, in the methods of acquiring knowledge, namely, Dialectics (24).

Introduction to theoretical constructs, thus, begins through the teaching of Mathematics,

"since it so obviously compels the mind to use pure thought in order to get at the truth. The study of Mathematics is not to be used for any immediate practical or scientific purposes, it is, in fact, pursued for the sake of knowledge. The objects of that knowledge are eternal and not liable to change and decay" (25).
Mathematics, however, provide "only the prelude to the main theme we have learned" (26).

The final and highest stage of educational training is the dialectic. This is a process of rational argument in which the student, using the skills of his previous educational training, rationalizes about the objects of

visible reality and discovers their true nature in the realm of intelligible reality. In so doing, he becomes critical of assumptions and finally destroys them. The object of knowledge at this stage is the forms of intelligible reality (pure ideas).

"The dialectic is an intellectual theme, but can be represented in terms of vision by the progress of sight from shadows to the real creatures themselves, and then to the stars themselves, and finally to the sun itself. So when tries to get at what each thing is in itself by the exercise of dialectic, relying on reason without any aid from the senses, and refuses to give up until one has grasped by pure thought what the good is in itself, one is at the summit of the intellectual realm" (27).

For Plato, states of mind correspond to the two stages of reality:

"Imagination and belief determine opinion in the visible reality whereas reasoning and intelligence direct men towards knowledge in the intelligible reality. As the mind moves from imagination to intelligence, it moves progressively from lower to higher degrees of certainty and clarity. In this sense, therefore, knowledge can claim to have as its object the perfectly real, whereas opinion is something intermediate between knowledge and ignorance" (28).

One of the functions of education is to ensure this progressive development from one state of mind to another through the appropriate choice of subjects. These subjects are not to be learned for any practical purposes, but to be used as tools to develop the critical faculties of men. The stages of education Plato advocates, therefore, reflect the states of mind.

3.2.4 ARISTOTLE'S POSITION

Aristotle's views on education were similar to Plato's, in that he stressed that "education was too important to leave to the whim of parents, or to the resources of private enterprise", and he closely associates "training in citizenship with the moral qualities of the good individual". He thus concluded that "education should be a state function, and that it should be equally available for all" (29).

Both Plato and Aristotle argue that the individual must be educated for the good of the state. Aristotle's argument is based on the idea that the state is essential to the individual, and, therefore, the individual's first duty is to the state.

"Man is a political animal because he is a rational animal, because reason requires development through character training, education and cooperation with other men, and because society is thus indispensable to the accomplishment of human dignity" (30).

Starting from considerations of what sort of being a man is and what sort of society he lives in, Aristotle reached conclusions about the way man is "born for citizenship" (31) and because the state came into existence "for the sake of life and exists for the sake of the good life" (32).

He concludes that "citizens should be educated to suit the way of life of the state of "polis" (city) in which they lived" (33). From this argument he arrives at two

conclusions, namely that "children should be trained to be good persons as well as citizens", and that "education should be one and the same for all" (34).

Nevertheless, neither Plato nor Aristotle upheld democracy in its modern form. Aristotle described democracy as "the rule of many" (35). This is not exactly the same as the rule of all, as there were many who were excluded from citizenship in the city state of Athens, notably the slaves and women. What the Ancient Greeks described as democracy must therefore be considered a rather limited form of democracy. Within the elite group of citizens there were to be no distinctions as to prestige and political power, but the rest of society were to be excluded from the political process. Thus, although there are differences in emphasis, Plato and Aristotle both advocated a form of limited democracy (36).

In conclusion, and with regard to the approach to knowledge in the school curriculum of the twentieth century in Greece, one can point out that Philology is the traditional centre of the Greek curriculum, comprising Classical and Modern Greek, History, Philosophy and Latin, and occupying 44% of all teaching staff far out-weighting all other subjects. By contrast, it is noteworthy that the appointments of Science teachers have accounted for only 10% (37).

Thus, the emphasis put on the humanistic subjects of the curriculum illustrates the type of valued knowledge in the Greek educational system.

3.2.5 GREEK HUMANISM

During the Turkish occupation these developments of the ideas of democracy took place outside of Greece. In the 1828 when the modern state of Greece was established, the new country faced the difficulty of reassimilating the ideas to which it had given birth. The political educational institutions were practically non-existent. The majority of the population were illiterate and there was not a recent tradition of political democracy even in limited form. Greece, therefore, turned to her own past and to the West for main ideas to guide educational theory and practice.

Both the Spartan agoge (rigid training), which aimed to produce devoted soldiers, and the Athenian "paedeia" (education) were received by a Greek born and raised after independence. The Greek Orthodox faith also played a significant role as a source of educational development in that it introduced and perpetuated the idea that the Greek Orthodox faith was synonymous with the creation and survival of an independent Greek nation-state (38).

As far as Western sources of educational practice are

concerned, Greece adopted the so-called Bavarian plan of 1834-1836 patterned after the French elementary education Law of 1833 (Guizot Law) and the Bavarian secondary education system. As the new prototype was the German system, at the time strongly influenced by an admiration of the classical past, the Greeks had no difficulty in accepting it, as it also served their desire to regain their national identity and reinforce their links with their renowned ancestors (39). Thus, during the nineteenth century Greek secondary education developed an intensely academic curriculum, the most important ingredient of which was classical learning (40).

The Greeks identified Classical learning almost exclusively with Ancient Greek learning and justified it not only for disciplinary, intellectual and moral reasons, but also on patriotic and religious grounds. The study of Ancient Greek was regarded as generating "patriotic sentiment and enthusiasm", and as "an indispensable tool for better understanding of the doctrines of the national faith, such as the Greek Orthodox Church" (41).

Classicism (often called Hellenism) and Orthodox faith constituted the conceptual bases of secondary education, the former being of greater importance than the later. The overriding ideal was a "humanistic" education but one which could only be acquired through the study of the

"Hellenic- Christian" tradition with its previously mentioned connotations and emphases. This humanistic ideal and its Hellenic-Christian basis have characterized Greek secondary education up to the present time (42).

However, the establishment of Greek education on the ideals of antiquity and the Orthodox Christian religion had as a result the stability of the system and its attachment to the past. In addition, this close relationship between the classical tradition and the Christian moral philosophy, which both put emphasis on non materialistic aspects of life, influenced a classical and Christian orientation of the curriculum, which, in turn, aimed at the moral and intellectual functions of education. Consequently, vocational and technical education development were very much restricted.

This Hellenic-Christian tradition also affected the structure of Greek society. An intellectual elite was appeared with common ideology and education.

"Being educated in the classical humanistic culture and the Orthodox Christian tradition this intelligentsia obtained a strong political and social power. It was in a position to define the aims and ideals of Greek education and culture, and it could even control high post occupations in the country" (43).

In this regard, it is worthy of note that until recently it would be difficult for someone with a very good background to pursue a membership in the Academy of Athens (the highest academic organisation in Greece) if he did not come from that intellectual elite (44).

Moreover, the state itself tried to keep alive the Hellenic-Christian tradition over the years. The Greek Constitutions have strongly favoured such an orientation of the Greek educational system. For example, the article 16 of the 1952 Constitution stated: "The aim of primary and secondary education should be concerned with the moral and intellectual development of young people, according to the Hellenic-Christian culture" (45).

Some basic reasons, therefore, can be identified, which have greatly affected the attachment of Greek education to the tradition:

1) The increasing nationalism associated with the belief in the value of Ancient Greek culture; 2) the use of the purist language "katharevousa" introduced an elitist spirit in education (it was only with 1976-77 educational reform that "katharevousa" has been officially replaced by the popular language "demotike"); 3) the German and French sources of the Greek education during the nineteenth century were based on the ideals of humanism and idealism. That movement was characterized by an admiration of the Classical studies, which were thought to be the only teaching medium for the intellectual, moral and aesthetic development of the man.

Furthermore, the state used various mechanisms to protect the humanistic character of education. For instance, in the nineteenth and early twentieth century

schoolmasters at secondary education were mainly Philologists; equally, up to 1970, inspectors of secondary education with administrative duties should be Philologists (see Chapter six).

The educational reforms, on the other hand, which have been attempted since the beginning of the twentieth century were desirable only in so far as they were compatible with the traditional epistemological assumptions. The prominent position of Ancient Greek in the curriculum suggests that this type of knowledge is greatly valued. Classical studies are intricately related to the concept of humanism, from which Greek educational philosophy draws its principles.

I would like to conclude with a quotation from E. Durkheim (1977):

"Let us continue the work of the humanists, but transforming and revitalising it with new ideas. Let us use the Classical literatures not to familiarise the child with this abstract and generalised ideal of man, which was cherished in the seventeenth century, but to show man as he is, with his almost limitless capacity for change, in the extreme complexity of his nature which is capable of manifesting itself in an immense diversity of forms. Just as the literatures will be studied in a different frame of mind, they will be able to be studied by different methods. For if literature is to be used as a means of getting to know a civilisation, a knowledge of the language in which that literature is written ... is valuable as a means of getting closer to the ideas one is striving to grasp" (46).

3.3 THE CURRENT PHILOSOPHICAL CRITERIA FOR THE SELECTION OF CURRICULUM CONTENT IN GREECE

The analysis of the previous part can be used in this section to support a claim that Greek humanism still informs many modern education debates in Greece especially as regards the specific topics of curriculum content, vocational education and language issue.

To understand the character of the Greek secondary school curriculum, the criteria and their use that underpin and justify it, the selection of its content should be investigated. Our guide in this inquiry would be the philosophical writings of the most representative spokesmen of the school of thought which informs the institutionalised curriculum.

K.D. Georgoules (1950) claims:

"Two are the sources of inspiration for the Greek education: the first source is the Ancient Greek humanism and the second, the Christian Religious ideal. Both have been combined into the unified body of ideas always referred to as "Helleno-Christian cultural tradition" (47).

Greek neo-humanist thought had managed to reconcile them into a federation of ideas with its two poles allowing a respective shift in the philosophical emphasis and thus the variation in the total outlook. At the basis of the Greek neo-humanism lies the cultural soil of the Greek antiquity: "The Ancient Greek civilisation is the intellectual ground into which the roots of both the

medieval and the modern Greek civilisation are submerged" (48).

The cultural figure in Greek humanism is the "intellectual man"; "the man with the deductive ability to perceive the one out of the many, unity out of the non-systematised and the disorderly bulk of details with the ability to get from life into the soul" (49). But equally important, man is also an "inherent part of the political community, the "city"; he is the citizen-man" (50);

"the man who, by being a political animal, manages the self-supporting development of his individual being and his intellectual and political perfection only under the auspices of a free, just and organically structured political community. He is the link of multifarious bonds and relationships, material, intellectual, political and moral both with the "city", the state and his fellow citizens" (51).

His discriminating characteristic, therefore, is his intellectual struggle -broadly perceived here to include not only the cognitive but also the moral and aesthetic elements as well- to achieve perfection, to shape his human attributes. Unlike his oriental counterpart who acquired knowledge empirically and used it for practical purposes in life he is interested in "episteme" (discipline) which inquires into the cause of truth for its own sake irrespective of any consideration on the practical usefulness of its findings in every day life (52).

Consequently, a deep dichotomy exists and ought to be

preserved in the cultural production of man. On the one hand, there is knowledge and all those activities that aim at human perfection; together they constitute what we call civilisation. On the other hand, there are the skills; the kind of knowledge which alleviates the hardships of life. That part of knowledge which contributes to the cultivation of man is superior to that which equips man with the capacity to live an easy life; "that life is preeminently human which is theoretical and realises the cause of Truth" (53).

According to K.I. Vourveres (1950), for the modern and contemporary world there is no humanistic point to reiterate the historical solutions given to the problems of life by Ancient Greeks, although some are on their essence and have remained the same then, now and for ever; these are related to the specific historical conditions of the time and have mainly an historical and scientific value (54). He continues, "their educational, i.e. humanist, value lies in the way and the form Ancient Greeks perceived those fundamental problems and mainly how they struggled with them" (55).

A dynamic character in humanism is recognised by its modern adherents.

"Humanism constitutes the permanent thesis in a continuous confrontation and sharpening of the modern spirit against the Ancient spirit" (56), "a process of cultivation through antiquity for the sake of modern civilisation and contemporary life" (57). However, "each generation, collectively and individually, and each era

have particular stance towards an intellectual communication with Ancient Greeks" (58).

Modern Greeks are expected to retain a similar, yet not identical, outlook towards classical antiquity and its humanism with other European people. The diversifying element lies basically in the fact that Modern Greeks, unlike other Europeans, are the direct descendants and heirs of this classical heritage. Hence, the particular character of contemporary Greek humanism constitutes the basic cultural trait that demonstrates national identity.

K.I. Vourveres (1950) declares:

"Being the main cohesive factor of national and intellectual continuity and unity of Greek humanism should be preserved as without it the normal development of our national life cannot be understood" (59).

3.3.1 THE CRITERIA FOR THE CURRICULUM CONTENT SELECTION

What knowledge is most valued in Greece and which people have more access to it? To answer these questions it seems to be necessary to examine firstly the content of the secondary school curriculum and secondly the role of the structure of secondary education in the selection process.

In the light of the above discussion one can now discern the basic criteria that underpin the selection of the content of the institutionalised curriculum in Greece. First, that knowledge is justified a place in the

school curriculum which can realise human perfection in moral, cognitive and aesthetic terms. Second, especially welcomed is the knowledge which asserts the cultural identity of the nation and demonstrates its historical continuity through the centuries. Both criteria find expression in the Constitution order for "the moral and intellectual training of youth and the development of their national consciousness according to the ideological principles of the Helleno-Christian civilisation" (60).

It remains to be seen which among the major conventional subjects satisfy these criteria. Since knowledge is diversified from skills, technical and vocational subjects ought not to be included in the content of the curriculum in the secondary education; at least they should occupy only a small insignificant part of it.

A Table (3.1) compiled by A. Dimaras (1978) (61) on the percentage of teaching time allocated to humanistic subjects shows that from the time the Greek educational system was established in 1836 up to 1977 the emphasis has consistently been on humanistic subjects. Educational reforms have gradually reduced the teaching time of such subjects, but have not significantly affected the structure of the curriculum in terms of subject emphasis.

Table 3.1

Percentage (%) of teaching periods attributed to Greek/History and Maths/Sciences, according to the official programmes for the first 3 years of the secondary education.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Greek (Ancient-Modern)/History</u>	<u>Maths/Sciences</u>
	(%)	(%)
1936	48.9	16.3
1914	41.6	16.8
1931	47.8	20.0
1935	40.0	18.1
1961	38.9	19.4
1967	39.3	20.6
1969	43.3	24.7
1977	38.2	20.2

Source: Dimaras, A., "The movement for reform: A historical perspective", Comparative Education Review, Vol. 22, No. 1, February 1978, p. 16.

Under the 1976 reorganisation, gymnasium (lower secondary education) is an all-purpose school.

"The gymnasium would seek to cultivate intellectual, moral, religious and national values, acquaint students with the history and the more significant intellectual acquisitions of the Greek, the European and generary human civilisation, and inspire in them (students) beliefs consonant with the principles of the democratic system of government of the country" (62).

There were no substantial changes between the curriculum of the lower cycle of the former six year secondary school (Chapter two) and that of the present three-year gymnasium (Table 3.2).

The present curriculum is still geared towards the traditional subjects (eg. Classical and Modern Greek, History, Religion etc.) and aims primarily at preparing students for entering the next stage of education, the lyceum. The study of Ancient Greek literature through translation has been reduced from seventeen to twelve hours weekly, but is still offered almost daily in all three grades. This reduction, however, has not affected the balance of the curriculum. Classical and Modern Greek taken together constitute the most important subjects, in terms of time allocation. This ensures the persisting dominance of Greek language studies in the curriculum (63).

Table 3.2

Gymnasium curriculum timetable (1992)

<u>Subjects</u>	<u>Weekly timetable by class</u>		
	1	2	3
Religion	2	2	2
Ancient Greek literature	4	4	4
Modern Greek language and literature	5	4	4
History	3	3	2
Rudiments of Democracy	-	-	1
Foreign language (English or French)	3	3	3
Mathematics	4	4	4
Physics	-	2	2
Chemistry	-	1	1
Geography	3/-	2/-	2/-
Biology	-	-	-/2
Botany-Zoology	-/3	-	-
Anthropology	-	-/2	-
Physical education	3	3	2
Art	1	1	1
Music	1	1	1
Home Economics	1	1	1
Total (hours)	30	30	30

Source: Ministry of National Education and Religion, Paedagogiko Instituto (Pedagogical Institute), Department of secondary education, "Odegies gia te didactea hyle kai te didaskalia ton mathematon sto gymnasio kai sto lykeio kata to scholiko etos 1988-1989 (Instructions for the syllabus and the teaching of lessons in the gymnasium and the lyceum during the school year 1988-1989)", Issue 1, Organismos Ekdoseos Didactikon Biblion (Student Text-Books Editing Company): Athens, 1988, p. 7.

In addition, the reduction in the teaching time of Classical Greek literature has not greatly affected the time for Science and Mathematics. The time for Physics and Chemistry in the present curriculum has been reduced by two hours, whereas that for Mathematics remains the same (64).

Furthermore, the teaching of Classical Greek in translation has not really produced any new approaches in teaching and learning methods. Although studied in translation, the emphasis still remains on literary style. The linguistic form has disappeared, but otherwise the approach to the teaching of Ancient Greek remains almost the same (65).

The stated aims of upper cycle of secondary education (lyceum) have always included the provision of a more advanced general culture as well as a wider and deeper understanding of the Hellenic (Ancient, Medieval, Modern) and Christian Orthodox cultural traditions (66).

Lyceum is divided into the following types (67): general lyceum, technical/vocational lyceum and comprehensive lyceum (Law 1566/85 has instituted the comprehensive lyceum which will consolidate the organic link between general and technical/vocational education). From the legislative standpoint, all these different types of lyceum are absolutely equal. They are distinguished exclusively by their curriculum and their

objectives. The general lyceum category includes the classical lyceum; in these schools Ancient Greek, Latin and History are taught more intensively.

The general lyceum, which replaced the upper level of the former six year gymnasium, offers high quality instruction, but does not train pupils for a job. In this type of school, Ancient Greek literature is studied from the original texts, stress being laid on the style and content of these works.

In the general lyceum pupils in class 1 and 2 are taught a common core of subjects. In the final year (class 3) pupils receive ten hours of tuition in the subjects of one of four option streams which are designed to prepare them for entry to specific areas of study at university level or non-university tertiary institutions. Details of the common core general education subjects and of the elective preparatory subjects in each of the option streams are given in Table 3.3 together with the weekly timetable per subject.

In the lyceum common curriculum for the first two grades, Classical Greek has the highest time allocation. It is also granted a more significant position in the curriculum than Modern Greek, the former being taught for eleven hours weekly in both grades and the latter for eight.

Table 3.3

Lyceum curriculum timetable (1992)

Classes 1 and 2 daytime general lyceum

<u>Subjects</u>	<u>Weekly timetable by class</u>	
	1	2
Religion	2	2
Modern Greek language and literature	4	4
Ancient Greek language and literature	6	5
History	2	2
Psychology	-	1
Mathematics	5/4	5
Kosmography	-	1
Physics	3	3
Chemistry	1	2/1
Biology/Human Hygiene	-	1/2
Economic Geography/Geology/Mineralogy	1	-
Foreign language	3	2
Physical education	2	1/2
Art/Music	1	-
School Vocational Guidance (SEP)	-/1	1/-
Total (hours)	30	30

(Cont./..)

Class 3 daytime general lyceum

General education subjects Hours

Religion	1
Philosophy	1/2
History	2/1
Principles of Political Science/ Rudiments of Democracy	2
Foreign language (English or French)	2
Physical education	2
Total (hours)	10

Elective (preparatory) subjects Hours per option

	A	B	C	D
Modern Greek language and literature	4	4	4	4
Mathematics	8	4	-	4
Physics	5	5	-	-
Chemistry	3	3	-	-
Biology/Anthropology	-	4	-	-
Ancient Greek language and literature	-	-	8	-
Latin	-	-	4	-
History	-	-	4	4
Sociology	-	-	-	4
Political Economy	-	-	-	4
Total (hours)	20	20	20	20

Source: Ministry of National Education and Religion, Paedagogiko Instituto (Pedagogical Institute), Department of secondary education, "Odegies gia te didaskalia ton mathematon sto gymnasio kai sto lykeio kata to scholiko etos 1988-1989 (Instructions for the syllabus and the teaching of lessons in the gymnasium and the lyceum during the school year 1988-1989)", Issue 1, Organismos Ekdoseos Didactikon Biblion (Student Text-Books Editing Company): Athens, 1988, pp. 39-40.

In addition, among the humanistic optional subjects of the third grade (option C), the teaching time weekly allocated to Ancient Greek language and literature is eight hours, whereas there are only 4 hours weekly for each of the other 3 optional subjects (Modern Greek language and literature, History, Latin).

Classical Greek occupies in the curriculum the highest percentage of time allocated to any subject, and is still at the very top of the subject hierarchy, followed by Modern Greek and Mathematics. This emphasis on humanistic subjects, consistently maintained in the Greek secondary school curriculum, indicates the type of knowledge which is considered most worthwhile in the Greek educational context.

The function of the secondary education structure

The three main school types that have been established since the 1976 Education Act have performed different educational functions and have reflected the organisation of a class-based society.

The general lyceum was academically the most prestigious secondary school catering for "the youths that are destined for a higher level of education, for professional qualifications of higher claims" (68).

The technical lyceum, although theoretically equal in

status to the above mentioned school, in practical terms, performed a very different function. It prepared its students for middle managerial occupations by providing a more practically oriented education and technical training. Technical education had always been treated as second rate, because it involved learning a skill and not the acquisition of knowledge.

This concept has its roots in the Platonic interpretation of what constitutes worthwhile knowledge. Knowledge of pure ideas is to be achieved through reasoning and intellectualization. Such knowledge is worthwhile, because it is unchanging and permanent and involves the conceptualization of ideal forms through theoretical rationalization.

Its acquisition is a complex process requiring considerable intellectual ability and effort. Such knowledge has no direct practical application but is of personal value to the individual who possesses it, as it endows him with refinement of character and wisdom. The broad and complex theoretical nature of pure ideas necessarily makes such knowledge general and not specific. Here it is found the continuing importance of general education which does not aim at a limiting and specific specialisation but a broad and a general grounding in theoretical principles. Knowledge of such principles provides a comprehensive view of theoretical

constructs and the ability to analyse and rationalize.

Technical education provides knowledge of a different kind. It is not knowledge in the Platonic sense, but a training course for the purposes of mastering a particular kind of job and, thus, it limits and determines the occupational opportunities of the people who possess it.

In accordance with Platonic epistemological theory, technical education is by definition inferior to general education. In Plato's Ideal-typical model "education and training are functionally related to class structures in society: education for leaders and their auxiliaries; training for workers who have specific economic tasks to perform" (69).

Given the choice, very few students would opt to follow a technical education, not only because it is considered intellectually inferior but also because it leads to inferior employment opportunities. It thus restricts and hinders access to the higher occupational categories.

The importance of education in Greece and the prominence of the academic knowledge in the curriculum have also been highlighted by R. Clogg (1979):

"The Greeks have traditionally attached a high importance to education. Under the Turks, and while the Greeks were still struggling to bring the "unredeemed" Greeks within the bounds of the independent state, education had a major role to play in inculcating a sense of Hellenic nationalism. Moreover, in a country with limited

opportunities for employment and in which the state has for long been a leading employer, education has traditionally been seen by parents as the means to ensure secure white collar employment for their children" (70).

He goes on arguing:

"It cannot be said that the Greek educational system either now or in the past has been particularly responsive to the needs of Greek society. Until recently a large part of the school curriculum consisted of the study of the Greek Classics in the original, while Greek school children had also to wrestle with complexities of the "katharevousa" or "purified" form of the modern language, an artificial nineteenth century construct which copied Attic models and which differed in many respects from the demotic language of everyday communication" (71).

In fact, the structural modifications introduced to the educational system by the 1976-1977 reforms and furthermore by the 1981-1985 education policy (Chapter two) reflected and were consistent with the system's educational theory. They had not affected its philosophical orientation nor its educational practice; what they had done was to update the system's traditional functions through a more elaborate and socially convenient organisation.

In this context it can be placed the new Classics syllabus.

The current syllabus on teaching Classics

Since 1976-77 educational reform, one can point out that, although an abundance of material has been published on the teaching of Classics in translation at

the gymnasium level (72), no other project has been put forward for a more dynamic and more integrated approach to Classical civilisation. The latter is still viewed through Classical literature only. The so-called cultural (or even sociological) approach to the Ancients is considered inferior and what seems to be more interesting for educationists who have devised the syllabuses is the world of ideas of Ancient Greek authors. Under what circumstances these ideas matured or of what else the Greek classical heritage consists does not really seem to interest them.

In the lyceum level, on the other hand, any reference to Latin literature in combination with Roman civilisation is absent from the Classical syllabuses.

At any rate, however, new text-books such as the grammar of demotic language, the syntax, two anthologies of Modern Greek literature, Ancient Greek Drama and Philosophy for the third grade, Geography, etc. have been published. There are strong reasons to argue that these texts are much better in comparison with the corresponding books now taken out of use.

It is also important to note that at the beginning of each school year school text-books are distributed free to the pupils in state schools, but none of them is accompanied either by a teacher's handbook or by any audio-visual material. Equally, it is true that

video-cassettes, projectors and other educational machines with which the schools are equipped are used to a rather limited extent, since the teachers have not become familiar with the operation of these materials or they prefer traditional teaching techniques.

So far as Classical studies are concerned, no project has yet appeared which could remind us of the Cambridge Foundation Course (the Greek World, The Roman World) or the Cambridge Latin Course (73).

Summarizing, one might argue that the Greek secondary curriculum has undergone a certain degree of re-adjustment and modification, which have had the effects of curbing the directive principles from which such emphasis emanates. These principles still persist and govern educational theory. As P.K. Persianis (1978) points out "modernization did not mean the abandonment but the modification of the Classical and humanistic curriculum" (74).

3.3.2 THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM IN THE GREEK CURRICULUM

Finally, in the context of the above discussion the language of instruction issue deserves examination. The main questions raised here can be identified as follows: How far does the language issue reflect social cultural issues and to what extent is it concerned with

epistemological issues?

The language debate seems to be philosophical. "Katharevousa" (the puristic form of language) seems to reflect traditional humanism, whereas "demotike" (the popular form of language) seems to be supported by a more naturalistic philosophy in the tradition of Rousseau, Pestalozzi, etc. Since 1828, after the Independence of Greece, many Greek writers were inspired by the glorious past, in order to create national identity among the Greeks. They thought that the cultural continuity of Greece would only be achieved through the purification of the Greek language. The Greek language should be the common characteristic among Greeks and the link between Ancient Greek life and Modern Greek life. In this way "katharevousa" was created by the intelligentsia. This language was a new form of pure Greek which came into conflict with the already spoken popular language of Greeks ("demotike").

On the one hand, the illiterate Greeks developed a common Greek language which included many idioms. On the other hand, the ruling class and the Church hierarchy distinguished themselves from the masses and they developed a new purified language which was nearer to the Bible and to the Classical tradition. Thus, the close of the 19th century found the "pure" language ("katharevousa") very closely observing the form of

"Attike" dialect institutionalised and "demotikismos" at the peak of its offensive.

On the educational battle-ground the contemporary adherents of "katharevousa" array the expressive superiority of their language to make sense of abstract conceptions and delicate meanings.

On the other side, the adherents of "demotikismos" argued that language is living cultural element, not an artificial construct: "Language is not constructed after the prescriptions of scholars; it develops inside the historical activity and through the historical activity of each people and expresses its soul" (75).

Moreover, being an artificial language "katharevousa" is inherently unable to become the cultural elevating force.

"The verbalism, the superficiality, the passive attitude of students during class time, and their incapacity for substantive knowledge of events and for correct evaluation of circumstances were in essence the consequences of our linguistic lie" (76).

But "demotikismos" does not solely address itself to the question of language. It is a movement that challenges many of the features of the institutionalised curriculum. Although "demotikismos" respects Ancient tradition and its humanising strength, it advocated shift the emphasis from the absolute value of tradition to its validity for contemporary man.

The emphasis of "demotikismos" on contemporary man is

not, however, exhausted by his relation with the classical tradition. The social implications and the practical applications of knowledge to productive life are among the things that ought to be considered when the selection of the curriculum content is made. "Since the school prepares men that are destined to live under certain technico-economic circumstances, it is obliged to adapt itself for the latter" (77).

Yet "demotikismos" goes on further than neohumanism in accepting a genuine humanising character in technical or vocational activities. It remains in that respect the dichotomy between humanising knowledge and practically useful skills. Manual work develops

"concentration and power of observation, discipline and orderliness, social reciprocity and solidarity, realistic handling of difficulties, ingenuity and creativity, the worth of a quick result but of quality as well and so on" (78).

Finally, "demotikismos" is interested in the cultivation of the many, not of a restricted elite:

"To all the children of the people, rich and poor, with no exception, the schools of secondary education ought to be open and accessible, under only one condition: these children should have the predisposition and the abilities demanded for higher studies" (79).

Following this argument Classical studies ought to be indispensable. Yet they should be taught not from the original text but through translations. This not only saves time but provides a deeper, a broader and a clearer understanding of the humanistic elements of cultural

heritage on the part of a wider spectrum of people.

Natural sciences ought to have a central position in the curriculum; not only because they contribute to human perfection (in cognitive, moral and aesthetic terms) but also because "what deeply influences the shaping and the development of our individual and collective life today, both in theory and in practice, is the astonishing progress of Natural sciences" (80).

Additionally, E.P.Papanoutsos (1965) states, "technical and vocational subjects, to the extent they can provide to our children during the first years of puberty a preliminary and elementary orientation to their future vocation, should have a place in the curriculum" (81).

But how far did language debate represent an attack on humanism, and how far did supporters of "demotikismos" advocate a more naturalistic approach to other subjects of the curriculum besides language? To answer such questions it is necessary to attempt a further investigation through the historical course of educational "demotikismos".

Educational "demotikismos"

The issue of educational "demotikismos" was raised with polemic sharpness at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century by linguists such as M. Triandaphyllides, J. Psychares, and writers such as

E. Roides and K. Palamas. It brought into radical and irreconcilable opposition two groups within the field of education. The former claim that "katharevousa" is the connecting link between the nation and its glorious past, and its abandonment will cut off contemporary hellenism from its great cultural tradition because people will not be able to communicate directly with the Ancient Classics or the Ecclesiastical texts. For this reason, they argue that "katharevousa" should be the language of the schools except in the first two or three grades of the elementary school where the popular language, that of the home, is tolerated (82).

In contrast, the progressives consider "katharevousa" to be an artificial form which removes, the pupils from their natural language and corrupts their linguistic sensitivities. They demand that "demotike", the living form as it has been cultivated and structured by the established national writers, become the means of expression at all educational levels so that it will, finally, be established as the sole language of society and of the state. It took this group over 70 years of painful struggles to win, and this after successive advances and as many retreats.

By the beginning of the twentieth century "demotikísmos" appeared with clear ideas for educational reform, which were also regarded by the liberal political

parties of the time. The language question, the introduction of the Natural sciences in schools, the compulsory schooling, the establishment of vocational and agricultural schools in the country for the development of agriculture and manufacturing industry and the co-education of boys and girls were some of its main proposals.

In 1910, "Ekpaedeutikos Homilos" (Educational Club) was established in order to "contribute to any attempt for educational reform in Greece" (83). The protagonists of "Ekpaedeutikos Homilos", D. Glenos, M. Triandaphyllides and A. Delmouzos, were the men behind the 1913 and 1917 educational reforms.

In the 1913 reform, it was believed that the middle class would effect those social reforms in education which would finally serve the necessity of establishment and perpetuation of its own sovereignty. At that time, this was considered to be a liberal attitude. It seems also worthy of note that the introduction to the draft Law (1913) was written by D. Glenos newly arrived from German Jena and Leipzig (84).

In 1917, "demotike" became the language of instruction in primary schools, and some progressive ideas derived from child-centre pedagogy, which was prevailing in Europe at that time, appeared at this level of schooling (85) (Chapter two).

In the 1929 reform the old demand of "demotikismos", the need of education to be not only classical but practical as well, was highlighted and some plans were made for the development of the technical and vocational sector of education (86) (Chapter two).

The conservatives, however, strongly opposed to the aforementioned liberal attempts. During Metaxas' dictatorship, for example, the Minister of Education had noted in the Circular of October 17, 1936:

"..The existing situation over the last twenty years has badly affected education. Some people (i.e. "demotikistes") appeared as educational reformers and tried to undermine the three principal ideals of the state, that is, the religion, the nation and the family. ...The school started to be the medium to prepare for the Communist imposition" (87).

In other words, conservatives connected "demotikismos" with the "Communist threat" and perceived it as an enemy to the Greek humanism and to the nation's ethics. This attitude continued to be prevailing in Greece up to 1950s.

Nevertheless, in the 1950s, two pressing demands emerged, which were concerned with the technical and economic development of the country, on the one hand, and with the expansion of educational opportunities, on the other. Under such circumstances all progressive educationists, and even conservatives, felt the need for the educational reform of the system. In this regard, N. Exarchopoulos (1953), a well-known conservative

educationist and supporter of "katharevousa", claimed that "new ideas should be introduced in education; without them school cannot correspond to the current scientific and social demands" (88).

In the 1963-65 period, as soon as the liberal party under G. Papandreou took power, the demand of "demotikismos" for a "democratic, socialist and modern education" was carried out with the 1964 educational reform. E Papanoutsos, who was a believer in the principles of "Ekpaedeutikos Homilos" and as a high official at the Ministry of Education, planned and introduced the reform (89) (Chapter two).

Unfortunately, with the imposition of dictatorship, in 1967, the colonels brought educational system back to its pre-reform anachronistic and conservative state.

After restoration of democracy, in 1974, the newly formed right-wing party of "New Democracy" created an optimistic climate for educational reform, and the principles of educational "demotikismos" were reflected in the new education policy. It was thought that social, economic and educational changes should be taken place in order to make the school system more efficient and to bring it more in line with the country's overall goals for development and modernization. This also implied making the system more democratic (Chapters two and five).

In 1981, when PA.SO.K, the socialist political party, took office, it tried to pursue the educational objectives of "demotikismos". Consequently, PA.SO.K.'s first in importance goal was referred to the organisation and administration of education. Its educational policy was mainly concerned with the establishment of a popular education and with the provision of equal educational opportunities to all Greek children, the use of "demotike" as the official language of the state, the improvement of technical and vocational education and the introduction of a progressive pedagogy in schools.

Summing up, one could argue therefore that educational "demotikismos" was a liberal movement in Greece, which aimed not only at the solution of the language problem but also at the qualitative upgrading of schooling, the re-orientation of the Greek pedagogical culture and, finally, the overall economic and social development of the country.

On contrary, the use of "katharevousa" was associated with the defence of a traditional humanism (i.e. attachment to the Ancient Greek tradition and the Orthodox ideals) and it was supported by the conservative ideas of the elite. Consequently the use of such an artificial language prohibited the access of all children to education.

In other words, the language problem in Greece was

related with broader social, political, cultural and epistemological questions.

3.4 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it can be said that the Greek system still values an academic humanistic type of education as this is the education for its prospective university candidates and it still carries out a highly selective function.

The Greek educational system which up to now has followed closely the classically framed traditional model, does not, in many respects, satisfy the desire of parents and students for education geared to meet the needs and pressures of modern living. The increasing demand for technological and technical training and the growing interest in modern languages are only two of the developments which the present form of education does not easily accommodate.

However, there has been no strong tradition of educational planning, and in any case the chronic instability of Greek internal policy-making personnel has not helped the cause of long-term educational policies and radical reform. The survival of traditional curriculum views against demands for change should then be explored in the politics of education and the politics

of the curriculum. This investigation will explore the links between the analysis of views of the content of education with the study of the politics of the curriculum undertaken later in the thesis.

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CHAPTER 4

EDUCATION POLITICS AND THE ADMINISTRATION SYSTEM
IN GREECE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In the preceding Chapters it has been argued that the formulation of educational policies in Greece has been very much affected by tradition. The second part of this thesis will examine the role of the state and of some powerful interest groups in the control of the Greek educational system. This Chapter, in particular, seeks to illuminate why politics have been important for the lack of change in the school curriculum.

In response to the question "who controls the curriculum of secondary education" D. Lawton (1980) argues:

"The answer is not a simple one, and the question itself is of fairly recent origin, only becoming important when the curriculum began to be called into question. When there was no controversy about the content of the curriculum, there was no argument about its control. When the curriculum becomes controversial, however, it is essentially a political controversy. There are two interrelated problems: the distribution of knowledge in society; and the decision-making involved" (1).

Educational policy-making and the state apparatus appears as a process whereby the various pressures for educational change are translated into formal governmental expression. "In becoming policy, the dynamic for change takes on specific form and is endowed with whatever legitimacy and power the dominant political structure commands" (2).

The Greek educational system is highly centralized.

Central government, through the Ministry of Education and its departments, formulates and adopts educational policy. In discussing state curriculum planning, this Chapter will focus on certain models of educational politics to provide a systematic analysis of educational administration in Greece. It will examine the issues of authoritarianism, centralization and interest groups in an attempt to discover the main obstacles to educational change in Greece.

In a modern state, whatever the centralized and authoritarian traditions, interest groups remain powerful. W. Bacon (1978) says:

"The leaders of all welfare bureaucracies are forced to adopt a quasi-political role, in the sense that they do not operate within a social vacuum but must constantly pay heed to the consequences of their actions upon other competing groups and forces in society. Thus, whatever specific interest they serve, be it education, welfare planning, or recreation, they must consistently address themselves to three key and universal issues. Firstly, the need to maintain their authority. Secondly, the need to maintain the stability and security of their organization. And thirdly, the need to justify their continued claims upon the wider sources of society" (3).

4.2 MODELS OF POLITICS IN EDUCATION: THE GREEK CASE

How far has the democratic process of educational decision-making in Greece been undermined by centralist, bureaucratic, corporatist and interest-group styles and politics and what impact have these processes had on the reform of the curriculum? How can the continued

authoritarianism of Greece be explained despite democracy and the existence of interest groups? Special attention should be given to the communication, planning and control aspects. The emphasis will be put on models of centralization, corporatism and pluralism in an attempt to examine the relationship between the control of the central and authoritarian system and the influence of interest groups on the educational decision process in Greece.

4.2.1 CENTRALISM

G. Bereday (1966) states that the control of school curriculum is vital to all societies.

"The formation of the minds and characters of children is one of the most important tasks facing each nation. But the process of working out these tasks has been fraught with difficulties... . On the one side, it is argued that direction of the schools by the central government will increase efficiency and equalize financing. On the other side, comes the support of local control on the ground that it maximizes the influence of individuals, who have power when in face-to-face communication with local legislators. The many debates and contests between supporters of local and central control of schools are born from these conflicting principles" (4).

Central control of the curriculum is one aspect of bureaucracy in national systems of education (5). The origins and implications of central control should be examined. Max Weber's classical concept of bureaucracy is provided as an ideal type (6). The elements of that type are threefold: a) a clear hierarchical chain of

responsibility; b) division of labour in the specialisation of tasks performed by different members of the organisation; c) rules and regulations, which specify the rights and responsibilities which accrue to different positions in the organisation and how the task of each position is to be carried out (7).

M. McLean and J. Lauglo (1985) explain that M. Weber viewed bureaucracy above all as a "rational" form of organisation.

"These key aspects of bureaucracy all imply a concentration of control at the top of the hierarchy. That control is exerted in order to coordinate the activities of the organisation so that they serve the organisation's purpose with maximum efficiency" (8).

The bureaucratic model seems thus to fit within the centralist model. Hegel, even earlier in his essay on "The German Constitution", argued that human freedom is not gained without a strong centralized state. The individual cannot be truly free in an indeterminate negative sense. Humans develop in the context of rules and customs and only the strong state has the flexibility and sensitivity to allow maximum play to human freedom (9). (To understand, however, how communication and coordination really occur in a system of administration, J. Lauglo and M. McLean (1985) claim that one needs to look at networks of informal and often lateral communication rather than the formally prescribed hierarchical ones). However, bureaucracy is also

criticized, of course.

"In so far as bureaucracy is efficient, it is clearly an organisational form by which the top of the hierarchy effectively dominates the activities which are carried out. Whether efficient or not, in terms of organisational ends, bureaucracy is often rejected as an organisational form that is dehumanizing from the point of view of members" (10).

The autocratic character of bureaucracy is also underlined by P. Hurst (1985) who says:

"Weber was right to point to the superiority of modern bureaucracy over feudal styles of administration, but real bureaucracies in the modern world, as distinct from ideal types, have a number of defects. First, they are often unresponsive to the communities they supposedly serve. Secondly, they are often wasteful, employing people to do little work, and often preoccupied with perpetuating and expanding the organisation at the expense of serving the public. Thirdly, they often permit widespread corruption" (11).

I. Kandel (1933, 1955) classified educational systems as either centralized or decentralized. In particular, he argued that highly centralized national systems of education tend to be established in authoritarian rather than democratic and innovative regimes. On the contrary, a decentralized system of educational administration provides the opportunity for interaction between man and his environment and it could thus encourage educational reforms and innovations (12).

J. Lauglo (1976), on the other hand, argues that the assumption that central control and other features of bureaucracy are opposed to innovation and reform needs to be modified. He points out that if these generalizations (i.e. centralization vs decentralization) were valid,

"education should be rigidly stagnant in Scandinavian countries, compared to Britain, for schools in the Scandinavian countries are subject to far stronger bureaucratic controls" (13).

Consequently, he suggests that "bureaucracy sometimes can be a powerful lever for change in school structure; though it may perhaps at the same time inhibit change in role relations and pedagogic styles within schools" (14). In this regard, he accepts that "the normal state of the highly bureaucratized education systems in Europe has not been "change", but firmly embedded stability both in pedagogical routines and school structure" (15). However, he maintains:

"The European experience indicates that bureaucracy in education will only facilitate change if it is politicized: if politically responsible decision-makers outside the educational establishment have a strong commitment to change, and are able to give momentum to the policy-making function in the central school administration" (16).

This last argument may also find its expression in the Greek educational system, in which all attempts at educational reform were initiated and encouraged by politicians at the top of the governing political party hierarchy (Chapters two and five).

Furthermore, B. Holmes (1985) puts into question I. Kandel's distinction between centralization and decentralization. He takes as an example the French education system and he claims that "it would be

difficult to maintain that, because the system of education in France is centralized, ... France is not a democratic society" (17). He states that in any analysis of the politics of education it is necessary to draw the following distinctions:

1) Which of these several educational issues is under discussion: aims, finance, administration, structure and organisation, content, teacher education?

2) Which of three processes is under specific consideration: policy formulation, policy adoption and policy implementation?

3) Which group within formal organisations and outside them negotiate on the selected issue and in each of the processes?

4) Is the issue debated among: social consensus groups, producers and resource providers, producers only? (18).

In relation to the public administration system of education, R. Lyons (1985), on the other side, argues on the merits and demerits of centralization and proposes a reconciliation of centralized with decentralized planning through a system of deconcentration (19).

"Deconcentration means that the centre retains the main elements of strategic control of the system for the national merit, but the scope of the planning, decision-making and supervision of the implementation of projects and programmes at the sub-national level is widened and the quality of communications between centre and periphery improved" (20).

There might be difficulties in applying this model to

Greece, a country which traditionally retains strong centralized and bureaucratic patterns of control despite the existence of some important interest groups.

W. Bacon's (1981) point of view seems to reflect the current situation:

"All modern industrial societies, whether they pay service to liberal-democratic or collectivist utopian ideologies, attempt to solve their problems by the adoption of centralized planning strategies and the creation of large public organisations which are charged with the pursuit of specific objectives in such fields as welfare, industrial development, recreation, the environment and, of course, education" (21).

Nevertheless, the abolition of bureaucracy may be necessary for the liberal control of education but it is not sufficient to bring innovation, especially in organisations with a long history of central uniformity.

Further to the arguments against centralization (22), it may be claimed that the concentration of power at the centre may also facilitate the development of an authoritarian system of administration. Authoritarianism, in turn, becomes stronger in countries like Greece where the educational policy-making processes are very much influenced by the political imperatives of the government of the day.

Additionally, having in mind the instability of Greek politics and its consequences in education (Chapter two), as well as the predominance of the traditional values in the Greek curriculum philosophy (Chapter three), one can maintain that the educational system

inevitably reflects the power structure of its social context and it can rarely move away from the prevailing social norms of the society in which it is located.

In this respect, Chapter four will explore how far the conservative influence on the Greek educational system (and on the secondary school curriculum in particular) is maintained and reinforced through the authoritarian system of administration.

4.2.2 CORPORATISM

The concept of corporatism may also contribute towards understanding the centralized control over Greek education. In the 1930s M. Manoilescu had predicted that "the twentieth century will be the century of corporatism just as the nineteenth was the century of liberalism" (23). He had also declared that "the ineluctable course of fate involves the transformation of all social and political institutions of our times in a corporatist direction" (24).

Corporatism focuses primarily on the nature of political obligation and of the relationship between governments and their subjects. It has, however, many meanings and interpretations. In particular, M. McLean (1988) says:

"In Western Europe there is a tradition that the state or more specifically central government moves beyond its

most limited role of external defence and the preservation of internal order to take action to construct and develop the economy and society in desired directions. In return, citizens are expected to identify with and to give loyalty to state organisations. The state has a prime function in the economic and social modernization of national society" (25).

In relation to other aspects of corporatism, M. McLean points out that "there is an assumption of a unity between all levels and kinds of public authority" (26), and he takes as an example the extreme European fascist regimes and the Latin American ones (27).

P. Schmitter (1979) defines corporatism as follows:

"It is a system of interest representation in which the constituent units are organised into a limited number of singular, compulsory, non competitive, hierarchically ordered, and functionally differentiated categories, recognized or licensed (if not created) by the elite, and granted a deliberate representational monopoly within their respective categories in exchange for observing certain controls on their election of leaders and articulation of demands and supports" (28).

Corporatism is an ideal type construct which is composed of a variety of theoretically interrelated components and no system of interest representation may perfectly reproduce all these dimensions. Moreover, "differences in the ways in which corporatist patterns of control are or are not manifesting themselves in various countries may be pronounced enough to offset any convergent trends" (29).

According to M. McLean (1988),

"corporatism as social policy was associated with the modernizing monarchies of the eighteenth century European Enlightenment and with the 1789 French revolution. The idea was strengthened by the nationalism which emerged

with the early nineteenth century Romantic Movement and with the influence of the organic political philosophy of Hegel..." (30).

Corporatism was revived in the late nineteenth century as governments, notably in Bismark's Germany, undertook state controlled social reform programmes. It was strengthened by the development of government directed economies in the depression of the 1930s as well as during the two World Wars in the first half of the twentieth century (31).

L. Panitch (1980) says that the term "corporatism" was for long restricted to the study of the history of ideologies and fascist regimes and it was also employed in state income policy or economic planning structures. Since the 1970s, however, it has been used as a social scientific term applied to developments or arrangements in contemporary advanced capitalist societies (32).

How does this corporatist model apply to Greece historically?

To answer this question it might be claimed that the Greek administration system can be seen as a combination of certain nineteenth century principles of bureaucracy, authoritarianism and legality with an acceptance of strongly centralized statutory authority designed to regulate and provide education. This issue will be further elaborated in the following section.

Corporatist social thought challenged liberalism and

Marxism. It criticized, on the one hand, individualism and competition and, on the other, the class conflict and socialist movements (33). Corporatist theorists asserted that class harmony and organic unity were essential to society. They proposed a social and political order based on functional socioeconomic organisations in civil society, operating largely autonomously in their respective fields, but united with each other and the state in sectoral and national decision-making bodies and committed to maintaining the functional hierarchy of an organic society (34). In other words, corporatism emphasises "the significance of interest groups rather than social classes or class conflict" (35) and "there is a mutual interdependence and interpenetration of the public and private sectors" (36).

Corporatism, of course, should not be seen as a single type or style of political intervention, but as something that may assume various forms and that may appear at local or central levels of educational administration.

In relation to these points, M. Harrison (1984) has identified several themes regarding the nature of corporatism in welfare states, including tendencies toward cooperation and stability rather than political competition, relatively covert forms of decision-making, and the exclusion of certain interest groups from the decision-making process (37).

The pluralist version of corporatism has developed in the late twentieth century in industrial countries. This has entailed a strategy of devolving decision-making in education from central to local organisations but entirely within the apparatus of the state (e.g. France, Sweden) (38).

G. Lehmbruch (1979) also offers a historical-sociological classification scheme consisting of: a) liberal corporatism, which operates in the democratic industrial countries and whose distinguishing trait is a high degree of collaboration among the groups themselves in the shaping of economic policy; b) statist corporatism, which is met in fascist, authoritarian and clerico-authoritarian regimes; and c) traditional corporatism, which is found in the guild systems of the medieval cities (39).

P. Schmitter (1979), on the other hand, conceives the ideal type of corporatism as "a distinctive modern system of interest representation" (40), which is constructed explicitly as a paradigmatic alternative to pluralism (41).

According to P. Schmitter (1974), both pluralism and corporatism share a number of basic assumptions, as would almost any realistic model of modern interest politics: 1) The growing importance of formal associational units of representation; 2) the persistence and expansion of

functionally differentiated and potential conflicting interests; 3) the burgeoning role of permanent administrative staffs, of specialised information, of technical expertise and, consequently, of entrenched oligarchy; 4) the decline in the importance of territorial and partisan representation; and 5) the secular trend toward expansion in the scope of public policy and interpenetration of private and public arenas (42). Nevertheless, he goes on to argue:

"Pluralism differs markedly from corporatism as an ideal-typical response to these facts of modern political life. Pluralists suggest spontaneous formation, numerical proliferation, horizontal extension and competitive interaction; corporatists advocate controlled emergence, quantitative limitation, vertical stratification and complementary interdependence" (43).

The concept of corporatism can describe the system of interest groups that operate in a large number of countries. In fact, it has been rather convincingly indicated that Sweden (44), Switzerland (45), Netherlands (46), Norway (47), Denmark (48), Austria (49), Spain (50), Portugal (51), Brazil (52), Chile (53), Peru (54), Mexico (55) and Greece (56)

"have by and large, singular, noncompetitive, hierarchically ordered, sectorally compartmentalized interest associations exercising representational monopolies and accepting (de jure or de facto) governmentally imposed or negotiated limitations on the type of leaders they elect and on the scope and intensity of demands they routinely make upon state" (57).

As a consequence, such associations seem to pursue

"a quasi-legal status and a prescriptive right to speak for their segments of the population. They influence the

process of government directly and are agents of authority. They deputize for the state in whole sectors of public life, and they have duties delegated to them that properly belong to the civil service" (58).

This extract refers to Sweden, but it may also be applied to Greece, a country with long history of centralized system of administration and a limited number of interest groups that function under the auspices of the state.

Furthermore, as far as state education in corporatist regimes is concerned, M. McLean (1988) maintains that this is not only funded by government resources and governed by national legislation.

"There has been also a tradition of centralized administrative control; centrally prescribed and nationally uniform school syllabuses; and teachers and inspectors who are national civil servants and relate their professional and occupational identities to this status" (59).

The Greek educational system seems to reflect all these fundamental principles of corporatist state education and key characteristics such as uniform curriculum, civil servant status of teachers and strict central control over all education matters. The attempts made during the last decade in Greece to devolve educational control to regional and local level (e.g. Law 1566/1985), however, have merely focused on the reconstruction of some existing elements of bureaucracy rather than the modernization of the educational administration. In this regard, J. Lauglo (1985) claims: " "De-bureaucratization" may be necessary but not

sufficient to generate grass-roots commitment to innovation, especially in organisations which lack tangible criteria for success and failure. Classroom practice is not easily changed, especially not in systems which have a long history of centrally imposed uniformity. Educational styles may also be linked to deeply embedded culture traits in which change is slow" (60).

How then does the corporatist model apply to contemporary Greece? One can postulate that Greece is a corporatist state in so far as it maintains a highly centralized control of education. Corporatism emphasises the significance of interest groups which contribute directly to decision-making. In Greece, however, despite the state recognition of the value and political legitimacy of interest groups, they, nevertheless, may even be ruled out of decision-making because of the bureaucratic and authoritarian character of the state.

The application of concepts of corporatism and centralism to Greek educational politics will be discussed in more detail in section 4.3.

4.2.3 PLURALISM

This section will briefly develop the pluralist/interest group model in the overall attempt of the Chapter to examine the education politics in Greece.

Pluralism is a theory which views social life in terms of groups. Pluralists, as W.E. Hocking (1968) has put it, claim to follow "the natural lines of authority in

the social order" (61). They deny the absolute necessity of a highly unified legal or political order and they believe that the individual's primary allegiance is not to any abstract government but rather to groups, whether they be trade unions, churches or local clubs (62). One aspect of pluralists' argument therefore concentrates on the decentralization of power and authority to groups. This decentralization is closely connected with the recognition of the "legal personality of groups" (63).

P. Schmitter (1974, 1977) proposes a threefold classification scheme of corporatism, pluralism and syndicalism (64). Since the other definitions are not directly relevant for the present account, only that of pluralism will be given.

"Pluralism can be defined as a system of interest representation in which the constituent units are organised into an unspecified number of multiple, voluntary, competitive, non-hierarchically ordered and self-determined (as type or scope of interest) categories which are not specifically licensed, recognized, subsidized, created or otherwise controlled in leadership selection or interest articulation by the state and which do not exercise a monopoly of representational activity within their respective categories" (65).

R. Kvavik (1976) also proposes a classification consisting of competitive pluralism, corporate pluralism and static pluralism. This is an analytical scheme which suggests that all differentiated societies and political systems are pluralistic in some measure and form, and vary in the extent of integration and the centralization of control (66).

Although pluralists engaged in extensive criticism of certain notions of sovereignty, the state and the law, however, they did not all reject the state. They were trying to theorize an idea of the state incorporating maximal diversity of group life and some kind of central authority. H.J. Laski (1919), for example, argued that "sovereignty, in fact, has necessarily to be distributed in order that the purposes of men may be achieved" (67).

Nevertheless the limitations of a democratic/pluralist decision-making process in a modern society have been extensively discussed. R.A. Dahl (1956) claims that in American politics as in all other countries, control over decisions is unevenly distributed; neither individuals nor groups are political equals.

"When I say that a group is heard "effectively" I mean that one or more officials are not only ready to listen to the noise, but expect to suffer in some significant way if they do not placate the group, its leaders, or its most vociferous members. To satisfy the group may require one or more of a great variety of actions by the responsive leader: pressure for substantive policies, appointments, graft, respect, expression of the appropriate emotions, or the right combination of reciprocal noices. Thus the making of governmental decisions is not a majestic march of great majorities united upon certain matters of basic policy. It is the steady appeasement of relatively small groups" (68).

So, although interest groups are seen as "non-hierarchically ordered" (69) the above quotation refers to the exercise of power.

In regard to education, M. Kogan (1975) puts the general proposition that education reflects larger

movements in society and in politics at large. His distinction between "legitimised" and "non-legitimised" interest groups relates to degrees of institutional power and legitimacy, and the values backing them (70).

"The "legitimised" groups are those which have an accepted right to be consulted by government and by local authorities, and by public organisations concerned with education such as universities, before policies are authorised. The "non-legitimised" groups have a different role which is to challenge accepted authority and institutions until policies are changed" (71).

As M. Kogan (1975) comments on this statement "the interest groups accepted by governments as part of decision-making are different from those which attempt to influence a system of which they are not recognised as a part" (72).

It can be argued therefore that the power of interest groups over the state is a function of the general power or autonomy of the state itself. Some of the factors that may influence the nature of the state can be the long-standing cultural attitudes towards authority, the location of the state throughout its history, the power and the organisation of the state, etc. (73). In state bureaucracies, according to G.K. Wilson (1990), interest groups are "in short part of the nerves of government" (74). The extent to which interest groups in Greece act in a democratic/pluralist or in a centralist/corporatist way will be investigated in the next three Chapters.

4.3 CENTRALISM, CORPORATISM AND PLURALISM IN STATE EDUCATION PLANNING IN GREECE

How far is Greek educational politics centralist, corporatist, democratic or interest group dominated? These questions will be investigated with the study of the education decision-making system in Greece. In particular, the politics of Greek education will be examined as will the system of educational administration at national, regional and school level.

4.3.1 THE GREEK STATE AND EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Greece has maintained an over-centralized administrative system which is managed by a powerful bureaucracy. The education system is headed by the Minister of National Education and Religion, who is a political figure appointed by the party in power and is legally responsible for formulating and executing educational policy in the country (75). It is also governed by parliamentary laws, presidential decrees and ministerial decisions setting forth the organisation of the schools and universities, the content of the curriculum, the textbooks to be used in each subject, the timetables of the schools and the organisation of university entrance examinations (76). A.M. Kazamias

(1990) says:

"The Greek state has all along been highly centralized, authoritarian and paternalistic. It has characteristics of a representational liberal state that purportedly acts as a neutral agent for the benefit of all members of the civil society. Moreover, the Greek state is a bourgeois state that masks the political and hence discriminating nature of its policies and assumptions" (77).

In fact, soon after the War of Independence (1821-1827), Greece, by copying the then French pattern, developed an excessively centralized administration. The public authorities are located in the capital city (Athens), where the central government is required to take up all decisions, even those of minor importance.

Under Metaxas' government (1936-1941), the tendency towards centralization reached its climax with the destruction of the old local government institutions, most of which dated back to 1833, and the abolition of local liberties. As a result, any initiative coming from "below" was discouraged and the officials were prevented from developing a sense of responsibility (78).

After the Second World War, the 1952 Constitution (Article 99) stated that "local authorities should be elected in the "demes" (municipalities) as well as in the "koinotetes" (communities)" (79). This was a considerable attempt at self-government, but there has still been a lack of intermediate decentralized organisations at county level. An OECD report (1982) describes the situation as follows:

"The decentralization of decision-making and administration has been considered, ..., but would be difficult to initiate. A start had been made, however, by allocating investment budgets to the "nomarchies" (regional administrations) which they could, if they so chose, apply according to their own assessments of needs and priorities. We were informed, however, that the nomarchies exist to carry out the policy and enforce the regulations of the central administration" (80).

To understand the control patterns of the Greek educational system, reference will be made here to the development of the authoritarian system of education administration in Greece through an historical perspective.

Since the foundation of the independent Greek state (1828) the local control of the educational system has been turned into an overcentralized system of administration. As early as 1833, the Decree of April 3, 1833, determined the responsibilities of the Secretary of the ecclesiastical themes and public education. Among his duties were: i) the control of schools and education all over the country; ii) the establishment of a university, an academy and of schools; iii) the supervision of the schools' estate; iv) the education of primary school teachers and secondary teachers ("professeurs"), and v) the establishment of the appropriate education institutions (81). However, the Laws of 1834 and 1836 on primary and secondary education respectively specified that the education should be organised under the administration and control of the

local government, as it used to be during the Turkish occupation (82).

Primary school teachers were appointed by the local government (i.e. the mayor, the priest and two to four citizens elected by the municipal council), which was also responsible for the teachers' salary (83). Thus, as C. Lefas (1942) stated, "the Ministry of Education was confined to delivering circulars, ... which were never implemented" (84).

The control of secondary education, on the other hand, was also limited. At times only university professors and secondary school headteachers had any responsibility for visiting "gymnasia" and "hellenic" schools respectively (85).

Nevertheless, in 1885, the abolition of the tuition fees paid by primary students, which was linked to the establishment of compulsory education at this level of schooling, resulted in the transfer of the financial responsibility for primary teachers and schools from local to central government. In addition, the Decree issued on 12 March 1894 determined, for the first time, the curriculum and the weekly timetable of primary schools (86).

So, in the period 1834-1895 the characteristics of the Greek educational system had already been clarified: "centralization, central control, uniformity, theoretical

and classicist orientations of secondary school curriculum" (87).

In this context, special attention should be given to the establishment of the Student Text-Books Editing Company (O.E.D.B.) -it first appeared with the name School Text- Books Editing Company- and of the School Buildings Organisation (O.S.K.). The former was founded during Metaxas' dictatorship by Law 952/1937 : "In Athens, the School Text-Books Editing Company is being established, which will be under the control of the Ministry of Religion and National Education" (88). Later on, in the Junta period, the now renamed Student Text-Books Editing Company started to deliver even to higher education students required books free of charge (89). Thus, the central state extended its control over the entire educational system. The School Buildings Organisation (O.S.K.) was established in 1962. It combines the attempt at the solution of the school buildings problem with the imposition of a particular pedagogy in schools through a uniform architecture (90).

Moreover, in modern Greece, because of the absence of a dynamic involvement of various interest groups in policy formation at the local and regional levels, the Greek state is "articulated" by each government. Consequently, the entire educational system seems to be under government rather than state control, with the

supervision of the Ministry of Education. The Minister of Education, in turn, who is a political person, is responsible for executing the educational laws and implementing policies (91).

Nevertheless, for a system as centralized as the Greek one, it is significant to note that on average, between 1833 and 1974 there has been a change of Minister of Education every 8 months (92). As a result, it might be supposed that it would be difficult for each Minister to be well acquainted with any education matter. Besides, it can not be expected that a Minister of Education would take all the decisions on his own.

In the history of the Greek educational system there have been a number of persons and advisory bodies close to the Minister, who help him in the decision policy formation. So, as early as 1914, the Higher Education Council was established for general (pre-primary, primary and secondary) education (93). Its role was concerned with the administration of education, the determination of the curriculum content, educational goals and teaching methods. Despite some interruptions, this advisory body worked with different compositions and even names for a long time (1914-1975) (94).

The changes in its composition usually reflected governmental changes. No serious controversy was ever reported between the Council and the Minister. In

addition, whenever a Minister of Education wanted to have an advisory body responsible only for the implementation of education policies, he used to establish special councils with no administrative duties. Here, mention can be made, for example, of the Higher Education Council (Law 4653/1930), the Higher Committee in the study of education matters (Law 54/1944) and the Pedagogical Institute (Law 4379/1964). These groups are related to the corporatist idea. They enjoyed a monopoly on representing their sector, which (monopoly) was licensed and encouraged by the government. In 1975, as has already been mentioned, the Higher Education Council was replaced by the Centre of Educational Studies and In-Service Training (K.E.M.E.), which was later abolished and its place taken by the Pedagogical Institute (Law 1566/1985). Despite the existence of an advisory body, special committees on education have also been established close to the Minister of Education to propose educational reforms whenever this was demanded (e.g. the 1957-59 educational reform, the 1976-77 reform).

Nevertheless, a change of Minister of Education could result in the abandonment of an effort or action which might have been initiated even in the same government. A very recent example relates to the turbulent events that took place in Greece during early January 1991 because of four Presidential Decrees (95) that introduced

fundamental educational changes in primary and secondary education. The occupation of many schools by secondary students and the nation-wide opposition to the ministerial measurements (Chapter seven) caused the resignation of the then Minister of Education. In particular, he declared: "I submitted my resignation to the President of the government wishing to contribute to the ending of the disturbance" (96). The new Minister of Education, who took office immediately after, withdrew the four Presidential Decrees and called all teachers (Primary, secondary, university) for dialogue on a new basis (97). These developments are consistent with the claims of A. Dimaras (1979) that "the Greek education system is characterized by the new way its politics are formulated: Greek education politics are neither state nor governmental; they are merely ministerial" (98).

Are politicians therefore or bureaucrats more powerful and what is the relationship between them? In Greece, policies are largely administered by permanent administrative civil servants. All these are, as M. Kogan (1975) says, "a major source of continuity and acquire expertise and authority by virtue of that continuity" (99). Consequently, in the Greek corporatist and authoritarian state, bureaucrats are in a position either to adopt education policies issued by the central government, that is by the politicians, and to facilitate

their immediate implementation or to prohibit their process by causing delay. In this respect, one could follow the explanation of the bureaucratic model of Greek education politics as it is expressed in an OECD report (1982):

"The centralized structure of the Greek education system is explained by the relatively recent emergence of the modern state and the prolonged struggle to establish a stable parliamentary form of government. There is simply no tradition of local autonomy in the making of educational policy and control of the schools" (100).

To think through this argument a further examination of the administration system in Greece will be conducted at the national, regional and local levels respectively.

It must be claimed here that education administrative civil servants are "legitimised" interest groups (according to M. Kogan's definition (1975) who represent accepted parts of the education system. They are hierarchically ordered and their power is controlled by the state. Ministers, on the other hand, are political persons at the top of the hierarchy whose power is recognised by the government. The certainty is that the Ministry of Education wields definite authority and great power.

4.3.2 THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND RELIGION: THE NATIONAL LEVEL

In view of the attempts at democratization of the Greek educational system since the 1970s, how can authoritarianism, centralization and corporatism be explained?

The Ministry of Education is directly or indirectly responsible for all educational activities in the country. It is basically concerned with the determination of the educational aims and objectives, it defines the legal framework of any education matter and it evaluates, controls and financially supports everything which is related to education (101). In particular:

"It certifies, appoints and dismisses all teachers and other educational personnel in the elementary and secondary schools, and approves the appointment of university professors; it draws up, defines and enforces all types of educational knowledge (curricula), subject syllabi, timetables and university entrance examinations; it approves and publishes all school textbooks; it defines the objectives of each subject and issues guidelines regarding how the subject matter should be taught in the classroom; it regulates the school councils and all matters pertaining to the organisation of school life; it even interferes in the operation of school canteens" (102).

The structure of the Ministry of Education comprises general directorates which are responsible for the management of the various levels of education, all are under the overall control of a secretary general: i) general (primary and secondary) education; ii) technical-

vocational education; iii) higher education; iv) investment planning and operational research. According to the Greek Constitution of 1975, "all institutions of higher education are legal public entities and administratively autonomous" (Article 16). The Ministry of Education, however, exercises some control over these institutions through a government representative (103). The Minister of Education, in turn, is assisted by two vice-Ministers: one is responsible for elementary, secondary and vocational education and the other for post-secondary education.

In addition, the National Education Council was established (Law 1566/1985, Article 48) to function under the chairmanship of the Minister of Education. Its aim is to propose to the government the basic guidelines of the education policy. Its members are: Directors of the Ministry of Education and representatives from other Ministries, the Pedagogical Institute, the political parties, the Orthodox Church's Authorities, the National Federation of the Municipal Authorities, Higher Education Teaching and Research Staff, the National Federation of Parents, the Federation of Higher Education Students, the Federation of Teachers (primary and secondary) and the National Federations representing the world of employers/manufacturers and work-force (104). Each of the bodies above mentioned is determined to have an accepted

right to be consulted by government before policies are authorised. They are also, according to the pluralist model, "non-hierarchically ordered". However, this Council has not yet worked because the Minister of Education has never asked it for consultation.

Another advisory unit on policy issues, which reports directly to the Ministry of Education, is the Pedagogical Institute (105). This is a self-administered organisation which is charged with developing the school curriculum and it designs in-service training programmes for primary and secondary education teachers. It obtains information about the education process in schools from the school advisers and it is in contact with higher education and technological education institutions. The president as well as the vice-president of this body can be, according to the Law, either a university professor, or a permanent adviser, or a scholar with a recognized specialisation and contribution to education (Law 1566/1985, Article 26).

The Pedagogical Institute was established originally by Law 4379/1964 under Prime Minister G. Papandreou. It was abolished by the dictatorship a few years later, in 1967. It was re-established with Law 1566/1985, Article 23, under P.A.S.O.K.'s government, replacing the Centre of Educational Studies and In-service Training (K.E.M.E.). The latter had been founded by Law 186/1975, under the

New Democracy government (Chapters two and five) and its main functions were curriculum development and the improvement of teaching. However, according to the 1975 Constitution, the Minister of Education is not obliged to adopt there view in the formulation of any policy.

Assistance is also provided to the Minister of Education by the School Buildings Organisation (O.S.K.), which is responsible for the construction of the school buildings, and by the Student Text-Books Editing Company (O.E.D.B.), which edits and delivers school textbooks free of charge. Both organisations are self-governing bodies. Any programme of course to be implemented by these organisations should be previously approved by the Minister of Education (This is specified by Law 1566/1985, Article 72).

The involvement of all the aforementioned interest groups in the educational policy formation in Greece shows, in the first instance, some pluralist aspects of the Greek education politics. Nevertheless, the way that this pluralism is corporatism (since Schmitter's definition of corporatism is framed in terms of a kind of pluralism) may be illustrated by the fact that they are controlled by the Ministry of Education which, in turn, is not merely the recipient of the organisations' pressure and propositions. It can act autonomously of all groups or work in alliance with some interest groups

against others. ***

Furthermore, the Ministry of Education has a strong presence in primary and secondary schools through a network of regional and local administrations.

4.3.3 THE ADMINISTRATION SYSTEM OF EDUCATION AT THE REGIONAL LEVEL

To what extent can the administration system in Greece be democratic with the involvement of regional representatives?

At the regional level, the educational (primary and secondary) system is organised according to the administrative division of the country. So, there are the directors of primary and secondary education who are situated in the 52 prefectures in Greece, and the heads of the educational offices of primary and secondary education who are located in those prefectures with a large student population (106). At the beginning of the 1991-1992 school year, there were 187 directors and heads of primary (and pre-primary) education, 119 of general secondary education (gymnasium, general lyceum and comprehensive lyceum) and 125 technical-vocational education directors and heads (107).

The director of education is responsible for the coordination of the offices of education in the

prefecture, the supervision of the school headmasters, the distribution of funds to schools, the supervision of the school buildings and the improvement of the teaching materials, and the allocation of the teaching staff in schools (108).

The heads of the offices of education, on the other hand, report to the directors of education in the prefecture and their duties are similar to those of the directors (109).

Corresponding to the National Education Council at the national level, two more consultative bodies have been established at the regional level (110): 1) The regional educational committee, which is headed by the Prefect (Nomarche), and it consists of the directors and school advisers of primary and secondary education, and representatives of other regional bodies such as the municipal authorities, the professional associations, the local society of parents, the local teachers' union and the private education sector. 2) The community educational committee, which is under the chairmanship of the mayor and/or the president of the community. Its members are representatives of the headteachers, the professional organisations of the region, the regional society of parents and the teachers' union.

The influence of these groups is mainly local and they find it difficult to bring together practitioner opinion

on some of the more important policies. Both committees are, according to Law 1566/1985, responsible for supporting and implementing educational issues in the prefecture. All their activities, however, are under the control of the Ministry of Education through its hierarchical system of administration. One might agree therefore with the following statement:

"In Greece there is a contradiction between the existing legislation and the procedures which are followed in practical terms. Thus, on the one hand, Education Acts create regional education services for a radical decentralization of power from the centre to regional areas; and, on the other hand, almost all education affairs demand ministerial approval" (111).

This system of administration can be seen to be evolved in a corporatist direction in so far as there is a partnership between government and the interest groups. Democratic and pluralist ideals, on the other hand, demand more than that.

Finally, as far as the control of the educational process is concerned, this is now related to the duties and responsibilities of the school advisers of primary and secondary education.

The abolition of the school supervisors and inspectors and their replacement by a dual system of supervision and control, namely, the school adviser and the provincial office head/director was effected by Law 1304/1982 under P.A.S.O.K.'s socialist government (Chapter five). The previous school supervisors and inspectors were

intermediate administrative agencies of the Ministry of Education, who combined both administrative and educational responsibilities. Under Ministry policies and directives they studied local education problems and reported to the Ministry through the existing hierarchy (112). The task thus of the inspectorate was to assess the performance of individual teachers and the quality of the curriculum. To those who favoured this institution, school inspectors were a mechanism of quality control and accountability. To the critics, PA.SO.K. included, it was a politico-ideological state mechanism of control for authoritarian regimes (113).

In the introductory statement to Law 1304/1982, it was pointed out:

"The role of the school adviser is related to the scientific and pedagogical guidance of teachers, to the teachers appraisal and their in-service training as well as to the reinforcement of any attempt at research in education" (114).

In addition, according to the Law, the school adviser must have at least fifteen years teaching experience. Furthermore the majority of them hold post-graduate degrees. In secondary education, each school adviser has a specialised field of study and she/he is responsible for a group of teachers who teach in the same discipline (eg. Maths, Science, etc.). They also provide in-service training and pedagogical support to teachers.

Nevertheless, although PA.SO.K.'s policy was oriented

towards the decentralization of educational control, the abolition of the school inspectorate did not mean the elimination of the power of the Ministry of Education to inspect and evaluate teachers or to administer schools. According to the new Law, the administrative role of the school inspector has been taken over by the provincial heads/directors, while the school adviser, in conjunction with the school headteacher participates in the evaluation of teachers (115).

What happened before school advisers were introduced and what has been the movement over time to more representative bodies (together with the examination of their background) is an issue which will be treated separately in Chapter six (section 6.3.2).

4.3.4 THE ADMINISTRATION SYSTEM AT THE SCHOOL LEVEL

The administration system at schools involves the school headteacher, the teachers' council, the school council, the school committee and the students' communities (Law 1566/1985, Article 11).

The school headteacher has administrative and educational (teaching) duties. She/he is responsible for the implementation of the educational policies disseminated to schools by the centre, she/he supervises the teaching staff and she/he controls the activities

that take place in school (116).

The teachers' council, on the other hand, should carry out the curriculum, which is national and unified, look after the students and help them in their problems, and supervise the activities undertaken by the students' communities (117).

At the local level, the school is also supported by the school council and the school committee. The first consists of the school headteacher, the teaching staff, a representative of the local authorities and the parents. The second involves the school headteacher, a representative of the local authorities and the president of the local parents' society. In secondary education school committees, there is also a representative of the students' communities. These two bodies are required to contribute to the efficient functioning of the schools under the local authorities' control (118).

The students' communities, finally, give the opportunity for students to undertake initiatives in schools (119). This is done, of course, under the teachers' council control and according to the regulations issued by the Ministry of Education.

It seems, thus, in the first instance, that the most recent Law 1566/1985 "on the structure and operation of primary and secondary education" -the administration system of higher education (Laws: 1268/1982, 1404/1983)

is worthy of a study in its own right- contains a policy of decentralization and democratic planning. This was also the intention of the P.A.S.O.K. government (1981-1989) that sought to reform the state and, consequently, the political context of schooling. In fact, this education policy was partly implemented through the establishment of some formal institutions such as the councils and committees at local (school) and regional level, although their function was merely advisory. One can thus claim that the main intention of Law 1566/1985, that is the distribution of authority and power among well defined groups at different levels, could not be effectively operationalized. Although a highly complex decision-making process has been established, this is rarely used and the centralized rigidity of the system's policy formation remains.

4.4 CONCLUSION

The main point of this Chapter was to identify the style and character of Greek educational politics as background to Chapters five, six and seven which will examine the politics of the curriculum in detail. Centralism, corporatism and interest group politics are ways of describing the extent to which democratic decision-making in Greece is undermined in practice.

In conclusion, it can be argued that the administration system of education in Greece has contributed to the establishment of central and bureaucratic control over every educational aspect. This has been strengthened by the frequent change of Minister of Education at the top of the hierarchy.

Nevertheless, although corporatism emphasises the role of the interest groups in policy-making process, one might say that the capacity of the state to shape interest groups is closely related to the structure of the state itself. So, in centralized countries like Greece, in which the power is concentrated in the executive, the ability of the policy makers to restrict access to relatively few favoured groups is high (120).

In the following three Chapters of this thesis an attempt will be made to examine the involvement of some important interest groups in the education policy-making in Greece, in terms not only of the obvious interests which they represent, but also in terms of the values and policies underlying them and the classifications that can be derived from them. To what extent do these interest groups act independently or are their activities controlled or influenced by centralist and corporatist tendencies? These questions will be asked about opposition political parties, the members of the university and the teachers unions in the next three

Chapters.

Among the groups that show an interest in educational issues in Greece are the political parties.

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22. R. Lyons (1985), for example, argues against centralization on the issues of equity, national unity and management efficiency.

As regards equity, he says that " a local area resources can be diverted more effectively towards meeting the needs of the poor than within the nation".

In relation to the national unity argument,

"it may be the case that national curricula, in so far as they are adapted to national requirements,... , are more applicable to urban than to rural conditions. They may not be relevant to the cultural, linguistic and economic needs of rural population".

Finally, in regard to the management efficient argument, "it may appear that those who decide for the nation as a whole ...are not able to take account of the particular needs of sub-national activities".

Lyons, R., "Decentralized educational planning: is it a contradiction?", op. cit., pp. 88-89.

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26. Ibid., p. 203.

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M. Manoilescu's ideological definition of corporatism seems to be similar to the aforementioned one:

"The corporation is a collective and public organization composed of the totality of persons (physical and juridical) fulfilling together the same national function and having as its goal that of assuring the exercise of that function by rules of law imposed at least upon its members".

Manoilescu, M., Le siècle du corporatisme, op. cit., p. 176.

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CHAPTER 5

THE OUTCOME OF CONFLICT OF THE CURRICULUM IN GREECE:
THE POLITICAL PARTIES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous Chapter suggested that Greek educational politics is superficially pluralist. A variety of interest groups exist which attempt to influence government policy. At a deeper level, it was argued, politics in Greece are centralist and corporatist so that groups outside government share the same values about the necessity of national education policies which emphasise unity and tradition rather than diversity and contemporary relevance.

Potential debate about government policies can come either through constitutional mechanisms of the parliamentary system or through specialised educational interest groups. This Chapter examines the response of opposition political parties to educational policies since the 1950s and especially the 1970s. The question to be addressed is whether these parties developed effective alternative programmes which could allow for attack on the traditionalism of the school curriculum. If not, how far did their failure to focus on curriculum issues permit the old values to continue to dominate the curriculum?

5.2 THE POLITICAL PARTIES: THE ROLE OF POLITICIANS AND THEIR CONFLICTING POSITION

In Greece, the conflict in approaches to the ideas of democracy and education has led to many, often futile, debates over what should or should not be included in the curriculum. So, how far did and does each political party support curriculum reform? What were and are their attitudes to the preservation of the humanist curriculum?

Information about the educational positions of the political parties are found in the materials that are published by parties themselves, in their communiques, interviews and statements, in the daily press, in their pre-election material and in the Parliamentary Proceedings.

In this Chapter, I prefer the chronological approach rather than the thematic description because the periods under consideration were very crucial for Greek educational politics.

5.2.1 THE OVERALL POLITICAL PROGRAMME AND IDEOLOGIES OF THE MAJOR PARTIES IN THE 1956-1967 PERIOD

The Greek party political system (except for the left-wing) both in its organisation and its partisan formations, refers rather to the traditional model of the

nineteenth century than to contemporary bureaucratic partisan machines (1). In this regard, M. Duverger (1967) points out:

"These parties have mainly middle-class origins and are based upon caucuses which are narrowly recruited rather independent of one another and generally decentralized. Their aim is not so much to increase their membership or to enlist the masses as to recruit outstanding people. Since their activity is entirely directed towards elections and parliamentary alliances it has in consequence a somewhat seasonal character. On the whole, their leadership is in the hands of their parliamentary representatives and is markedly individual in form. The party is concerned only with political questions. Doctrine and ideological problems play a small part in its life and membership is generally based upon interest and habit" (2).

Such characteristics seem to have their applications to the Greek political parties. In Greece, from the mid-1950s up to 1963 the major governing political party was the right-wing E.R.E. -Ethnike Rizospastike Enosis (National Radical Union). An indication of the strength of the main parties during this period is given below with the percentage of votes in the general elections (3):

1. February 19, 1956: E.R.E. -Right- (47.38%), Democratic Union -Centre and Left- (48.15%).
2. May 11, 1958: E.R.E. (41.16%), Komma Phileleutheron - Liberal Party- (20.67%), E.D.A. -Left- (24.43%).
3. October 29, 1961: E.R.E. (50.81%), E.K. -Union of Centre- (33.66%), E.D.A. (14.63%).

According to J. Meynaud (1966), E.R.E. maintained in the country a strong social base. Its specific public was

not dominated by any one social group although the electoral geography and the crude sociological speculation would suggest the significance of peasants, big businessmen, officers of the armed forces and anti-Communist intellectuals. Nevertheless, its leader, K. Karamanles, represented at that time the best guarantor of the ruling class and the privileged classes in the population. He maintained the alliance with Americans and relied on their support to secure stability in the social class structure (4).

In education terms, any reform attempt was welcomed only in so far as it did not threaten the traditional fundamental principles of the Hellenochristian civilisation, which prevailed in the education system. In particular, in 1958, the Committee on Education was very much attached to classicism. Its traditional orientation was apparent as regards its support for the dominant position of Ancient Greek in the secondary school curriculum: "Hellenochristian ideals and classicism must be the permanent background of the education of our youth" (5).

The second major liberal conservative political party was called "Enosis Kentrou" (E.K.) -Union of Centre. It was a coalition of small parties and personalities with a political orientation from right to left (6). The programme and ideology of E.K. were the restoration of

political democracy in the country by the removal of K. Karamanles and his government from power, and the development of social and economic democracy (7). When E.K. took office in 1963 under the leadership of G. Papandreou it gave top priority to educational democratization and modernization and carried out the 1964 educational reform.

The percentage of votes of the major political parties in the 1963, 1964 elections was as follows (8):

1. November 3, 1963: E.R.E. (39.37%), E.K. (42.04%), E.D.A. (14.34%).
2. February 16, 1964: E.R.E. (35.26%), E.K. (57.72%), E.D.A. (11.80%).

In the 1964 educational reform, there was a coincidence of views among E.K., E.R.E. and E.D.A. in relation to the issues of equal educational opportunities, students' selection and the role of the state in education. In the introduction to the Law-Plan 4379/1964 "On the organisation and administration of general (primary and secondary) education" it was stated: "The economic and cultural prosperity of the nation presupposes the improvement of education" (9). However, the right-wing E.R.E. had kept its conservative and traditional orientation as well as an elitist concept of democracy: "The classical gymnasium should exist for the education of the future scientists and the leaders of the

country. The discipline of the childrens' minds will be pursued through the study of Maths and Ancient Greek" (10).

Finally, the third major political party was the left-wing E.D.A. -Eniaea Demokratike Aristera (United Democratic Left). Born in the aftermath of the civil war, with the Communist party outlawed, E.D.A. welcomed in its ranks the adherents of Communist ideology and persons sympathetic to it and has never hidden its preference for Marxist analysis and argument. It also gained support from a considerable part of the workers' union. The political programme and ideology of E.D.A. was aimed not at a social tranformation but at a change of orientation which had a national anti- imperialistic and democratic inspiration (11).

In regard to education, the ideals of the school system ought, according to E.D.A., to encompass the development of a democratic and nationalistic spirit, the appreciation of work as the basic level for man's cultivation and development and the view that genuine humanism is based on the principle that the intellectual life of man cannot flourish without a relatively high level of material production (12).

In 1967, a military Junta imposed an extremely right-wing authoritarian regime on the country, which lasted up to 1974.

5.2.2 POLITICAL PARTIES AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY SINCE 1974

After restoration, in 1974, the Greek political scene was composed of the following major political parties: The New Democracy (N.D.) and the Panhellenic Socialistic Movement (PA.SO.K.) were the major parties which alternated between government and opposition in the period 1974-1990. The liberal party E.DE.K (Democratic Centre Union), the Greek Communist Party (K.K.E.) and the K.K.E. interior (Euro-Communists) were minor parties. The Communists were legalized in 1974. E.D.A. became a very small party, although it continued to have a constructive say in the Parliament with regard to education.

a. NEA DEMOCRATIA (N.D.) -NEW DEMOCRACY PARTY

The New Democracy party comprises politicians of old parties such as the E.R.E. (National Radical Union) right-wing conservative, the Centre Union Liberal (E.K.), a few people who had markedly distanced themselves from the military Junta and a few of the collaborators with the military regime who, later on, left New Democracy and formed an extreme right-wing party. The social groups which support it can be found in the whole range of the Greek population but mostly from among industrialists, the Church and the Army. The amount

of support it took in the elections of November 17, 1974 was 54.37%, 41.84% in the 1977 elections, 35.88% in 1981 and 40.84% in 1985 (13).

In the 1974-1981 period, New Democracy having the majority of votes in the Parliament, formed a single party government and put into effect its educational policy. Between 1981 and 1989 it was the major opposition party.

The general philosophy of this party as well as its views on more specific topics are apparent in a conference held at the Ministry of Education on January 17th 1976, in the debate held in the Parliament at that period and in the content of the Laws and Presidential Decrees. An extensive discussion of New Democracy's educational policies as the party of government in the 1974-1981 period (including the period of the 1976-77 educational reform) has been provided in Chapters two and three. But since 1981, when it was in opposition, it could not be expected to challenge the continued traditional curriculum of schools.

b. PA.SO.K. -PANHELLENIO SOCIALISTIKO KINEMA (PANHELLENIC SOCIALISTIC MOVEMENT)

This relatively new party came onto the Greek political scene in 1974 with a strong inclination to

socialism, a development that the pre-1967 political climate did not favour. PA.SO.K. was mainly supported by the working and middle class (eg. the farmers, a great part of the workers' union, the women's union, the university students, the young scientists, etc.). The amount of support that it had in the 1974 elections was 13.58%, 25.34% in 1977, 48.07% in 1981 and 45.82% in 1985 (14).

PA.SO.K.'s educational policy, as it appeared in its pre-election programme, is quite important because PA.SO.K. was the only party in the 1981 elections that could take the power from the Right with a good chance of success. Education is for PA.SO.K. the foundation of a promising change. It contains the cultural achievements of the Greek people during the whole historical process of the nation. Both education and culture are closely related to the society (the economic structure, the cultural and scientific tradition) so that the fundamental educational choices are connected with the national, social, economic and cultural preferences of the government. In other words, these are basic political choices (15).

c. K.K.E. -KOMMUNISTIKO KOMMA HELLADOS (GREEK COMMUNIST PARTY)

The Greek Communist Party (K.K.E.) was legalized in 1974 by the very same political establishment that had persistently denied it in the past, and it was loyal to the doctrine of Moscow. C. Korizes (1975) states:

"While in 1967 the Greek Communist party was illegal in the eye of Law and of the majority of the public ... now, K.K.E. is legitimate and no one disputed that it rightfully participates in political life enjoying parity of status" (16).

Although it is difficult to specify what social groups have supported the Communist party, however, among its fervent supporters the Communist veterans of the civil war and a certain number of the industrial workers can be mentioned. In addition, as regards the strength of this party in the period under consideration, the percentage of votes it gained in the 1977 elections was 9.36%, 10.94% in 1981 and 9.89% in 1985 (17).

In K.K.E.'s 1981 pre-election programme the paragraph on education is part of the Chapter entitled: "The confrontation with the urgent problems of the working-class people". According to this programme, education has reached an impasse because it has been subjected to the interests of monopolies and because of its anachronistic content and its autocratic organisation and function; this situation has been made worse since

Greece was admitted into the European Economic Community.

"K.K.E., therefore, is struggling for the democratization of the content as well as the organisation of the educational system in an attempt to make education serve the people" (18).

d. E.DE.K. -ENOSE DEMOCRATIKOU KENTROU (DEMOCRATIC CENTRE UNION)

In the 1974 elections, E.DE.K. got 20.42% of votes. In 1977, its power was reduced to 11.95% and, in 1981, it got 0.40% of votes having no Members of Parliament (19). Some of the reasons for E.DE.K.'s "defeat" can be sought in the growth of PA.SO.K. in public favour at the expense of the Centre Union and in the political polarization of this period.

According to E.DE.K., "education is of paramount importance, equal to national defence, it is a moral obligation of the state and it must be considered above politics" (20). The miserable condition of all education levels can only be improved with the doubling of the national budget, the re-orientation of the teaching programmes and the equal development of the vocational and general education.

The focus is upon technical-vocational education and some goals are proposed for its improvement:

Nationalization of vocational schools, distribution of students according to the economic demands, development of new schools in the name of decentralization, development of new curricula and the reconstruction of the educational system.

Thus, the basic parameters of E.DE.K.'s educational programme are the free expression of ideas, the modernization of education and its raising to a high quality and, finally, with equality of educational opportunities.

None of the political parties made specific propositions about the curriculum change. The contrasting educational policies of each party since the fall of the dictatorship (1974) will be discussed in the next section. The emphasis will be on their position in the 1976-1977 educational reform.

5.2.3 A BRIEF RECAPITULATION OF THE EDUCATIONAL REFORMS AND THE POSITION OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE 1976 REFORM

There are in the history of Greek education five periods when major reform plans were formulated: 1913, 1929, 1959, 1964, 1976-77 (some other educational changes also took place in the 1981-1985 period). Three of them

(i.e. 1913, 1929, 1964) have in common a number of characteristics. They were compiled by liberal governments, they proposed the extension of compulsory schooling, they supported "demotike", and they viewed the system in a global way.

In fact they are successive stages of the same attempt to organise and reform the system. The first reform plan was abandoned following reactions by influential members of the party that had introduced it and by conservative strongholds such as the University of Athens. The second attempt became law and was tried out in practice until it was finally abolished, in 1935, by Metaxas dictatorship. So, after World War II and the Greek civil war, a further effort was made in 1964. But the 1964 reform was also abolished by a dictatorship (21).

It is well known that the social, economic and technical evolution which occurred after World War II created fundamental changes in the economic and social structure of nations and emphasised the need for change in their respective educational systems. The objectives of social and economic development have necessitated the transformation of the role of education in Greece and the extension of compulsory schooling (22). The government of K. Karamanles (E.R.E. political party) initiated such a reform effort in 1959 focusing also on the introduction of technical-vocational education. Humanism, however,

inspired by the Hellenic Christian spirit was to remain the basis of Greek education (23).

The subsequent effort attempted by the Centre Union (E.K.) government, in 1964, placed great stress on the expansion of education, on linguistic reform, changes in the curriculum (i.e. language question, study of Ancient Greek, etc.) and the system of selection (examinations). Unfortunately, neither the 1959 nor the 1964 educational reforms ever completed. The seven years of ruthless dictatorship further delayed the long overdue reform, so that the need for change was intensified.

The educational reform, legislated and initiated by the New Democracy government in 1975-77, can be summarized in the following main policies:

"The replacement of "katharevousa" with "demotike" as the official language, thus putting an end to the national language problem, the extension of compulsory schooling from 6 to 9 years (6 in primary and 3 in lower secondary education), the teaching of Ancient Greek from translation, the organisational development of technical and vocational educational system at secondary and higher levels, and the establishment of the Centre for Educational Studies and In-Service Training" (24).

These measures as well as the general educational policy of New Democracy aspired, according to this party, on the one hand, to shape free citizens with high ideals, who will, in turn, aim at a civilised society and loyalty to the long-life national traditions and, on the other hand, to create socialized individuals. It states that "education is not only the basis of the moral and

intellectual cultivation of the people but it is also the foundation of the social, economic and political creation of the nation itself" (25).

Government policy was supported by the liberal-centrist E.DE.K., the major party of opposition at that time. The E.DE.K. considered these measures as being, for the most part, a revival of the reforms of 1964. Additionally, E. Papanoutsos, the chief educational spokesman for E.DE.K. in the 1976 reforms, was the architect of the 1964 reforms. So much in fact did the liberal E.DE.K. seem to identify its views on the proposed reforms with those of the New Democracy that during these years it was difficult to distinguish between the policies of the government and the major party of opposition (26).

References were made to equality of opportunity as a principle of democratization. But the awareness of socio-economic, regional and cultural factors in achievement, certification, success in examinations and access to higher rungs of the educational ladder, which ultimately created social disparities, appeared to have been peripheral to the policy orientation of these political parties.

It was not, however, the same with the other opposition parties (the socialistic PA.SO.K., and the left-wing E.D.A., K.K.E. and K.K.E.interior). In general,

these political groups criticized the bill for not being sufficiently democratic, modern, or equitable. In addition, it was contended that the intent of the policy to divert the majority of students into technical and vocational education was "to create many skilled blue collar workers in order to operate multi-national and foreign-owned industry" (27).

a. P.A.S.O.K.'s position

P.A.S.O.K. attributed the educational preferences of New Democracy to its political orientation, with which P.A.S.O.K. was opposed.

The acceptance of "demotike" as the official language of the state as well as the enactment of the nine-year compulsory education were considered as positive measures, which, however, were taken under the accumulated pressure of popular demand. Nevertheless, not all education levels have been faced with the required seriousness; a number of the measures formulated were only hastily improvised (28).

P.A.S.O.K. also resisted the entrance examinations system into the lyceum. According to its main spokesman, I. Koutsocheras (1976), this selection system would condemn the majority of the 15-year-olds, who came from the provinces and the economically weak families, to

lower levels of education. "Damaged psychologically and short-changed in their educational preparation our youth will be an easy prey for cheap labour to local and foreign employers" (29).

PA.SO.K.'s first important objective was to change the values, the content and the orientation of education and studies. The whole education is characterized by its attachment to human values and at the same time each level of education is directly related to the pressing needs of the country. Therefore, there will be concern for free and creative investigation, for gender equality and for familiarity with democratic values and procedures. Emphasis will be given to patriotism and national independence, while a feeling of faith in peace and friendship between nations will also be cultivated. Learning of history is going to be pursued "widely and objectively" without any constraint and without emphasis on any dominant ideology. Concepts such as our traditional heritage (30), the prolific resources and the independent economic development of the country will be introduced into education. However, PA.SO.K. did not make any specific proposals about the curriculum even though the general politics would need the curriculum to be changed.

Furthermore, the differences of status between various levels of education were to be extinguished, technical

and vocational education was going to be elevated and University entrance exams are to be radically changed. The quality of technical and vocational education must become the guarantee not only for the overall qualitative improvement of education but it also should cover the needs of the productive process.

In particular, PA.SO.K. made the following proposals:

1. Generalization of pre-school education;
2. Special care for handicapped children;
3. Essential nine-year compulsory education with a prospect to become ten-year and, later on, twelve-year compulsory education;
4. Essential changes in secondary education and functional unity within secondary curriculum regardless of the existence of two types of schooling (general education, technical-vocational education);
5. Establishment of comprehensive lyceum (upper secondary education level), alongside the existing general and technical-vocational lyceums, with various orientations (in the first year the curriculum should be common after which it will be differentiated);
6. Replacement of the school inspector by the adviser;
7. Development of the idea of parallel education with special programmes for the illiterate, introduction of educational television and pushing forward the free and Open University concept (31).

One might therefore say that education was, for PA.SO.K., tightly connected with economy and society and it was the foundation of the forthcoming change. Educational changes, which will be the result of the general political changes, would be concerned with the content of education (modernization of the curriculum, harmonization between educational, economic and social needs of the country, fundamentally different educational policy), the way of providing education (abolition of private schools and "frontisteria" (private preparatory schools)) and, finally, the administration of education (educational planning on the basis of the national economy, reinforcement of social control in education).

These "political" educational choices were the natural expression of PA.SO.K.'s political preferences that aim at a Greek society, which will be nationally independent, with sovereignty and democracy, with self-supported social development, culturally regenerated, with radical improvement of the quality of life, with social justice and social emancipation. In other words, PA.SO.K. aimed at a socialistic society.

Nevertheless, despite the opposition to the 1976 educational reform, PA.SO.K.'s policy, as it appeared in its educational programme, did not provide a constructive educational alternative as regards the crucial issue of curriculum reform in schools. Neither did K.K.E.

formulate a clear proposition in relation to the education content and the type of the dominant knowledge in the curriculum.

b. K.K.E.'s position

For K.K.E., the 1976 educational reform was

"a radical change in accordance with the orientations and the goals of the policy "we belong to West"; this change, however, can provide a great deal of non-skilled or semi-skilled and, as a result, cheap working hands in the interests of foreign and local monopolies" (32).

The educational change that New Democracy government wanted was "reconstruction" in order to be able to serve the needs and interests of the Common Market (33). Thus, "both the structure and the guidelines of our country remain unpopular, non-democratic, obscuristic, unprogressive and class-based" (34).

K.K.E. put the 1976 education reform in the framework of the reforms the middle-class attempts when it is faced with an implacable reality which does not permit any postponement in coping with the problems (35). Education is, thus, for K.K.E., always subordinate to the political and social preferences of government.

In regard to the nine-year compulsory education issue and the way it has been put into practice, it is believed that "the nine-year schooling should be unified with a united curriculum; in other words, this should be the

first trunk of the education" (36).

Furthermore, the introduction of the teaching of Ancient Greek through translation in the lower secondary education level (gymnasium) was the result of a greater pressure (i.e. socio-economic demands) and not an essential and deliberate pedagogical or ideological preference of New Democracy. Besides, this measure found secondary school teachers unprepared for two reasons: "First of all, they are not in a position to teach the classical culture and, secondly, they do not work in a democratic environment as scholars and pedagogues" (37).

The measure, however, which at the time attracted most criticism was that concerned with the examinations from gymnasium to the lyceum and, consequently, the making up of a double school network (general, technical-vocational education). K.K.E. indicated: "Today -in 1976- there is an attempt to change the orientation of our discussion on education and to transfer the whole problem to the question of exams" (38). The K.K.E. party believed that these exams exclude from upper education levels those students with lower class origins and push them to the technical-vocational sector providing them with no "essential" knowledge and with an insecure future. Examinations serve only the ruling class because students with this background will cope with them much more easily than others and, consequently, they will be pushed into

higher education institutions, whereas children from lower social classes will be left behind studying at technical-vocational schools (39). The then spokesman of the Communist party, C. Florakes (1976), stated in the Parliament that "the Bill solved one important problem, namely, the language question. But in all other respects, it had essentially retained the traditional basic structure and class character of Greek education" (40).

According to K.K.E., "the ruling class is not capable of solving the permanent problems of education even though it has attempted some progressive reforms" (41) because "education is part of the system and as such it serves the reproduction of the dominant ideology and the maintainance of the relationships between the productive forces as well as the given social system" (42). It states that the way to attain real educational reform is connected with "the struggle for socialism" and vice versa.

K.K.E.'s positive proposals in 1981 were as follows (43):

1. Nine-year united compulsory education with polytechnic orientation (and economic support to the economically deprived students);
2. Introduction of "real" free education;
3. To appoint the number of secondary school teachers needed, to establish new schools and to provide them with

the appropriate teaching materials;

4. To cope with the economic and democratic demands of secondary teachers;

5. To introduce scheduled and systematic in-service training courses for secondary teachers;

6. To develop actual equality between general and technical-vocational education;

7. To lengthen school studies in general as well as in the technical lyceum;

8. To increase the expenditure on education.

Concluding the presentation of K.K.E.'s position in education, one can say that this political party did not offer any alternative programme for a radical reform specifically of the curriculum. It simply criticized the Bill and recalled its political mandate, according to which a real education reform presupposes widespread social and economic changes.

In fact, K.K.E. distinguishes the short-term goals from its long-term political vision, which is socialism. According to K.K.E., socialism only can solve today's problems of the Greek education, which is considered to be the basis of the Greek society. The short-term target is referred to as the fall of the Right to allow a democratic government to take power, so that a "real change" is achieved. At that stage, education will be in the service of the nation, it will cease to reinforce

social inequality, and it will absorb a great deal of the national budget. K.K.E. did not, however, make any specific proposition about the curriculum change.

The other opposition parties of the Left (E.D.A., K.K.E. interior) were less critical of the educational reform but they demanded a further improvement of the education.

c. E.D.A.'s position

The United Democratic Left (E.D.A.), despite some reservations, accepted the principles of the Bill, which were "unquestionably a good beginning in the direction of regulating the problems of education on a national basis" (44).

E.D.A. believes that the New Democracy government was pressed by the time conditions to attempt the 1976 education reform. According to E.D.A.'s leader, E. Eliou (1976), "education today serves the economy and not the integration of man, it gives priority to the quantities rather than the qualities and it is concerned with the occasional rather than the eternal" (45). The leader of E.D.A. stated:

"The development of the intellectual personality of Greeks must rest on unquestionable foundations, the possibility for everyone of participating through his work in the creation of civilisation. Education must cultivate the spirit of national independence, far removed from national chauvinism. It must derive from

the inheritance of the national civilisation, but must develop cooperation, emulation and solidarity amongst people. It must aim at creating loyal guardians and protectors of democratic freedom. Some of the aims commonly accepted might be: Cultivation of the possibility of expression and formulation of thought; development of rational critical capacity; social and vocational education; and evolution of productive capacity. It is necessary to add to the formation of democratic convictions in the young in order for them to become responsible citizens and completed personalities" (46).

E. Eliou (1976), explained his statement as follows:

"If we want to make "medizontes" (traitors) or ridiculous, misunderstood mediators, who, with the slogan "Greece, Greek-Christian", know how to sell the sacred and holy body of the country to the grocers of international monopoly, then we shall give to the young the abstract, fully mystical and obscure contrivance of the vain idealistic philosophy" (47).

E.D.A.'s education programme is to be the outcome of an open, democratic society, fully non bureaucratic and decentralized. This political party aims at the democratization of education which will be attained on the basis of three fundamental principles: the universal participation of citizens, the scientific content of education and the democratic function (48).

d. The position of K.K.E. interior

The K.K.E.interior, which was completely independent of the K.K.E., cooperated with the communist and socialist parties of foreign countries, accepted the Parliamentary multiple-party system and rejected the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was a movement of

Euro-Communism.

The K.K.E. interior stated that the education system in Greece did not respond to the needs and demands of a contemporary capitalist society.

"Some concrete and subversive historical and social factors did not permit any attempt made by bright men to reform education. The ideological construction with its relative autonomy successfully provided an effective resistance not only to the attempts of the bourgeois political power authority but also to the developmental demands of the capitalism itself" (49).

The 1976 reform, M. Sabotakes (1977) maintains, changed the educational status quo only in that:

"While until recently the social class problem was related to the division between educated and non educated individuals, now (since 1976 education reform) it will be referred to as the distinction between general lyceum students (with higher education orientation) and technical- vocational lyceum students" (50).

Nevertheless, K.K.E. interior, based on the theory of the structural changes for the achievement of socialism, acknowledged the positive measures of the 1976 education reform -such as the introduction of "demotike" language and the nine-year compulsory education- and suggested the improvement of others. Their focus, however, was upon technical-vocational education, which would play an important role in the economic and social development of the country.

Summary

Summing up, it can be said that the opposition parties

did not seem to question the prevalent concept of "merit", talent, or achievement and, more broadly, of "education culture", which was indeed socially biased. It was mostly critical of the organisational aspects of the reform in that they would affect access to the opportunities for education on the part of the lower social classes yet largely omitted attention to the cultural and ideological dimensions of schooling or to the structure of pedagogical relationships -in short, to the very nature and content of education itself (51).

It is worth remarking, in addition, that there has been a policy of excluding specific curriculum and pedagogical matters from public discussion in Parliament and leaving them to special Decrees (52). For example, the then Undersecretary for General Education, C. Karapiperes, introduced an amendment to Article 28 (paragraph 6), in 1976, leaving to Presidential Decrees the regulation of the subjects in the curriculum.

"Such Decrees would now regulate subjects which would be drawn from the theological, philosophical, physicomathematical and technological cycles of study and would include elements of the democratic structure of the state and vocational orientation" (53).

This central control of the school curriculum was criticized by the speakers of the opposition. D. Tsatsos, E.DE.K.'s spokesman, said:

"Educational reform is reform of subject-matter. ...What is the value of the renaissance of the organisation of education, when Parliament refuses to decide on the main topic of educational renaissance, which is the content?"

(54).

It can be argued therefore that the political parties, although they reflect some pluralist aspects of education politics, did not appear to influence effectively curriculum reform because of the centralized and authoritarian control of Greek education.

Having in mind all the aforementioned statements of the political parties in the 1976 period onwards, I would now like to refer to the educational programmes of each of the major political parties as these appeared during the last (1989-1990) general elections in Greece and as they reflect their education politics.

5.2.4 THE MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES AND THEIR EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME IN 1990

There were three major political parties during the 1989, 1990 general elections in Greece: a) PA.SO.K., which was the governing socialistic political party under the leadership of A. Papandreou; b) New Democracy, a right-wing party, which was the major party in opposition since 1981, under the leadership of K. Metsotakes; and c) Synaspismos, the left-wing party, which was a coalition of the following political parties: K.K.E., K.K.E.interior, E.D.A. and a few other smaller Left-wing parties (later on, in 1991, K.K.E. became again an

independent political party).

The percentage of votes that the major political parties gained during the 1989, 1990 general elections was as follows (55):

1. June 18, 1989: New Democracy (44.28%) -145 seats-, PA.SO.K. (39.13%) -125 seats-, Synaspismos (13.13%) -28 seats-.

2. November 5, 1989: New Democracy (46.19%) -148 seats-, PA.SO.K. (40.68%) -128 seats-, Synaspismos (10.97%) -21 seats-.

3. April 8, 1990: New Democracy (46.89%) -150 seats-, PA.SO.K. (38.61%) -123 seats-, Synaspismos (10.28%) -19 seats-.

Between June 1989 and November 1989 New Democracy (Right) and Synaspismos (Left) were the governing political parties. After November 1989 (until April 1990) there was a coalition of all three parties (i.e. N.D., PA.SO.K. and Synaspismos). On 8th April 1990, New Democracy became the only party of government.

The educational programme details of each of the above mentioned three political parties which follow are taken from pre-election material.

a. PA.SO.K.

Education is, for PA.SO.K., a national issue:

"Education at any level is the basis of the nation, the society and our culture. The basic orientation of our educational policy has been towards free education and equality of educational opportunities" (56).

In eight years since P.A.S.O.K. began to govern the country (1981), the constitutional framework at any level of education, the new concepts and values, the quality of knowledge and studies have formed another reality in the Greek education which cannot be disputed. Both the content and the quality of studies have been improved: New curricula have been developed; the content of the nine-year compulsory education as well as the upper level of education have got an intrinsic coherence; the teaching methods are continuously being improved; the University Departments of Education have started playing an important role in the educational research and pedagogy.

New systems have also been developed: The school has been related to society; education has been connected with local self-government; a new type of united comprehensive lyceum has been developed with general and technical orientation; the teaching personnel has assumed responsibility for pedagogical and educational issues.

Furthermore, there has been a great interest in all education levels: Pre-school and primary school teachers will have university background; new programmes and

lessons, i.e. Foreign languages, Computing etc., are being introduced in primary schools; new lessons with a vocational orientation have been introduced for the first time in the history of the "gymnasium" curriculum, Modern Greek language and Maths books are now in use; new subjects, such as Economics, Sociology, School Vocational Orientation, are being introduced in the general lyceum and new books are being distributed in the technical lyceum. Finally, the comprehensive lyceum is the school of the future where general and technical education will enjoy equal status (57).

PA.SO.K's goal is the introduction of twelve-year compulsory education, so that every student will be able to follow any type of education (general, technical and vocational), according to his/her inclinations.

"Both the compulsory secondary education and the comprehensive lyceum with its specialised departments will replace the different schooling levels of today. This will constitute the great response of our country to the crisis in secondary education, which is experienced all over the world; this lyceum will safeguard modern, general and technical-vocational education and it will connect education with production" (58).

With regard to higher education, PA.SO.K. rejects the new liberal concept of the privatization of university institutions, and it perceives it as dangerous nationally because this will cause higher education to deteriorate. PA.SO.K. sees democracy and independence as the basic principles of higher education institutions and it will aim at their qualitative improvement in the forthcoming

years.

However, although the socialist government of A. Papandreou tried to expand welfare and educational programmes and -to some extent- to implement them, it did not achieve an effective educational reform. Some of the reasons for the failure to change the curriculum have already been discussed in Chapter two. Moreover, one might argue that the reform attempts were not based on a constructive educational programme which would provide specific stages such as design, development, evaluation, feedback (59) It is not clear that their 1990 proposals addressed these issues.

b. NEW DEMOCRACY (N.D.)

New Democracy, being for eight years the major opposition party (1981-1989), attacked P.A.S.O.K.'s educational policy and provided an educational programme with a clear neo-conservative orientation.

According to New Democracy, everyone in Greece, today, understands that education is neglected. Graduation studies lead young people to unemployment and their university degrees do not give them any guarantee of entering the labour market. This happens for the following reasons:

a) P.A.S.O.K.'s government, despite its declarations, never

gave priority to education;

b) The financial support given to education is limited;

c) The quality of teaching and training is low: There are primary school pupils who are not yet able to read and write, whereas at the secondary education level, students have a lot of difficulties in using the Modern Greek language;

d) Approximately 50,000 undergraduate students study abroad; the government, however, has never tried to find ways to stop the emigration of students;

e) The graduates of the Technological Education Institutions (T.E.I.) cannot find jobs because six years since the law has been passed for T.E.I., the government has not yet looked after their professional rights (60).

But what are New Democracy's proposals? New Democracy believes that education must be connected with life, production and technological development. In this regard, the state should give to young people equal educational opportunities (61).

Teachers are regarded as the motive power. New Democracy gives, therefore, priority to the financial support, the social status improvement and the continuous in-service training of teachers. Their work must, however, be appraised on the basis of objective criteria.

Examinations should be introduced at all levels of education; the traditional exam methods must be supported

by new ones, i.e. multiple-choice system, right-wrong etc., for an objective assessment of students.

The Greek language should be cultivated in depth with an emphasis on the teaching of grammar and syntax. Students must be familiar with the forms of our language at all stages of its historical development.

The upper secondary education must be autonomous and its curriculum should be reconstructed. Higher education institutions will be autonomous and at the same time they will be in competition with each other for better quality of studies. In addition, private universities will be established wherein economically deprived students will be able to study with the benefit of grants. Higher education should also be connected with production, and post-graduate studies will be introduced in the Greek universities. Finally, the Technological Education Institutions (T.E.I.) will be upgraded to University Schools.

It can be thus said that New Democracy's education politics emphasise the role of the school in the economic development of the country.

c. SYNASPISMOS (LEFT-WING PARTY)

Synaspismos criticizes the education politics of both New Democracy and P.A.S.O.K. and provides its own education

programme, which stresses the need for equal opportunities in education. According to Synaspismos, education is not a negotiable social virtue but a principal social good. It claims that PA.SO.K.'s government policy led public education away from its responsibilities to meet the increasing social demands on education, science and technological development. Today, eight years since PA.SO.K. began governing the country, education has got worse for the following reasons (62):

- a) The 1566/1985 Law, which is concerned with primary and secondary education, essentially supports the centralization as well as the bureaucratic administration of education;
- b) Public education is seriously inadequate and the role of teachers is being undermined;
- c) Lyceum remains the preparatory stage for entry into higher education institutions;
- d) The crisis in the Universities as well as in the Technological Educational Institutions (T.E.I.) is being perpetuated;
- e) The funding of education is very limited.

New Democracy, on the other hand, with its own programme helps to perpetuate today's crisis. It adopts a centralized, non democratic and autocratic framework of education. Evidence of this position is the fact that New Democracy supports private education with even the

development of private universities (63).

Synaspismos wants an educational system closely related to the society, which will focus upon humanity and it will correlate the needs and demands of the people with the needs and demands of society. It also aims at an educational system, which will be able to control and restrict the social, cultural and class-based inequalities.

It has adopted, therefore, the following goals (64):

1. Universal pre-school education;
2. Compulsory united nine-year education;
3. To develop active programmes for the effective establishment of equal opportunities;
4. To be a "united lyceum" completely different from the so-called "united comprehensive lyceum", which was established by PA.SO.K.. The Left-wing party aims at a future compulsory lyceum;
5. Development of science, technology and arts and improvement of undergraduate studies in higher education institutions. Furthermore, the role of the Technological Education Institutions (T.E.I.) and their relationships with universities should be re-examined;
6. Introduction of systematic post-graduate studies in the universities and development of research;
7. Higher education institutions must be self-governed and autonomous;

8. Primary and secondary education must be organised and administered according to the democratic principles of decentralization, representativeness and self-organisation; all these will contribute to democratic educational reform;

9. The Left considers indispensable the development of a creative relationship between the teacher and the educational process; this will extinguish the civil-servant mentality. There is, thus, a demand for a teacher's scientific and educational adequacy as well as for his/her essential and continuous in-service training.

Synaspismos states that Greek people know very well the value of education and acknowledge the importance of learning. They should have, therefore, an educational system which will be related to their demands and expectations (65).

Summarizing, one can point out that the political parties of the Left, having been deprived of their basic arguments on curriculum matters -those arguments related to the movement of educational demoticism and being for the time unable to provide any viable, comprehensive and coherent theoretical or practical alternative to the recently institutionalized curriculum-, are unlikely to attempt any major reform of the latter.

5.3 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, one can admit that there is an explicitly stated close relationship between society and school in the theoretical texts of the political parties. However, the critique that the parties made of the 1976 education reform, and the measures as a result proposed, were not in fact a radical departure from the existing situation. It can be argued therefore that the political parties do not appear as the prominent actors in educational change, although their activities reflect, articulate and, to some extent, affect issues (66).

It may be suggested that political parties in government have relied on the educational professionals in educational decision making. These professionals therefore strongly influence policy. How far was the failure to achieve curriculum reform a consequence of the influence of other interest groups?

The next two Chapters will mainly focus on the role of the University of Athens Faculty of Philosophy and the Federation of Secondary School Teachers (O.L.M.E.) in educational politics.

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32. Themata Paedeias (Topics on Education), Sychrone epoche (Contemporary era): Athens, Vol. 1, 1977, p. 119.
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55. 1) Home Office, Results of the general elections of June 18, 1989, Home Office: Athens, 1989.

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CHAPTER 6

THE ROLE OF HIGHER AND TEACHER EDUCATION INTEREST WITH
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE UNIVERSITY OF ATHENS FACULTY OF
PHILOSOPHY IN THE FORMATION OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN
GREECE

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The question about the educational programmes of opposition political parties is why they did not challenge the traditionalism of the school curriculum. Before the same question is asked about educational interest groups it is necessary to establish the influence of different groups. It is widely accepted in Greece that the strongest support for the traditional school curriculum comes from the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Athens with the aid of the secondary school teachers union (O.L.M.E.). However, it is necessary first to locate the position of these two organisations within the broader spectrum of educational interests in Greece. More specifically it is also necessary to ask why the influence of the Athens Faculty of Philosophy has not been challenged by other higher education and teacher education institutions and why other teacher unions have not threatened the position of O.L.M.E. . This Chapter will focus on the Faculty of Philosophy and the next on O.L.M.E. .

Political parties were largely concerned with the socio- economic rather than educational matters, whereas the University, especially the Faculty of Philosophy, was responsible for education.

The fact that there is an inner hierarchy in any

intellectual production and because of the existing tendency towards organisational and ideological autonomy (1), university institutions and their professors have a qualitatively different power in comparison with the other levels of education (2). Moreover the high esteem held by Greeks for education has intensified the development of a non-educational role of the University, which also underlies the status of their professors (3). Consequently, the University of Athens (especially its Faculty of Philosophy), the only higher education institution until the beginning of the twentieth century, has been actively involved in ideological and political matters in Greece.

Nevertheless, if it is suggested that there is a link between the role of the Faculty of Philosophy and the pluralist system of government, the question is to what extent this School is connected with the centralist, bureaucratic and corporatist systems. To show how the investigation of the Faculty of Philosophy relates to these issues, reference will also be made to broader issues of curriculum control raised in Chapter four.

This Chapter will mainly deal with the role of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Athens in the educational decision-making process. In addition, a brief study will be made of the role of the newly established University Departments of Primary Education in

educational policy, and how they work, influence educational policy making and function in the politics of education in comparison with the Faculty of Philosophy.

The analysis will focus on the presentation of new data (eg. Annals of the University of Athens and of the Faculty of Philosophy, Memoranda of the Faculty of Philosophy, Decrees which are concerned with the function of the Faculty etc.) and on the development of an interpretation of the impact of the School of Philosophy on the politics of curriculum change in relation to the issues of curriculum control in Greece. As with political parties, I did not use, for example, interviews and questionnaires in my investigation because I wanted to examine the overall role of the universities, especially of the University of Athens Faculty of Philosophy, in education politics in Greece.

6.2 THE ROLE OF THE STATE AND OF SOME OTHER INTEREST GROUPS

As a starting point of the analysis it is necessary to refer very briefly to the role of the state (this issue has been discussed elaborately in Chapter four) and to some other different groups in education.

The state

In a centralized system such as in Greece the state is expected to be among the most prominent organisations. Demands for all kinds of educational reforms have always been addressed to the government which is the sole authority responsible for formulating and adopting policies. Power over all aspects of education comes from the central government through the Ministry of Education and its various departments. This is, in fact, consistent with the Constitution of 1952, which states that "education performs under the supreme supervision of the state..." (4). Again the same Constitutional Law specifies the goals allocated to the state:

"In all our secondary schools education should aim at the moral and intellectual training of youth and the development of their national consciousness according to the ideological principles of the Helleno-Christian civilisation" (5).

"In education, as in other matters, the right of introducing legislation belongs to the Parliament and the king" (as long as he was in Greece) "who enacts it through his ministers" (6). "The cabinet and more specifically the Minister of Education is charged with the responsibility of executing Parliament's decisions" (7).

In practice, however, the Minister holds greater responsibilities. Under the directions of the cabinet and the Prime Minister he prepares the educational bills and ensures their implementation once they are approved (8). Indeed, in some aspects of the curriculum his jurisdiction is even greater; all decrees determining the

actual content of the curriculum and its organisation bear his signature. In addition, he and his deputies are the only people among the public interest groups in direct and continuous contact with the hierarchy at lower levels.

Thus, ultimate statutory power in education is in the hands of the public interest group of the state educational organisation. The legislative and the executive branches of the government enjoy an enormous power in education as in all other matters. According to N.G. Svoronos (1976), "the problem of national integration... lies from long ago at the centre of the Greek political life and becomes a factor that smoothes away political and social conflict" (9).

Some other interest groups

Among other organisations which are likely to influence educational policy, can be mentioned the Church, parents' associations, students' unions, employers and the press.

In relation to the Greek Orthodox Church, this acquired a national character during the Turkish occupation because it had to play the important role of strengthening the national spirit. After the War of Independence the new nation turned to the Hellenic

Christian tradition to discover its ideology in order to form its identity and to keep its unity firm. Consequently, the main aim of the new state in the 1830s was not so much to create new ways of thinking but to revive the Greek tradition, that is the Ancient Greek and the Byzantine Christian culture. A.M Kazamias (1968) notes:

"Even the more progressive educationists and politicians have never denied the role of the Church in education. Their controversies about the curriculum have never referred to religion which is always considered as part of it" (10).

Religious studies also are a compulsory subject in the weekly timetable of primary and secondary schools in Greece. In addition, up to 1977, Religious education was being taught for 3 hours per week in the first and second grade of lyceum (upper secondary education), the same time allocated to Physics and Chemistry. Since then, it has been reduced to 2 hours weekly for the first and second class and to 1 hour for the third class (Chapter three, Table 3.3). Moreover, until quite recently, primary and secondary school students together with their teachers were obliged to go to church once a week.

The role thus of the Greek Orthodox Church in educational politics is mainly to provide the ideological and cultural framework of the policy formation.

Parents' associations are also treated as elements of the education system although their influence is mainly

local.

Students's unions (secondary and university), on the other hand, are used to exercise their power in the direction of voicing their demands, although they have recently claimed their "rights" by occupying the institutions of their studies.

Furthermore, overall the role of the employers in educational policy-making is very limited. There is, however, a contradiction. Even politically right-wing groups cannot be said to be conservative in their educational philosophy in the sense of demanding a return to some earlier conditions of status quo. Reform, in the abstract, is very much attractive to them when it means introducing job-oriented training programmes in the curriculum.

Finally, in relation to the media interest in education, one can say that any Greek newspaper has at least one educational correspondent. Nevertheless, the Press does not directly participate in policy-making although they have the right to comment on policy. In this respect, M. Kogan (1975) states:

"The role of the Press will always be ambiguous. It has had a benign influence from the point of view of those who want to see educational interest sustained and advanced. Yet there is, inevitably, some danger in assuming that journalists' interest in educational matters guarantees an accurate articulation and aggregation of popular feeling" (11).

6.3 THE UNIVERSITY OF ATHENS AND ITS SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY

Political parties and the aforementioned interest groups are not the only educationally relevant organisations. The next organisation with a most prominent and persistent involvement in educational policy-making is the University of Athens, mainly its School of Philosophy. The roots of its behaviour should be sought in the historical development of the organisation. I shall not examine the influence of other universities in education politics in Greece because they appeared much later, and the role of other Schools in policy-making was less important. The second University was established in Thessalonike, in 1925 (12). In 1964, two more Universities were founded: one in Joannina and another in Patras (13). The other universities were established in the 1970s and 1980s. The size of the universities in Greece is given in Table 6.5 .

6.3.1 THE UNIVERSITY OF ATHENS AND THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY

The University of Athens

The University of Athens was founded in 1837 (14). The Royal Decree of 14 April 1837 stressed the direct

involvement of the state in the function of the University:

"The University is absolutely under the control of the Secretariat of Ecclesiastics, whereas its administration will be the responsibility of a rector. There will be also one dean elected among the professors, who will be responsible for each Faculty" (15). "All University professors will be appointed by the State Secretariat of Ecclesiastics and Public Education" (16).

Moreover, in another article, it was stated:

"Three months before the end of the academic year the professors of each Faculty should have a meeting under the presidency of the dean, in order to draw up the programme for the next year. The rector then should collect the programmes of all the Faculties and submit them to the Secretariat for approval" (17).

This organisation appeared therefore from the very beginning to have a corporatist relationship with the state. Despite its relevant independence to formulate its curriculum and its overall education policy, it should work, however, under the control of the state.

Following the German pattern, the University of Athens was consisted of four Faculties, i.e. Theology, Law, Medicine and Philosophy (18). In 1850, there were appointed 46 professors who were unequally distributed in the corresponding Schools. It is interesting to notice the relative strength of the philosophy faculty already in this early period. In the School of Theology there were three professors who were teaching for 15 hours per week; in the School of Law 11 professors had more than 40 teaching hours weekly; 12 professors in Medicine had 60 to 70 teaching hours weekly; and in the Faculty of

Philosophy 20 professors had to teach 86 hours per week (19). It is also interesting that the Faculty of Physics and Maths, was combined with the Faculty of Philosophy until 1904 (20).

Already in its founding Law one can read that the University "would constitute the highest educational institution in the service of higher national education" (21). In plain terms what this proposition means is that the organisation was charged with the responsibility of producing the cadres, the social and intellectual leadership of the country, that would elevate the general standards of the life of the nation: "...to them (the leaders the University) the heaviest and loftiest responsibilities in society would fall" (22).

Thus, from the very beginning the goal allocated to the organisation was not purely intellectual -the pursuit and dissemination of knowledge for its own sake. It had clearly a largely social and political role to play.

The University of Athens Faculty of Philosophy

The political, academic and pedagogical influences of the Faculty of Philosophy on education have been apparent since its establishment (1837). Held responsible for the generation of the social and intellectual leadership of the country the University of Athens has naturally

assumed a leading role in defining the cultural standards in the country (23). Among these socially relevant functions actually "the most significant aim of the University is the education of the secondary school teachers" (24) and "their exercise in the teaching of Ancient Greek and Latin texts" (25). In addition, as the school curriculum is basically literary and classical, the School of Philosophy has been responsible for the training of literature teachers (Philologists), the main body of the teaching staff in the secondary schools, "has assumed the role of defining and articulating the goals and content of education" (26).

Enjoying for almost a century exclusiveness in its intellectual field, the School made sure it consolidated and asserted the power it was originally allocated; on no occasion did the School nor many of its members hesitate to dispute the right of the government to reform the existing educational system without the previous consent of the School.

The aforementioned points can be supported by the following two memoranda on the educational Law-Plans which appeared in 1913 and 1929 respectively:

"It is the duty of the Faculty of Philosophy to study the Law-Plans which have been passed to the Parliament. The University is also honoured to express its opinion to the government" (27). "...The School of Philosophy of the University of Athens, because of the responsibility it carries in the country, and given that pedagogy and the corresponding sciences are treated in it, has the right to claim an informed opinion on our educational matters"

(28).

Yet the political, academic and pedagogical power of this organisation is not solely and singularly based on traditional grounds. Even in the post-war period the School of Philosophy was the only higher education institution - together with the relevant Faculty of the University of Thessalonike- which could claim scientific expertise in education. The fact that pedagogy as a discipline was under-represented in its curriculum was beside the point for the University professors, since educational expertise mainly implies knowledge of "what" ought to be taught in schools and not "how".

A. Delmouzos (1942) has pointed out the academic role of the School: "It is only the Faculty of Philosophy in which the Greek civilisation is being studied. Here, we study our language and literature, the arts, the history and the philosophy" (29). He also argues that the significance of the Faculty of Philosophy is even higher if someone takes into account its professional aims as well as their consequences.

"The fact that the Faculty of Philosophy produces Philologists, who constitute the highest proportion of the secondary teaching personnel, means that the spirit of the Faculty is being transferred with its graduates to secondary education, which, in turn, shapes the new generation who will lead the cultural and social life of the country" (30).

Even the Greek Mathematical society, in its 3rd meeting held in 1964, had concluded that " the education

of the nation should be first and foremost humanistic based on the Hellenochristian ideals" (31).

The training of teachers by the University professors corroborates in this respect the claim of the latter to educational expertise at the second level of education. They are in a better position than anyone else to know the academic standards of teachers and, consequently, the possibilities of success any reform of the school curriculum may have. And, of course, no one can over-look the influence University professors can have upon their ex- students, the teachers. So, on the whole, the educational expertise of its members constitutes for the School of Philosophy a very strong power base (32).

The influence of the Faculty of Philosophy over the content of humanistic study compared with its influence over its graduates in educational administration will be further examined in the following section.

6.3.2 THE SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY AND THE EDUCATION ADMINISTRATION

The evidence of the dominance of the School of Philosophy upon education matters in Greece can also be found in its links with other powerful groups such as education officials in the Ministry at national and regional levels and inspectors, who are mainly graduates

of this School.

The fact that the Greek education system is highly centralized means that decision-making is the privilege of those few at the top of the educational hierarchy while the teachers' task is restricted to apply faithfully these decisions and follow the rules, the regulations and the syllabuses. The control of any school activity (from the curriculum to the weekly timetable) has been the responsibility of inspectors (since 1982 they have been replaced by the school advisers -Law 1304/1982-).

Already from the early days (1834), the state had introduced the primary education inspectorate. The members of the committees, however, did not have the appropriate background for that purpose. So, in 1895, the Ministry of Education had appointed only Philologists or primary school teachers with education studies abroad as inspectors in primary education. According to C. Lefas (1942), the inspectors were responsible for the supervision of schools and teachers, for the establishment of school buildings and for the organisation of in-service teachers training courses during summer (33).

In 1917, primary education inspectors came under the control of secondary education inspectors (34). The fact that the vast majority of primary education inspectors

were graduates of the Faculty of Philosophy illustrates the humanistic orientation of education as well as the power of the School of Philosophy on it.

In relation to the secondary education inspectorate, this was firstly the responsibility of the University professors and of the secondary school head teachers who were Philologists as well (35). The humanistic character of secondary education was therefore safeguarded. However, the need for permanent inspectors in secondary education had become obvious. Thus, in 1905, there were appointed 4 Philologists, 1 Mathematician and 1 Physicist. Since then the number of inspectors who were Philologists has increased significantly. They had mainly administrative duties in order to protect the Hellenochristian ideals in the secondary school curriculum (36). For their origins see Table 6.1 .

Later on, the Royal Decree 352/1964 determined the number of general inspectors as is shown in Table 6.2. In relation to these data, 31 out of 33 Philologists had administrative responsibilities and the remaining 2 were responsible for the Greek schools abroad as well as the schools of minorities in Greece.

Table 6.1

The number of secondary education inspectors, according to their specialisation. In brackets the percentage.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Philologists</u>	<u>Mathematicians</u>	<u>Physicists</u>	<u>Total</u>
1905	4 (66%)	1 (17%)	1 (17%)	6
1914	12 (75%)	2 (12.5%)	2 (12.5%)	16
1922	15 (100%)	-	-	15

Source: Tzoumeleas, S.G and Panagopoulos, P.D, He ekpaedeuse mas ta teleutaia 100 chronia (Our education in the last 100 years), Demetrakos: Athens, 1933.

Table 6.2

The number of general inspectors, according to their specialisation in 1964. In brackets the percentage.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Specialisation</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>(%)</u>
1964	Philologists	33	(73%)
	Theologists	3	(7%)
	Mathematicians	4	(9%)
	Physicists	4	(9%)
	Commercial studies specialists	1	(2%)
	Total	45	(100%)

Source: Royal Decree, No. 352/1964.

In 1976, the country was divided into 15 major educational areas and 17 posts were provided for chief inspectors (37). The distribution of administrative posts has been calculated on the basis of actual numbers of the various specialists as shown in Table 6.3.

It can be said, therefore, that priority is given to Philologists. The reason is that Philologists still continue to control the school curriculum through the variety of subjects they teach (Ancient and Modern Greek, Latin, History, Psychology, Philosophy, etc.) and consequently they have become professionally powerful. This impact of the Faculty of Philosophy on its graduates in educational administration indicates, in turn, a corporatist relationship.

Furthermore, in 1982, with the replacement of the school inspectors by the school advisers (Chapter four), there were appointed 230 advisers of general education and 30 advisers of technical-vocational education in the new posts which were created over the country (38).

Confining, therefore, ourselves only to the study of the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens, the social conditions under which it was established and functioned, the goal it was allocated to attain, the character of its academic enterprise, all help to understand the system of values allegedly pervading the activities of its members: concern for national

Table 6.3

The distribution of administrative posts, according to specialisation in 1976. In brackets the percentage.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Specialisation</u>	<u>Post held</u>	
		<u>Chief</u>	<u>Inspectors</u>
		<u>inspectors</u>	
1976	Philologists	7 (41%)	64 (45%)
	Theologists	2 (11%)	13 (9%)
	Modern language		
	teachers	1 (6%)	3 (2%)
	Mathematicians	3 (18%)	22 (15%)
	Physicists	3 (18%)	22 (15%)
	Physical education		
	teachers	1 (6%)	-
	Others	-	19 (14%)
	Total	17 (100%)	143 (100%)

Source: Law No. 309/1976, Articles 40 and 42.

regeneration, continuous contribution to public intellectual welfare, critical vigilance over social developments especially in education, appreciation and respect for the humanising strength of the Hellenochristian civilisation, cultivation of classical studies (39).

6.3.3 THE EPISTEMOLOGICAL POSITION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ATHENS SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY

From its establishment to 1934, the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens offered only one degree. Studies were characterized by compulsory attendance, and until 1911 students covered between the second and fourth years the whole literature (40). Since then, the state introduced another system, according to which students should be examined at the end of each academic year on the basis of the subjects taught. The attendance hours were more than 40 per week (41). Table 6.4 indicates the lessons together with their length of study in 1918 and 1919. In this regard, one can point out that the main aim of the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens was to provide students with an exhaustive accumulation of purely academic knowledge which was derived from various disciplines of the Humanities field.

Table 6.4

School of Philosophy: Compulsory subjects and their length of study (years and hours per week) in 1918 and 1919.

<u>Subjects</u>	<u>Length of study</u>	
	<u>Years</u>	<u>Hours (per week)</u>
Ancient Greek	4	24
Latin	4	15
Roman Archaeology	3	7
Greek Archaeology	3	
History of Greek Religion	2	8 (total)
History of Art and Epigraphy	3	12
Byzantine Art and Archaeology	2	3
Systematic Philosophy	3	11
History of Philosophy	3	13
Ancient History	4	
Medieval History	4	
Modern History	4	15 (total)
Numismatics	1	1
Pedagogy	2	8
Linguistics	3	12

Source: University of Athens School of Philosophy, Annual Yearbooks, Athens, 1918, 1919.

Later on, in 1932, an attempt was made by the then Minister of Education, G. Papandreou, to change the existing situation. As a result, a new system of examinations was introduced, which began to favour students; the weekly hours of attendance were reduced to 30; no compulsory course could last more than a year; and the Faculty of Philosophy started offering three degrees instead of one in the corresponding specialisations, that is, Philology, History and Archaeology (42).

However, with the Law 6043/1934 two degrees finally remained, that is, the degrees in Philology and in History/Archaeology respectively. The Royal Decree of November 17, 1937, determined the structure of the courses in the two Departments of the School. During the first two years studies were to be common for all students whereas in the last two years there would be specialisation in the subjects taught, according to the branch followed. In addition, the four-year curriculum was determined to include the following lessons: Ancient Greek, Medieval and Modern Greek Literature, Latin, Linguistics, Philosophy, History of Philosophy, Ancient History, Byzantine History, European and Modern Greek History, Archeology, Epigraphics, History of the Byzantine Art, Public and Private Life of Ancient Greeks, Public and Private Life of Byzantine, and Pedagogy (43).

It is thus obvious that, despite the changes that took place in the organisation of the studies in the Faculty of Philosophy, the content remained purely academic and humanistic. This orientation has been exactly the same up to now as well as for the basic and compulsory subjects taught in each Department (i.e. Ancient and Modern Greek, Latin, Linguistics, History, Archeology, Pedagogy, etc.). The only difference can be found in the current structure of the School, which is divided into the three autonomous Departments of Philology, History/Archeology and Philosophy/Pedagogy/Psychology respectively (Law 1268/1982). The significance of this change is concerned with the specialisation that each Department offers to its students. Although the graduates of the Faculty of Philosophy have studied in different Departments, however, when they are appointed to secondary schools they are not necessarily asked to teach the subjects of their specialisation. So, for example, an Historian or a Pedagogue may be easily found teaching Ancient Greek and Latin in a lyceum (upper secondary education).

Furthermore, in relation to the texts used by students, there has been a limited number provided for them by the teaching staff, and emphasis is mainly given to lecture notes.

The structure of the School of Philosophy examined from the cultural-institutional point of view, is

obviously governed by these values which are reflected in the regulating norms of autonomy and academic freedom. Professors determine the content and method of teaching and research, prescribe the limits of societal criticism, select for appointment their colleagues and maintain discipline within the University community.

Nevertheless, the Greek Constitution of 1975 orders that "the institutions of higher education are self-governed under the supervision of the state and their professors are civil employees" (44). The right of the state to intervene is, thus, legally established. On the other hand, the University is directly dependent -especially since 1963- upon the state for the satisfaction of its financial needs (45). This central control indicates, in turn, the link between the role of universities in education politics and the centralist-bureaucratic, corporatist systems of control as these have been developed in Chapter four.

In addition, by 1960s, the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens lost its scholarly monopoly. Signs of this change were already clearly observable during the 1964 reform in the challenging position then taken by some of the leading scholars of the University of Thessalonike. But the expansion, on the one hand, of higher education, which took place between 1964 and 1974, entailing the establishment of two more Universities and

the increasingly greater role played by the University of Thessalonike, on the other, (it is characteristic in this respect that as early as 1971, the strengthening of the position of this University was already obvious in the participation of three of its members in the 1971 committee on education) signalled serious limitation of dominance of the School in educational expertise.

According to the most recent data (1986-1987), the relative size (students and teaching staff) of the various Universities in Greece is shown in Table 6.5 overleaf.

Table 6.5

Higher Education: Students and Teaching Staff in Higher Education Institutions in Greece (1986-1987).

<u>Higher</u>	<u>Students</u>	<u>Teaching Staff</u>
<u>Education</u>		
<u>Institutions</u>		
Athens	56,633	3,628
Thessalonike	38,467	2,849
Patras	7,400	689
Joannina	5,139	442
Thrace	4,519	305
Crete	3,101	202
Aegeo	228	31
Ionio	213	33
Total	115,700	8,179

Source: National Statistical Service of Greece, Statistical Yearbook of Greece: 1988, Athens, 1990, pp. 158-159, 162- 163.

I would like now to look at the politics of the University of Athens School of Philosophy in the three main educational reforms that have been taken place in Greece since the 1950s.

6.3.4 THE POLITICS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ATHENS SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY

The broader political influences of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Athens as well as language and curriculum issues will be considered separately over the 1957-1977 period.

The political influences of the Faculty of Philosophy

In the 1957-59 educational reform the University of Athens and especially its School of Philosophy was over-represented. There were five professors of this University whereas eight members of the committee were also members of the Academy of Athens, the highest academic organisation in Greece (46). The committee believed in education for mental training but it upheld the questionable assumption that certain areas of study, notably Classical Greek and Mathematics, are intrinsically superior. It believed that through the study of Ancient Greek and Mathematics the mental

faculties of imagination and reasoning can be trained, and that such training can be transferred to any situation involving the use of those disciplines (47).

A few years later, in the 1964 educational reform, despite the enthusiasm expressed by many supporters of the reform, opposition was very strong and wide-spread (48). The Philosophy School of the University of Athens, the most representative body of the conservative tradition, published a memorandum, soon after the reform, saying that the decisions of the government were against the interests of the national education and civilisation (49). They stated:

"Such reforms were not likely to improve the system, but to create chaos and threaten the very foundations of humanistic education. They were contrary to the interests of national education and classical "paedeia" (culture) and would narrow the intellectual horizons of the Greeks" (50).

In addition, as regards the establishment of the Pedagogical Institute (Law 4379/1964), which was an advisory body on issues of education policy and should report directly to the Minister of Education, the Faculty of Philosophy stated:

"This was an attack against higher education, in general, and the Faculty of Philosophy, in particular. The Faculty of Philosophy will lose the pedagogical guidance of secondary education teachers, ...because the Pedagogical Institute will become a University level Pedagogical Academy and it will determine the aims and the content of the education" (51).

The seven year rule by the military Junta (1967-1974) had created the important conditions which contributed to

the acceptance of the 1976 Act. Although the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens did not, for the first time in its history, participate in the policy adoption process, many of its members were in a position to influence governmental decisions and exercised that influence conservatively; the president, for example, of the parliamentary sub-committee through which the educational bill had to pass and be studied before being officially discussed in Parliament was D. Zakythenos, well-known for his conservative educational views, who was a professor of this School. Another of the School's members, I. Theodoracopoulos, was the president of the second committee on education whose recommendations reaffirmed the importance of classical Greek "paedeia" (culture) (52).

It can be argued therefore that during the major educational reforms that have taken place in Greece since the 1950s the politics of the University of Athens Faculty of Philosophy was opposed to the attempts at curriculum change.

Language and curriculum issues

In the 1957-59 educational reform, the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens together with the association of Greek Philologists strongly reacted to the

introduction of technical and vocational education in schools. They thought that such a measure would attack the Hellenochristian tradition and the classical heritage. N. Georgouses (1972), a distinguished Philologist and high official in the Ministry of education noted: "Any change in the Greek education must be in accordance with the Greek tradition and it must be called "renaissance" rather than reform" (53).

In regard to the new language policy (Chapter three) the association of Greek Philologists announced in its journal "Platon" that "since the end of 1956 some people have been trying to create trouble and confusion around some educational problems which might revive old passions and aversions among the Greek population" (54). By this they meant the progressives who were trying to establish "demotike" in education.

Equally, in the 1964 educational reform, the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens argued that if Greek education is based on Graeco-Christian ideals, it is impossible to have a school curriculum without Ancient Greek and the "purist" language ("katharevousa") (55).

The association of Greek Philologists reacted as well. They wrote a memorandum to the Parliament and to the Greek people saying that these reforms would damage the national character of Greeks (56).

The Federation of Secondary School Teachers also

claimed that the teaching of Ancient Greek was necessary and, at the same time, they found unnecessary the teaching of the grammar of "demotike". One might wonder, however, why the teachers reacted against the living language of Greece, which also meant a progressive re-orientation of the whole Greek education, since in other parts of the world the teachers play a progressive role in school matters. In this respect, one might argue that most secondary school teachers in Greece, as stated before, were Philologist graduates of the School of Philosophy of Athens University and that they were strongly influenced by its views and its classical orientation. Many of these teachers until recently held important positions either in the teachers' union or in the Ministry of Education (57).

Furthermore, the extension of compulsory education from 6 to 9 years and the division of secondary general education into non selective three years "gymnasium" and a highly selective "lyceum" (Chapter two) were strongly criticized by the Faculty of Philosophy. It specifically argued:

"The classical antiquity, which is the basic element of the contemporary civilisation, is exclusively being studied in the secondary education. The extension, therefore, of primary education will be useful for the nation that it will not damage secondary education" (58).

In the 1976-77 educational reform, some of the members of the parliamentary sub-committee who were also

professors of the Faculty of Philosophy stressed

"the continuation of the study of Ancient Greek in all secondary school classes, the maintenance of the standards and orientation of the traditional gymnasium and a highly selective and functionally differentiated system of general and technical schools" (59).

Thus, the Philosophy School of the University of Athens, which had been for some many years the redoubt of "katharevousa" and the enemy of "demotike", reacted against the 1976 educational reform but without any result.

E. Papanoutsos, a well-known progressive educationist, a representative of the major opposition party, E.DE.K., in the 1974-77 period and the man behind the reforms of G. Papandreou in 1964, emphasised in Parliament, after "demotike" became by law the only medium of instruction in the schools: "The role remaining to the Faculty of Philosophy must be to change its graduates from teachers of "dead forms" to teachers of "essence and life" " (60).

But how can someone explain its "defeat" over the language issue?

It can be argued that the increasing power of the University of Thessalonike Faculty of Philosophy and its progressive attitude to education matters (eg. support of "demotike" language, specialisation of studies, etc.) contributed to the weakening of the University of Athens Faculty of Philosophy.

In addition, the new orientation of the University of

Thessalonike Faculty of Philosophy, based on the ideas of demoticism, influenced also its students (the future secondary teachers -Philologists-), who transferred, in turn, the new spirit to schools.

Furthermore, it could be said that the use of "demotike" as the language of instruction by the progressive professors of the University of Thessalonike facilitated the adoption of "demotike" as the official language of the country in the 1976 educational reform (61).

In conclusion, since its foundation in 1837, the University of Athens (especially the School of Philosophy) has very much influenced educational policy in Greece. Its power in education has mainly been based upon the compatibility of its conservative and puristic interpretation of the Hellenochristian ideals with the prevailing superordinate system of values and upon the long and basically undisputed monopolisation of educational expertise on the part of its members.

Nevertheless, since the 1960s the increasing power of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Thessalonike as well as the establishment of new Universities, have caused an impact on the dominance of the University of Athens Faculty of Philosophy on education.

6.4 THE EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS OF PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHERS

This section will briefly examine the primary teachers education institutions in Greece since their establishment up to the present time -an elaborate study of the issue is beyond the purposes of this thesis-, in an attempt to find out their function and possibly their influence on educational policy-making.

I have chosen these institutions because they are the only places for the education and training of primary school teachers and they are different from the Faculty of Philosophy, which produces secondary school teachers and has inherited a long tradition of safeguarding the academic content of education.

The questions to be examined here are the following: What is the relative status and power of these Schools and what is their role in the curriculum change? Moreover, were the institutions of primary education able to counteract the influence of the Faculty of Philosophy on education?

6.4.1 THE POLITICS: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

As soon as the first governor of the independent Greece, I. Kapodistrias, took office (1828-1831), he was very much concerned with the organisation of primary

education and the appointment of teachers in schools (62). He introduced, therefore, an examination system for those who wanted to be appointed as teachers. Thus, teachers were being classified into three categories, according to their examinations results. The "first class" teachers were to be appointed in the cities, whereas the "second class" and the "third class" teachers were allocated to teach in the schools of the county (63).

In 1834, the organisation of primary schools was regulated by Law and a teachers' college ("Didaskaleion") was established for the training of primary teachers. The teaching staff of the college consisted of a head, who was also general school inspector, and of two secondary school teachers (64). However, as C. Lefas (1942) pointed out, "the entrance exams in the college were so easy that the graduates were almost uneducated and incompetent for their work" (65). Under these circumstances, the "Didaskaleion" was closed in 1864 (66).

In 1883, a school inspector described the condition of primary teachers as follows:

"The vast majority of teachers are uneducated; their teaching experience is limited; their social status is very low and their salary is unbelievably small. [Additionally] their absolute dependence on various powerful groups has become disastrous for them" (67).

In the period 1887-1930 the state appointed a large number of teachers, who were not, however, sufficiently

educated. For example, in 1887, there had been appointed 2,504 teachers, 3,369 in 1895 and 12,547 in 1930 (68).

The Pedagogical Academies

Law 5802/1933 introduced the Pedagogical Academies in Greece "for the education of primary school teachers, men and women" (Article 1). According to this Article, "the general education of teachers would be completed in secondary schools and their professional training would be attained in the Pedagogical Academies with two years duration of studies". Thus, the new institutions contributed to the upgrading of the educational and professional level of teachers.

In addition, Article 4 of the Law (5802/1933) introduced entrance exams in the Academies, whereas Article 5 of the same Law determined the curriculum. The subjects to be included were the following: Pedagogy, Psychology, School Legislation, Hygiene and Anatomy, Religious studies, Ancient and Modern Greek language and literature, Foreign language, Elements of Agriculture, Physical education, Music, Design and Art. Despite some changes (eg. the introduction of Physics and Maths) this curriculum was prevailing until recently.

Furthermore, the teaching staff of the Academies consisted of a head and a deputy head, a teacher of

Music, a teacher of Art, a teacher of Agricultural studies and of some other secondary teachers who were teaching the subjects of their specialisation (69). The heads and the deputy heads had to be graduates of the University Faculty of Philosophy, or of the Faculty of Science/Maths, and they should have teaching experience in secondary schools as well as at least two years post-graduate studies abroad (70). Nevertheless, even in 1973, there were found only 25 out of 175 teachers in the Pedagogical Academies who had done further studies in education (71).

In 1964, the duration of studies in the Academies was increased from 2 to 3 years (72), although in 1967 it was reduced again to two years (73).

It seems therefore that the education institutions of primary teachers had for long a relatively low status as regards, for example, the content, the organisation and the length of studies. In addition, the fact that graduates of the Faculty of Philosophy as well as of some other University Faculties aforementioned played an important role in the training of primary teachers and they were also involved in the administration of the Pedagogical Academies indicate the prominent position of the former institutions over the latter.

Consequently, the influence of the primary education institutions on aspects of educational policy

determination was limited. Nevertheless, as it will be examined in Chapter seven, the graduates of the Pedagogical Academies persistently demanded the upgrading of their status through the extension and the improvement of their studies.

This was the situation, as regards the education of primary teachers, until the establishment of the University Departments of Primary (and pre-primary) Education with the Law 1268/16-7-1982 "On the structure and function of higher education institutions".

6.4.2 THE UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENTS OF PRIMARY EDUCATION

Article 16 of Law 1268/1982 states:

"Six Departments of Primary Education ... are being established in the Universities of Athens, Thessalonike, Patras, Joannina, Thrace and Crete respectively. These Departments will offer studies of at least four years duration and they will be regulated according to the Law (1268/1982) as well as the legislation referred to the higher education institutions".

The Primary Education Departments replaced the Pedagogical Academies and they started working in the academic year 1984-1985. In relation to goals of the new University institutions, these have been set up as follows (74):

1. To cultivate and improve educational studies;
2. To provide students with appropriate academic knowledge;

3. To improve educational standards and to respond to the increasing demands on education;

4. To cope with the pedagogical problems in education.

Furthermore, in the overall attempt of the University Departments of Primary Education to improve and promote educational studies and research, they have also started organising post-graduate studies in education.

It seems to be obvious that the new University Departments have been responsible for providing an essential, liberal and academic education to their students as well as for contributing to the overall improvement of education in Greece. However, there is no mention of any involvement for them in the education policy formation although they have been given high tasks in education. They have inherited a long tradition of struggle on the part of primary teachers who have claimed the upgrading of their status through improvement in the quality of their studies as their main aim. It cannot be expected, therefore, from such newly established University Departments, that, while still trying to cope with their organisational problems, they could also counteract the power of the Faculty of Philosophy which has for long influenced the education content in Greece.

So, at present, the main effort of the new education institutions seems rather to be focused on their organisation as well as on the planning of their

curriculum (75) in an attempt to produce a well educated primary teacher with an academic and pedagogical background rather than to play an active role in the educational policy-making process.

But how could the new Departments influence education policy?

It can be said that as soon as the University Departments of Primary Education have started to work (academic year 1984-85) an increasing number of specialists (eg. Pedagogues, Psychologists, Sociologists etc.) have been teaching in them and they have also put emphasis on the promotion of research.

One might argue therefore that the results of their investigation might have an impact on the education policy formation at the centre. In addition, education specialists (as well as their associations -eg. Greek Education Society, Greek Psychological Society-) could also be asked by the Ministry of Education for consultation on specific education topics.

Furthermore, the graduates of the primary education institutions, which are likely to have a corporatist relationship with the places of their study -as it is with the Faculty of Philosophy and its ex-students-, might demand new approaches to primary school curriculum which could also affect general education policies.

However, the extent to which the new Departments of

Primary Education might have an impact on education politics at present must be put under question, especially in view of the fact that they have been recently established.

Moreover, one can argue that, although the relative autonomy of the universities in Greece shows a pluralist nature of the government, it is the state itself which determines which education interest groups will be involved in the decision-making process. The centralized control of education illustrates thus the fact that this pluralism is corporatist (the pluralist version of corporatist has been discussed in Chapter four).

6.5 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it can be stated that the role of the University of Athens in education has been very important because it was the only higher education institution in the country for over a century. It controlled entry to any area of interest, i.e. work, arts, academic life, education, politics etc.

Traditionally too the University of Athens, especially its School of Philosophy, has determined the aims and content of Greek education, which would be in accordance with the ideals of the Hellenochristian tradition and Ancient Greek culture.

Moreover, given that inspectors are mainly Philologists (as well as the vast majority of those who work in the Ministry of Education and are responsible for education policy formation) it is easy to understand why the content of education in Greece has for years been oriented towards the classical tradition.

Nevertheless, the role which both the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens and the University Departments of Primary Education play in the politics of curriculum change could be called into question, especially as educational research in them is still limited and, furthermore, the universities in Greece act in a centralist and corporatist way.

Among other interest groups, the Federation of Secondary School Teachers (O.L.M.E.) has equally prominent involvement in education matters in Greece. The issue will be examined in the next Chapter.

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Unequally distributed was also the number of students. During the academic year 1850-51, there were registered 397 students in the University of Athens. Among them 242 students were studying in the Faculty of Medicine (including the School of Pharmacy), 86 students were studying in the School of Law, 62 in the Faculty of Philosophy and only 7 students were studying in the School of Theology (Pantazides, I., Chronikon tes protes pentakontaetias tou Hellinikou Panepistemiou (Annals of the Hellenic University in the first fifty years), University of Athens: Athens, 1889, Pinax (Table) A'.).

Nevertheless the percentage of the University students in relation to the population size was very high. So, in 1837 more than 50 students had registered, in 1840 there were 159 students, 1,182 in 1866, 3,358 in 1912 and 9,788 in 1922 (Tsoukalas, K., Exartese kai anaparagoge, op. cit., p. 432.). This meant, according to D. Dakin (1972), that, in relation to the population, the proportion of university students in Greece was as large as it was in France, Germany, Italy and England (Dakin, D., The unification of Greece (1770-1923), Benn: London, 1972, p. 255.).

Here, it must be stressed, however, that the University of Athens had a large number of students of the hellenic diaspora (those who were leaving abroad) (Tsoukalas, K., Exartese kai anaparagoge, op. cit., p. 442.).

The following Table shows the distribution of students of the University of Athens in the periods 1837-1877 and 1878-1911. The reasons for the high percentage of students in Law studies can be sought in the structure of the ruling class in Greece at those periods and in the rapidly developing bourgeois social class (Tsoukalas, K., Exartese kai anaparagoge, op. cit., p. 441).

Table

The distribution of students of the University of Athens in the periods 1837-1877, 1878-1911.

<u>Faculty</u>	<u>Years</u>	
	<u>1837-1877</u>	<u>1878-1911</u>
Law	40.7%	50.2%
Theology	3.6%	2.1%
Philosophy	18.9%	15.5%
Medicine	31.8%	26.0%
Pharmacy	4.9%	3.8%
Physics and Maths	-	1.7%

Source: Ho heortasmos tes 75es epeteiou tou Panepistemiou Athenon (1837-1912) (The celebration of the 75th anniversary of the University of Athens (1837-1912), University of Athens Faculty of Philosophy: Athens, 1919, pp. 366-367.

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CHAPTER 7

THE ROLE OF SCHOOL TEACHERS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE
FEDERATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS (O.L.M.E.) IN
THE EDUCATION POLICY FORMATION IN GREECE

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter will concentrate on the role of the Federation of Secondary School Teachers (O.L.M.E.) in the control of education and on its place in the decision-making process. The selection of O.L.M.E. for analysis can be justified by the fact that the focus of the thesis is on the secondary school curriculum. The issue therefore is to what extent the subject specialism of O.L.M.E. members and the trade union orientation of the organisation might have an impact on education politics. A reference will also be made to the Primary Teachers Union (D.O.E.) in an attempt to show and estimate its likely influence on education in comparison with O.L.M.E.

I have chosen the teachers unions for analysis rather than other interest groups (eg. government officials such as inspectors or the Church) because teachers themselves are concerned with the "maintenance of the system which carries authority and is part of the social control mechanism" (1). Moreover, teachers' inspectors and chief education officers are themselves all former teachers. The teachers' associations have also a large membership and their educational interests seem to mirror the values and demands of the organisations themselves. M. Kogan's (1978) interest group approach illustrates the issue:

"Of the main interest groups, some are all but part of the decision-making system to the point where they have

legal or conventional rights to be consulted about policy changes. They have a "promotional" purpose in that they are concerned with promoting educational advance. They also have a "sectional" purpose in that they advance the particular claims of their own members for resources and, where appropriate, as with the teachers associations, for better conditions of work" (2).

By the definition of interest groups of M. Kogan (1978), O.L.M.E. seems to be different from the University Departments and Faculties described in Chapter six because these groups "are affected by different purposes for which they are created" (3). Universities seem to influence the ethos, standards and assumptions of the education service (4). They are more affected therefore by a "promotional" purpose. O.L.M.E., on the other hand, has not only an academic but also a trade union orientation pursuing the welfare of its members ("sectional" purpose).

The main questions which will be examined in this Chapter are concerned with the influence of the teachers' organisations on education politics and with their policies on the curriculum. The emphasis will be put on the secondary school teachers union (O.L.M.E.).

Furthermore, this study will try to relate the academic background of O.L.M.E. members to the arguments on the curriculum traditions in Chapter three and the interest group approach to the centralized system of administration as this has been developed in Chapter four of this thesis.

7.2 O.L.M.E. (FEDERATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS)

In this section it will be examined the professional and educational background of secondary school teachers, the selection and appointment process, their status and the conditions of their work. This study will provide a useful context to O.L.M.E.'s political activities in education.

7.2.1 THE IDENTIFICATION OF O.L.M.E.

The Federation of Secondary School Teachers (O.L.M.E.) was established in 1924. From the structural point of view O.L.M.E. is an organisation comprising all teachers of general subjects employed in all sorts of state institutions at the secondary level of education (5). It is governed by a council "...elected by the general assembly for one year" (6), which may also appoint various committees for the study of special matters. Its function is subjected to the civil law and the constitutional provisions for civil employees.

In relation to the proportion of secondary school teachers who were members of O.L.M.E. last year, it has been reported that 38,400 secondary teachers had paid their membership until June 1991 (7), whereas the total number of all in-service secondary teachers has been

58,536 during the school year 1991-1992 (54,634 secondary teachers are working in state schools) (8).

O.L.M.E.'s goal includes:

a) "The betterment of secondary education, the moral and material elevation of its "functionaries", and the protection and the advancement of the professional and material interests of the group"; b) "its contribution to the improvement of the overall education of the Greek people" (9).

In relation to the aforementioned statement, it seems necessary to examine the extent to which those elements that justify a group to claim to be called "professional" are present in the case of O.L.M.E. . The actual status of O.L.M.E. -i.e. whether it is a professional or a merely occupational organisation- is obviously of great significance as far as its power in educational policy-making is concerned. An attempt will be made therefore to relate the importance of subject specialism of O.L.M.E. members to the curriculum traditions in Chapter three and the trade union activities to the nature of politics and interest groups of Chapter four.

The members of O.L.M.E. are almost all university graduates. They have all undergone a four year training which focuses upon the acquisition of special knowledge in a distinct field (Literature, Mathematics, Physics, etc.). However, the extent to which the specialised knowledge is acquired exclusively by this group should be examined. Being a field specialist the Greek secondary school teacher obviously shares the same kind of

knowledge with people involved in various occupations; the teacher of Biology has, for example, the same educational background as the Biologist working in industry or in an institute of research. The latter may in fact have a deeper knowledge in Biology than the teacher of this subject. Consequently, the teacher should be able to claim the possession of additional skills; such skills can be those related to education. This last kind of knowledge is of large significance, especially when claims are set up by teachers to participate in curriculum policy-making.

But the Greek secondary school teacher has no such knowledge to display. His university training is principally oriented to the study of an academic subject (Chapter six). His knowledge of education is something he acquires from experience or to a limited extent from in-service training during his career. The majority of the graduates of the Faculty of Philosophy (except those who have studied in the Philosophy/Pedagogy/Psychology Department of the School) have not been obliged to attend any course in Pedagogy during their studies. As a result, although he is a field specialist, the nature of the secondary teacher's knowledge can be challenged on the one hand by the better qualified field specialist, and on the other by the knowledgeable layman.

Nevertheless, education being always considered an

important personal asset by the Greek people, the teachers can rightfully claim to provide a public service. As a matter of fact the provision of public service constitutes for O.L.M.E. the core of the arguments it uses in trying to establish the professional status of the organisation. Its leaders declare:

"The secondary school teachers do not constitute a group conventionally and superficially assembled due to their common occupation but a community which mainly serves national and moral aims; the teacher is the creator of the future of Greece. The principles that guide his work are the strong sense of duty, the best of dreams for the country and the people, self-respect, high-mindedness and idealism" (10).

The main aim of O.L.M.E.'s service, as it has been stated in the aforementioned quotation, is also related to the arguments in Chapter three about the criteria for the selection of the institutionalised curriculum which are concerned with the moral training of pupils and the development of the national consciousness (Chapter three, section 3.3.1).

Hierarchy in the organisation, on the other hand, is minimal, while provisions for disciplinary action are only made against the members of the governing body of the organisation (11).

O.L.M.E., therefore, only partially satisfies the criteria that could justify its characterization as a professional organisation. Consequently, its power cannot be reasonably expected to be equivalent to that of a professional organisation. Only the provision of public

service on the part of its members constitutes in this respect a strong basis upon which its power may rest.

Yet, since O.L.M.E. is by right of its Constitution an organisation with trade union functions to discharge, its power should also be examined from this point of view. In relation to this, one can point out that the state has the ultimate power to call off any strike when the latter "threatens social stability" (12). Until quite recently the state could exercise an authoritarian control on the organisation and use at its discretion the penal law against teachers in case the latter decided to violate the Constitutional provision. It could also use the threat of penal sanctions to caution individual teachers and thus prevent them from participating in a strike; article 11 of the 1952 Constitution, for example, states that "a strike of civil employees is forbidden". In such a context it can be said that O.L.M.E. acted in a centralist way.

However, the substantial increase in membership that took place between 1965 and 1974, due to the massive increase in student numbers and the continuous pressure to fill the existing vacancies of staff, significantly strengthened the trade-union muscle of the organisation. This substantial increase in membership together with the reaction of teachers to the extreme right position, taken in educational matters during the dictatorship, also

contributed to turn the leftwards government of the political orientation of the organisational leadership.

Furthermore, O.L.M.E.'s position as a trade-union was strengthened by two more developments. The first concerns the right of its members to go on strike; unlike the 1952 Greek Constitution, the new one stated that "strike constitutes a right which, although subjected to certain constraints in the case of civil employees, cannot be denied or obstructed altogether" (13).

The second concerns the experience which had been accumulated by its members during the hard years of the dictatorship. This experience had increased the awareness of teachers on the need for a more efficient organisational structure, for an improvement in the standards of loyalty of members to the goals set by the leadership of the organisation, and for a continuous vigilance over educational matters (14).

Nevertheless, as it has been argued in Chapter four, Greece maintains a centralized system of administration and the interest groups function under the control of the state. Teachers who are civil servants, being appointed and paid by the state, relate their "professional and occupational identities" (15) to this status. This attitude, in turn, reflects one of the basic principles of corporatist politics. M. Kogan (1975) says that "educational interest groups are constrained by the

managerial or quasi-managerial roles of its members" (16). What is therefore the academic and professional status of secondary school teachers in Greece as well as their role in the education politics?

7.2.2 THE ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL TRAINING OF SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS

The secondary school teachers in the 19th century

During the first years after independence (1828) there were two types of secondary schools, the popular hellenic school and the elitist gymnasium (Chapter two) (17). According to the Law, gymnasium teachers should have obtained a degree from the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Athens, whereas hellenic school teachers should have attended a two-year course in the "Philologiko Phrontisterio" (Philological training school) of the University, in order to cope with the demands of their future work. If someone wished to work in gymnasium he should have passed successfully both oral and written examinations in all those subjects, that were taught in the Faculty of Philosophy. The examinations for that purpose had been determined by the Ministry of Education (18).

In the 1850s only graduates of the Faculty of

Philosophy had been permitted by the Ministry of Education to be appointed to the gymnasium. They were mainly Greek scholars (Philologists) and were called professors in order to distinguish themselves from hellenic school teachers (19). Such an attitude is still found in Greece between primary and secondary school teachers.

In relation to the qualifications of the hellenic school teachers, these had been determined as follows (20):

1. Teachers had to speak and write perfectly the Modern (puristic) Greek language, to know its grammar and to be able to teach the Ancient Greek language at this level of schooling;
2. To know Latin grammar and etymology and to be able to translate from Greek to Latin;
3. To have a very good knowledge of Maths and Geometry;
4. To know Greek and European Geography;
5. To know Religious History and Catechism;
6. To know Ancient and Modern Greek History as well as Roman and European History;
7. To understand French language;
8. To have some idea of music and painting.

Hellenic school teachers therefore should have been familiar with a large range of subjects and which they were called to teach.

Fifty years after the foundation of the University of Athens a considerable number of graduates had been emerged. So, since 1885 all university graduates who had been appointed in secondary schools should work in the hellenic schools for the first three years, and then they could move to gymnasium. However, because of the increasing number of graduates it became very difficult, even for Philologists and Mathematicians, to pursue a transition from the hellenic school to the gymnasium within a few years of their first appointment. As regards Theologians and Physicians, it was impossible for them to attain a place in the gymnasium, because there were available only three posts for Physicians and three for Theologians in all "gymnasia" over the country (21).

The number of Philologists was significantly higher than that of other field specialists in secondary schools because they had to teach the highest proportion of the lessons in the curriculum. In addition, only Philologists were to be promoted to principal posts. As a result, they were in a position to control education and protect classical tradition.

An important step in the improvement of the secondary school curriculum was achieved with the establishment of the University Faculty of Maths and Science in 1905. Until then Maths and Science teachers had been graduates of the Faculty of Philosophy. In this regard, the

association of Greek Physicists had pointed out, in 1905, that although Science lessons had been included in secondary education curriculum, they were very limited and were being taught by Philologists, Theologists or even by French teachers in some exceptional cases (22).

Furthermore, although secondary school teachers were university graduates, they had never received any training in Pedagogy neither had they participated in any teaching programme during their university studies. Until 1910 teaching methodology was something very vague in Greek education. The first professor of Pedagogy in the University of Athens was appointed in 1898 but he did not stay in his post for long (23).

Secondary school teachers in the 20th century

In 1930s 58.2 per cent of secondary school teachers were Philologists, 28.2 per cent were Mathematicians and Physicists and only 13.4 per cent were teachers of other specialisations (24).

Here, it is worthy of note that teachers of Physical education should hold, at first, only a certificate of the six-year gymnasium and should have completed a three-year vocational training course. Later on, in 1939, non- university colleges of physical education were

established (in 1983, these colleges came into the university sector).

In addition, Music teachers should have been graduates of an "Odeion" (School of Music) and, after passing some special exams, they could be appointed to secondary schools.

Since the 1959 educational reform the time allocated to Maths and Science has been increased but the structure of the teaching personnel has not been really changed (Chapter two). Today, the majority of teachers in secondary schools are still Humanities specialists (i.e. Philologists together with Theologists and Foreign language teachers). Table 7.1 shows the distribution of secondary school teachers, according to their specialisation in 1931, 1972 and 1977.

One could therefore reasonably wonder if it is possible to have an efficient technical-vocational education sector in Greece when the majority of the teaching staff have a humanistic background. (However, there is some conflict between the academic and the trade union imperatives of O.L.M.E.) .

The total number of secondary school teachers has also increased considerably since 1970s. There were 16,914 teachers in 1976, 20,858 in 1977 and in 1991 they have been 58,536 (25). This has long been the main goal of the state.

Table 7.1

Secondary school teachers (%), according to their specialisation in 1931, 1972, 1977.

<u>Specialisation</u>	<u>%</u>		
	<u>1931</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1977</u>
Philologists	41.0	42.8	43
Theologists	12.2	11.5	8.2
Foreign language teachers	5.3	6.7	7.6
Mathematicians	14.4	12.7	13.3
Scientists	13.8	12.2	13.5
Physical education teachers	5.1	9.4	10
Others	8.2	4.8	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: 1) Ministry of Education, Office of Educational Statistics, Athens, 1976.

2) O.L.M.E., Bulletin, June 1977.

On contrary, there has been only a recent interest in the improvement of teachers' training as well as in the promotion of their professional status. The fact, however, that secondary school teachers are university graduates and their studies are purely academic makes them feel superior in comparison with primary school teachers, who until very recently were studying at non-university colleges (with the Law 1268/1982 new university departments of education have been established for the training of primary school teachers).

Nevertheless, there are a lot of difficulties in secondary education. For example, although there is usually an imbalance in the teaching staff as well as a lack of some field specialists (e.g. Mathematicians, Scientists etc.) in schools, it is not easy for teachers to move from one school to another because of the bureaucratic system of administration. In addition, the work of secondary teachers is negatively affected by the shortage of laboratories and the lack of technology in most schools, the overtime work, the overcrowded classes and the large number of subjects they have to teach. Furthermore, because of the centralization of the system, secondary teachers must follow the guidelines of the Ministry of Education concerning any curricular activity in schools; their autonomy, thus, is very limited. Their work is being evaluated by the inspectors (now advisers).

In relation to the appointment of teachers, this is massive and conditional upon the decisions taken in the Ministry of Education. Teachers cannot apply for appointment to a school of their choice. The only thing they can do is to express some of their preferences in their application form. Besides, movement from one region to another can occur after one year service in a school, but this is difficult to achieve. Promotion also can be attained every three or five years based on selection and/or seniority. Finally, teachers' salary is basically related to the seniority in hierarchy.

Under these circumstances, O.L.M.E. has appeared to be more interested in the satisfaction of the economic demands of its members rather than to struggle for the improvement of education. Thus, in the 1976 educational reform most of the propositions made by the organisation referred to its economic needs leaving other crucial education issues to the responsibility of the political parties (26). However, O.L.M.E.'s recent propositions reveal a new side to their education politics in Greece.

In order to indicate and clarify the aforementioned points, it is necessary to examine O.L.M.E.'s position in the three major educational reforms that took place in Greece since 1950s.

7.2.3 THE POLITICS

The 1957-59 reform

In 1957, a committee on education was appointed by the government to examine educational problems. The general principles of its proposed reforms were mainly concerned with the expansion of educational provision and the revision of the curriculum.

After the publication of the committee's findings, the Federation of Secondary Education Teachers reacted against them and claimed that "the three year lower and the four year upper cycle in secondary education should be clearly diversified into humanistic and vocational types and a mixture of the two forms of education is not allowable" (27). Furthermore, "the study of Ancient texts at the lower cycle should, of course, be made from the original" (28). In addition, O.L.M.E. posed the question of the learning environment:

"No reform and no change should be attempted before the acute problem of school buildings, the problem of institutional aids, and that of the elevation of the status of the teaching staff are resolved in a satisfactory way" (29).

In relation to humanism the members of O.L.M.E. came to defend Classical education:

"It is a matter of existence for Greeks to preserve every type of link with the past, a past which many people and nations would wish to have had. It is a matter of existence for them (Greeks) to understand their

(national) continuity. Only if we want to make Greek children hate the Ancient Greek language should we give them Ancient texts through translations" (30).

Finally, O.L.M.E. characterized the whole work of the education committee as "extremely poor" and it argued that "although the committee announced a fall of standards in secondary education, without having any proofs, ...it did not mention the need for appointment of more teachers in secondary schools" (31).

The 1964-65 reform

The main policies of the 1964-1965 educational reform included free education for all children, extension of compulsory education, structural and curriculum changes in the secondary education.

The position of teachers in the 1964-65 reform can be studied through the reaction of their organisation, O.L.M.E.:

"We felt great satisfaction in hearing the Prime Minister say that education constitutes the prime productive investment and that the pupils and the teachers are the basic factors for its success" (32). "Teachers were satisfied because education is at the centre of the governmental interest, and the teacher's position has been substantially improved in economic and morale terms, with the prospect of being fully restored in the Greek society" (33).

Nevertheless, despite this satisfaction, O.L.M.E. objected to some of the reform proposals. Their objections were concerned with: a) the division of

secondary education in two three-year circles: "the upper circle should last for four years so that the curriculum will not be compressed" (34); b) the exclusive use of translations: "it is not advisable that translations will be exclusively used in the teaching of Ancient Greek in the low circle; both translations and the original should be used" (35); c) the abolition of Latin: "Latin should remain optional in the upper circle" (36).

Unlike other members of the educational establishment, teachers, however, seemed to be ready not only to accept the reform but also to defend it:

"There may be different views in several details. After all, all plans may have defects and be susceptible to improvements. But this reform will not be under threat because it has been brought about by historical necessity and we will not allow anyone to imperil it" (37).

The 1976-77 reform

The main topics of the 1976-77 educational policy were the following:

a) Establishment of "demotike" (popular language) as the language of instruction and text-books; b) teaching of Classical Greek literature translated into Modern Greek; c) extension of compulsory education from 6 to 9 years; d) re-organisation and expansion of technical and vocational education; e) re-organisation and improvement of the basic training of teachers; and f) establishment

of the Centre of Educational and In-Service Training (K.E.M.E.) (38).

The 1976-77 educational reform was mainly concerned with secondary education. This is apparent in the published material of the organisation of secondary teachers. In 1975, O.L.M.E. stated:

"Our education remains obstinately linked to the past. It suffocates in a climate of barren patriotism and of self-complacency. It does not care to shape the man of the future who will be ready to face the tremendous problems that surround him. It does not pay any attention on how to make him internally free and morally independent, so that he could stand politically and socially free. It is the duty of the school to reinforce the will and to harden the spirit of its pupils, in order to make them able to resist in the future any attempt aiming to enslave them" (39).

A persistent demand was the infusion of a democratic spirit in education:

"The fundamental and permanent aim of education should be "education for freedom", the shaping of an all-round, free and responsible personality; the internal defence of our democratic state can only be safeguarded by modern and democratic education" (40).

In this respect, O.L.M.E. undertook a broad and intensive campaign, through the news media, special communiques and massive meetings, deputations, memorandum, etc., to the appropriate Ministries of Education and Finance to persuade the government to get on with the legislation of the educational law-plan and to accept the amendments to it, it considered necessary.

For the most part, it is true that these amendments referred to occupational issues, such as salaries and

fringe benefits, appointments and promotions, conditions of work, participation in the administrative councils of education and most significantly "the purging of the system through the re-evaluation and the punishment of those who have beyond doubt damaged the reputation of teachers" (41). According to O.L.M.E.:

"The 1976 education reform was necessary for the economic rehabilitation and the social balance after the fall of dictatorship. The reformation, modernization and democratization of Greek education was a national demand" (42). "O.L.M.E. demands not only the modernization but mainly the democratization of education, which means wide participation in the planning of the educational policy in the country; such an education will be able to serve an autonomous economy; it will also enable students to face the life and it will leave the teacher free in his creative work" (43). "The educational reform, however, finally took the form of some measures which aimed at the modernization of education in order to serve our economic demands within the European Economic Community" (44).

Thus, the changes that took place were not applied to the structure and the deeper content of education, which still retains an anachronistic, centralized and autocratic system of administration and it is not harmonized with contemporary demands. The curriculum philosophy, the school books, the autocracy in the every-day school life, the building problem and the chronic financial problem of teachers emphasise the fact that things have not really changed (45).

O.L.M.E. believes that the democratization of education should be attained in order to have "an open education for all people". The real reforms, therefore, will be achieved with the decentralization and the

participation of the local self-government in the educational policy-making. Consequently the school will become "the medium of the cultural reconstruction and social change" (46). The school that teachers visualize is a new one, dynamic, open to life, it cultivates research, cooperation, social responsibility and liberty. It concentrates on a universal humanism which can combine theory with practice and can develop competent citizens to serve their country and humanity (47).

With regard to the curriculum issue, O.L.M.E. suggests its radical reconstruction in order to become democratic and to ensure the active participation of students in the learning process. The main aim of the curriculum must be the socialization of the students, the satisfaction of their needs and the needs of society and the economy. It also has to provide useful, essential and modern skills, to aim at a qualitative and not quantitative knowledge, to structure the lessons in organic sections, to cultivate and develop all the abilities of students (48). This curriculum reconstruction will be closely related with the redefinition of the role of the school books and, consequently, with their replacement as well as with change of the teaching methods (49).

However, some features of O.L.M.E.'s behaviour, ideology and role in the 1976 education reform merit additional comment. One noteworthy point is that

O.L.M.E. was not competing with other interest groups as is usually the case in classic pluralist politics. Another important characteristic is that, as a syndicalist organisation, O.L.M.E. can not be said to have been politically or educationally radical. Its views and assumptions about the aims and content of education, the interrelations of schools, the polity and the socio-economic structure, and the nature and scope of educational reform were well within the ideological and conceptual framework of the "educational liberalism" of the New Democracy government as well as of the E.DE.K. opposition (Chapter five).

At times one can even find elements of traditional conservatism in its attitude, as when O.L.M.E. strongly endorsed the conclusions and recommendations of the committee of academics (50). O.L.M.E. emphasised "modern and democratic education and educational reconstruction in accordance with the demands and needs of the existing constitutional democratic state" (51). This orientation entailed, in turn, similar conceptions and policies as those of the right-wing New Democracy and the liberal political party E.DE.K. (52).

Summarizing, one might say that the role of O.L.M.E. in the reform policies regarding more strictly educational or pedagogical questions (organisation, selection, general and vocational education, educational

knowledge) can be described as more reactive than creative. The pressure to make these changes has come from many diverse groups and individuals (53).

Nevertheless one should emphasise O.L.M.E.'s change to more "democratic" views after 1976. This was a consequence of the overall attempt of the country to be brought back to democracy after the fall of the dictatorship (1974). It was also a product of its trade union orientation because of the significant increase in membership that took place in the 1964-1974 period.

O.L.M.E.'s increasing interest in education politics and its demands for participation in the decision-making are also reflected in its recent propositions on education.

O.L.M.E.'s recent propositions on education

O.L.M.E.'s final educational propositions have been announced quite recently in its bulletin (54). These are concerned with the need for educational changes in Greece which is connected, in turn, with the general demand for wider socio-economic changes. It states:

"Education is a basic social function and it must be referred to all Greek people. The state, therefore, together with the interest groups (e.g. teachers -here, secondary teachers-, parents, students, etc.) will formulate a democratic educational policy" (55).

The ideological framework of O.L.M.E.'s education

politics appears to be consisted of the following basic principles (56):

1. Teachers must get a satisfactory salary;
2. Need to increase the education budget;
3. Need for cooperation of parents, students, (secondary) teachers and local authorities at the school level of the education administration;
4. Demand for participation of the interest groups in the education administration and in the curriculum planning.

In addition, the Federation largely emphasises that no educational change can be effective without teachers' participation in the decision-making process. In return, this cannot be attained "if teachers will not improve their role in education and promote their status" (57).

For these reasons, O.L.M.E. connects its attempts at the betterment of teachers' position with the overall social struggles of the working people. In particular, it claims: a) Economic development; b) improvement of the living standards; c) national independence and peace; d) democratization of the society and large participation of the interest groups in the decision policy formation (58). In other words, O.L.M.E. places the reconstruction of education in the general context of the economic and the social reconstruction (59).

As regards the educational changes that O.L.M.E. proposes, these are concerned with fundamental reforms in

a lot of education aspects. For example, curriculum and examinations, content of education, organisation and administration of schools, secondary teachers education (extension of the university studies from 4 to 5 years for those who want to teach in schools), in-service training of teachers, post-graduate studies, private education, education budget etc.

Actually it can be argued that the Federation of Secondary School Teachers has indeed formulated specific propositions for educational changes and for an active participation of teachers in the education decision-making. The overall attempt must therefore be highlighted.

The question is, however, to what extent and under what socio-political and economic circumstances could these propositions be implemented. Moreover, how do these changes affect O.L.M.E.'s policy on the curriculum?

One might say that O.L.M.E. is still more concerned with general economic and in-service education problems of its members rather than with the formulation of specific propositions relating to the school knowledge. Whenever such demands have appeared they seem to reflect the corresponding education paragraphs of the political parties pre-election material.

In addition, it must not overlook the highly centralized, bureaucratized and authoritarian character

of the Greek state, according to which any decision on education is taken at the top of the administration hierarchy, that is, the Ministry of Education (Chapter four). It must not also bypass the frustrated reforms, unfulfilled expectations and failures in the history of the Greek education (Chapters two and three).

7.3 D.O.E. (FEDERATION OF PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHERS)

I have chosen the Federation of Primary School Teachers for examination because I would like to show the difference between the two interest groups in education (ie. O.L.M.E., D.O.E.).

7.3.1 THE IDENTIFICATION OF D.O.E.

The Federation of Primary School Teachers was established in 1922. According to its new constitution (60), D.O.E. "is an organisation, which consists of all primary and pre-primary teachers' unions in Greece and abroad" (61). It has 45,462 members reported on 25th June 1991 (62).

The aims of D.O.E. have been listed as follows (63):

1. Coordination of all the attempts that have been undertaken by the unions to improve primary education and to upgrade the professional and the economic status of

teachers;

2. D.O.E. has to contribute to the improvement of the whole education;

3. To cooperate with all civil servants;

4. To protect the rights of syndicalism, and to defend democracy, national independence and peace;

5. To participate in the education decision-making process;

6. To reinforce the interest in syndicalism and to strengthen the class consciousness of all civil servants;

7. The need for an active involvement in the administration of education.

One can thus say that D.O.E.'s goals-system is concerned not only with the satisfaction of its own union demands but also with the wider attempts at education democratization (64). This statement, in turn, is closely related with O.L.M.E.'s basic ideological principles.

7.3.2 THE POLITICS

The role of D.O.E. in the education politics in Greece will be examined here from an historical perspective.

As described in the previous Chapter, the various teacher training colleges and Pedagogical Academies trained pre-primary and primary school teachers up to 1980s. Their programme of studies was for two years only

and the diploma from those colleges and Academies was not considered equivalent to that of universities. The establishment of the higher education departments of primary (and pre- primary) education (Law 1268/1982) can be seen as an achievement of D.O.E. after its long-term struggles for better quality of studies.

In fact, the basic demand of primary teachers has been related with the recognition of their teaching as a profession. Consequently, this presupposes both acquisition of specialised and academic knowledge as well as social respect of the teacher's job. According to E. Hoyle (1969) and C. Lacey (1977), among the main factors that underlie the low professional status of teachers are conceived to be the type of their basic education, the duration of studies, their social origins, the small salary, the bureaucracy etc. (65). Furthermore, as K. Harris (1982) claims, because of the low social class origin of the most primary teachers their struggles for improvement of their status seem to refer not only to the structure and function of the educational system itself but also to the wider social context (66).

In Greece, since the early nineteenth century, primary teachers have been charged to play an extremely functional role in education and their work has been appeared with the ideological cover of the social "mission". In this regard, it seems worthwhile to mention

that such ideology of the "pedagogical mission" has been found to be projected by the primary teachers themselves, on contrary to secondary teachers who seem to conceive themselves as professionals and intellectuals (67).

The ideology of the primary teacher-"missionary" in education can be further related to the philosophy of the incorporation of primary teachers in the given social and state educational system. That is, teachers are asked to simply implement the educational policies that have been formulated at the centre (i.e. Ministry of Education) without their own participation in the decision-making process although it is directly related to their work.

In addition, it can be said that the existing education policy has also underlined the distinction between primary and secondary school teachers in Greece. This is reflected on the development of separate Federations among teachers (i.e. O.L.M.E., D.O.E.). So, since the turn of the century, D.O.E. has fought against the idea that secondary teachers are superior because they prepare students for academic and professional jobs, whereas primary teachers are only responsible for the training of children.

Nevertheless the urgent demands of primary teachers have been more concentrated on the need for essential and academic studies, and for the improvement of their social

and economic status. As a result, the University Departments of Primary Education have been established.

But what is D.O.E.'s involvement in the curriculum policy formation?

It can be argued that, despite some general propositions for educational change, the union has not yet planned a constructive and articulate programme concerning the content of the curriculum. In its 60th General Assembly held on 25th June 1991, D.O.E.'s educational policy was mainly oriented towards the following socio-economic and - to some extent- educational demands (68):

1. Increase of teachers' salary.
2. More primary and pre-primary teachers to be appointed to schools.
3. Organisation of intensive courses in the University Departments of Primary Education for the training of the in-service primary teachers who are graduates of the old Pedagogical Academies.
4. Introduction of foreign languages, Arts, Music and Physical education in all the primary schools over the country.

However, it is worthy of note that a new dimension of the education politics of both teachers' unions (i.e. O.L.M.E., D.O.E.) -especially of O.L.M.E.- has been currently appeared, which emphasises their increasing

demands for involvement in the education policy formation in Greece. In particular, it is concerned with their strong opposition to the last educational measurements that were initiated by the Ministry of Education during the past school year (Chapter four). Teachers' unions -especially O.L.M.E.- disrupted the educational system through strikes aimed at dramatizing the nature of their complaints. For the same reason, secondary students occupied schools in the most large cities. Furthermore a great part of parents favoured the resistance (69) (more details about the events are given in Chapter four). As a result, the government's educational measurements have not yet been applied to schools.

It might therefore start being apparent to the state that successful implementation of any far-reaching reform may require the cooperation of teachers. Even the threat of refusal to carry out the plan may be an effective bargaining tool that can shape the ultimate form of the Ministry's proposal.

An OECD report published in 1982 indicates the need for a wider participation of the interest groups in the education planning in Greece and briefly describes the existing situation in the education decision-making system.

"It is our impression that...reform proposal might be strengthened and reforms more effectively implemented if greater efforts were made to draw a wider net of interest groups into the policy formation process before draft

laws reach Parliament. For example, in addition to the Parliamentary debates that take place hearings at which outside interest groups could express their views might be increased and improved by establishing the appropriate consultative process. We noted that the teachers' associations are often consulted but that their influence is not decisive; that there is a national parents' association but it is unrepresentative and carries little weight; that the trade unions at large evidence little interest in educational matters but that there is some consultation with employers' representatives" (70).

Summing up, it can be argued that D.O.E., like O.L.M.E., have focused more on the economic and professional satisfaction of its members rather than on main education policies. It can be said, however, that if teachers unions are reactive rather than innovative, this is because they maintain, as a value the right "to develop education rather than develop it themselves" (71).

7.4 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it can be argued that at the beginning of the investigation I assumed that O.L.M.E. was an entirely conservative force. Further investigation showed that this conservatism was more liberal after 1974 mainly because of O.L.M.E.'s reaction to Junta's policies and its trade union orientation.

Nevertheless, despite O.L.M.E.'s statements on education and in spite of D.O.E.'s continuous attempts at the upgrading of their status, it is obvious that

teachers, the technical group of the state educational organisation, still lacking a serious professional status, are not able to challenge the dominance of hierarchical superiors in curriculum policy-making. The state and its Ministry of Education regulates through the issuing of Decrees the content and the organisation of the curriculum.

In the question therefore "who gets what" (72) from the relationship between the state and the interest groups in Greece, it is difficult to generalize. Although this relationship reflects certain aspects of the corporatist theory of the state (Chapter four), one might argue, however, that "the power of interest groups over the state is a function not only of the policy area under discussion but of the general power or autonomy of the state itself" (73).

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CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

The conclusions of this thesis can be stated briefly and bluntly. Politics provide the major explanation for the lack of the curriculum change in Greece. The study of the demands for educational modernization and democratization since 1950s suggested that opposition might be located in certain educational interest groups. So the aim was to investigate the control of the educational system and to discover which interest groups resisted the implementation of the curriculum reform. I started the analysis with the assumption that the power of some groups, that is the political parties, the University of Athens Faculty of Philosophy and the Federation of Secondary School Teachers (O.L.M.E.) would be great. But, in the course of the investigation, it became clear that their influence over curriculum change is relatively slight. So the emphasis shifts back to the authoritarian state.

To make sense of these conclusions it is necessary to compare them with the original intentions. At the outset, the aim of the research was to explain the conservatism of the school curriculum by investigating the continuing influence of traditional humanist ideas on curriculum policy makers. The political dimension of the research was elaborated in response to the investigation once it began. As a result the thesis explored a more complex form of educational politics than was originally

conceived.

One initial assumption was that views of worthwhile knowledge could be investigated as a source of conservatism. The curriculum exists to transmit knowledge and skills. Opponents of curriculum change in the politics of reform will make reference to views of worthwhile knowledge to support their positions. It was necessary first to examine these views even though, in the course of the research, contemporary politics increasingly became a more important focus of investigation than historical-philosophical analysis. The history and ideas of Greek humanism became the context of politics rather than the prime explanation of lack of change.

There is little doubt about the strength of older traditions of curriculum. Throughout the historical analysis, the examination of the relationship between educational policies and broader political, economic and social changes has strengthened this conclusion. Since the establishment of the independent Greek state, in 1828, the educational system has adopted the values of the Greek humanism, which is based on the Christian Orthodox ideas and on the principles of the Ancient Greek civilisation. The attachment to the tradition was very important for the new state to keep the links with its glorious past and to develop cultural conscience and

national identity among Greek people.

Nevertheless, in the history of the educational reforms in Greece since the turn of the century both Classicism and the ideas of the Christian Orthodox faith were associated with conservative views of education and they appeared to be obstacles to the democratization and the modernization of the educational system.

So, the period from 1828 to 1949 is viewed through two main themes -the establishment of the Greek humanism in education through the emergence of a nationalist high culture and the German Humboldtian influence along with the restriction of education to limited groups of society. The contemporary relevance of these developments, which have been concerned with the historical strength of the humanist tradition and its association with elite education, non-democratic government and non-industrial society, have led to the question of whether economic and political change could challenge the humanist dominance.

This opposition continued to be apparent in the attempts for educational reform since 1950s despite the urgent economic and social needs of the Greek society to have an education relevant to the demands of the contemporary era.

In the International Conference on education held in Geneva, in 1990, the representative of the Greek Ministry

of National Education and Religion declared:

"The philosophy underlying the Greek educational system reflects the values and schools of thought of the Greek nation. Thus, though a significant number of changes, experimentations and improvements have taken place, a great focus is being given on the Classical studies since the latter provide the basis for all the streams of the current knowledge and scientific thinking".

In fact, the traditional views of dominant knowledge in Greece have been academic and humanistic derived from Plato's ideas about man, society and knowledge and are also concerned with Aristotle's philosophy as regards the moral development of the individual in order to be a good citizen. Secondary curriculum, however, has given little attention to the development of technical and scientific thought.

This philosophical orientation of the secondary curriculum is justified with the predominance of the academic humanistic subjects in the literature taught in schools since the foundation of the modern Greek state.

Humanism has been highlighted in the political debates over the years and its high esteem has been supported and reinforced by the educational officials (e.g. inspectors) and other main educational organisations, such as teachers' unions and universities (especially the Faculty of Philosophy where the discipline is mainly studied).

On the other hand, there has been a need for modification of the humanistic curriculum -but not its

abandonment- whereas more emphasis must be put on the upgrading of the technological and technical content of the education.

It became clear in the course of the research that there are limits to the value of the historical-philosophical explanation. Why did the humanist view survive during the economic and political changes of the 1950s? If the democratization of access to education was finally accepted in the 1976-77 Law and if "demotike" was introduced as the medium of instruction at the same time, why did the attachment to the humanist content of the curriculum continue to be strong? The relevant questions then appear to be which groups continued to support a humanist view and why were they able to enforce their conceptions of curriculum.

Before these questions are considered, the importance of the political, economic and social changes since 1950s need to be discussed more fully. This became the second contextual feature. It helps to narrow the focus since broader changes in society brought greater pressure for curriculum change, and since some major reforms of education were achieved in the 1970s and 1980s.

In contrast to the earlier period which is concerned with the historical bases for traditional attitudes, the period since 1950 emphasises more fully the pressures for educational change. There are two imperatives -the

political and economic.

The political -i.e. democratizing access to education and consequently adjusting the content of schooling to reflect popular culture- was dominant in the period 1957-1967 and, after its reversal during the Junta period, reemerged in the 1976-1977 reform and furthermore in the 1981-1985 educational changes.

The economic theme became also increasingly important after 1974 and it had different curriculum implications. It was concerned with the economic changes in Greece, the new economic plans for the development of the country, urbanization and industrialization, the occupational changes and the prospects of Greece to be a member of the European Community.

The failure to change the school curriculum effectively even in the 1980s suggests that the major obstacles which could be investigated fruitfully, were administrative and political.

The traditional conservative views of the secondary school curriculum have been illustrated with the examination of the curriculum philosophy, whereas authoritarianism together with centralization and bureaucracy have been analysed and studied through the investigation of the system of the educational administration as well as the role of politics.

A serious obstacle to a radical curriculum change has

its origins in the central decision-making system.

In discussing and analysing the models of education politics, such as corporatism and interest group approach, as well as the role of the state in the educational policy-making, it has been indicated that there is a strict centralized, bureaucratic and authoritarian control over education in Greece. This can be explained by the relatively recent foundation of the modern state, the political conflict among the parties and the political instability of the country. As a result, although centralization helps the efficiency of an overall reform, the traditional curriculum remains unchanged because there is an opposition of certain groups and people in the administration system who are committed to a traditional kind of the curriculum. One aspect of the overcentralization state is that there is not any regional variation in the curriculum.

The concentration of the analysis on the politics of the curriculum and on authoritarianism in the later Chapters of the thesis still left some conceptual questions to be faced before the substantive investigation of the final three Chapters could be undertaken. How far could political opposition to curriculum reform be explained by the centralization of the system of government and how far did it arise from the apparently contradictory phenomena of democratic

institutions and interest group politics?

Political and administrative systems needed to be conceptualized. The ideas of centralization, corporatism and interest politics were used even though interest groups theories appear in contradiction to those of centralization.

The concept of corporatism was useful in reconciling this contradiction. A corporatist ethos and system could allow interests groups to operate yet at the same time to be subservient to authoritarian government. The democratic organisations -the political parties- and the interest groups -notably the universities and the teacher unions- could be investigated in the context of a centralist and authoritarian state.

It can be argued that the Greek state -despite democracy and the parliamentary system- appears to be centralist rather than pluralist (as is the U.S.A. and Britain, for instance). This can be justified by the role of the powerful interest groups in the education policy formation. Despite the direct participation of the relevant organisations in the decision-making process, the structure of the educational system itself has left little space to them for an active involvement in educational control. The study of the overall political programme and the ideologies of the major parties as well as the groups of society from which they derived their

main support has provided a broader context for their education policies.

The main issues of, for example, popular versus classical language, common or selective secondary schooling, humanist or technical/vocational education have been examined for each party giving prominence to the party government and the main opposition, and mainly emphasising the 1976-77 educational reform and on the decade of 1980s.

The role of the political parties in the education politics, however, appeared to be vague because neither the right-wing nor the left-wing parties have articulated yet a constructive programme to include specific propositions for curriculum change, whereas most of the decisions concerning the curriculum content are formulated in the Ministry of Education rather than in the Greek Parliament. Besides the political parties have emphasised economic and social issues rather than education, thus allowing the Ministry of Education to be authoritarian.

As a consequence the political parties -both supporting and opposing government- have had a minor impact on curriculum policies. Greece may have had democratic institutions for a long period in the twentieth century, apart from the dictatorship after 1967, but the processes of curriculum decision-making

have not been democratized. This lack of influence of the political parties was found both in Parliament and at local/regional levels. Even Ministers of Education, as members of political parties, were not able to exert much influence especially when their average period of tenure was so short.

On the other hand, the University of Athens Faculty of Philosophy, since its establishment in 1837, had an impact on the content of the secondary curriculum because it was the only higher education institution for over a century and it dominated the preparation of secondary school teachers by specifying their number as well as their academic training.

From the beginning, this organisation was responsible for the dissemination of a purely academic knowledge with a clear humanistic orientation, which was derived from the Greek culture and the classical tradition. The intellectual exclusiveness of the Faculty of Philosophy provided it with high status and power over education.

Consequently, in any attempt for educational reform this School was overrepresented and its role was to safeguard the values of the Greek humanism and to urge the indispensable need for the teaching of Classics in the secondary curriculum. This attitude, however, was associated with a conservative position of the Faculty of Philosophy to the modernization of the curriculum. The

Faculty of Philosophy remained conservative in its attitudes even into the 1980s because new members of Faculty were elected by existing Faculty.

Nevertheless, neither the University of Athens Faculty of Philosophy nor the new Universities, which were established in the 20th century in Greece and were characterized by progressive ideas on education, could effectively influence the politics of curriculum change. Some of the reasons can be sought in the lack of well organised educational research centres in the relevant higher education institutions as well as in the resistance provided by the central government to any interest group which would like to be involved in the education politics.

Equally the Federation of Secondary School Teachers (O.L.M.E.), despite its large membership, the well regarded academic training of its members as well as the importance of the public service that they provide, cannot be actively involved in the decision-making process. Their selection and appointment as well as the conditions of their work are upon the entire responsibility of the Ministry of Education.

Lacking therefore a strong professional status, O.L.M.E. is more concerned with claims for the satisfaction of the socio-economic demands of its members. Even its recent educational propositions seem

to be general without providing an articulate programme for curriculum change.

Furthermore, though the secondary teachers' union has criticised the educational reform movement, it has never hesitated to underline the importance of the humanistic subjects in the secondary school curriculum. On the other hand, teachers, primary and secondary, have increasingly demanded the need for their participation in the educational policy formation. There was a dramatic change in the politics of O.L.M.E. from 1950s to 1964-65 and then after 1974. Factors that might be suggested to explain this development include increased democracy in the life of the Union, the relaxation of government controls on trade unions, and the great expansion of the membership in those years. But up to now the Ministry of Education has been the only decision-making centre, which controls any education aspect.

However, teachers may be the source of future change. Their curriculum conservatism appears to be lessening as indicated by the more flexible positions adopted by O.L.M.E.. The role of the new Departments of Primary Education in encouraging a more progressive attitude may also be important. Teachers also experience changes in society and the economy through contact with students and parents. Wider social developments may also persuade them that new attitudes to the curriculum are necessary.

The conclusion then is that the centralized organs of government, particularly the Ministry of Education, are the main obstacles to the reform of the school curriculum. Previous analyses which focused on agencies such as the University of Athens Faculty of Philosophy may have missed the point by not giving sufficient attention to the conservative effect of the centralized government bureaucracy.

How then could politics contribute to the modernization and democratization of the educational system in Greece?

Education, according to its nature, demands vigorous and greatly inspired politics as well as long-term planning, which exceed the ambitions and the possibilities of even the most long-lived government. Educational matters, more than any others, demand cooperation between scholars of various disciplines who, although they may have ideological and political differences must be found and mobilized wherever they may belong. Generally education is, in my opinion, the area where consent procedures not only can be applied, but they can be used as a prototype in other areas of political action as well.

This research has taken one perspective on the issue of curriculum reform. Other approaches could also be taken. For instance: How do government officials (eg.

bureaucrats of the Ministry of Education, school advisers, education directors/heads, etc.) influence curriculum change? To what extent have the new University Departments of Education had an impact on the education formation? What is the role of parents' associations and students' unions in education politics? These are some of the areas that need further investigation.

So the emphasis of further research on the politics of Greek education, as in other countries, might be placed more fully upon the main actors within the educational bureaucracy. This kind of research is more difficult when documentary evidence, especially of developed arguments, is less plentiful. It is still an area which needs to be pursued more fully.

This suggestion is based on the pessimistic assumption that a conservative, authoritarian and centralized state will continue to be all-powerful. More progressive approaches from other education faculties could also be examined to identify the possibilities of future change.

In addition to further research in politics, additional research might be conducted into what are the main difficulties of the present curriculum and how it could be turned into a new curriculum. Two particular issues here are, first, some reappraisal of the Classics curriculum involving a reconceptualization of its aims,

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