

STATE CURRICULUM CONTROL IN GREECE AND ENGLAND: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

STAVROS MOUTSIOS

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ABSTRACT

The thesis is a comparative study of the policies of curriculum control in Greece and England with particular reference to primary education.

The comparison is between a traditional bureaucratic centralised pattern (Greece) which in terms of educational control is called here *mono-dimensional* and a new 'market-like' pattern which combines centralisation and decentralisation (England) and is termed *bi-dimensional*. The two cases differ in their mode of management control but they intersect at their mode of curriculum control.

However, the thesis suggests that although in both countries the mode of curriculum control is centralised, there is an emphasis on different *message systems*. While the Greek centralised curriculum is characterised by strong prescription of content and pedagogy and weak definition of assessment procedures, the English centralised curriculum is marked by strong definition of evaluation and weak prescription of content and pedagogy.

The main argument of the thesis is tested in three main areas, taken as *tertia comparationis* of the study. First, there is an investigation of the policies of curriculum reform which took place in the two countries during the 1980s. The research identifies official shifts to different educational priorities and models of pedagogic practice (*competence* and *performance*) in primary education. Secondly, the thesis analyses central curriculum planning as an attempt of the state to regulate schools' pedagogic practice. Here the focus is on the theoretical approach underpinning curriculum planning, the extent to which the three message systems are pre-defined and the main means used by the central authority to make schools comply with the official requirements. Thirdly, the study examines inspectorial policies in the two countries, as state actions intended to monitor the realisation of the official curriculum in schools.

Finally, in the conclusion, it is suggested that there is a different *economy* of curriculum control in the two patterns - in terms of the human, symbolic and financial resources used to regulate pedagogic practice.

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I dedicate this work to my daughter *Danae*.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ABSTRACT	2
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	3
CHAPTER 1 GENERAL INTRODUCTION	
1.1 BACKGROUND	10
1.2. THE FOCUS OF THE RESEARCH	14
ENDNOTES	17
CHAPTER 2 STUDYING CONTEMPORARY STATE CURRICULUM CONTROL IN GREECE AND ENGLAND: A FRAMEWORK FOR COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS	
2.1 INTRODUCTION	20
2.2 THEORETICAL ORIENTATION AND THE MAIN ARGUMENT OF THE THESIS	20
2.3 THE ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS	36
ENDNOTES	38
CHAPTER 3 THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: STATE CONTROL AND CURRICULUM CHANGE IN PRIMARY EDUCATION IN GREECE AND ENGLAND	
3.1 INTRODUCTION	43
3.2 TOWARDS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF STATE CONTROL IN GREEK ELEMENTARY EDUCATION: THE PURSUIT OF UNIFORMITY	44

3.3 CONSOLIDATION OF THE GREEK CENTRALISED MODE OF CURRICULUM CONTROL IN THE 'TUG-OF-WAR' ERA	49
3.4 TOWARDS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF STATE CONTROL IN ENGLISH ELEMENTARY EDUCATION: THE REVISED CODE ERA	58
3.5 CONSOLIDATION OF THE DECENTRALISED MODE OF CURRICULUM CONTROL IN ENGLAND: THE 'GOLDEN AGE'	63
3.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS	76
ENDNOTES	78
 CHAPTER 4 CURRICULUM REFORMS IN GREECE AND ENGLAND: RE-ORIENTATION OF EDUCATIONAL AIMS AND THE MODE OF CURRICULUM CONTROL	
4.1 INTRODUCTION	88
4.2 THE QUESTIONING OF THE EXISTING MODEL OF PEDAGOGIC PRACTICE IN GREECE: THE 'INTERNAL' REFORM THAT 'HADN'T BEEN MADE'	89
4.3 THE PRIMARY CURRICULUM REFORM IN GREECE: THE OFFICIAL MOVE TO THE COMPETENCE MODEL OF PEDAGOGIC PRACTICE	102
4.4 THE QUESTIONING OF THE EXISTING MODEL OF PEDAGOGIC PRACTICE IN ENGLAND: THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CURRICULUM REFORM	113
4.5 TOWARDS THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM: THE OFFICIAL MOVE TO THE PERFORMANCE MODEL OF PEDAGOGIC PRACTICE	125
4.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS	143
ENDNOTES	149

CHAPTER 5

CENTRAL CURRICULUM PLANNING AND THE CONTROL OF SCHOOLS' PEDAGOGIC PRACTICE

5.1 INTRODUCTION	170
5.2 THE APPROACH TO PLANNING THE GREEK STATUTORY CURRICULUM	174
5.3 THE GREEK CENTRALISED MODE OF MANAGEMENT CONTROL AND THE SINGLE TEXTBOOK AS THE MAIN CARRIER OF THE STATUTORY CURRICULUM IN SCHOOLS	178
5.4 PRE-DEFINITION OF MESSAGE SYSTEMS BY CENTRAL CURRICULUM PLANNING IN GREECE: THE STRONG CONTROL OF CONTENT AND PEDAGOGY	184
5.5 THE APPROACH TO PLANNING THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM	198
5.6 THE DECENTRALISED MODE OF MANAGEMENT CONTROL AND NATIONAL ASSESSMENT AS THE MAIN CARRIER OF THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM IN SCHOOLS	208
5.7 PRE-DEFINITION OF MESSAGE SYSTEMS BY CENTRAL CURRICULUM PLANNING IN ENGLAND: THE STRONG CONTROL OF EVALUATION	219
5.8 CONCLUDING REMARKS	228
ENDNOTES	234

CHAPTER 6

CURRICULUM CONTROL AND STATE MONITORING OF PEDAGOGIC PRACTICE

6.1 INTRODUCTION	251
6.2 THE GREEK MONITORIAL POLICY AFTER THE PRIMARY CURRICULUM REFORM: THE SHIFT FROM THE INSPECTOR TO THE ADVISER	254

6.3 THE MONITORING OF PEDAGOGIC PRACTICE IN GREECE: PURSUING CONFORMITY TO THE OFFICIAL CONTENT AND PEDAGOGY	266
6.4 THE ENGLISH MONITORIAL POLICY AFTER THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM: FROM THE HMI TO OFSTED INSPECTIONS	278
6.4 THE MONITORING OF PEDAGOGIC PRACTICE IN ENGLAND: THE EVALUATIVE FUNCTION OF INSPECTION	292
6.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS	305
ENDNOTES	309
 CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSIONS	
7.1. INTRODUCTION	322
7.2 THE MAIN ARGUMENT OF THE THESIS: A DIFFERENT ECONOMY OF CURRICULUM CONTROL	322
7.3 CURRICULUM CONTROL IN GREECE AND ENGLAND: CONTINUITIES AND DISCONTINUITIES	323
7.4 MODELS OF PEDAGOGIC PRACTICE AND THE MODALITIES OF CENTRALISED CURRICULUM CONTROL	329
7.5 MODERN AND LATE-MODERN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS AND REFORMS IN GREECE AND ENGLAND	333
ENDNOTES	339
BIBLIOGRAPHY	342

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

	PAGE
 CHAPTER 2	
Table 2.1 State curriculum control in Greece and England after the 1980s reforms	35
 CHAPTER 5	
Figure 5.1 Pedagogic models and central curriculum planning in the Greek mono-dimensional and the English bi-dimensional patterns	173
Figure 5.2 Representation of the spiral curriculum	175
Table 5.1 Control over textbooks and levels of freedom of choice in their use	238
Table 5.2 The statutory timetable of Greek primary education	187
Figure 5.3 The National Curriculum (TGAT model)	203
Figure 5.4 The revised National Curriculum	207
Table 5.3 Indicative timetable for primary schools	222
 CHAPTER 6	
Figure 6.1 Monitorial approach in Greece and England after the shift to the competence and performance models	253
Table 6.1 Juxtaposition of inspection findings on primary science in Greece and England (school year 1994-1995)	301

CHAPTER 1

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

During the 1980s and early 1990s major educational reforms took place in countries such as England, USA, Australia, and New Zealand. A common denominator in those reforms was the economic exigencies to which the respective states responded by treating education as a tool to overcome economic crisis.¹ Schools were held responsible for poorly meeting the needs of national economies, for being inadequate in equipping students with basic skills and for providing a poor return on the money spent upon education. Terms such as *school effectiveness*, *accountability*, *efficiency*, *excellence* and *value-added* education emerged in public discourse to stress that reforms should target teachers' performance and students' attainment.

In particular, educational reform in the USA was officially initiated in the early 1980s when the Federal Government published *A Nation at Risk*, a highly influential report written by distinguished federal and state policy-makers and business leaders. The document warned of an increased 'tide of mediocrity' in American education and stressed that schools were failing to supply the country with the skilled work force necessary for its economic competitiveness in the global context.² The changes that followed were different in the various states of the USA but they were characterised by the same reform agenda, known as the 'three waves reform'.³

During the first wave of reform (1983-1986) many states embarked upon such measures as increasing the teaching time for

academic subjects, the establishment of higher graduation requirements in secondary schools and an increase in teacher salaries. The main feature of this period was the production by many states of curriculum frameworks and requirements of accountability through 'top-down' policy-making.

The second phase (1986-1990) had a 'bottom-up' approach in reform, meaning the widespread introduction of various schemes of school-site or school-based management.⁴ Those schemes transferred decision-making powers for the day-to-day running of schools to headteachers and councils of parents and teachers. Management of budgets, staffing and resources became in most states the job of the schools which were thus prompted to implement entrepreneurial ways of efficient self-governance.

The third phase of the reform (1990 onwards) included the introduction of open-enrolment and free choice in many states as well as pupil-based funding formulae for schools. Part of the last wave of the reform was also the national setting of curriculum frameworks and standards (*America 2000* and *Goals 2000: Educate America Act*).⁵

Australia during the 1980s also went through a similar reform process though due to the federal character of the country changes differed in pace and dissemination from state to state. As in the USA the reform was officially justified by economic pressures. The document *Skills for Australia*, written and released in 1987 by the Minister of Education John Dawkins, made clear that the reform should deal with the economic challenges that Australia was facing and should set national goals of performance.⁶ Important for this purpose was the role of the Australian Education Council which embarked upon collaboration with the federal government and the states to set up national curriculum statements and frameworks of accountability for schools.⁷

Within these frameworks the states were to produce policy guidelines and schools were to develop plans for implementation. In order to do so, schools were given extensive decision-making powers to manage financial and curriculum resources such as school budgets, textbooks, student consumables, excursions and activities. 'In all states', as Chapman *et al.* point out 'a decentralisation of decision-making and devolution of control over resource decisions has been taking place, generally bringing the locus of decision-making either to schools, or as close as possible, and reducing the size of central, or state, bureaucracies'.⁸ In some cases, in Victoria for example, the reform was quite extensive, as the schools and particularly the headteachers were enabled to recruit the teaching staff. According to the official statements, 'schools were provided with rigorous and world-leading curriculum and learning standards' and they 'were given operating autonomy and control of their resources so that they would be better placed to achieve [their] mission'.⁹

Similar changes occurred in New Zealand. Concerns about the ability of public education to contribute to the economic growth and competitiveness of the country were discussed within neo-liberal assumptions and market ideologies in the reform process, despite the fact that a Labour government was in office.¹⁰ The reform was given momentum with the publication of the *Picot Report* in 1987 and in 1988 with the official endorsement of its proposals by the governmental document *Tomorrow's Schools*. The new policy brought an extensive restructuring of the system by giving major managerial responsibilities to schools and by introducing open enrolment of pupils. School boards and headteachers are now responsible for the management of human and financial resources (such as appointments and dismissals of teaching and non-teaching staff, maintenance of premises, operational expenses and consumables) whereas the 'role of the State government has become one of regulator, funder, owner, and purchaser: it reviews and

audits the school system'.¹¹ However at the same time 'the control and development of the national curriculum has come formally under ministerial control, creating greater centralisation than at any point in the past'.¹² Indeed, the government introduced in 1991 a national framework of curriculum and assessment which specifies principles, skills, learning areas, objectives and assessment procedures and it is compulsory for all schools.

In Europe, the most striking changes in the directions described above have occurred in England,¹³ the examination of which is one of the tasks of this thesis.

What is noticeable in the reforms of 1980s and early 1990s in the above countries is that the changes brought about two major common characteristics.

On the one hand, authority and financial resources were delegated to schools for their day-to-day needs and parents were given decision-making powers in school management. School-based management and budgeting were introduced to create competition among schools, to increase their performance and to facilitate parental choice in a kind of educational market. This move was called, by many authors, educational or school 'restructuring'.¹⁴ As Reavis and Griffith note in their definition of school restructuring:

... restructuring means decision making by the person closest to the issue to be resolved ... It requires the learning of new roles by administrators, teachers, students, parents, and members of the community at large. Perhaps most of all, it requires the adoption of a market orientation in which the customers are the parents and the students. In short, restructuring means ... a complete change in the structure of the organisation and the underlying beliefs that they have given rise to that organisation.¹⁵

School-based management, as the same authors underline, 'takes decentralisation one step further by, in effect, 'decentralising' decision making to each building'.¹⁶ The main rationale is that hierarchies are

flattened, bureaucracies are diminished and thus schools can be flexible and can control their strategies and practices - including the strategies of enhancing performance.

On the other hand, those reforms were accompanied by the establishment or re-planning of national curriculum frameworks which are mandatory for all schools. State appointed bodies have been assigned to set national goals, establish learning priorities and define requirements of accountability.

The reforms therefore have been concerned with decentralisation in the area of school management and a simultaneous centralisation in the definition of school curriculum. Such a state of affairs in educational control has often been characterised as a contradiction or a paradox,¹⁷ though its consistency and coherence with the principles of the market in education has been pointed out by some authors.¹⁸

Chapter 2 will discuss the implications of these changes in a comparative study of state curriculum control. The next section describes the scope and the particular focus of the research topic.

1.2 THE FOCUS OF THE RESEARCH

It is noticeable that hardly any studies have been produced which are concerned with the comparison of the traditional and the new modes of curriculum control that emerged in England and the above mentioned countries. Mostly, there has been an intensive pre-occupation with the new forms of school management in both intra- and international terms.¹⁹ In addition, as school effectiveness has been a prime pursuit of the restructuring movements, there has been recently a research interest in identifying comparatively the association of the new patterns of educational control and national performance scores.²⁰

This thesis will not be concerned with school management *per se* nor with the effectiveness of certain forms of management in enhancing educational achievements. The thesis will consider school management arrangements to the extent that these are related to the state's attempts to regulate pedagogic practice, but no consideration will be given to the effectiveness of these arrangements in improving educational achievement. Moreover, the thesis does not intend to focus on a particular area of learning or subject and its official status in the curriculum of the two countries,²¹ nor to investigate the interpretation by the teachers of curriculum control policies and the impact of those policies on teachers' professional autonomy.²²

The present study is interested in identifying the official policies aiming to control what is taught, how it is taught and what is learned in primary schools in the recently restructured English system and the traditionally centralised Greek system.

England has been regarded as a distinctive example of decentralised educational control, amongst European countries, where individual schools had considerable autonomy over the curriculum taught in the classroom. The educational reform of the 1980s removed many responsibilities from the local authorities and gave considerable managerial powers to schools. However, the simultaneous introduction of a National Curriculum has substantially shifted the existing mode of curriculum control towards state definition.

Greece has traditionally had one of the most centralised systems in Europe and despite some policies of devolution in mid-1980s the pattern of educational control has not changed. Schools lack substantial managerial responsibilities and the curriculum is prescribed by the state.

The thesis focuses on the apparent convergence of the newly established centralised curriculum in England with that of Greece and tries to understand comparatively the nature and operation of state curriculum control in these two cases. In particular, the present study

compares the state policies of England and Greece which are aimed at regulating the pedagogic practice of schools, with special reference to primary education - traditionally considered to enjoy greater autonomy than secondary education, especially in England.

The comparative framework and the research agenda of the thesis will be described in detail in the next chapter.

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¹Kennedy, K.J. (1995) 'An Analysis of the Policy Contexts of Recent Curriculum Reform Efforts in Australia, Great Britain and the United States' in Carter, D.S.G. and O'Neill, M.H.O. (eds) *International Perspectives on Educational Reform and Policy Implementation*. London: The Falmer Press, p. 75.

²Koppich, J.E. and Guthie, J.W. (1993) 'Examining Contemporary Education-reform in the United States' in Beare, H. and Boyd, W.L. (eds) *Restructuring Schools: An International Perspective on the Movement to Transform the Control and Performance of Schools*. Washington D.C.: The Falmer Press; Papagiannis, G.J., Easton, P.A. and Owens, J.T. (1992) *The School Restructuring Movement in the USA: An Analysis of Major Issues and Policy Implications*. Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning (UNESCO); Cibulka, J. (1995) 'The Evolution of Education Reform in the United States: Policy Ideals or Realpolitik?' in Carter, S.G.D. and O'Neill, H.M. (eds) op. cit.

³Bullock, A. and Thomas, H. (1997) *Schools at the Centre: A Study of Decentralisation*. London: Routledge, p. 56.

⁴Hanson, M.E. (1991) 'Educational Restructuring in the USA: Movements of the 1980s'. *Journal of Educational Administration*, 29(4): 30-38.

⁵Clinchy, E. (1997) 'Introduction: Setting Sail on a Very Long Voyage' in Clinchy, E. (ed) *Transforming Public Education: A New Course for America's Future*. New York: Teachers College Press.

⁶Bartlett, L. (1992) 'National Curriculum in Australia: An Instrument of Corporate Federalism'. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, XXXX(3): 218-238.

⁷Louden, L.W. and Browne, R.K. (1993) 'Developments in Education Policy in Australia: A Perspective on the 1980s' in Beare, H. and Boyd, W.L. (eds) op. cit.; Carter, D.S.G. (1995) 'Curriculum Reform and the Neo-corporatist State in Australia' in Carter, D.S.G. and O'Neill, H.M. (eds) op. cit.

⁸Chapman, J., Dunstan, J. and Spicer, B. (1996) 'System Restructuring, School-based Management and the Achievement of Effectiveness in Australian Education' in Chapman, J.D., Boyd, W.L., Lander, R. and Reynolds, D. (eds) *The Reconstruction of Education: Quality, Equality and Control*. London: Cassell, p. 197.

⁹Caldwell, B.J. and Hayward, D.K. (1998) *The Future of Schools: Lessons from the Reform of Public Education*. London: The Falmer Press, p. 79.

The description of the reform in Victoria in this book is by the Minister of Education of Victoria (1992-1996), Don K. Hayward.

¹⁰Gordon, L. (1992) 'The New Zealand State and Educational Reforms: 'Competing Interests'. *Comparative Education*, 28(3): 281-291.

¹¹Bullock, A. and Thomas, H. (1997) op. cit., p. 53.

¹²Peters, M. (1995) 'Educational Reform and the Politics of the Curriculum in New Zealand' in Carter, D.S.G. and O'Neill, H.M. (eds) op. cit., p. 59.

¹³Though the policies analysed in this thesis concern both England and Wales reference will be made only to England and no particular variations or peculiarities will be examined with respect to Wales. No reference will be made to Northern Ireland and Scotland whose educational systems are different from England and Wales.

¹⁴See for example Lawton, S.B. (1992) 'Why Restructure? An International Survey of the Roots of Reform'. *Journal of Education Policy*, 7(2): 139-154 and O'Donoghue, T.A. and Dimmock, C.A.J. (1998) *School Restructuring: International Perspectives*. London: Kogan Page.

¹⁵Reavis, C. and Griffith, H. (1992) *Restructuring Schools: Theory and Practice*. Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Technomic, p. 2.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁷Cole, M. (1992) 'Education in the Market-place: A Case of Contradiction'. *Educational Review*, 44(3): 335-343; Johnston, J. (1992) 'Quality Assurance, School Self-management and the Contradictions of Control'. *European Journal of Education*, 27(1/2): 165-175; Weiler, H.N. (1990) 'Comparative Perspectives on Educational Decentralization: An Exercise in Contradiction?'. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 12(4): 433-448.

¹⁸As Whitty notes, commenting on the English educational reform: 'The contrast between apparent centralisation in one sphere and apparent decentralisation in the other may not be the paradox it at first appears. Schools which are responsive to choices made by parents in the market are believed by the Government to be more likely than those administered by state bureaucrats to produce high levels of scholastic achievement, to the benefit of both individuals and the nation. The strength of the state therefore has to be used to remove anything that interferes with this process or with the development of an appropriate sense of self and nation on the part of citizens who will be making their

choice in the market'. Whitty, G. (1990) 'The New Right and the National Curriculum: State Control or Market Forces?' in Moon, B. (ed) *New Curriculum - National Curriculum*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, p. 17. See also Thomas, H. (1993) 'The Education-reform Movement in England and Wales' in Beare, H. and Boyd, W.L. (eds) op. cit.

¹⁹Whitty, G., Power, S. and Halpin, D. (1998) *Devolution and Choice in Education: The School, the State and the Market*. Buckingham: Open University Press, p. 35.

²⁰See for example Green's comparative study of educational achievements in centralised and decentralised systems; Green, A. (1997) *Education, Globalisation and the Nation State*. London: Macmillan Press, pp. 106-129.

²¹See Hodolidou, E. (1990) *Η θέση της Λογοτεχνίας στην ελληνική και την αγγλική εκπαίδευση: συγκριτική μελέτη* [The Status of Literature in Greek and English Education: A Comparative Study]. PhD Thesis: Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.

²²In England there was a particular research interest in the consequences of the reform on primary schools and the changes caused in teachers' daily practices. See for example Pollard, A., Broadfoot, P., Croll, P., Osborn, M. and Abbott, D. (1994) *Changing English Primary Schools? The Impact of the Education Reform Act at Key Stage One*. London: Cassell; Cox, T. and Sanders, S. (1994) *The Impact of the National Curriculum on the Teaching of Five-Year-Olds*. London: The Falmer Press. For the period prior to the National Curriculum see the comparative research of Broadfoot, P. and Osborn, M. (1993) *Perceptions of Teaching: Primary School Teachers in England and France*. London: Cassel.

CHAPTER 2

STUDYING CONTEMPORARY STATE CURRICULUM CONTROL IN GREECE AND ENGLAND: A FRAMEWORK FOR COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter was a general introduction to the research topic and focus of the thesis. This chapter will propose a framework for the comparative analysis of curriculum control in the two countries. It will outline the main argument of the thesis and its overall organisation.

2.2 THEORETICAL ORIENTATION AND THE MAIN ARGUMENT OF THE THESIS

In comparative education the issue of curriculum control has often been approached through a distinction between centralised and decentralised educational systems.¹ With this distinction contemporary studies investigate curriculum control usually by: indicating levels of curriculum decision-making, locating who is responsible for which kind of decisions over the curriculum;² measuring the degree that each level is involved in curriculum decision-making by noting the percentages of decisions made by particular levels; and identifying indicators of centralised curriculum policies such as curriculum guides, textbook adoption and examination regulations.³

Inherent in such accounts of curriculum policies is the notion that the higher the level at which curriculum decisions are taken the stronger is the control over pedagogic practice. However, as Lauglo and

McLean indicate 'the equation of centralisation with autocratic policy-making and decentralisation with participation does not survive close examination'.⁴ Furthermore, Broadfoot in her comparative study of England and France stressed that 'the tendency to equate strong control with a high degree of centralisation is misleading for it fails to take into account less obvious and generally much more powerful sources of control and constraint'.⁵

Two points need to be added to these critiques, the development of which will lead towards the comparative framework of this thesis.

First, reforms in the educational systems of many countries suggest a reconsideration of the centralisation-decentralisation distinction in the comparative study of state curriculum control. Lauglo, for example, suggests that while centralisation ('bureaucratic centralism') does not present definitional problems, decentralisation does.⁶ He outlines eight forms of decentralisation which derive from different political rationales and different arguments concerning the quality and efficiency of educational provision. Applicable to the reforms described above as well as to the English case are the 'liberal rationale' and what Lauglo calls the 'market mechanism' and 'management by objectives'.⁷ However, the last form of decentralisation involves, as he notes, external regulation by higher levels through strategic goals.

Decentralisation in the forms that Lauglo outlines accords with analyses by other authors which focus on the role of the state in the economically advanced countries under conditions of changing modes of production. Ball, for instance, claims that there is a shift towards a 'post-Fordist' school which, in replacing the 'Fordist' school, is designed to respond to needs for 'flexible specialisation' and niche rather than mass markets.⁸ Other authors have placed the decentralising trend in the framework of a 'post-modern' phenomenon which favours the breakdown of old hierarchies, social flexibility, fragmentation, and

heterogeneity.⁹ Commentators focusing on the political background of the reforms attributed the move to decentralised school management to the ideological project of the so called New Right according to which educational provision should be subject to market rules. This position, however, was combined with the advocacy of a minimalist and strong state with a regulatory role (see discussion in chapter 4). Gamble, summarising the ‘doctrine of the New Right’ in England for ‘free market/strong state’, emphasised that: ‘The idea of a free economy and a strong state involves a paradox. The state is to be simultaneously rolled back and rolled forward. Non-interventionist and decentralised in some areas the state is to be highly interventionist and centralised in others’.¹⁰

In reviewing these interpretations Green points out that such reforms took place mostly in countries with right-wing governments and that in general diversification policies ‘have had most influence in the English-speaking countries which have been particularly prone to neoliberal ideas’.¹¹ Similarly, Whitty *et al.* stress that schooling in England was ‘never as homogeneous as many commentators claim’ but the authors also note a change in the power relations between the central state and schools and a shift to ‘quasi-autonomous institutions with devolved budgets competing for clients in the market place’.¹²

Whitty *et al.*, in investigating the recent forms of decentralisation in five countries (USA, Australia, New Zealand, Sweden and England and Wales), identified the trend which has been pointed out earlier in chapter 1, that is: ‘measures which devolve powers down to individual schools are often set alongside others which augment central control’.¹³ The same authors indicate that ‘in increasing a limited number of state powers (most notably through the National Curriculum and its associated system of testing) [the English government] has actually strengthened its capacity to foster particular interests while appearing to stand outside the frame’.¹⁴

As will be seen in this thesis, the recent reforms in England and other countries are characterised by the paradox of a decentralisation in the management of schools and a centralisation of curriculum definition. The 1988 reform centralised curriculum decision-making with the introduction of the National Curriculum and further decentralised decision-making on school management issues (by transferring powers from LEAs to schools). A mixed system of control was established in which schools manage themselves in an entrepreneurial manner within the frame of a curriculum prescribed by the state.

The traditional distinction (centralisation - decentralisation) cannot describe the English shift since educational control is characterised by simultaneous centralisation and decentralisation. A novel pattern of educational control has thus emerged which is marked by both aspects and for this reason it will be termed here *bi-dimensional*.

The English *bi-dimensional* pattern is marked by a *centralised mode of curriculum control* and a *decentralised mode of management control* (school-based management) and it is different from the Greek *mono-dimensional* pattern in which both modes of curriculum and management¹⁵ control are *centralised*.

In this thesis, the *centralised mode of management control* refers to the state regulation of schools' management through circulars and statutory orders and via the bureaucratic apparatus. The *decentralised mode of management control* refers to devolution of responsibility to schools to manage their own resources. In particular, the second term refers to the arrangements produced by policies in England and other countries which aimed at establishing what is termed in the literature 'school-based management', 'school-site autonomy', 'self-management', or 'local management of schools'.¹⁶

Similarly, the term *centralised mode of curriculum control* in this thesis refers to the definition of the curriculum at the national-central

level of the country, either by the Ministry of Education or state appointed committees and agents. The *decentralised mode of curriculum control* refers to the potential of schools in deciding about curricula, a condition which characterised England for most of the twentieth century.

The proposed distinction permits the analysis of the different role that the state in the two countries plays in controlling schooling. The English *bi-dimensional* pattern indicates a condition where the state regulates 'a marketised 'civil society' in which education and welfare services are offered to individual consumers by competing providers'.¹⁷ The proposed concept reflects what is often called 'marketised' schooling, 'education in the market-place' or an 'educational quasi-market',¹⁸ but under a centralised curriculum. It refers to the re-distribution of power between the centre and local agencies, the diminishing of intermediate levels of decision-making and schools competing to attract pupils. In other words, the *bi-dimensional* pattern represents the 'paradoxical' combination of a regulating central authority with self-managing institutions. From this point of view it reflects the re-classification of central/local responsibilities over 'who decides about what'.

The Greek *mono-dimensional* pattern is an example of the traditional 'bureaucratic centralism' in which, according to Lauglo, 'coordination is achieved by centrally issued rules and regulations and by clear hierarchy, so that chains of authority for each service radiate downwards from its ministerial headquarters in the capital'.¹⁹ In its Greek particularity the *mono-dimensional* pattern is compatible with the Greek state, whose organisation and operation, as Kazamias remarks, has largely remained stagnant:

The way that the Greek state was organised and institutionalised in post-war Greece and ever since as well as the state's relationship with the Civil Society has essentially remained the

same . . . The Greek state has always been strictly centralised, bureaucratic, authoritarian and paternalistic. It has the characteristics of a typical liberal welfare state which is supposed to operate for the benefit of all individuals in the society . . . The educational system, by being an apparatus of the Greek state, is tightly linked with the bureaucracy and the centralised mechanisms of the state. Thus, it is itself centralised, absolutely controlled, bureaucratic and hierarchically structured.²⁰

The comparison in this thesis is between a traditional bureaucratic centralised system which in terms of educational control is called here *mono-dimensional* and a new one which combines centralisation and decentralisation and is termed *bi-dimensional*.

The distinction between these two patterns and their modes of control is suggested by the recent developments in England. Moreover, this distinction serves to focus on and compare state curriculum control. It is clear that whereas the two patterns differ in their mode of management control they intersect at their mode of curriculum control. Thus, the proposed distinction will enable the thesis to compare more productively the two centralised curricula by highlighting *the way that the state regulates schools' pedagogic practice when different modes of management control are in place*.

The second point that needs to be added to the critiques of the traditional dichotomy is that the exclusive focusing on administrative arrangements in educational systems (i.e. levels of decision-making) tends to neglect the educational purposes served by the respective curricula. Such a weakness is not transcended by the analytical distinction proposed here unless the statutory curriculum is regarded as a reflection of particular educational purposes, variable in different times and in different countries. In other words, to investigate how the state attempts to regulate schools' pedagogic practice, the complete question to be asked should be: 'what curriculum in which pattern of educational control?'

Thus, to explain the operation of state curriculum control in the two patterns, it is here suggested that the comparison should focus on the central curriculum itself and in particular on its three *message systems*: the *content*, the *pedagogy* and the *evaluation*.

According to the definition offered by Bernstein:

Formal educational knowledge can be considered to be realised through three message systems: curriculum [content], pedagogy and evaluation. Curriculum defines what counts as valid knowledge, pedagogy defines what counts as a valid transmission of knowledge, and evaluation defines what counts as a valid realisation of this knowledge on the part of the taught.²¹

These three message systems of the curriculum²² should be seen as interacting and interdependent.²³ For example, the construction and organisation of the curriculum content conveys certain assumptions about the teaching strategies and the evaluation procedures which should be adopted. Equally, or alternatively, control over the assessment procedures has a powerful effect on selection and organisation of content and classroom pedagogy.

It is suggested here that it is important to look for the *direct* control of particular message systems in order to understand how pedagogic practice²⁴ is regulated in the two countries. In this way the comparative study concentrates on the *emphasis* given by the state to the control of particular message systems or to the modalities that centralised curriculum control presents in the Greek *mono-dimensional* and the English *bi-dimensional* patterns.

On the basis of the above theoretical framework the main argument of this thesis is that central control over the curriculum in the new *bi-dimensional* pattern in England is not 'the same' as in the traditional *mono-dimensional* pattern existing in Greece. *The two centralised curriculum policies are differentiated in that whereas Greece emphasises control of content and pedagogy, England stresses*

control of evaluation. In other words, it is argued that, though in both countries there is now a centralised curriculum, there is a different emphasis on the control of the three message systems by the state: *while the Greek centralised curriculum is characterised by strong prescription of content and pedagogy and weak definition of assessment procedures, the English centralised curriculum is marked by strong definition of evaluation and weak prescription of content and pedagogy.*

The analytical distinctions adopted here with respect to the curriculum and the patterns of control differentiate the present approach from analogous approaches. Lawton, for example, has suggested a model comprising a matrix which covers five 'levels of curriculum control' (national, regional, institutional, departmental and individual) in conjunction with Bernstein's three message systems.²⁵ In using this matrix Lawton describes the alterations in the English curriculum control after 1944. He highlights the increasing tendency to curriculum centralisation from the late 1970s but, as the model was suggested at a time (1983) when the reform process was not completed, the changes in the structure of the educational system are not included. For instance, the role of the 'regional level' (LEAs) has been severely restricted since the 1980s (see chapters 4 and 5 of the thesis). The main point though that should be addressed, from the perspective of this thesis, is that inherent in Lawton's matrix is the argument that the higher the levels at which message systems are prescribed the stronger is the control. Consequently, the fact that now in both countries there is a centralised curriculum would entail equivalent control over schools' pedagogic practice.

However, it is argued here that though the mode of curriculum control is apparently the same, different message systems are emphasised and consequently the way that the state attempts to regulate pedagogic practice is different. These differences can be highlighted if the new pattern of educational control established in

England is taken into consideration and attention is paid to educational priorities signified by the centralised curriculum.

Broadfoot's comparative study between England and France largely shares the problematic of this thesis, though her exclusive focus is on assessment procedures. In order to compare the constraints exerted on teacher autonomy by assessment, Broadfoot pointed out 'that a more complex conceptualisation than the traditional centralised/decentralised dichotomy'²⁶ is demanded. She stressed the need for 'a theoretical model which is based on the way *in which the education system actually works* rather on its formal administrative arrangements alone'²⁷ [original italics]. With this starting point, she noted that important in determining patterns of educational control is the relationship between two 'variables': the form of assessment control (process-product) and the location of power over assessment procedures (central-local).²⁸

However, although she calls for a reconceptualisation of the traditional distinction of systems she does not produce one which would be adequate to reflect the recent changes in England. Her two 'variables' enable her to describe alterations in the form and location of assessment *within* the framework of the traditional dichotomy, which finally is not reconceptualised. She accepts though at another point that:

the passing of the 1988 Education Reform Act, which provides for the imposition of a National Curriculum and Assessment framework that is subject to the direct authority of the Secretary of State for Education, represents a *fundamental change* . . . by substantially increasing the formal power of central government to impose *particular educational priorities* and associated criteria of quality as the basis of assessment.²⁹ [italics added]

To consider 'how the system actually works', when state curriculum control is compared, the analysis in this thesis should take into consideration such fundamental changes in central/local power relations (like those of the English system) and *examine the two national curricula for primary education as reflections of certain*

educational aims, the fulfilment of which is pursued in different systemic conditions.

In curriculum studies, educational aims particularly at the primary level have been commonly placed under two broad categories of pedagogic practice which convey particular ideological, socio-political and psychological notions.³⁰ Terms such as ‘traditional’ and ‘progressive’, ‘teacher (or knowledge)-centred’ and ‘child-centred’, ‘authoritarian’ and ‘anti-authoritarian’ (in Greece)³¹ have been widely used to reflect significant differences in educational aims, curriculum planning and modes of knowledge transmission and acquisition at school.

To substantiate theoretically this distinction it is useful to take up Bernstein’s conceptualisation which offers a more systematic account of the traditional and progressive pedagogic models. Bernstein makes a distinction between *performance* and *competence* models of pedagogic practice.³² The two concepts are originally drawn from linguistics³³ but in particular the concept ‘competence’, as Bernstein notes, can be traced in the social and psychological sciences during the 1960s whose theoretical developments were underpinned by an emancipatory *social logic*. This social logic, according to Bernstein, favoured principles of an in-built procedural democracy, creativity and self-regulation which were endorsed by liberal, progressive and radical ideologies in education.³⁴

Bernstein develops his theorising within a set of categories (discourse, time, space, evaluation, control, pedagogic text, autonomy and economy) which produce a clear differentiation between the two pedagogic models.

More specifically, the *competence* model issues in the form of projects, themes, ranges of experience and the pupils have a great measure of control over selection, sequence and pace. The emphasis here is upon ‘the realisation of competencies that acquirers possess or they

are thought to possess'.³⁵ Pupils have considerable control over pedagogic space (sites) and their movements in the classroom are 'facilitated by the absence of regulatory boundaries'.³⁶ Thus, as Bernstein notes, 'positional control [is] a low priority strategy' as this model 'does not give rise to explicit structures and classifications'.³⁷ The teacher here is regarded as a facilitator and the pupil as self-regulating.

Accordingly, 'time is not explicitly or finely punctuated as a marker of different activities'³⁸ and thus the sequencing and pacing of learning activities are weak. As Bernstein stresses, 'the punctuation of time does not construct a future'³⁹ but emphasises the present tense. The focus of this model is upon what each pupil is revealing at a particular moment (present competence).

In the competence model, evaluation takes place usually on the basis of implicit and diffuse criteria. In evaluating the learning products of pupils, the emphasis is on what is *present* in these products rather on what is missing. This is because the 'pedagogic text' is considered to reveal the pupil's present stage of competence development. As Bernstein suggests, 'the teacher operates with a theory of reading through the product the acquirer offers (or does not offer) to the teacher. This theory of reading marks the professionalism of the teacher and is recontextualised from the social and psychological sciences which legitimise this pedagogic mode'.⁴⁰

Finally, the competence model favours homogeneity and commonalties, but as the pedagogic practice depends upon the particular features of the acquirers and their context, it needs a measure of autonomy to be realised; thus, the resources (such as textbooks and teaching routines) are less likely to be pre-packaged. Consequently, the transmission cost is likely to be higher since the teacher often has to construct the pedagogic resources; evaluation requires time to establish a pupil's profile and to give feedback on development; elaboration of projects with groups and co-operation with parents is required, and;

extensive interaction amongst teachers over planning and monitoring is demanded.

The *performance* model as defined by Bernstein favours the specialisation of subjects, skills, procedures which are clearly marked in form and function. Pupils have less control over selection, sequence and pace and their texts (performances) are subject to grading. Accordingly, specific practices and space are clearly marked and explicitly regulated as well as pupils' access and movements. Positional control is thus here a high priority strategy and, as Bernstein notes, 'the mode of the instructional discourse itself embeds acquirers in a disciplining regulation where deviance is highly visible'.⁴¹ Moreover, this model emphasises explicit and visible progression and from this point of view its focus is on the future rather than the present - unlike the competence model. However, as Bernstein suggests, 'the pedagogic practice . . . positions the acquirer, invisibly, in the past and its rituals which have produced the instructional discourse'.⁴²

Evaluation here focuses upon what is *absent* in the pupil's product and the criteria are explicit and specific so that the acquirer becomes 'aware of how to recognise and realise the legitimate text'.⁴³ The pedagogic text is the pupils' performance which is objectified and graded. Grading procedures and explicit pedagogic practice constitute the main features of the professionalism of the teacher. In this regard, the cost of pedagogic practice is relatively less than in the case of the competence model since training requires a less elaborate theoretical basis and thus there is less need for relevant staff. Moreover, there is less need for lengthy personal communications as the emphasis is on 'objectivity' and measurement of outputs, and planning and monitoring do not entail hidden costs (as in the competence model) because of the explicit structures of pedagogic practice.

Finally, Bernstein attributes to the performance model two possibilities with respect to the autonomy of the institution. On the one

hand it is likely that pedagogic practice is subject to external curriculum regulation of selection, sequence, pacing and criteria (*introverted modalities*) and on the other hand, when market principles are in place, it is possible that the institution enjoys managerial autonomy in order to optimise its performance (*extroverted modalities*).

In his analysis of the two pedagogic models and their modes,⁴⁴ Bernstein calls the competence modes *therapeutic* and notes that they are based on the concept of *empowerment*, whereas he calls the performance modes *instrumental* (for they serve economic goals) and remarks that they are based on the concept of *deficit*:

Performance modes focus upon something that the acquirer does not possess, upon an absence, and as a consequence place the emphasis upon the text to be acquired and so upon the transmitter. Performance modes select from the field of the production of discourse theories of learning of a behaviourist type which are atomistic in their emphasis.⁴⁵

Clearly, the two pedagogic models entail different message systems and pedagogic practices. In the competence model *the content is organised in areas of experience and broad topics, pedagogy favours free pupil activities and evaluation seeks to identify the present stage of development*. In the performance model *the content is organised in distinct subjects, pedagogy favours an ordered learning process and evaluation targets the identification of achievements*. It is also clear that the two models entail differences with respect to state control of the curriculum. In the case of the competence model central control (external regulation) is not favoured while it is likely in the case of the performance model.

The two categories will enable the thesis to detect possible shifts in curriculum policy of the two countries and to analyse the two centralised curricula. In this way curriculum control will be considered in the dynamic framework of educational (re-)orientations and official pursuits.

However, changes in pedagogic models will not be examined in isolation from the possibilities of control that the English and Greek patterns convey. The consideration of the margins of autonomy that different educational systems allow has been a point of criticism of Bernstein's theorising of educational changes. In particular, Archer criticises Bernstein for neglecting the structure of educational systems in his theorising, for considering characteristics of the English system as universal, for treating educational systems as homogeneous and consequently for cutting 'his theory off from comparative education, from a cross-culture [sic] examination of systemic structuring'.⁴⁶ As she underlines:

In attempting to advance general theories Bernstein not only construes some of the characteristics specific to English education as universal, but also minimises other features which pertain *only* to decentralised systems - and whose acknowledgement would necessarily contradict claims to theoretical universality . . . This normalisation of the national system automatically forecloses the possibility of understanding processes and patterns of change as regularities conditioned by the particular structure of [the] system in which they take place.⁴⁷ [original italics]

Though Archer does not take into account the recent changes in the English system nor Bernstein's latest theoretical work,⁴⁸ her criticism draws attention to a point of general importance in the comparative study of state curriculum control. As she notes: 'different kinds of Educational Systems could be seen to furnish the structural conditions necessary for different types of curricular, pedagogical, and evaluative practices to be initiated and maintained'.⁴⁹

In this respect, the two models of pedagogic practice as theorised by Bernstein reflect different educational proposals and different foci of control, *but in order to identify which modalities of control are produced by official curriculum policy it is important that these models*

are examined within the possibilities of autonomy which the mono- and bi-dimensional patterns allow.

For this purpose the thesis will:

- make use of the two pedagogic models to demonstrate the ideological assumptions dominant in Greece and England during the 1980s reforms and to describe the dynamics of *curriculum change* that took place in this period; and
- scrutinise *curriculum planning* and *monitorial procedures* in the two countries as state policies which reflect particular pedagogic models and intend to regulate the pedagogic practice of schools which operate under different conditions of management control.

In particular, the research will be organised in three contexts of *curriculum control*, covered respectively by chapters 4, 5, and 6. Those contexts are here taken as areas of contemporary state curriculum control and in this sense they constitute the *tertia comparationis* to test the main argument of this study, as this is illustrated in Table 2.1. With this sequence the thesis will move from *curriculum reform* to *curriculum planning* and then to the *monitoring* of pedagogic practice.

Though the research focuses on the contemporary period it is important to provide a historical overview of the curriculum control policies implemented in Greece and England since the creation of their national education systems. Chapter 3 will trace the original attempts of the two states to place elementary schooling under control in the nineteenth century, the consolidation of the centralised and decentralised modes of curriculum control respectively in the twentieth century and the margins for curriculum change that the system structuring allowed to local initiatives.

Table 2.1

*State curriculum control in Greece and England
after the 1980s reforms*

	GREECE	ENGLAND
<i>Model of primary pedagogic practice</i>	competence	performance
<i>Pattern of educational control</i>	mono-dimensional	bi-dimensional
<i>emphasis on direct state control of message systems</i>	content pedagogy	evaluation

2.3 THE ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

In summary, the main argument to be tested in this thesis is that *though in both countries there is now a centralised curriculum there is a different emphasis on the control of the three message systems: Greece emphasises control of content and pedagogy and England stresses control of evaluation.*

In the framework of the main argument, the thesis will argue that:

- historically the pedagogic practice of Greek schools was subject to direct central control while in England, where schools enjoyed considerable autonomy, central control was more concerned with assessment procedures;
- the 1980s curricula reforms in the two countries marked a shift in opposite directions: while the Greek reform was a shift to the *competence* model of pedagogic practice, the English reform was an official move from the competence to the *performance* model of pedagogic practice;
- in Greece the statutory curriculum is planned by the *spiral* approach, it is textbook-based and it prescribes strongly *what is to be taught* and *how is it to be taught*; in England the National Curriculum is planned by the *objectives* approach, it is assessment-based and it defines strongly *what is to be learned*;
- in the Greek mono-dimensional pattern monitoring (inspection policy) focuses on the hierarchical position of the individual teacher and seeks to ensure the conformity of his/her pedagogic practice to the official content and pedagogy; in the English bi-dimensional pattern monitoring focuses on the individual institution and seeks to identify

the performance of its pedagogic practice against the official standards.

To pursue these arguments, *Chapter 3* will provide an historical overview of the development of the state policies to control elementary curriculum since the creation of the two educational systems. *Chapter 4* will discuss the political process to curriculum change in the two countries during the 1980s. *Chapter 5* will compare the two national curricula and in particular the way that their central planning attempts to regulate pedagogic practice. *Chapter 6* will focus on the state policies intended to monitor the realisation of the official curriculum in schools by comparing the role and operation of inspection in the two countries. Finally, *Chapter 7* will reflect on the main argument of the thesis and investigate its further implications.

ENDNOTES

¹See, for example, Kandel, I.L. (1938) *Types of Administration*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press; Mallinson, V. (1975) *An Introduction to the Study of Comparative Education* (4th ed.). London: Heinemann.

²OECD (1993) *Education at a Glance - OECD Indicators*. Paris: Centre for Educational Research and Innovation; EURYDICE (the Education Information Network in the European Union) (1994) *Pre-School and Primary Education in the European Union*. Brussels: European Unit of EURYDICE.

³Archbald, D.A. and Porter, A.C. (1994) 'Curriculum Control and Teachers' Perceptions of Autonomy and Satisfaction'. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 16(1): 21-39; Pipho, C. (1991) 'Centralising Curriculum at the State Level' in Klein, M.F. (ed) *The Politics of Curriculum Decision-Making: Issues in Centralising the Curriculum*. New York: State University of New York Press; Klein, M.F. (1991) 'A Conceptual Framework for Curriculum Decision Making' in Klein, M.F. (ed) op. cit.

⁴McLean, M. and Lauglo, J. (1985) 'Introduction: Rationales for Decentralisation and a Perspective from Organisation Theory' in Lauglo, J. and McLean, M. (eds) *The Control of Education: International Perspectives on the Centralisation-Decentralisation Debate*. London: Heinemann Educational Books, p. 5.

⁵Broadfoot, P. (1985) 'Towards Conformity: Educational Control and the Growth of Corporate Management in England and France' in Lauglo, J. and McLean, M. (eds) op. cit., p. 105.

⁶Lauglo, J. (1995) 'Forms of Decentralisation and their Implications for Education'. *Comparative Education*, 31(1): 5-29, p. 6.

⁷Ibid., pp. 10-11 and 18-21.

⁸Ball, S.J. (1990) *Politics and Policy Making in Education*. London: Routledge, p. 125.

⁹For a review of these analyses see Green, A. (1997) op. cit., pp. 17-28.

¹⁰Gamble, A. (1994) *The Free Economy and the Strong State: The Politics of Thatcherism* (2nd ed.). London: Macmillan, p. 36.

¹¹Green, A. (1997) op. cit., pp. 22-23.

¹²Whitty, G., Power, S. and Halpin, D. (1998) op. cit., pp. 42-43.

¹³Ibid., p. 47.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 46.

¹⁵The term 'management' is here used to define the day-to-day responsibilities of schools over resources related to their pedagogic practice, i.e. textbooks and other curriculum resources, distribution of funding and staff appointment and dismissal. From this point of view, 'management' is here distinguished from the term 'administration' which is taken to refer to arrangements for nation-wide educational provision and administrative division of the country (national, regional and local levels of educational decision-making).

¹⁶For a review of this terminology see ibid., pp. 9-10.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 35.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Lauglo, J. (1995) op. cit., p. 6.

²⁰Kazamias, A. (1993) 'Η κατάρα του Σίσυφου στην ελληνική εκπαιδευτική μεταρρύθμιση : μια κοινωνικο-πολιτική και πολιτισμική ερμηνεία' ['The Curse of Sisyphus in Greek Educational Reform: A Socio-Political and Cultural Interpretation'] in Bouzakis, S. (ed) *Συγκριτική Παιδαγωγική III [Comparative Education III]*. Athens: Gutenberg, p. 174.

²¹Bernstein, B. (1975) *Class, Codes and Control, Vol.3: Towards a Theory of Educational Transmission*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, p. 85.

²²The term 'curriculum' as one of the three message systems is used as 'curriculum content' or 'content' to define, according to Bernstein, 'what counts as valid knowledge' whereas 'formal educational knowledge' is simply termed 'curriculum'. This use accords with the use of the same terms by Lawton, D. (1983) *Curriculum Studies and Educational Planning*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, p. 121 as well as Ball, S.J. (1990) op. cit., pp. 21 and 134 (though Ball is not consistent as he alternatively refers to the 'three message systems of schooling' or to the 'four message systems of education' including school organisation; see Ball, S.J. (1994) *Education Reform: A Critical and Post-structural Approach*. Buckingham: Open University Press, pp. 1 and 49).

²³Bernstein, B. (1975) op. cit., p. 81.

²⁴The term 'pedagogic practice' is used in this thesis to include a variety of teacher or/and school activities such as school-based curriculum planning, teaching, selection and use of curriculum resources, organisation of pupil activities and assessment procedures. From this point of view 'pedagogic practice' is considered to involve 'three message systems' in Bernstein's terms.

²⁵Lawton, D. (1983) op. cit., pp. 114-134.

²⁶Broadfoot, P. (1983) 'Assessment Constraints on Curriculum Practice: A Comparative Study' in Hammersley, M. and Hargreaves, A. (eds) *Curriculum Practice*. London: The Falmer Press, p. 252. For a revised version of this paper see also Broadfoot, P. (1996) *Education, Assessment and Society*. Buckingham: Open University Press, p. 120.

²⁷Broadfoot, P. (1996) op. cit., p. 120.

²⁸Ibid., p. 122.

²⁹Ibid., 224.

³⁰Walker, D.F. and Soltis, J.F. (1997) *Curriculum and Aims* (3rd ed.). New York: Teachers College Press, pp. 18-23.

³¹Solomon, J. (1994) 'Εκπαιδευτική δράση και κοινωνική ρύθμιση των υποκειμένων: γνώση, πειθαρχία και το πεδίο του σχολείου' ['Educational Action and Social Regulation of Subjects: Knowledge, Discipline and the School Field'] in Solomon, J. and Kouzelis, G. (eds) *Πειθαρχία και Γνώση [Discipline and Knowledge]*. Athens: E.M.E.A., p. 113.

³²Bernstein, B. (1996a) *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity: Theory, Research, Critique*. London: Taylor & Francis.

³³The concepts 'competence' and 'performance' are originally devised by N. Chomsky to describe the distinction that he makes between the rule system of language and the social rules which determine its contextual use. See Bernstein, B. (1974) *Class, Codes and Control, Vol. 1: Theoretical Studies towards a Sociology of Language* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, p. 173.

³⁴Bernstein, B. (1996a) op. cit., pp. 54-57.

³⁵Ibid., p. 58.

³⁶Ibid., p. 59.

³⁷Ibid., p. 60.

³⁸Ibid., p. 59.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 61.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 60.

⁴²Ibid., p. 61.

⁴³Ibid., p. 60.

⁴⁴Bernstein discerns three modes for each model. The competence model is distinguished in a *liberal/progressive*, a *populist* and a *radical* mode. The performance model is distinguished in a mode of *singulars* (subjects), *regions* (larger knowledge units mainly in university studies) and a *generic* mode (predominantly found in Further Education). Ibid., pp. 64-67. The purpose of the thesis is not to look for which particular modes dominated curricula reforms in the two countries but to examine these reforms in terms of the changes in the message systems entailed by the two pedagogic models in their broad sense. However, it will be evident in the process of research that references to shifts from or to the competence model in the reforms of the two countries are about the liberal/progressive mode. For England the dominance of this mode in primary education in the 1960s is also suggested by Bernstein (p. 70). For Greece the dominance of the same mode will be seen in the discussion of the aims of the primary curriculum reform in the 1980s. Accordingly, within the sub-categories of the performance model it is the mode of *singulars* that concerns primary education. The other sub-categories refer to further and higher education.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 71.

⁴⁶Archer, M. (1995) 'The Neglect of the Educational System by Bernstein' in Sadovnik, A.R. (ed) *Knowledge and Pedagogy: The Sociology of Basil Bernstein*. New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation, p. 230.

⁴⁷Archer, M. (1995) op. cit., p. 226.

⁴⁸Archer refers to the decentralised structure of the English system which 'was much more pronounced in the pre-Thatcherite era' (ibid., p. 224) without however considering the extensive alterations of the Thatcherite reforms of that structure. Bernstein in his 'response', replies that his intention is to suggest 'a *conceptual language* that, it is hoped, will produce descriptions of pedagogic processes' [original italics] and that the production of a theory which incorporates the system has never been his conscious goal. He suggests though that his recent work 'opens up the connection between [his earliest] work and the study of educational system'. Bernstein, B. (1995) 'A Response' in Sadovnik, A.R. (ed) op. cit., pp. 406.

⁴⁹Archer, M. (1995) op. cit., p. 230.

CHAPTER 3

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: STATE CONTROL AND CURRICULUM CHANGE IN PRIMARY EDUCATION IN GREECE AND ENGLAND

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is an historical overview of the curriculum control policies implemented in Greece and England since the establishment of their education systems, with particular reference to primary education. The starting point is the 1830s, during which both countries embarked upon the development of their educational systems, either as part of the creation of the national state (Greece) or as the first official attempts to place existing schooling under state control (England).

The main purpose of the chapter is to highlight the traditional characteristics of the two educational systems in controlling the primary curriculum. It will be suggested that the pedagogic practice of Greek schools has been traditionally subject to direct central control while in England, where schools enjoyed considerable autonomy, central control was more concerned with assessment procedures. The historical overview will also consider the margins that the development of the two systems allowed to curriculum change in primary education.

The chapter is divided into two main sections for each country. The first section traces the original attempts of the two states to control the curriculum of elementary schooling in the nineteenth century while the second reviews the further consolidation of the established mode of curriculum control during the twentieth century.

3.2 TOWARDS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF STATE CONTROL IN GREEK ELEMENTARY EDUCATION: THE PURSUIT OF UNIFORMITY

The first section of the historical overview in Greek education will focus upon the initial attempts of the Greek state to create elementary schooling and to control its curriculum by establishing a centralised bureaucracy. As will be seen, in contrast with England which at the same period was aiming at making visible the results in the basic subjects taught in elementary schools, the newly established Greek state was pursuing uniformity in terms of content and teaching methods in schools.

Since 1822, soon after the beginning of the Greek struggle for Independence, the first administrative bodies declared their commitment to provide education for the Greek people. The official expectation was that, after Ottoman occupation for four centuries, education would be of prime importance in creating a national identity in the people of the new state and help the country approach the level of development of the other European countries. To this effect, the Peloponnesian Senate, a local administrative body, called on teachers to teach all the boys and girls using the 'Lancasterian method'.¹ A year later the Constitution of 1923 called for the organisation of education and the application of the monitorial teaching method in the schools of the existing Greek dominion².

The officially promoted teaching method was deemed to be an economic solution for providing immediate mass schooling and for the universal spread of liberal principles to future Greek citizens. First devised in England by Lancaster and the 'British and Foreign School Society', monitorial teaching spread during the 19th century in many countries (i.e. France, Canada, USA, Australia and India) as a cheap and fast solution for the provision of mass schooling. For the same purposes, it was imported to Greece by intellectuals and particularly by I.P.

Kokkonis who translated and presented in 1830 the work of the French educationist Charles-Louis Sarazin.³

During the government of I. Kapodistrias (1827-1831) the monitorial system served the aim of ‘social and political restoration’ meaning the encouragement of pupils’ commitment to official religious and moral values.⁴ Kapodistrias moved against the previously declared liberal principles in education (i.e. the Constitution of 1927) and he was keen on promoting the idea that schooling should be a process of uniformity and compliance taking place under strict control of all its aspects. The Orphanage of Egina that he founded was a clear example of his educational notions. During his premiership he embarked upon the organisation of public administration, the standardisation of pedagogic practice and the subjugation of local interests: ‘the centralisation, the concentration of power, meant the denial of the peripheral particularities and the opposition to the interests of provosts’ who had strong political and economic influence during the Ottoman occupation.⁵

However, the creation of the educational system as well as the construction of public administration was mainly carried out by the Bavarian Monarchy imposed on the new-born Greek state by the ‘Protector Powers’ in 1832. As educational provision was literally taking place *ex nihilo*, the Bavarians created a bureaucratic and centralised educational system based on their notions of a powerful state able to control all the sectors of public life. Yet, these notions were compatible with the ideology of the Greek officials who had espoused the Napoleonic principles of a powerful, centralised and liberal state.⁶ From 1833 until 1837, the Bavarian Monarchy issued various decrees and laws organising primary and secondary education as well as establishing a university. Rigid control, and an orientation to the ancient Greek past in the content of curricula, were the main features of the education system created by this legislation. As Dimaras has noted:

Everything - despite some initiatives and a few responsibilities left to the local authorities - was defined and superintended by the central government. This rigidly centralised organisation would remain the permanent characteristic of modern Greek education, and it would always be accompanied by the theoretical, classicist⁷ character of studies offered, transplanted from Bavaria and favoured by the indigenous climate.⁸

The Decree of 1834 for primary education - a transfer of the French law of 28 July 1833 (the 'Guizot Law') - organised a system of seven-year, free and compulsory, elementary education. Although those principles did not come into practice for several years, it is noticeable that they were legislated much earlier than in most other European countries.⁹

Although the 1834 Decree attributed financial responsibility to the local authorities, it made it explicit that the right to define all aspects of education belonged to the state. The Decree defined the subjects to be taught, the examinations, the King's exclusive right to appoint and dismiss teachers, and the ways schools should operate. The fact that there was no mention of teaching method was probably due to the Bavarians' opposition to the monitorial system employed in schools. The Bavarian officials advocated the *simultaneous* teaching method employed in the schools of their country. However, the financial and technical difficulties which existed did not allow the transmission of the teaching method to schools until the 1880s. Until then, pedagogic practice was regulated by Kokkonis's multiple editions of the *Guide of Monitorial Method*, officially approved by the state. The Guide defined in great detail what should be taught and also how and when it should be taught in the monitorial classroom.¹⁰ As the organisation of the teaching was defined by the Guide, the state's major concern was the ideological orientation of the curriculum and the language used as a medium of teaching. Those two issues were to mark educational policy in Greece throughout the 20th century.

In the absence of any particular statutory curriculum at this time, the state was able to regulate pedagogic practice via the centralised educational apparatus that the 3/15-4-1833 Law¹¹ and the 1834 Decree introduced. Schools were subject to hierarchical control at local, provincial, prefectural and national levels and to inspection. Through various Circulars the Minister of Education was able to ask schools to comply with curriculum and discipline matters. In particular, the major official concerns were the teaching of ancient Greek grammar (there was no teaching of modern Greek), the use of religious texts in teaching¹² and the employment of certain methods of disciplining pupils.¹³

The content of textbooks was initially defined directly by the establishment of a Royal Printing Office and Bookstore in 1836. After a period of publishers' reactions against the state's monopoly, control over textbooks was exerted through various committees responsible for the selection and approval of 'suitable' books, based on the 1834 and 1836 Laws.¹⁴ The fundamental criteria for the approval or the rejection of a textbook were the language¹⁵ in which they were written and the ideological content which should not be 'noxious' to the Orthodox religion and the state. Those two criteria would constitute the constant parameters of the state's textbook policy.

The uniformity that the developing structure of the system was imposing (even on the private school sector) in the middle of the previous century is not only apparent in the legal texts; various political statements by officials also legitimised uniformity as a precondition for moral and social order and as a proof of indisputable state power:

If the [state] supervision is restrained, there will be moral anarchy in childhood. Do you want slaves? Start from primary schools and you will have slaves. Do you seek free citizens? Set up a uniform moral system over the innocent years and you will see [children] inspired by the same feelings, the same lawfulness, the same virtue, the same love towards God and society, when the

Government directly superintends and imposes the same principles, the same books . . . Society's supervision in primary education for the uniformity of principles is essential . . . Although he [the Minister of Education] does not espouse that exaggeration [the uniformity in the French educational system], he does not however endorse the view that the Government should disclaim any supervision, because that would be a rejection of power, it would be a governmental declaration that it is unworthy to provide for the people's education.¹⁶

The uniformity desired by the state could easily be imposed on ill-educated teachers, which the vast majority were.¹⁷ Moreover, their appointment, dismissals and transfers were dependent on the centre (either the King or the Minister of Education), and that made them more vulnerable to hierarchical control, often exerted in an authoritarian way. With Circular 6652 of 4-11-1859 for example, the Ministry of Education threatened primary teachers with sanctions if they used textbooks without prior state approval.¹⁸ The central involvement in pedagogic practice was often dependent on the Minister's personal view rather than on deliberation based on a comprehensive policy. One can see this arbitrariness in the case of a Circular in 1889 asking teachers not to base their teaching on the textbooks,¹⁹ whereas a year later teachers were asked by another Circular to use those textbooks regularly.²⁰

In 1880 the monitorial teaching method was officially abolished. The simultaneous teaching method took its place, accompanied by D.G. Petridis's *Elementary Practical Instructions* which represented the state's new pedagogy. The new Guide reflected the German pedagogy of Friedrich Herbart and Wilhelm Rein, whose ideas were espoused by many Greek educationists, especially from the beginning of the 20th century. However, monitorial teaching still existed in many primary schools, as the 'Inspectors' Reports' of 1883 made apparent.

The Reports described poor primary schooling, characterised by inappropriate school buildings, uneducated teachers, mechanical

teaching and an exclusive emphasis on literacy and numeracy.²¹ The inspectors' urgent call for immediate reform did not result in any action.

The action taken in 1892 for the re-organisation of primary education was the Law ΒΠΕ' which rendered primary education subject to the ultimate control of the state by concentrating all the financial resources under its management. Two years later a curriculum re-organisation also took place confirming the strengthening of centralisation.

In sum, the first attempts of the Greek state to establish mass schooling were characterised by the imposition of a centralised system aiming at uniformity and inculcation of national and religious values. The legislation created a bureaucratic administrative apparatus which allowed for hierarchical dictation of the curriculum content, the language to be used as a medium of teaching and the teaching methods. The next section will analyse the further consolidation of the centralised mode of curriculum control as well as the political struggle over the aims and the ideological orientation of schooling.

3.3 CONSOLIDATION OF THE GREEK CENTRALISED MODE OF CURRICULUM CONTROL IN THE 'TUG-OF-WAR' ERA

Starting from 1894, when the first statutory curriculum was introduced, the period reviewed in this section covers the biggest part of the twentieth century. As will be made evident, state control over the curriculum was further consolidated and any pedagogic changes had to meet official approval to be initiated.

In 1894, for the first time since the establishment of the educational system, a primary curriculum was legislated which contained a list of subjects to be taught and a detailed weekly syllabus. Moreover, at that time Petridis's *Instructions* were renewed and they represented official pedagogy on the basis of which guidance was



channelled to schools.²² In addition, through the ΒΠΕ' Law of 1892 and the ΒΤΜΘ' Law of 1895,²³ the state set up a monitorial apparatus whose agents (the 'General Inspector' and the 'Prefectural Inspectors') had extensive managerial and pedagogic powers over schools and teachers. As the then Minister of Education himself admitted in Circular 4059/27-3-1899 'teachers do not believe that they got rid of tyranny [by the Ottomans], but that they just changed tyrants'.²⁴ Indeed, the inspectorial institution was considered by teachers to be one of the most authoritarian and intimidating state mechanisms until it was re-organised in 1982. In short, at the end of the previous century state regulation and monitoring of schools' pedagogic practice reached a climax. As Dimaras noted, in that period 'Greek education approached largely the ideal of Napoleon who was proud to know every moment of the day what precisely was taught in every classroom of every school of France'.²⁵

From the beginning of the 20th century the major issue of debate and political struggle would be the ideological character of primary schooling rather than the centralised educational apparatus - as this was taken for granted by the conflicting forces. For those demanding an educational modernisation the aim was to shift from the classicist and theoretical primary schooling (based on teaching of ancient Greek and past values) to a liberal and 'practical' orientation (i.e. the use of *demotiki* as a medium of teaching, liberal values, modern knowledge and practical skills). Although the statutory curriculum resulting from the attempted reform of 1913 was intended to respond to these modernising concerns, it did not alter the previous pedagogic orientation neither did it abolish *katharevousa* as a medium of teaching in primary education.²⁶

Katharevousa was finally abolished in the first four years of the primary curriculum by the reform of 1917/1918 initiated by the liberal government of E. Venizelos. It was the first reform for the

modernisation of Greek education envisaged by the liberal/progressive intellectuals and pedagogues. Though there was no fundamental change in the traditional orientation of primary education, for the first time *demotiki* was introduced in schools and a set of textbooks was produced which conveyed a child-centred perspective and a liberal discourse about modern Greek society.²⁷ Moreover, there was no change in the centralised mode of curriculum control except a modification in the textbook policy; teachers now were given the right to make a choice from a range of approved textbooks instead of being given a single textbook.²⁸

The 1917 reform was the result of a temporary victory of liberal over conservative political forces. The reform came from the top of the educational hierarchy by the major progressive pedagogues A. Delmouzos, D. Glinos and M. Triantafillides, who were appointed as the Ministry's senior officials. The three pedagogues were leading figures of *Ekpaideftikos Omilos* [*The Educational Society*], a progressive educational organisation set up in 1910 'to help Greek education, in time, to reform'.²⁹ Many of the members of the Society were educationists who had studied education in Germany and brought the influences of the New Education movement back to Greece.³⁰ The rejection of Herbart's teaching 'stages' and the promotion of the child-centred pedagogy created by B. Otto, H. Lietz, H. Gaudig, G. Kerschensteiner and others³¹, were central elements in the primary reform agenda of the Greek progressive pedagogues. Their basic aim was to alter the classicist and didactic primary pedagogic practice and to establish instead a liberal and 'practical' curriculum content and to release pupil activities in the classroom. A necessary condition for such a reform was considered the introduction of the colloquial language (*demotiki*) as a medium of instruction in primary schools and for that reason the whole movement was called *educational demoticism*.

The political attachment of the leading members of the Educational Society to the government of E. Venizelos allowed them to promote their pedagogic principles (i.e. in the primary textbooks). Under the conditions of conservative reaction and rigid state curriculum control, pedagogic initiatives and experimentation were hardly acceptable without prior governmental endorsement. This is evident in the case of a Girls' School founded by the Local Authority of Volos in 1908 and headed by Delmouzos. The *Girls' School of Volos* was the first and the only school to use a different pedagogic orientation amid the uniformity of the school system. However, the application of progressive teaching methods in practice, along with an ideologically different curriculum content taught in *demotiki*, met strong conservative reaction which soon led to the ending of the school's operation (in 1911) and to the prosecution of Delmouzos for undermining established national and religious values.³² The questions asked by a local newspaper are indicative of the margins of differentiation that the educational system was allowing:

Who drew up the curriculum [of this school]? Who is responsible for its existence? Where is [this school] from? . . . What is its legitimisation? Even if we forgive its illegal birth how could we allow its illegal operation? Who do we regard as responsible for settling matters about education?³³

Similar were the charges in two other cases: in *Marasleio Didaskaleio*, a school for the training of primary teachers headed again by A. Delmouzos, which was founded in 1923 as a part of the *Pedagogical Academy* (the head of which was D. Glinos), and in *Girls' Didaskaleio of Thessaloniki* headed by the pedagogue M. Koundouras in 1927-1928. Delmouzos's prime aim was to introduce democratic principles in school life and to promote the notions of school community and self-regulation: 'the end that the [school community] should be heading to is autonomy, the perfect self-government . . . It is

a difficult pathway which is taken by being aware that perfect self-governance will not succeed in the school, that it is an end beyond the school'.³⁴ In both *Didaskaleia*, the pursuit of such goals met strong conservative reactions and the Ministry of Education proceeded to inquiries that led to the prosecution of the pedagogues and their colleagues. The official arguments concerned again the violation of national and religious values but the main point was the ideological connotations of the model of pedagogic practice employed in these schools (use of *demotiki* and progressive teaching approaches).³⁵ As the Ministry's official reported on the case of *Didaskaleio of Thessaloniki*: 'the notions of self-government and autonomy held in this school . . . brought about largely loosening of order and discipline which was made apparent in the relationship between the students and the teaching staff as well as between the students themselves'.³⁶

Thus, under the conditions of strong conservative reactions and state curriculum control, deviations to alternative pedagogic models were not tolerable. As experimentation and diffusion of the progressive ideas was inhibited, reform was only possible under a government which would provide political support to its sponsors. A first move in this direction was made by the liberal government of E. Venizelos but it did not last more than three years. The government elected in 1920 set up an *ad hoc* committee to examine the content of primary textbooks approved by the former government. The committee regarded the language textbooks as 'work of deceptive and mischievous intention' and asked for them to be burnt, the revision of the primary curriculum, the approval of new textbooks and the prosecution of the responsible reformers.³⁷

This tug-of-war was and continued to be typical in the struggle for educational reform in Greece representing the ideological and political fight between the reforming and counter-reforming forces.³⁸ From the 1917 changes onwards, the conflict was mainly centred on the

language question. In 1921, the previous language textbooks came back,³⁹ whereas in 1924⁴⁰ *demotiki* returned as the only medium of teaching in all primary grades. In 1926⁴¹ the language textbooks written in *demotiki* were banned from primary schools again, while in 1927⁴² *demotiki* was introduced in the first four primary grades and *katharevousa* for the last two.⁴³ The conflicting language policies continued when teaching in *demotiki* was extended to all six primary grades in 1930,⁴⁴ restricted again in 1933 to the first four,⁴⁵ further restricted in 1935 to the first three grades⁴⁶ and then re-extended to the four grades.⁴⁷

The continuous tug-of-war about the language issue should be seen in the context of political instability of the period 1920-1928 during which 34 governments succeeded each other, legislating contradictory measures for education.⁴⁸ Those frequent and often arbitrary changes are also indicative of the rigidly centralised and minister-centred educational decision-making which allowed for the direct regulation of what should be taught, how it should be taught and which version of the Greek language should be used in the classroom.

A decisive movement towards the reinforcement of state curriculum control was made by the dictatorship of I. Metaxas. In 1936, he issued a Compulsory Law⁴⁹ establishing the Organisation for Textbooks Publishing (O.E.Σ.B.) which was subject to the Ministry of Education and had exclusive responsibility for publication and allocation of textbooks to the schools. As was explicitly underlined in the preamble: 'One of the most important elements of education is also the textbooks, because they constitute a primary means through which the school has an influence on the pupil and because they express the notions of the State about the aim of education'.⁵⁰ Indeed, the single textbook has been a main means of state control in Greece to date and its role has been crucial in regulating pedagogic practice, as will be discussed in chapters 5 and 6 of the thesis. Despite political changes O.E.Δ.B (as it was later renamed) has remained intact and its operation

is a central element of curriculum policy for both primary and secondary education.

Thus, by the first half of the century, while the centralised educational apparatus was consolidated the demand for educational, and in particular curriculum, reform remained unsatisfied. In the post war era the next major attempt for reform in the line of the liberal/progressive demands would be made by the government of Georgios Papandreou in 1964. The main reform measures concerned the extension of compulsory schooling, the establishment of *demotiki* as the only medium of teaching in both primary and in secondary schools, the abolition of entrance examination from primary to secondary and the differentiation of the upper circle of secondary education (*Lykeio*) in three directions (general, vocational and technical). Part of the reform process was also the planning of a new primary curriculum which would shift the model of pedagogic practice in schools and actualise largely the proposals of the progressive pedagogues⁵¹ (see discussion in the next chapter). The curriculum reform was to be carried out by the *Pedagogical Institute*, a curriculum development body directly subject to the Minister of Education, the establishment of which showed that there was no intention to alter the centralised character of the system.

However, this reform was not to flourish. The dictatorship (1967-1974) discontinued every reform measure and issued its own primary curriculum in 1969, which reflected the pedagogic principles of the 1913 curriculum and the ideology of the regime (see next chapter).

Overall, during the biggest part of the 20th century the reform question was involved in a persistent ideological and political tug-of-war during which reforms implemented by governments with liberal/progressive educational ideas were immediately over-turned when conservative parties took power. Kazamias has called this historical development the 'curse of Sisyphus' in modern Greek education.⁵²

As far as the primary school is concerned the 'Sisyphean curse' affected the attempts of the *demotacist* pedagogues to move from the traditional-performance model of pedagogic practice to the progressive-competence model. In the Greek context the general features of the first were the classicist and encyclopaedic curriculum content organised in subject divisions and sub-divisions, the use of an archaic dialect (*katharevousa*), didactic and *ex-cathedra* teaching, rote learning, the strong grading procedures and the examination barriers to secondary education. The features of the desired model were the introduction of liberal values and modern knowledge in curriculum content, integrated learning domains, use of the colloquial dialect (*demotiki*), emphasis on social skills and participatory school life, active learning through discovery approaches and weakening of examination procedures and barriers.

Changes in pedagogic models, as was seen above, could not be brought about by individual or local initiatives and experimentation as no school autonomy was allowed by the state nor were issues for devolution of power part of the reform agendas. As Kazamias and Kassotakis have noted:

None of the major reform attempts in education that took place during our century until the 1980s managed to alter the hierarchical, centralised and bureaucratic framework of power and control in which the educational system was operating. Whatever changes, either those announced without being implemented or those which reached the phase of implementation, . . . always [took place] in the framework of a centralised hierarchical statism. At the same time, these attempts reinforced the ethno-centric orientation of the school system and promoted the notion that the state is the chief trustee of 'national education' and the most reliable manager of educational affairs. The civil society was either non-existent or it played an altogether marginal part.⁵³

Thus, neither the dominant political and ideological conditions nor the structure of the educational system allowed individual or group

activities opposed to state policy to cause pedagogic changes. In these circumstances, the statutory curriculum for primary schools in 1913 remained the same in its ideological and pedagogic underpinnings until 1982.

3.4 TOWARDS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF STATE CONTROL IN ENGLISH ELEMENTARY EDUCATION: THE REVISED CODE ERA

This section traces the first attempts of the English state to place under control elementary schooling, hitherto provided on a voluntary basis. As will be seen here, in contrast to Greece where a central bureaucracy was established, the English state control prioritised the establishment of an assessment apparatus.

During the early years of the nineteenth century elementary schooling was provided exclusively by voluntary agencies. The most influential of these agencies were the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church and the British and Foreign School Society which operated as competing groups representing the opposition between the Anglicans and the Non-Conformists. These voluntary bodies built schools, employed teachers and controlled the content and methods of teaching.⁵⁴ Instruction was normally restricted to the three R's with some needlework in the girls' schools and the Bible was the main source for reading.⁵⁵

Voluntary involvement in elementary education expressed the denominational and ideological rivalry of the main pressure groups. The Church envisaged elementary mass schooling as a means of preserving traditional religious values and the social order. Advocates of laissez-faire economics were concerned with efficient education in the increasingly industrialised British society, whereas Utilitarians advocated happiness and 'useful knowledge'.⁵⁶ As Bishop stressed, government initiatives in education dealt with the general dislike for state interference held by various pressure groups across the political and denominational spectrum of the country.⁵⁷ Tories, and conservative and liberal Whigs believed in the merits of local government whereas to Radicals central intervention was thought to be oppressive. The Established Church claimed exclusive rights over children's education

while the Dissenters were concerned about their religious freedom. On the other hand, although Utilitarians and laissez-faire economists did not justify state interference in the new social order, they both considered education one of the few exceptions, as schooling could be seen as a national investment in human potential or individual happiness.⁵⁸

Until 1833 there was no state intervention in elementary education. In that year Parliament voted a grant of £20,000 to assist the building of elementary schools and that was the first time public money was contributed to schooling.⁵⁹ The allocation of funding was assigned to the two religious societies without setting any requirements on curriculum matters.

In 1839 the Committee of the Privy Council was established with the main duty to superintend the allocation of grants to schools. The Committee made available grants to schools that were outside the control of the two Societies and extended the range of funding by offering aid for recurrent expenditure in schools. That policy led over the next twenty years to a major increase of state financial assistance to elementary education.⁶⁰ To be eligible for funding, schools had to demonstrate efficient operation which was to be ascertained by inspectors appointed to check allegiance to regulations. Thus, in 1839 Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI) was set up as the first educational control machinery.

The gradual attempts of the state to place elementary schooling under control were strengthened in 1862 when the Revised Code was introduced. Robert Lowe, the Vice-President of the Committee and architect of the Revised Code, took up the proposals of the Newcastle Commission (an ad-hoc Committee charged to inquire into the state of public education) that standards of the basic subjects should be raised and that a 'cheap and sound education' should be provided. The Commissioners discarded the idea of imposing direct central control

over existing schools and creating compulsory education and they made recommendations chiefly about methods of paying grants.⁶¹ The main concern of the Newcastle Committee was the raising of standards in the basic subjects, and for this purpose they proposed that the government should initiate a programme which would combine allocation of grants with strict assessment procedures:

. . . there is only one way of securing this result, which is to institute a searching examination by a competent authority of every child in every school to which grants are to be paid with the view of ascertaining whether these indispensable elements of knowledge are thoroughly acquired and to make the prospects and position of the teacher dependent, to a considerable extent, on the results of this examination.⁶²

The government adopted the Commissioners' recommendations on the payment of grants and incorporated them in the Revised Code. The Code, known also as the 'payment by results' system, defined the content of the elementary school curriculum and set out the conditions on which grants were to be paid. According to that system each child was to be examined by HMI and their assistants in the three R's and a certain amount of money was deducted from payments if the examinations were failed. Thereby, elementary teaching was concentrated on the subjects that were to be examined and a restrictive pedagogy emphasising drill and rote learning dominated school practice.⁶³ Teachers further narrowed the content of the curriculum in order to ensure the financial survival of schools and themselves.

The Revised Code has been characterised as a 'straightforward application of utilitarian philosophy and Adam Smith's economics to achieve value for money'⁶⁴ and a successful combination of 'central control of what was taught with strict economy'.⁶⁵ Similarly, Broadfoot has pointed out that 'the principles of the Revised Code corresponded exactly to the cost-effectiveness characteristic of business at that

time'.⁶⁶ As far as the control of pedagogic practice is concerned, the last author stressed that these principles include:

the use of assessment procedures to control the content and to monitor the quality of the curriculum, and to value those learning outcomes that can be readily measured; and, perhaps most important of all, the concept that accountability for the use of public funds could and should be reckoned in terms of the academic performance of pupils.⁶⁷

The exam-driven pedagogic practice imposed by the 'payment by results' system had serious consequences for both the learning process and teachers' control over the curriculum. Matthew Arnold, an author, inspector and opponent of the Revised Code, stressed in his *General Report* that 'making two-thirds of the Government grant depend upon a mechanical examination, inevitably gives a mechanical turn to the school teaching, a mechanical turn to the inspection . . .'.⁶⁸ Similarly, teachers, working in a grid of obligations imposed by the Revised Code,⁶⁹ became subordinate to school inspectors. Their responsibility for the definition of the curriculum was overtly rejected by the instigator of the Revised Code, Robert Lowe, who argued that 'teachers desiring to criticise the Code were as impertinent as chickens who wished to decide the sauce in which they would be served'.⁷⁰ In this sense, as Lawton has argued, the Revised Code 'probably represented the lowest point of teacher control of the curriculum'.⁷¹

The provision of elementary schooling was a great concern for the central government. Thus, the Liberal government (elected at the end of 1868) introduced the first major Education Act, establishing the School Boards and extending the provision of elementary education. The chief aim was to 'fill up the gaps' of the existing voluntary system.⁷² W. E. Forster, the then Vice-President of the Committee, in introducing the 1870 Education Bill in the House of Commons stressed that the state's primary interest was the provision of elementary education to working

classes in the light of the increasing needs of British industrial society.⁷³ In the same year, the government's decisive action in education was followed by the establishment of the National Union of Elementary Teachers which at its first conference stressed teachers' opposition to 'payment by results'.⁷⁴

Some broadening of the curriculum appeared in the 1871 Elementary Code. Subjects such as natural sciences, political economy and languages (the 'specific' subjects) were added to the three R's. In the subsequent Codes of 1875 and 1882 the elementary curriculum was enriched with grammar, geography, history and plain needlework (the 'class' subjects) and science, electricity, chemistry and agriculture.⁷⁵ However, teachers still taught under the 'payment by results' scheme which remained in place until the end of the century. Thus, by and large, 'the job of the elementary school teacher for most of nineteenth century was to deliver the curriculum specified by Parliament'.⁷⁶

The last decade of the century marked the gradual decline of 'payment by results' and the emergence of successive Codes introducing alternative schemes of curriculum and abolishing the annual examination of pupils. E. G. A. Holmes commenting on the 1895 Code pointed out the changing climate: 'Having for thirty three years deprived the teachers of almost every vestige of freedom the Department suddenly reversed its policy and gave them in generous measure the boon which it had long withheld'.⁷⁷ Intentions of loosening up the curriculum became clearer in the 1900 Elementary Code which was made up of a list of subjects to be taught, without mentioning any division ('obligatory', 'class' and 'specific subjects'), as in the previous Codes, or prescribing syllabuses.

In sum, the first attempts of the English state to control the curriculum of the existing schooling were marked by the Revised Code and its subsequent editions. The Revised Code and its 'payment by results' was characteristic of the way that central authority involved

itself in existing voluntary education. Central control was mainly concerned with the evaluation of pupils on the basis of skills that they were expected to acquire and it was legitimised by the state's discretionary power to allocate funding accordingly.

As Broadfoot *et al.* have pointed out in their comparison with the establishment of the French education system 'the creation of an education system in England had little to do with the imposition of a central bureaucracy as in France and a great deal more to do with broad national policies and a framework for inspection, monitoring and assessment to ensure minimal standards of provision'.⁷⁸ The English state's first attempts to manage elementary schooling consisted mainly of the establishment of an assessment apparatus based on testing and inspection upon which a school's survival was dependent. Thereby, the central authority could exert control on both the curriculum content taught to pupils as well as the classroom pedagogy.⁷⁹

However, as will be seen in the next section, the beginning of the 20th century marked the loosening of central control over the elementary curriculum and gradually a consolidation of the decentralised mode of curriculum control, which characterised English education throughout this century and especially after the 1944 Education Act.

3.5 CONSOLIDATION OF THE DECENTRALISED MODE OF CURRICULUM CONTROL IN ENGLAND: THE 'GOLDEN AGE'

This section refers to that part of twentieth century during which the English decentralised mode of curriculum control was formulated and consolidated. It reviews the abandonment of the prescription of the elementary curriculum from the beginning of the century, the consolidation of a 'partnership' scheme of educational control in the post-1944 period and the emancipation of primary education from

external constraints in 'the period of optimism', that is the 1960s. As will be made evident in this section the mode of curriculum control that was consolidated in the twentieth century retained the assessment constraints on schools.

The twentieth century began with major educational activity, the prominent result of which was the administrative structuring of the English educational system. After the creation of the Board of Education introduced by the 1899 Act, the then Conservative government established, in 1902, Local Education Authorities to cater for elementary and post-elementary education. The 1902 Act abolished the School Boards and transferred their powers to the LEAs which, as part of each county council and county borough council, covered the whole country.

In the following three years a curriculum re-organisation took place in elementary education, attributed to Robert Morant, the influential Permanent Secretary of the Board of Education who played also a crucial part in the 1902 Act. The Codes following the Act, particularly the 1904 Elementary Code, made apparent the state's attempt to manage educational provision with clear separation between elementary and secondary curricula.⁸⁰ However, the new Regulations presented a more liberal and child-centred view on the aims of elementary schooling:

The purpose of the Public Elementary School is to form and strengthen the character and to develop the intelligence of the children entrusted to it, and to make the best use of the school years available, in assisting both girls and boys, according to their different needs, to fit themselves, practically as well as intellectually, for the work of life.⁸¹

The changing climate towards the liberalisation of the elementary school curriculum was made clear in the next Board of Education document. In 1905 the Regulations for the elementary instruction were

replaced by a 'Handbook of Suggestions' which included a list of subjects accompanied by 'specimen schemes', assuring teachers in its 'Prefatory Memorandum' that much was left to their discretion:

The only uniformity of practice that the Board of Education desires to see in the teaching of Public Elementary Schools is that each teacher shall think for himself,⁸² and work out for himself such methods of teaching as may use his powers to the best advantage and be best suited to the particular needs and conditions of the school. Uniformity in details of practice (except in the mere routine of school management) is not desirable even if it were attainable. But freedom implies a corresponding responsibility in its use . . .⁸³

The liberal rhetoric for teachers' pedagogic practice continued to develop in the subsequent versions of the Handbook of Suggestions. Teachers were not merely allowed to exercise responsibility over their teaching, they were asked to do so. That is evident especially in the 1927 version of Handbook where the teacher is advised to place emphasis on children's interests rather than the subject requirements: 'His starting point must be no rigid syllabus or subjects, but the children as they really are: he must work always with the grain of their minds, try never to cut across it'.⁸⁴

However, the year before can probably be seen as the milestone for the abolition of the compulsory elementary curriculum. In the Code of 1926 there is no mention of certain subjects to be taught, apart from Practical Instruction, due to a 'sudden and unexpected' change⁸⁵ of policy. Although state control over the curriculum continued to be exerted via the Board's Handbook of Suggestions and various relevant official publications, the legislative framework established by the 1926 Code is considered of fundamental importance for the formation of the English mode of curriculum control. J. White has suggested that the reason for that shift was the then Conservative government's fear of a

direct application of socialist ideas in elementary education if a Labour administration were to come into office:

... given the growing popularity of the Labour Party, a majority Labour government in the near future was very much on the cards. If Parliament still controlled the content of education, the socialists could change the regulations so as to remove the barriers between the elementary and secondary curricula. They would be able to introduce curricula more in line with socialist ideas. To forestall this, it was no longer in the interests of anti-socialists, including Conservatives, to keep curriculum policy in the hands of the state.⁸⁶

Similarly, M. Lawn has suggested that 'the dismantling of detailed regulations was not a deregulation of the system but a shift to a different mode of control'.⁸⁷ He has argued that 'it was not a question of moving from a regulated to a deregulated education system but of moving from a system of direct control to one of indirect control'.⁸⁸ According to Lawn, Lord Eustace Percy, the then president of the Board of Education and architect of the new policy, made a tactical move to secure continued strategic control by exercising Lord Lugard's idea of 'indirect rule', a colonial system of administration, in education:

It was a peculiarly English method of control and administration, very different from the French centralised model, and open to the charge that it was also a more subtle and hypocritical form of control, dressed up as the 'fairest' and most suited to local circumstances . . . a colonial system of apparent decentralisation yet with control obtained by a system of grants, of local agents, of official memoranda and close inspection.⁸⁹

Indeed, the establishment of various national committees to produce information, recommendations and official memoranda was traditionally a 'key element in system accountability and, hence, control'⁹⁰ in England, as Broadfoot and Osborn have pointed out. However, the shift of 1926 to strategic control does not mean that previously there was a direct and detailed state regulation of pedagogic

practice. White, who stressed that English state was able to control the curriculum through the Regulations before 1926, noted:

This is not to say that before 1926 English elementary schools were subject to the lesson-by-lesson control of the French and other systems. They were not. Not only were teachers allowed to handle the listed subjects as they best saw fit; in addition, not every subject on the list had to be taught in every school or class.⁹¹

Taking this point into consideration, it would be more appropriate, as Broadfoot did in her comparative studies between England and France, to stress the role of assessment procedures which were constantly used as a tool of control both before and after the shift of 1926. Broadfoot pointed out that 'it is no accident that educational provision in England has been traditionally characterised by one of the highest degrees of school autonomy and the same time, one of the greatest preoccupations with public examinations of any country'.⁹² Indeed, assessment procedures were of critical importance to supervise the existing elementary schooling, either with the 'payment by results' scheme or with the 11+ examination which was to follow. It is characteristic that Selby-Bigge, the Secretary of the Board of Education at that time and a supporter, along with Eustace Percy, of the 1926 shift of policy, stressed: 'we must look to examinations rather than inspection to check, test and secure the efficiency of public education'.⁹³

The shift of policy was taking place during a period in which new educational thinking was being spread amongst teachers. Edmond Holmes, the Board's Chief Inspector (1905-1910), published in 1911 his remarkably influential book *What Is and What Might Be* in which he attacked existing elementary schooling and praised new forms of teaching. *What Is* was a 'blind, passive, literal unintelligent obedience [as the] basis on which the whole system of Western education has been reared',⁹⁴ and *What Might Be* was a joyful schooling such as that

provided by Miss Harriet Finlay-Johnson at Sompting in Sussex, which he called 'Utopia' and its teacher 'Egeria'.

Edmond Holmes along with Homer Lane, Maria Montessori and John Dewey as overseas influences, and the British progressives A.S. Neill, Percy Nunn and William McDougall constituted the main figures who affected the educational debate in England around the beginning of the 20th century.⁹⁵ Stressing the naturalistic views of Pestalozzi and Froebel, the progressives emphasised the issues of 'freedom', 'individuality', 'growth', 'interest', and 'learning by doing' in children's education. Their ideas were steadily diffused after the World War I and, unlike their Greek counterparts, they were able to found many schools across the country on the basis of the new principles.

R. J. W. Selleck, who studied the growth of 'progressivism' in that period, showed the diffusion of child-centred discourse in the circles of educationists, inspectors and teacher education colleges as well as in official educational texts:

... it is clear that in the late 1920s and 1930s the progressives had gained the initiative in educational discussions. They might not, despite the claims of some of the publicists, have radically altered the practices in primary-school classrooms - though they had certainly made an impact. But they had forced their problems to the forefront of the educational debate. Their views found a haven in the colleges and were there passed on to the new generation of teachers. Official documents such as the Suggestions and the Hadow Reports showed marked signs of their thinking. They were no longer on the outside of the educational world trying to make their voices heard.⁹⁶

Indeed, the Hadow Report for primary education, published in 1931,⁹⁷ marked a first acceptance of the child-centred ideas. The Report endorsed the division between primary and secondary education, approved co-educational primary schooling and made recommendations about teaching methods and classroom pedagogy: 'we see that the curriculum of the primary school is to be thought of in terms of

activity and experience, rather than of knowledge to be acquired and facts to be stored'.⁹⁸

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to consider the Hadow Report as a full official endorsement of child-centred principles. Not only did it discourage the abandonment of many existing classroom practices,⁹⁹ but it was also compatible with selective procedures at the age of 11 proposed by the 1926 Hadow Report for secondary education.¹⁰⁰ The 1926 Report suggested different types of secondary education for different kinds of pupils, anticipating the Spens and Norwood Reports. The latter provided a psychological legitimisation to the selection of pupils at 11+ and their allocation to grammar, modern and technical secondary schools.¹⁰¹

However, the form of the English education system and its decentralised mode of control were consolidated after the 1944 Act. The Education Act of 1944 established a three-tier system of primary, secondary and further education and embodied the principle of partnership between central and local authority, religious organisations, parents, teachers and schools. In the frame of that partnership, the general responsibility for the curriculum was left to the LEAs, the teachers and the governing bodies. There was no mention of subjects to be taught apart from religious education, nor were there curriculum regulations.¹⁰² After the abolition of the Elementary Regulations in 1926 the central government withdrew its power over the secondary curriculum in 1944.

As in the case of the elementary curriculum, White has suggested that the then government (in particular the Minister of Education R.A. Butler) applied 'indirect rule' because a possible socialist government would not be able to end the elite and non-elite educational dualism through a parliamentary decision.¹⁰³ On the other hand, Raison attributed the neglect to make provisions for regulations to an administrative oversight rather than a political intention,¹⁰⁴ whereas

Lawton has suggested that it was probably due to the government's ignorance and irresponsibility about what kind of curriculum was needed in an age of 'secondary education for all'.¹⁰⁵ In any case, as Broadfoot argued, 'the 1944 Act posed no threat to the traditional alliance between teachers and local authorities, and made it possible for schools and headteachers to enjoy considerable autonomy'.¹⁰⁶

The scheme of partnership characterised the period following the introduction of the Act until the 1980s. The national centre determined broad educational policy and allocated resources, the LEAs were responsible for the implementation of the educational policy with wide margins of local initiative, and schools defined their curriculum policy.¹⁰⁷ This general consensus consolidated 'a national system locally administered'.

In curriculum terms such a consensus was broadly recognised and praised by teachers who now had the discretion to make decisions on their teaching. Lester Smith emphasised that feature of the English educational system, in his widely read book *Education: An Introductory Survey*, first published in 1957:

No freedom that teachers in this country possess is as important as that of determining the curriculum and methods of teaching. Neither the Minister nor the Local Education Authority exercises authority over the curriculum of any school beyond that of agreeing the general educational character of the school and its place in the local educational system.¹⁰⁸

It seems that the central government was also aware of the 'privilege' that English teachers enjoyed and that is evident in the Ministry of Education Report for 1950, where the then Minister George Tomlinson, after having praised the merits of partnership, underlined the absence of any reference to the school curriculum:

If this Report comes into the hands of readers from overseas, as we hope it will, they may be expected to look first for a

substantial chapter on educational methods and the curriculum of the schools. They will not find it. This does not, of course, mean that the schools have made no response to the new knowledge about the nature and needs of children or to the changing conceptions of the function of education in a democratic community. The reason is that the Department has traditionally valued the life of institutions more highly than systems and has been jealous for the freedom of schools and teachers.¹⁰⁹

The condition created after the 1944 Act is probably what consolidated the English educational system as a 'paradigm' against the corresponding continental systems. Lawton's summary that 'from 1944 to the beginning of the 1960s may be seen as the Golden Age of teacher control (or non-control) of the curriculum'¹¹⁰ encapsulates the era of unquestioned teacher responsibility over what and how was to be taught in the classroom.

Ever since, teacher discretion over curriculum issues has been attractive for foreign observers, though controversial among English educationists. Dale pointed out that teacher autonomy has always been restricted by public expectations, resources and teacher-pupil ratios.¹¹¹ Maclure referred to that conception as 'the English myth of the autonomy of the teacher as master of his fate and his pupils', yet he recognised its key role in curriculum reform.¹¹² Particular emphasis on this key role, however, has been given by Maw, who, in addition, underlined its importance to teachers' professional development:

... it is inadequate to dismiss the notion of teacher autonomy as simply a myth. ... It influenced the whole style of the curriculum development movement in this country, and it had a powerful (though haphazard) impact on teachers' conceptions of their professional responsibilities and their willingness to engage in the realities of curriculum change. In other words, the belief in the teachers' autonomy had an impact on *practice* at all levels.¹¹³
[original italics]

However, it would also be an inadequate interpretation to neglect the fact that the 11+ examination had a powerful effect in pedagogic

practice, as primary schools were rendered agents for the selection of pupils for admission to secondary education.¹¹⁴ Thus, although primary schools were freed of central regulations from 1926, the selection requirements continued to exert control on what and how was to be taught, by emphasising cognitive learning and the streaming of pupils.

From this perspective, the 'Golden Age' for an autonomous primary pedagogic practice would start in the 1960s, when the abolition of 11+ examination and the 'comprehensivisation' movement removed centrally imposed requirements. Nevertheless, that period after World War II, which is discussed below, is characterised by the first dispute over the existing mode of curriculum control.

By the 1960s the central government started tentatively to question the existing mode of curriculum control in the country and to seek ways of involvement in what was taught in the schools. Sir David Eccles, the then Conservative Minister of Education, debating in the House of Commons in March of 1960, referred ironically to the 'secret garden of the curriculum' and announced his intention to 'make the Ministry's voice heard'.¹¹⁵ The Ministry's voice was eventually heard by the establishment of the Curriculum Study Group in 1962 commissioned to operate as a 'commando-like unit' making raids into the curriculum.¹¹⁶ Although, as was argued later, the Curriculum Study Group did not constitute a real threat to teacher responsibility over the curriculum,¹¹⁷ the immediate strong reactions of teachers were able to hinder its operation and lead to its replacement. Teachers, thereby, managed to make apparent that the notion of their control over the curriculum would not allow central interference.¹¹⁸

Teachers' opposition was so decisive that Sir Edward Boyle, Eccles's successor, decided in 1963 to set up the Lockwood Committee which in its turn recommended the constitution of the Schools Council for Curriculum and Examinations. In the Schools Council neither the government nor the LEAs had control, as the majority in its various

committees was given to teachers. During the years of its operation it managed to embody a wide range of educational interests and to offer a variety of curricular alternatives to be adopted by the teachers. On this basis, the Schools Council enshrined teacher responsibility over the curriculum (though not in finance) as one of its fundamental principles.¹¹⁹

The creation of the Schools Council was only a part of the educational changes that took place at that time. The others, which in general brought about the expansion of educational provision and the strengthening of the existing mode of curriculum control, included the raising of the school-leaving age, the re-organisation of secondary schools 'on comprehensive lines', the abolition of the 11+ examination and the official endorsement of the progressive-competence model of pedagogic practice by the Plowden Report.

The Plowden Report produced by the Central Advisory Council chaired by Lady J. P. Plowden under the title *Children and their Primary Schools*,¹²⁰ was probably the most influential document in primary education after the World War II. It was the result of an extensive survey of the whole country which lasted three years, engaging a great number of academics, social scientists and teachers in the collection and analysis of the data. The Plowden Report managed to 'put primary education on the map - as a major, and largely distinct sector of the national system of education'.¹²¹ Furthermore, it gave impetus to progressive educational discourse among teachers, since it endorsed the main child-centred practices underpinned by Piagetian developmental psychology and social equality principles:

At the heart of the educational process lies the child. No advances in policy, no acquisitions of new equipment have their desired effect unless they are in harmony with the nature of the child, unless they are fundamentally acceptable to him. . . . Knowledge of the manner in which children develop, therefore, is of prime

importance, both in avoiding educationally harmful practices and in introducing effective ones.¹²²

Accordingly, echoing the discourse of the progressive movements, primary education was envisaged by the Plowden Report to be aiming at the child's happiness, creativity and personal and social empowerment rather to the mere transmission of knowledge:

A school is not merely a teaching shop, it must transmit values and attitudes. It is a community in which children learn to live first and foremost as children and not as future adults. . . . The school sets out deliberately to devise the right environment for children, to allow them to be themselves and to develop in the way and the pace appropriate to them. It tries to equalise opportunities and to compensate for handicaps. . . . Children need to be themselves, to live with other children and with grown ups, to learn from their environment, to enjoy the present, to get ready for the future, to create and to love, to learn to face adversity, to behave responsibly, in a world, to be human beings.¹²³

Consequently, an adaptation of the school curriculum was proposed within the above aims, which mainly included the rejection of boundaries within the taught content, of didactic teaching and streaming of pupils as well as of evaluation serving selective purposes:

The extent to which subject matter ought to be classified and the headings under which the classification is made will vary with the age of the children, with the demands made by the structure of the subject matter which is being studied, and with the circumstances of the school. Any practice which predetermines the pattern and imposes it upon all is to be condemned.¹²⁴

Streaming can be wounding to children . . . It is essential to ensure that the staff realise that any classification is bound to be faulty, that there certainly will be big differences between individuals in each class and that those differences can be expected to increase as children grow older.¹²⁵

Teachers who have to interpret test results need to bear in mind that a child's achievement is always in a given setting, in a particular school and with an individual teacher or teachers, so that an attainment test may predict imperfectly what will follow changes of situation and possible changes of motivation. . . .

Authorities who for an interim period continue to need selection procedures should cease to rely on an externally imposed battery of intelligence and attainment tests.¹²⁶

Though, as Bernstein has noted, the progressive modalities have much earlier origins, the Plowden Report was a landmark as it marked the official shift from the traditional-performance model to the progressive-competence model of pedagogic practice.¹²⁷ Moreover, as the external evaluation constraints such as the 11+ examination were removed, the Plowden Report marked an increase in school autonomy and consequently the strengthening of the existing mode of curriculum control at the primary level.

Thus, the 1960s were characterised by the reinforcement of schools' autonomy, the state's acceptance of the progressive educational discourse and the discarding of the performance model in primary education. At the time that primary education in Greece was still operating under a version of the 1913 curriculum revised by the dictatorship, English primary schools were experiencing a 'period of optimism',¹²⁸ a period of the competence modality and extended curricular autonomy. However, from the mid-1970s and in particular in the 1980s, the educational reforms initiated in the two countries would move in opposite directions. What these directions were in terms of primary pedagogic models will be examined in the next chapter, which opens up the main comparative investigation of the thesis.

3.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter reviewed the creation and historical development of the two systems with particular focus on the state control of the primary curriculum.

From its genesis the modern Greek state created a rigidly centralised and hierarchical educational apparatus which served the pursuit for uniformity across the nation and allowed for the direct external regulation of pedagogic practice. The state introduced statutory curricula, pedagogic guides and textbooks to ensure that the national and religious values were universally transmitted. In these circumstances the space for alternative orientations in the curriculum and local initiatives opposed to the official policies was limited. Curriculum change was subject to ideological and political conflict and was dependant upon political change at the governmental level.

On the other hand, England from its first attempts to control the elementary curriculum imposed a set of standards to be reached by the schools while the prescription of content was loose. From the payments by results system to the 11+ examination, the English state 'took relatively little account of curriculum content as such'¹²⁹ yet it emphasised the organisation of evaluation and monitorial procedures. As Broadfoot has underlined:

It very soon became apparent that a system of external examinations would have the power to bring about curriculum unity, common organisation and a raising of standards in the teaching profession, while at the same time safeguarding the schools from state control as such. Thus examinations were already being regarded as the alternative to a centralised system of teaching and inspection and, in this sense, they were a political device. The fact that public examinations were so early enshrined into English educational provision, with the explicit intention of protecting local autonomy, significantly affected the

organisational development of the educational system thereafter.¹³⁰

Indeed, as the historical review showed, though the emphasis on public examinations placed constraints on schools, there was considerable local discretion on the curriculum which allowed for the diffusion of new educational thinking.

The potential for progressive ideas to spread in England in contrast with Greece does not testify only to the adherence to liberal values in the one case and to archaic and nationalistic creeds in the other; it is related to the possibilities of change that the structuring of the educational system allowed. In England the tradition of pluralistic and divergent educational provision and the school autonomy did not inhibit pedagogic activities aiming at alternative practices. School autonomy and the absence of detailed prescription allowed the activities of the progressives in contrast with Greece where such activities could be allowed only after prior governmental approval. Thus, curriculum change in Greece was not a matter of gradual diffusion of ideas by individual or local initiatives, but it was subject to political change at the national level.

ENDNOTES

¹Declaration of the Peloponnesian Senate, document 2 in Dimaras, A. (1983) *Η μεταρρύθμιση που δεν έγινε* [The Reform that hasn't been made]. Vol. A' (2nd ed.). Athens: Ekdotiki Ermes E.P.E.

²Provisory Constitution of Greece, appendix in Dimaras, A. (1984) *Η μεταρρύθμιση που δεν έγινε* [The Reform that hasn't been made]. Vol. B' (2nd ed.). Athens: Ekdotiki Ermes E.P.E.

³Solomon, J. (1992) *Εξουσία και τάξη στο σύγχρονο ελληνικό σχολείο: τυπολογία των σχολικών χώρων και πρακτικών 1820-1900* [Power and Order in the Modern Greek School: A Typology of School Spaces and Practices 1820-1900] (2nd ed.). Athens: Alexandria, pp. 34-35. See also Amariotou, M. (1937) *Ο Ιω. Π. Κοκκώνης, ο πρώτος μας Παιδαγωγός* [I. P. Kokkonis, Our First Pedagogue] Athens [no publisher].

⁴Solomon, J. (1992) op. cit., p. 75.

⁵Ibid., p. 76.

⁶Tsoukalas, K. (1977) *Εξάρτηση και αναπαραγωγή: ο κοινωνικός ρόλος των εκπαιδευτικών μηχανισμών στην Ελλάδα (1830-1922)* [Dependence and Reproduction: The Social Role of Educational Mechanisms in Greece (1830-1922)]. Athens: Themelio, pp. 510-516.

⁷The term 'classicist', as used by Dimaras and as will be used in this chapter, refers to a curriculum that emphasises the ancient past of Greece and the teaching of ancient texts and grammar.

⁸Dimaras, A., (1983) op. cit., p. λ'.

⁹Tsoukalas, K. (1977) op. cit., pp. 506-509.

¹⁰Solomon, J. (1992) op. cit., pp. 84-85.

¹¹Andreou, A. and Papakonstantinou, G. (1990) *Οργάνωση και διοίκηση του εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος: θεωρητική προσέγγιση και ιστορική επισκόπηση* [Organisation and Administration of the Educational System: A Theoretical Approach and Historical Review]. Athens: Exandas.

¹²Lefas, C. (1942) *Ιστορία της εκπαιδείσεως* [History of Education]. Athens: OEDB, pp. 67-90.

¹³Circular 22-11-1854, document 34 in Dimaras, A. (1983) op. cit.

¹⁴Kapsalis, A.G. and Charalampous, D.F. (1993) *Σχολικά εγχειρίδια [School Textbooks]*. Thessaloniki: Art of Text.

¹⁵The language ought to be *katharevousa* (etymologically from *katharos* = pure), a dialect derived from Ancient Greek. The language issue, namely the ideological and political fights between the advocates of *katharevousa* and *demotiki* (the colloquial dialect, etymologically based on *demos* = people), would dominate the history of modern Greek education.

¹⁶From the minutes of the Parliament debate of 24-25 June 1855, document 35 in Dimaras, A. (1983) op. cit.

¹⁷Some teachers were trained in a two-year teacher training school (*Didaskaleio*), established in 1834, which offered training on the monitorial method. As the *Didaskaleio* was unable to provide for mass teacher training, a teaching licence was given to candidates who could prove their literacy to *ad hoc* examining boards or, in some cases, to the local authorities. See Papademetriou, S.N. (1950) *Η ιστορία του Δημοτικού μας σχολείου- Μέρος 1ο (1834-1895) [The History of Our Primary School - Part 1 (1834-1895)]*. Athens; Pirgiotakis, I. (1982) 'Συμβολή στη διαμόρφωση μιας κοινωνιολογίας του έλληνα δασκάλου' ['A Contribution to the Formulation of a Sociology of the Greek Primary Teacher']. *Νέα Παιδεία [New Education]*, (3): 55-79; Lefas, C. (1942) op. cit.

¹⁸See Papademetriou, S.N. (1950) op. cit., p. 51.

¹⁹Circular of 28-9-1889, document 87 in Dimaras, A. (1983) op. cit.

²⁰Circular of 29-11-1890, document 88 in *ibid*.

²¹See the Reports of Ch. Papamarkos and N. Politis, documents 74 and 74a in *ibid*.

²²Solomon, J. (1992) op. cit.

²³Andreou, A. and Papakonstantinou, G. (1990) op. cit.

²⁴Lefas, C. (1942), pp. 291-292.

²⁵Dimaras, A. (1983) op. cit. p. μζ'.

²⁶Bouzakis, S. (1991) *Σύγχρονη ελληνική εκπαίδευση (1821-1985)* [*Modern Greek Education (1821-1985)*] (2nd ed.). Athens: Gutenberg; Benekos, A. (1991) 'Τα Αναλυτικά Προγράμματα στην Πρωτοβάθμια Εκπαίδευση' ['Primary Curricula']. *Παιδαγωγική-Ψυχολογική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια Λεξικό* [*Pedagogical-Psychological Encyclopedia Dictionary*], (7): 3083-3084.

²⁷Fragoudaki, A. (1990) *Εκπαιδευτική μεταρρύθμιση και φιλελεύθεροι διανοούμενοι* [*Educational Reform and Liberal Intellectuals*] (6th ed.). Athens: Kedros.

²⁸Kapsalis, A.G. and Charalampous, D.F. (1993) op. cit.

²⁹From the memorandum of *Ekpaideftikos Omilos*, in Charalampous, D.P. (1987) op. cit.

³⁰Gotovos, T. (1986) 'Ο 'Χρυσός Αιών' της παιδαγωγικής ιδεολογίας και η εμφάνιση των επιστημών της αγωγής: ξένες επιδράσεις στην ελληνική εκπαιδευτική θεωρία και έρευνα' ['The 'Golden Age' of Pedagogical Ideology and the Emergence of the Science of Education: Foreign Influences on Greek Educational Theory and Research'] in Gotovos, T., Mavrogiorgos, G. and Papakonstantinou, P. (eds) *Κριτική Παιδαγωγική και εκπαιδευτική πράξη* [*Critical Pedagogy and Educational Practice*]. Athens: Synchroni Ekpaidevsi.

³¹Terzis, N.P. (1986) *Η παιδαγωγική του Αλέξανδρου Π. Δελμούζου* [*The Pedagogy of Alexandros P. Delmouzos*]. Thessaloniki: Kyriakides Bros.

³²Delmouzos, A. (1950) *Το κρυφό σχολειό* [*The Secret School*]. Athens; Charalampous, D.F. (1987) *Ο Εκπαιδευτικός Όμιλος: η ίδρυση του , η δράση για την εκπαιδευτική μεταρρύθμιση και η διάσπαση του* [*The Educational Society: Its Establishment, Action for Educational Reform and Fragmentation*]. Thessaloniki: Kyriakides Bros.

³³From the newspaper *Kerix*, document 114δ in Dimaras, A. (1984) op. cit.

³⁴Text written by A. Delmouzos to explain the principles of the operation of *Marasleio Didaskaleio*, document 142 in Dimaras (1984) op. cit.

³⁵This point was underlined by the judge of the Supreme Court in the trial of the *Marasleio* case in 1926. The judge noted that no evidence was found to support the charge for counter-national and counter-religious behaviour by the teachers. He stressed that the whole trouble was in fact the 'well-known conflict between the two language

ideologies' and the pedagogic experimentation aiming to create a new type of school. See the report of the judge, document 144α, *ibid.*

³⁶From the findings of the inquiry, document 146α, *ibid.*

³⁷Suggestions of the Committee, document 136, *ibid.*

³⁸Terzis, N. (1993) 'Εκπαίδευση και εκπαιδευτική μεταρρύθμιση στην Ελλάδα: διαχρονική επισκόπηση και η σημερινή συγκυρία' ['Education and Educational Policy in Greece: Diachronic Review and the Present Juncture']. A Speech delivered on the 28th October 1996 at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. According to Fragoudaki (1990, *op. cit.*), the counter-reforming forces of 19th century were different from those of the 20th century. In the previous century those forces consisted of social strata opposed to the bourgeois modernisation of the country, whereas in the 20th century the prevailing bourgeois ideology turned against the further democratisation of the Greek society and thus inhibited liberal educational reform.

³⁹Law 2678/1921 (Φ.Ε.Κ. 147 Α'/19-8-1921). Note: Φ.Ε.Κ. means 'Issue of Government's Gazette'.

⁴⁰Law 3190/1924 (Φ.Ε.Κ. 186 Α'/7-8-1924).

⁴¹Royal Decree of 5-5-1926 (Φ.Ε.Κ. 144 Α'/5-5-1926).

⁴²Law 3438/1927 (Φ.Ε.Κ. 307 Α'/23-12-1927).

⁴³Kapsalis, A.G. and Charalampous, D.F. (1993) *op. cit.*

⁴⁴Lefas, C. (1942), p. 459.

⁴⁵Law 5911/1933 (Φ.Ε.Κ. 357, Α'/18-11-1933).

⁴⁶Royal Decree of 2-11-1935 (Φ.Ε.Κ. 519 Α'/2-11-1935).

⁴⁷Law 40/1936 (Φ.Ε.Κ. 378 Α'/30-8-1936).

⁴⁸Fragoudaki, A. (1990) *op. cit.*

⁴⁹Law 40/1936, *op. cit.*

⁵⁰Quoted in Lefas, (1942) *op. cit.*, p. 42.

⁵¹Vougioukas, A. (1985) 'Τα νέα αναλυτικά προγράμματα και βιβλία και το γλωσσικό μάθημα' ['The New Curriculum and the Textbooks and

the Language Subject']. *Επιστημονικό Βήμα του Δασκάλου* [The Scientific Tribune of the Primary Teacher] - Special Edition, 30th year(6): 7-76, p. 10.

⁵²Kazamias, A. (1993) op. cit.

⁵³Kazamias, A.M. and Kassotakis, M. (1995) 'Εκπαιδευτικό μανιφέστο: προβληματισμοί για την ανασυγκρότηση και τον εκσυγχρονισμό της ελληνικής εκπαιδευτικής' ['Educational Manifesto: Issues on the Reconstruction and Modernisation of Greek Education'] in Kazamias, A.M. and Kassotakis, M. (eds), *Ελληνική Εκπαίδευση: προοπτικές ανασυγκρότησης και εκσυγχρονισμού* [Greek Education: Prospects of Reconstruction and Modernisation]. Athens: Serios, pp. 16-17.

⁵⁴The work of these societies on teaching methods was particularly influential in Europe especially because of the *monitorial* teaching method devised by Joseph Lancaster and supported by the British and Foreign School Society. For the development of the monitorial system by J. Lancaster and A. Bell, see Gordon, P., and Lawton, D. (1978) *Curriculum Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, pp. 128-130.

⁵⁵Lawson, J., and Silver, H. (1973) *A Social History of Education in England*. London: Methuen & Co Ltd., pp. 267-288.

⁵⁶Gordon, P., and Lawton, D., op. cit., p. 49.

⁵⁷Bishop, A. S. (1971) *The Rise of A Central Authority for English Education*. Cambridge: University Press, pp. 1-9.

⁵⁸Gordon, P., and Lawton, D. (1978) op. cit., p. 49.

⁵⁹Sharp, P., and Dunford, J. (1990) *The Education System in England and Wales*. London: Longman, p. 3.

⁶⁰Evans, K. (1985) *The Development and Structure of the English School System*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, p. 30.

⁶¹From the Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State of Popular Education in England, in Maclure, S., (1986) *Educational Documents: England and Wales 1816 to the Present Day* (5th ed.). London: Methuen, p. 75.

⁶²Quoted in Lawton, D. (1980) *The Politics of the Curriculum*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, pp. 15-16.

- ⁶³Lawson, J., and Silver, H. (1973) op. cit., p. 291.
- ⁶⁴Gordon, P. and Lawton, D. (1978) op. cit., p. 57.
- ⁶⁵Pollard, A., Broadfoot, P., Croll, P., Osborn, M., and Abbott, D. (1994) op. cit., p. 9.
- ⁶⁶Broadfoot, P. (1996) op. cit., p. 202.
- ⁶⁷Ibid.
- ⁶⁸Arnold, M. (1908) *Reports on elementary schools, 1852-1882*. London: HMSO, p. 113.
- ⁶⁹Tropp, A. (1957) *The School Teachers*. London: Heinemann, p. 96. The anxiety to reach the examination standards dictated by the Code had a demoralising effect on teachers, who, in many cases, were tempted to falsify registers and deceive inspectors. See Curtis, S. J. (1967) *History of Education in Great Britain*. London: University Tutorial Press, p. 266.
- ⁷⁰Quoted in Lawton, D. (1979) *The End of the Secret Garden? A Study in the Politics of the Curriculum*. London: University of London Institute of Education, p. 9.
- ⁷¹Lawton, D. (1980) op. cit., p. 17.
- ⁷²Gosden, P.H.J.H. (1966) *The Development of Educational Administration in England and Wales*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, p. 129.
- ⁷³See W. E. Forster's speech in Maclure, S. (1986) op. cit., pp. 99-105. Foster's Act did not introduce compulsory education nor did it make education free. School attendance became compulsory in 1880 and in 1891 became free, though not for all elementary schools. See Simon, B. (1965) *Education and the Labour Movement: 1870-1920*. London: The Falmer Press.
- ⁷⁴Tropp, A. (1957) op. cit., p. 97.
- ⁷⁵Gordon, P. and Lawton, D. (1978) op. cit., p. 15.
- ⁷⁶Pollard, A., Broadfoot, P., Croll, P., Osborn, M. and Abbott, D. (1994) op. cit., p. 9.
- ⁷⁷Holmes, E. (1911) *What Is and What Might Be*. London: Constable & Co Limited, p. 111.

⁷⁸Broadfoot, P. and Osborn, M. (1993) op. cit., p. 26.

⁷⁹See Gordon, P. and Lawton, D. (1978) op. cit., p. 141.

⁸⁰Eaglesham, E. J. R. (1967) *The Foundations of Twentieth-Century Education in England*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp. 55-61.

⁸¹From the Introduction of the 1904 Elementary Code, in Maclure, J. S. (1987) op. cit, p. 154.

⁸²The original grammar of the quotations is retained.

⁸³Handbook of Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and others concerned in the work of Public Elementary Schools, in Maclure, J. S., (1987) op. cit, p. 160.

⁸⁴Quoted in Kotthoff, H. G. (1990) *The Politics of Curriculum Control: The Case of the National Curriculum*. Unpublished Master Dissertation, University of London Institute of Education, p. 33.

⁸⁵The change is first pinpointed by a report in the *Morning Post*: 'A very remarkable omission occurs in the new code just issued by the Board of Education. It is the omission of curricula. The Board is wisely leaving the framing of the course of instruction in the elementary schools to the Local Authorities and to the teachers'. Quoted in White, J. P. (1975) 'The End of the Compulsory Curriculum' in *The Curriculum - The Doris Lee Lectures 1975*. London: University of London Institute of Education, p. 22.

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 28.

⁸⁷Lawn, M. (1987) 'The Spur and the Bridle: Changing the Mode of Curriculum Control'. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 19(3): 227-236, p. 228.

⁸⁸Ibid.

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 233 and 235.

⁹⁰Broadfoot, P. and Osborn, M. (1993) op. cit., p. 27.

⁹¹White, J. (1975) op. cit., p. 23.

⁹²Broadfoot, P. (1996) op. cit., p. 204.

⁹³Quoted in Broadfoot, P. and Osborn, M. (1993) op. cit., p. 28.

- ⁹⁴Holmes, E. (1911) op. cit., p. 50.
- ⁹⁵Gordon, P. and Lawton, D. (1978) op. cit., pp. 70-72.
- ⁹⁶Selleck, R. J. W. (1972) *English Primary Education and the Progressives, 1914-1939*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, p. 127.
- ⁹⁷Board of Education (1931) *Report of the Consultative Committee on the Primary School* (the Hadow Report). London: HMSO.
- ⁹⁸Ibid., p. 93.
- ⁹⁹Gordon, P. and Lawton, D. (1978) op. cit., p. 27.
- ¹⁰⁰Board of Education (1926) *Report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education on the Education of the Adolescent* (the Hadow Report). London. HMSO.
- ¹⁰¹Lawton, D. (1980) op. cit., pp. 20-21.
- ¹⁰²Aldrich, R., and Leighton, P. (1985) *Education: Time for a New Act*. London: Institute of Education University of London, p. 55.
- ¹⁰³White, J. (1975) op. cit., pp. 35-36.
- ¹⁰⁴Raison, T. (1976) *The Act and the Partnership: An Essay on Educational Administration in England*. London: Bedford Square Press, pp. 41-51.
- ¹⁰⁵Lawton, D. (1980), op. cit., p. 19.
- ¹⁰⁶Broadfoot, P. (1996) op. cit., p. 205.
- ¹⁰⁷Hall, J. (1985) 'The Centralist Tendency'. *Forum*, 28(1): 4-7.
- ¹⁰⁸Smith, W. O. L. (1966) *Education: An Introductory Survey*. London: Penguin Books, p. 161.
- ¹⁰⁹Quoted in Smith, W.O.L., (1966), *ibid.*, p. 162.
- ¹¹⁰Lawton, D. (1980) op. cit., p. 22.

¹¹¹Dale, R. (1981) 'Control, Accountability and William Tyndale' in Dale, R., Esland, G., Fergusson, R. and MacDonald, M. (eds) *Education and the State*, Volume II. London: The Falmer Press, p. 312.

¹¹²Maclure, S. (1968) *Curriculum Innovation in Practice: Canada, England and Wales, United States*. London: HMSO, p. 10.

¹¹³Maw, J. (1985) 'Curriculum Control and Cultural Norms: Change and Conflict in a British Context'. *The New Era*, 22(44): 95-98, p. 95.

¹¹⁴Holmes, B. and McLean, M (1989) *The Curriculum: A Comparative Perspective*. London: Unwin-Hyman, pp. 34-35.

¹¹⁵As Sir David Eccles stated: 'We hardly ever discuss what is taught to the seven million boys and girls in the maintained schools. We treat the curriculum as though it were a subject, like 'the other place', about which it is 'not done' for us to make remarks. I should like the House to say that this reticence has been overdone. Of course, Parliament would never attempt to dictate the curriculum, but, from time to time, we could, with advantage, express views on what is taught in schools and in training colleges'. Quoted in Chitty, C. (1990) 'Central Control of the School Curriculum, 1944-1987' in B. Moon (ed) op. cit., p. 5.

¹¹⁶Manzer, R. A. (1970) *Teachers and Politics*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p. 91.

¹¹⁷Kogan, M. (1978) *The Politics of Educational Change*. Manchester: Manchester University Press; Lawton, D. (1980) op. cit., p. 23.

¹¹⁸Maw, J. (1985) op. cit.

¹¹⁹Briault, E. (1985) 'The Other Paymaster - the View from the Local Authorities' in Plaskow, M. (ed) *Life and Death of the Schools Council*. London: The Falmer Press, pp. 69-72.

¹²⁰CACE (1967) *Children and Their Primary Schools* (The Plowden Report). London: HMSO.

¹²¹Simon, B. (1991) *Education and the Social Order 1940-1990*. London: Lawrence & Wishart, p. 342.

¹²²CACE (1967) op. cit., paras 9 and 10.

¹²³Ibid., paras 505 and 507.

¹²⁴Ibid., para 538.

¹²⁵Ibid., paras 823 and 821.

¹²⁶Ibid., paras 420 and 423.

¹²⁷Bernstein, B. (1996a) op. cit., p. 70.

¹²⁸Ball, S. J. (ed) (1984) *Comprehensive Schooling: A Reader*. London: The Falmer Press, p. 4.

¹²⁹Broadfoot, P. (1983) op. cit., p. 258.

¹³⁰Broadfoot, P. (1996) op. cit., p. 204.

CHAPTER 4

CURRICULUM REFORMS IN GREECE AND ENGLAND: RE-ORIENTATION OF EDUCATIONAL AIMS AND THE MODE OF CURRICULUM CONTROL

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter initiates the research into the contemporary period. The chapter investigates the first *context* of state curriculum control, namely the process of the primary curriculum reform that took place during the 1980s in the two countries. In particular, the chapter will focus on the political and ideological struggle over educational aims, the three message systems and the mode of curriculum control.

It will be argued that the reforms of the 1980s in the two countries marked a shift from previous pedagogic models in primary education: the Greek reform shifted to the *competence* model of pedagogic practice and the English reform was an official move from the competence to the *performance* model of pedagogic practice.

The mid-70s are considered the chronological starting point for the present investigation. In 1976 in England the then Prime Minister James Callaghan delivered a speech at Ruskin College which stimulated the radical revision of curriculum policies. In the same year a major and long-demanded educational reform took place in Greece through legislation which opened the way for reform of the primary curriculum. Both reform processes signified a state move towards a re-orientation of educational policy. These two events are taken as a starting point for this investigation.

Educational policy in each country will be analysed in two sections representing respectively two phases in the process of reform. The first section will consider the beginnings of the current curriculum

policy and the questioning of the three message systems of existing pedagogic practice. It will be argued that while the Greek curriculum reform was dictated by demands for democratisation, the English reform was triggered by economic exigencies. The second section will look at the curriculum reform process itself. It will be argued that the two reforms represent the adoption by the state of different models of pedagogic practice.

4.2 THE QUESTIONING OF THE EXISTING MODEL OF PEDAGOGIC PRACTICE IN GREECE: THE *INTERNAL* REFORM THAT 'HADN'T BEEN MADE'

This section will explore the period before the reform of the primary curriculum in Greece, that is, from the end of the dictatorship in 1974 until the gradual introduction of the new statutory primary curriculum between the years 1982-1986. The particular purpose of this section is to demonstrate the questioning of the purposes and the model of pedagogic practice in primary schools as well as the mode of curriculum control. In contrast with England, such a questioning came from pressures for 'democratisation' and 'modernisation' in education.

In the historical chapter it was shown that the last phase of the tug-of-war, characterising modern Greek educational history, was the failed reform of 1964. This reform was basically concerned with the abolition of entrance examinations in secondary schools, the extension of the school leaving age, the introduction of *demotiki* as a medium of teaching at all levels of schooling, and the provision of vocational paths at the post-compulsory level. In primary education a curriculum reform was expected to move pedagogic practice to a competence modality. However, the reform measures were inhibited by the political events which followed the overthrow of the democratically elected

government in 1965, and the reform was abolished by the military regime of 1967-1974.

During the dictatorship the performance model of pedagogic practice was retained along with authoritarian ideologies dictated by the state. *Katharevousa* as a medium of teaching returned to secondary and the upper grades of primary schools, entrance examinations for secondary education were re-established and the teaching of ancient Greek regained a dominant position in the secondary curriculum.¹ Accordingly, the statutory primary curriculum was a celebration of past narratives and correctional pedagogy as well as a restrictive definition of primary schooling in the 3 Rs. The statutory aims of primary education were:

- α) to instil and to embed in the pupil's soul the love of his country, of the Christian orthodox religion and of moral life;
- β) to make pupils acquire a proper regard for the surrounding world, commensurate to the child's perception;
- γ) to make pupils adapt smoothly to the school environment, to realise the individual's commitment in social life and to become able to participate in school work and activities collectively executed;
- δ) [that pupils] become able to distinguish between playful activities and work undertaken to actualise a redefined purpose;
- ε) [that pupils] acquire good habits and in particular diligence, proper behaviour and sociability;
- στ) [that pupils] develop their expressive language capability, written and oral;
- ζ) [that pupils] acquire the capabilities of reading, writing, and counting through simple arithmetical operations.²

What is broadly sketched in the aims for primary education was implemented in the statutory curriculum and the textbooks: pupils were requested to learn to obey their teachers and parents with no objection, to show discipline, to respect religious and national values, to admire their ancestors and the country's glorious past and praise the dictatorship.³ 'Helleno-christianic' ideals and old forms of teaching were once again the prevalent features of the centrally prescribed

subject-based⁴ primary curriculum, which had not been reformed since 1913 and had been kept impermeable from ‘progressive’ influence since 1920. Thus, by the time there was in England an official endorsement of the competence model of pedagogic practice through the Plowden Report, the Greek statutory curriculum was characterised by the performance model and projected the dominant authoritarian ideology. As the Greek centralised educational system did not allow for a pedagogic practice defined autonomously by the school, the demand for ‘democratisation’ of the school curriculum and culture had to wait for the appropriate political change, that is for the overthrow of the dictatorship.

‘Democratisation’ and ‘modernisation’ of the country and of education, in particular, were the major targets of the change of regime in 1974. The right-wing government of *New Democracy*, elected after the overthrow of the dictatorship under the leadership of K. Karamanles, embarked upon extensive educational reform in 1976. The reform of 1976 brought about the major changes attempted previously and especially those of the last failed reform of 1964, putting in place much of ‘the reform that hadn’t been made’. In its main provisions the legislation of 1976/1977 catered for:

- the abolition of *katharevousa* and its replacement by *demotiki* as the medium of teaching at all levels of education;
- the abolition of the entrance examination between primary to secondary schools;
- the raising of the school leaving age to the 15th year, that is 9 years of compulsory schooling;
- the division of the old 6-year *Gymnasio* into two circles: a 3-year *Gymnasio* (compulsory) and a 3-year *Lykeio* (post-compulsory);
- the teaching of ancient literature through translated texts in the *Gymnasio*;

- the differentiation of the post-compulsory education in three directions: General Lykeio (academic), Technical and Vocational Lykeio (vocational) and 1 or 2-year Technical Schools (technical).
- the establishment of KEME (Centre for Educational Studies and Inservice), a curriculum development body which was directly subject to the Minister of Education.⁵

Evidently, the 1976 reform was remarkably similar to that of 1964.⁶ However, as the reform was brought in to solve problems that were supposed to have been solved some decades before, it was already considered outmoded, an 'aged new-born child' according to M. Eliou.⁷ The same commentator noted also the paradox or the 'irony of history' that the right-wing political party legislated what they had so tenaciously fought against some years before.⁸ This time it was 'progressive' political forces that criticised the reform, though in broad terms they consented.⁹

The 1976 reform brought changes in the organisational form of education while it left the curriculum, particularly the primary curriculum, almost untouched. It created an open compulsory education 'for all' up to the 15th year by removing examination barriers from primary to secondary levels and by making the content of the curriculum accessible to more students, previously excluded by the use of *katharevousa* and original ancient texts. However, apart from the resolution of the language issue and limited changes in the secondary curriculum content¹⁰ the right-wing government of *New Democracy* did not proceed to an overall reform of the curriculum.

Nor did the Committee for Education of 1975 - an *ad hoc* committee set up to make recommendations for education in general and the curriculum in particular - proceed to suggestions that would alter the primary curriculum. The Committee agreed on the beneficial effects that the establishment of *demotiki* would have for primary

pupils but there was no questioning of the model of pedagogic practice that dominated the primary classroom.¹¹ On the contrary, the 1975 Committee kept the purpose of primary education restricted to the acquisition of literacy and numeracy: 'Primary Education should teach the child how to write, read, and count and to acquire direct perception of reality'.¹²

Finally, the government brought no substantial change to the primary curriculum of the dictatorship - apart from a rhetorical expansion of the aims of the primary curriculum.¹³ The new statutory curriculum issued in 1977 was remarkably similar to the former curriculum: in most subjects listed, the new curriculum was a mere 'translation' of the previous one from *katharevousa* into *demotiki*.¹⁴

Accordingly, the new textbooks channelled to schools were exemplars of the old ideologies and the pedagogic perceptions that had dominated in the past.¹⁵ Some of the textbooks approved for use in schools soon after the end of the dictatorship as well as after the 1976 reform had been first issued in 1954. Moreover, the third grade was given a language textbook initially approved by the dictatorship.¹⁶ As remnants of a curriculum reform that 'hadn't been made' those textbooks were conveyors of political propaganda and authoritarian pedagogic discourses. Nationalism, a positive stance towards war, women's and children's humility and obedience were some of the textbooks' main features. According to Fragoudaki, who analysed their content, the textbooks exerted 'ideological coercion and pedagogic violence'.¹⁷ Similar criticisms were offered of the language textbooks delivered to schools in 1979-1980 following the statutory curriculum of 1977.¹⁸ In general, the primary textbooks were criticised for being full of outmoded and dogmatic content and for cultivating passiveness and rote learning on the basis of which the teacher had to assess the acquisition of their content.¹⁹

The government made use of the central mode of curriculum control, namely the Centre for Educational Studies and Inservice (KEME) established by the reform legislation. KEME ignored the re-submitted proposals of the educationists who had designed the uncompleted curriculum reform in 1964 (as members of the then Pedagogical Institute) and finally adopted a modified version of the dictatorship's curriculum.

Thus, the 1976 legislation brought about the demanded 'democratisation' and 'modernisation' in the organisational form of schooling but not in primary schools' pedagogic practice. Primary education was still operating with a curriculum unaltered since 1913 as the conservative government of *New Democracy* (1975-1981) did not undertake any change aimed at 'democratising' the content of schooling.

From that point of view, the 1976 legislation introduced an *external reform*, while the *internal reform* remained to be done, in the sense that *external reform* refers to organisational issues such as administration and school types, and the *internal* covers curriculum content, textbooks, classroom pedagogy and evaluation procedures:

Whatever has been done in our country after 1976 could be interpreted as restricted almost exclusively to the external reform area. The attempts in the internal reform domain which were pursued hastily to cover various needs are literally of a transitional character and they do not lead to a qualitative result; therefore the internal reform remains to be done.²⁰

However, due to the lack of school-defined pedagogic practice the *internal reform* could only be brought about by the state.

This period of the Greek educational reform is analogous to the English in the 1960s when the abolition of the 11+ examination and the move to comprehensivisation altered the organisational form of education. In England, however, the *internal reform* – that is the shift of

pedagogic practice - was made possible by autonomous professional activities that took place in the frame of the decentralised mode of curriculum control. As Bernstein notes in regard to the English case:

The change of form by the state under the impetus of the movement towards reducing arbitrary privilege (selective schools) created an autonomous local space for the construction of curriculum and the manner of its acquisition. The abolition of selection, consequent upon the move to comprehensivisation, removed a crucial regulator upon the organisation and curricular emphasis of the primary school. Thus both at primary and secondary levels a pedagogic space existed for appropriation by the activities of the PRF.²¹

Thus, the removal of control over evaluation procedures and the opening of access to secondary education in England allowed for shifts in primary curriculum content and pedagogy which were officially endorsed by the Plowden Report.

In contrast, in Greece the changes did not leave space for shifts in content and pedagogy as these two message systems were subject to the central mode of curriculum control.

Indeed, the establishment of KEME along with a limited re-organisation of educational administration preserved and amplified the centralised character of the whole system.²² KEME issued the curriculum and the textbooks, compiled the school timetables, sent pedagogical guidelines to schools and supervised the introduction of any reform measures taken by the government. There was an increase in supervisory staff and the education offices to which schools were subject.²³ Pedagogic practice was monitored by various decrees, circulars²⁴ as well as inspectors entitled to exercise management and curriculum control over schools and teachers.²⁵

The remaining *internal* reform in Greek primary education would be brought about by the state and its selected agents rather than by school initiatives. Hence, the alteration of the current pedagogic

practice in primary education would take the form of demands for further 'democratisation' and 'modernisation' addressed to the state, as will be seen below.

All political parties covering the centre and left of the political spectrum strongly criticised the then government because it left unaltered the traditional curriculum. The ideological and pedagogic orientation of the official curriculum as well as the outmoded textbooks were central in the political parties' and teacher unions' agendas, which stressed the 'democratisation' and 'modernisation' of education.²⁶ Reform was expected to include re-orientation of educational aims, to be actualised by changes in the textbooks and a liberal/progressive pedagogy in the classroom.

In particular, PASOK, the socialist party which was to come into office and implement the curriculum reform, declared that the main aims should be 'the change of values, content and directions of education' and familiarisation of schools 'with democratic institutions and the democratic process'. It advocated and promised a 'radical change of the relationship of teachers and taught, teaching methods and control of learning'. For PASOK 'dialogue should replace *ex cathedra* teaching' and teachers should be considered 'as conveyors of cognitive process rather than of an authoritarian imposition of knowledge'.²⁷

Similarly, the two teachers' unions, for primary and secondary education, emphasised in their agendas a need for re-orientation of aims through a new statutory curriculum and textbooks. OLME, the Secondary Teacher's Union, asked for a 'radical revision of the curriculum' so that it would be 'democratic, namely to have an anti-authoritarian and anti-dogmatic character in its content and form as well as to ensure the active participation of the student in the learning process . . .'.²⁸ A curriculum, according to the Primary Teachers' Union (DOE), should 'serve the need of the school's and society's democratisation . . . cultivate the ideal of democracy, freedom and the

participating and social skills and . . . develop critical consciousness'.²⁹ Like most of the political forces demanding a curriculum reform, DOE considered textbooks of high importance for changing pedagogic practice in primary schools and thus an essential element of reform:

The new textbooks should be based on an educational philosophy that rests on the principles of democracy and real humanitarianism and they should give to pupils the opportunity to know themselves and the world, to explore social reality, to question, to plan new things and replace the old ones.

In addition, the new textbooks should:

- α) serve the needs of the country;
- β) correspond to the child's stage of maturation;
- γ) avoid moralistic and correctional gospels;
- δ) stimulate and guide pupils' activities;
- ε) discourage teacher-centred learning.³⁰

Evidently, in the framework of the demands for 'democratisation' and 'modernisation' in education, the major political and trade union forces in Greece struggled to establish liberal/progressive principles that had not managed to become official policy earlier in this century. As was seen in the historical overview of the thesis, it was about the same principles that Greek pedagogues like A. Delmousos and D. Glinos fought from the first decades of the century without managing to obtain the endorsement of the state. Again, the main demands were that curriculum should be driven by democratic values to inspire pupils to act constructively in a liberal society and to use actively their own potential in order to discover knowledge. Thus, the words of one of the later protagonists of the curriculum reform could have easily been spelled out some decades before:

a curriculum reform in the desirable direction would necessitate the departure from the superficial encyclopaedism, the textbook-centrism and the passive stance towards knowledge, and their

replacement with the basic educational structures, active learning methods and exploratory forms of work.³¹

However, from the 1960s the child-centred principles of the New Education movement were combined with developments in the area of educational psychology and their implications in curriculum design. Piagetian developmental psychology as well as its further enrichment and application to curriculum planning by Jerome Bruner exercised a strong influence on the educationists assigned to carry out the failed curriculum reform of 1964. As was mentioned above, their work was discontinued by the military regime of 1967-1974 and further neglected by the right-wing government of *New Democracy*, as it was incompatible with the policy of retaining the current pedagogic model in primary education. In contrast, their pedagogic convictions were endorsed by the political and trade union forces pressing for 'modern' ways of curriculum construction and textbooks writing.³²

That consensus amongst the interested parties on the general principles that should govern a curriculum reform was not restricted to its content, but was also extended to the dominant mode of its control. The way of making decisions about the curriculum was established in law in 1975 and it again remained unaltered and undisputed by the political parties. Although most interested parties were against the official curriculum policy and the government's insistence on past curricula, none of them disputed the existing way of defining what was to be taught in the classroom. From the 1976 reform onwards, most of the political parties criticised the strong centralisation of the educational system and they submitted their proposals for decentralisation. However, in most cases either those proposals were general and vague or they asked for participation of representatives in centrally appointed bodies or committees. In addition, the proposed decentralisation mainly referred to administrative issues rather than to the curriculum.

Thus, the centre as well as the left-wing parties were arguing that all the interested parties should participate in the formation of educational policy, whereas PASOK promised that, when it came to power, 'the Government will be drawing up the general framework of the educational policy and the peripheral bodies will be materialising it. Participants in these bodies will be the people's elected representatives, the teachers' unions, parents etc.'³³ Apart from the reference to the textbooks' content and the teachers' discretion to select among textbooks previously approved, there were no specific proposals about the way that 'democratisation', 'decentralisation' and 'counter-bureaucratic' policy would affect an alternative approach to curriculum reform.³⁴

Similarly, the teachers' unions denounced the rigidly centralised character of the educational system, without pursuing ways to alter the traditional way that curriculum was defined. For example, OLME, the secondary teachers' union, repeatedly criticised the structural problem of Greek education:

The autocratic, centralised system of education lays down that all decisions are taken by the Ministry of Education with the effect that the voice of the interested parties, teachers', parents', students' is not heard . . . The centralised autocratic system, that persistently survives, is no longer able to serve the needs of education. Education should provide for 'open learning', namely participation by all interested parties in the decision-making processes on every important educational matter.³⁵

However, when OLME suggested the way that the curriculum reform should take place, it implied that 'voices can be heard' only at the central level: 'curriculum design should take place with the responsibility of the top executive educational body (now KEME) through committees in which in any case representatives of scientific and unionist parties will be participating'.³⁶ DOE, similarly, requested that the curriculum should be 'drawn up with the participation of the

directly interested, parents, teachers, students and Local Authorities'³⁷ without proposing an alternative scheme other than representatives' participation in *ad hoc* central committees.

There was, therefore, no dispute over the way that the desirable curriculum reform should be brought about. It was not proposed that individual schools should be 'liberated' from various centrally determined constraints which prevented an alternative pedagogic practice. Nor was curriculum definition a part of the requested decentralisation in the sense that teachers would become main actors in curriculum reform. Curriculum reform was regarded as 'the reform that hadn't been made', a change that could no longer wait for its accomplishment, but the only route to this change was a central authority that would accommodate the reform proposals of their sponsors through special bodies or *ad hoc* committees at the central level. For example, A. Vougioukas, one of the leading participants of the primary curriculum reform, was asking soon after the election of PASOK to office for some 'urgent measures', among which were:

- Immediate activation of KEME so that it will offer positive work . . . or abolition of it and setting up of councils with invited specialists for each issue
- Analytical guidelines to teachers so that they have the *right attitude* towards children and learning . . .³⁸ [*italics added*]

Thus, teachers were not considered vital protagonists and conveyors of the reform. They were simply regarded as the mediators of 'urgent' measures to be applied. One can therefore agree with A. Dimaras's commentary on the absence of any individual 'school personality' and teachers' inability to cause changes in their pedagogic practice without having the prior endorsement of central authority:

Educational reform is only expected 'from above', it cannot be raised 'from below', from school practice, from teachers' passion. Their [teachers'] negative findings from their contact with the

[school] reality, their disposition for altering things emerge solely as pressure to the central authority. . . I believe that we thus have an additional element to judge the effectiveness of the reactionary mechanisms which managed (often with the 'progressives' tolerance - sometimes with their acceptance) to discourage individual educational initiatives, to stifle teachers' pedagogic passion.³⁹

In sum, the 'democratisation' and 'modernisation' of Greek education brought about by the 1976/77 legislation was restricted to its organisational form. Apart from the establishment of *demotiki* and the abolition of ancient Greek teaching in Gymnasio, the then right-wing government did not proceed to curriculum reform after the fall of the dictatorship. Thus, the Greek state policy maintained officially the past ideologies and the performance model of pedagogic practice in primary education.

In the absence of autonomous pedagogic practice at schools, *internal* reform became a priority issue in the agenda of the major interested groups and key actors demanding the extension of 'democratisation' and 'modernisation' in curriculum policy. The curriculum reform was envisaged as a departure from the authoritarian ideologies and performance model at the levels of curriculum planning and practice, literally unaltered since 1913.

However, although decentralisation of the educational system was in general requested by most interested groups, there was no questioning of the dominant mode of curriculum control. Decentralisation was perceived as participation of appointed committees and representatives in central curriculum decision-making procedures. A re-orientation in curriculum policy was expected only by a central authority that would be ideologically in accord with the changes demanded and thus willing to carry them out. Such an authority came into office when PASOK, the socialist party headed by Andreas Papandreu, won the General Election of 1981. PASOK introduced a wide range of reform measures in

education among which was the reform of the primary curriculum. The next section concentrates on this reform.

4.3 THE PRIMARY CURRICULUM REFORM IN GREECE: THE OFFICIAL MOVE TO THE COMPETENCE MODEL OF PEDAGOGIC PRACTICE

It has been suggested so far that the 1976 reform brought about no changes in the aims and model of pedagogic practice of primary education although there was a strong demand for 'democratising' and 'modernising' state curriculum policy. This section will move the discussion to the primary curriculum reform that took place between the years 1982-1986. It will examine the basic features of the reform regarding the three message systems and the existing mode of curriculum control.

In particular, this section will argue that the curriculum reform of 1982-1986 was a strong move towards the institutionalisation of a competence modality of curriculum planning. However, as will also be argued, although the curriculum reform was accompanied by legislation intended to bring about decentralisation, the system maintained its centralised mode of curriculum control.

As soon as the socialist party (PASOK) came into power in 1981, a wide range of reform measures were introduced at all levels of education. This time the education measures were not opposed to the previous reform and thus the usual 'reform followed by counter-reform', characteristic of the Greek educational history, was broken.⁴⁰ PASOK's educational policy followed demands for 'democratisation' and 'modernisation' as expressed in the post-dictatorial era and not fully met by the 1976 reform. It covered a wide range of *external* and *internal* aspects of education on the basis of principles such as 'equal opportunities of access in education' and 'grass-root participation in

decision making'.⁴¹ In particular, the main educational provisions of this period were:

- the abolition of the university chair and its replacement by 'democratic procedures' and 'participation of the university community' in decision-making about research, teaching and management issues;⁴²
- the introduction of a four-year university education for primary and pre-primary teachers and replacement of the two-year teacher training colleges;⁴³
- the abolition of the inspectors and their managerial responsibilities over teachers and establishment of *school advisers* who would be responsible only for 'scientific-pedagogic' guidance to teachers;⁴⁴
- the establishment of Comprehensive Multibranch Lykeia (EPL) intended to weaken the boundaries of academic and vocational post-compulsory education;⁴⁵
- the re-organisation of educational administration to transfer decision-making powers to the bottom of the system;⁴⁶
- the further grammatical simplification of *demotiki* by removing most of its accent marks (*monotonic* system);⁴⁷
- the primary curriculum reform.

The primary curriculum reform in its basic principles can be dated from the beginning of the century, with the attempts for its introduction in this particular form starting in 1964. This time the new-elected government of PASOK rehabilitated the group of educationists who had pioneered the early attempts and re-activated their proposed curriculum reform. In its first stage, that is between 1982-1983, the reform issued the new statutory curriculum and the new textbooks for Language, Environmental Studies and Mathematics in the first and

second primary grades.⁴⁸ The rest of the curriculum was legislated later on, throughout the 1980s.

The reform was considered a ‘noiseless internal reform’ that brought a ‘new pedagogic spirit’ compatible with ‘the principles endorsed by all the great pedagogues . . . and the manifesto of governmental educational policy’.⁴⁹ From an historical perspective, then, the primary curriculum reform marked the endorsement by the state of the liberal/progressive aims and pedagogy officially neglected in the past. Such a delay was regarded by the curriculum reformers as harmful for the country’s modernisation and the current time was seen as a unique opportunity:

We had lost, as a nation, a lot of opportunities for the renewal of our educational matters and we fell behind. We shouldn’t lose this [opportunity] too. We proceeded with the conviction that we are modernising Greek education and since some ideas reach the public and they pass to the teacher, the pupil and the parent, nobody – no policy – will be able to ignore them any longer and . . . turn us back to outmoded, counter-pedagogic and counter-democratic schemes.⁵⁰

Similarly, DOE welcomed with enthusiasm ‘the new curriculum and the textbooks’, often referred together, as ‘a real revolution’ and ‘a great conquest of Greek education’.⁵¹ Moreover, it condemned those who ‘dream of the days when reaction dominated the country’s political life and the control over science and consequently over knowledge was complete’.⁵² According to DOE, the reactionaries were those who pursue ‘everything conservative at the social and political level’ and act against the progress of the Greek people: ‘They [the Greek people] know who tried to keep them in darkness and ignorance and who liberated knowledge, so that they approach it dauntlessly and critically’.⁵³

The shift to the competence model is visible at first in both the general educational aims stated in the 1566/85 Law and the aims for

primary education which conveyed the democratic values generally demanded after the dictatorship's overthrow:

The aim of primary and secondary education is to contribute to the all-out, harmonious and balanced development of the mental and physical powers of pupils, so that, regardless of their gender and descent, they have the potential to develop themselves in order to become integrated personalities and live creatively.

In particular, [Greek education] helps pupils:

α) To become free, responsible and democratic citizens, to defend national independence, the territorial integrity of the country and the original elements of the Christian Orthodox tradition. Freedom of the religious conscience is inviolable.

β) To cultivate and develop harmoniously their mind and their body, their aptitudes, their interests and their skills. To acquire, through their school education, social identity and conscience, and to realise and be aware of the social value and equality of mental and manual work. To be informed about and practise the - proper and beneficial for the human mankind - use and utilisation of the goods provided by modern civilisation as well as of the values of our folk tradition.

γ) To develop creative and critical thought and the idea of collective effort and co-operation in order to take initiatives and with their responsible participation to contribute decisively to society's progress and our country's development.

δ) To understand the importance of art, science and technology, to respect human values and to protect and promote their culture.

ε) To develop the spirit of friendship and co-operation with all the people of the earth, with the intention of creating a better world, fair and peaceful.⁵⁴

Clearly, the general aims stress humanitarian and democratic values at both national and international level. There is an emphasis on liberal ideals (α), personal and social development (introductory part, β, γ), national (α, γ) and international solidarity (ε) as well as humanitarian and pacifistic attitudes (α, β, δ, ε). Education now, according to the discourse adopted, aims to *contribute* to the development and to *help* pupils to develop particular attitudes rather than to inscribe them, as previous aims stated. Individuals are thus considered to possess in-built qualities subject to cultivation and empowerment which can contribute

to social practice. In addition to the emphasis in the general aims upon personal and social empowerment in a democratic society, the aims of primary education stress cognitive empowerment:

The aim of primary school is the multilateral mental and physical development of pupils in the context determined by the wider aim of primary and secondary education.

In particular, the primary school helps pupils:

- α) to widen and re-order the relations of their creative activity with the things, situations and phenomena that they study;
- β) to construct the mechanisms contributing to the assimilation of knowledge, to develop physically, to improve their corporal and inward health and cultivate their locomotive abilities;
- γ) to capture the content of the basic concepts and to acquire, gradually, the capability to transfer from the data of senses to the area of abstract thought;
- δ) to acquire the capability of correct use of written and oral speech;
- ε) to familiarise themselves gradually with moral, religious, national, humanitarian and other values and to organise these in a value system; and
- στ) to cultivate their aesthetic criteria so they be able to appreciate works of art and to accordingly express themselves, through their own artefacts.⁵⁵

Evidently, the new primary aims reflect a child-centred approach in the framework of Piagetian developmental psychology. The school is not regarded any longer as an institution which inscribes values and knowledge in children's minds. It is rather considered a supporter (it 'helps') in the activity of their learning. The restrictive role of primary education (as presented in the previous aims) is absent while no requirements for performance in the 3Rs are stated. On the contrary, the aims emphasise pupils' in-built potential and creativity for cognitive processes: pupils widen, re-order, construct mechanisms to learn, improve, develop and organise.

On the basis of the above aims, the curriculum reform marked an ideological change towards liberal/progressive values and a strong move towards a competence modality. Schools were called on by the

educationists of the Ministry of Education to familiarise themselves with a child-centred pedagogy, a different conception of the child stemming from developmental psychology and its theoretical underpinning of the learning process. The educational professionals recruited by the state to carry out the curriculum reform were assigned to diffuse the new official educational discourse to teachers through publications, seminars⁵⁶ and interviews – mainly through the centralised mode of curriculum control. The changes announced were broad and affected all the three message systems of pedagogic practice.

On content, there was a re-organisation towards the weakening of boundaries across and within subjects. Curriculum content was settled in four *domains of learning or activities*: the Language domain ('communication and expression of creative thinking'), the Mathematical domain ('mathematical reasoning'), the Environmental Studies domain ('study of the physical and human environment within space and time') and the Aesthetic and Physical domain (music, art and physical education). According to the curriculum reformers 'the curriculum has taken a new pedagogical dimension, since the traditional fragmentation of knowledge is abolished and an attempt has been made to integrate knowledge in great self-inclusive categories'.⁵⁷ Indeed, fragmented areas of learning were integrated in such way that for example Reading, Essay Writing, Grammar and Syntax were absorbed in Language, Arithmetic and Geometry constituted Mathematics, Chemistry and Physics (Zoology and Phytology) were incorporated in Science, and a wide range of traditional subjects were incorporated in Environmental Studies.⁵⁸

Moreover, on the basis of the new educational purposes there was a shift in the ideological content of the curriculum towards liberal/progressive values. Many studies which focused on the new textbooks demonstrated the changed values projected in comparison to the past.⁵⁹ Strong evidence was provided that the new curriculum

content was permeated by elements of social awareness, international understanding, global and peace education, anti-racist, anti-sexist and environmental education. Thus, the child projected in the textbooks is presented as aware of his/her human and social rights, respecting other people and races, protecting the natural environment, fighting against war and for disarmament, and desiring peace with the neighbouring countries.⁶⁰ Such values and attitudes were stressed by the curriculum reformers who advocated that the child should be 'deeply sensitised' and acquire a 'democratic theory of life'.⁶¹

Accordingly, the pedagogic principles for which the *demotacist* pedagogues had fought for in the earlier failed reforms - that is, the counter-authoritarian and child-centred pedagogy of the New Education movement - were now officially endorsed. Principles such as 'learning by doing', 'the child should learn how to learn' and 'teaching ends where and when the investigation of a topic ends' were stressed by the curriculum reformers.⁶² Learning was defined on the basis of cognitive psychology, stemming from the theories of Piaget and Bruner, as a discovery of the structures of knowledge and thus teachers were asked to place the child's activities at the centre of teaching and to apply discovery methods in acquiring knowledge.⁶³ The purpose of school was not to transmit facts but to develop children's abilities to conduct learning activities:

We started from the principle that aim of the school is not to create a prescient, a wise man, but a thinking man. This principle led us to give the teacher a curriculum-instrument for questioning and thinking, not a curriculum-vehicle for information transfer. Emphasis is placed not on the knowledge *per se*, but on the procedure of its acquisition; not on the result of learning but on the activities leading to its acquisition. Knowledge is an instrument, not an end in itself. In this process the development of a research disposition is brought forth, not the accumulation of knowledge and the mnemonic recording of external reality. . . In the process of learning the axis is shifted from the teacher to the pupil . . .⁶⁴

Accordingly, in the wider project of 'democratisation' of school life, teachers were called to alter their relations with pupils. The teacher was asked to change his/her role in working with pupils by being equally supportive or/and by exercising positive discrimination for the benefit of the less favoured pupils:

We assign to the teacher a totally new role. The 'Sir' or the ruler of the classroom is now replaced by the co-ordinator of a working group or community, which is activated in the framework of modern life. The one-way teacher-pupil relationship with its consequent harm is abolished: chatter, mnemonic-mania, knowledge-mania, dogmatism and moralism, mental inactivity and passiveness, etc.

The teacher is there to encourage, to help pupils to overcome possible difficulties and to offer opportunities of attainment to all children. He is there to apply the axiom that 'the teacher's love and care should be shared equally to all children of the class, unless the unequal sharing is for the benefit of the less favoured children'.⁶⁵

The changes announced in primary pedagogy were to affect every area of learning. However particular directions and advice were given for each area. For example in modern Greek - a highly controversial area of learning before and after the introduction of *demotiki* - there was a shift away from the traditional methodology. Grammar rules in language teaching were considered a 'sterile intellectual occupation' and thus a re-orientation was proposed 'from the level of abstract or formal reasoning to the level of intuitive conception, [that is] from a theoretical to a practical treatment'.⁶⁶ Oral communication and children's free self-expression were given a central place in the learning process: 'we should place particular emphasis on oral communication, because oral speech is language *per se*, it is the matrix and source, it is prioritised in life, and as spontaneous expression is a right of children'.⁶⁷

Similarly, traditional essay writing was rejected as 'phrasal hypocrisy . . . denial of childhood and . . . similar to adults' formalities

and stereotypes'. In contrast, children's free written expression was emphasised and teachers were asked to accept the pupils' present competence in written work:

Teachers should respect the language spontaneity of children . . . we should help children to write what they think and say . . . A lot of what we regarded as weaknesses in children's language expression, syntactical errors etc., are characteristics of children's language. Children naturally pass through that phase. Thus, we should not strain the child's soul, this valuable and fresh childness, if we do not want to create young-grown-ups . . . we should not force children to talk like grown-ups before their time comes . . . The teacher's intervention in children's written expression, in the traditional way, has inhibiting results.⁶⁸

There were similar changes in mathematics: teachers were asked to consider mathematics a *means* rather than an *end*. The emphasis was now placed on the development of mathematical reasoning, the building of mathematical structures on the part of the pupil and the process of learning itself.⁶⁹ Similar principles permeated the curriculum in social studies - either accommodated under environmental studies or taught as separate subjects; there was an emphasis on the process of learning, pupils' learning activities and acquisition of knowledge structures.

Consistent with the child-centred pedagogy adopted were also the evaluation procedures. Evaluation was considered *formative*, an aid for the improvement of teaching practice rather than a means for pupil selection and for the comparison of performance:

The proper teacher is not there to appraise pupils' performance by comparing one with the other and by praising the high [performance] and condemning the low; neither is he interested in performance itself regardless of effort and motivation. He is primarily interested in co-operative or participatory learning, and in the effort and contribution of the child according to his/her potential.⁷⁰

Marking of pupils' work was therefore suspected by the curriculum reformers. At that time the numerical grading (1-10) in primary education had already been abolished as well as the *redoublement* pattern of pupils' progression (repetition of a grade for additional years). Pupils were now given annual reports based on a broad alphabetical categorisation (A, B, Γ).⁷¹ However, the curriculum reformers looked forward to the complete abolition of assessment reports and marking which were considered socially unjust and incompatible with the 'new pedagogic approach':

Marking degrades learning . . . sparks competition and becomes an additional cause for elitist discrimination amongst pupils . . . In the new perception about school learning introduced by the new curriculum, marking has no place. . . . with marking we formalise for the children with low potential or emotional problems what they intuitively realise: that they are not worth much or they are worth nothing. And it would be unreasonable to expect that these children would find the strength to overcome their shocked feelings and react positively to marking. Not only does marking become a cause of psychological disorder for many children but it also creates an insufferable climate at home that aggravates the situation.⁷²

Overall, the Greek primary curriculum reform that took place in 1980s signified an official move to a competence model of pedagogic practice. The shift was based upon a re-orientation of educational aims towards liberal/progressive values which stressed the democratic and cognitive empowerment of pupils. Accordingly, the state through its selected agents (educational professionals) announced an official alteration in the three message systems of pedagogic practice. Through the curriculum reform a move towards weakening the boundaries among subjects was initiated as well as a change in the ideology of the curriculum content. Pupils' activities, learning processes and competence according to their stage of development were regarded as central elements of classroom pedagogy. Evaluation, consequently, was

given a *formative* character, an aid to teaching improvement rather than a means of identifying the pupil's deficits and differentiating pupils according to their performance.

However, although official curriculum policy initiated a shift to the liberal/progressive mode, there was no alteration in the existing mode of curriculum control. The new primary curriculum was characterised by a 'top to bottom' transmission, carried out by the traditional bureaucratic mechanism of the Ministry of Education. At first KEME, the curriculum development body subject to the Minister, and then the re-established *Pedagogical Institute*, were the civil service mechanisms within which the *internal* reform was brought about. There were no consultation procedures or curriculum evaluation prior to the reform. Urgency, to introduce a long-demanded and over-mature reform along with the absence of officially established processes, was the justification.⁷³

Nevertheless, the argument of urgency to justify the process followed was soon proved groundless as the same central authority introduced a few years later Educational Law 1566/85 in which the existing mode of curriculum control was enshrined once more. Although the Law legislated for the previously manifested decentralisation of the Greek educational system, it neither altered the mode of management control (as will be seen in the next chapter) nor the mode of curriculum control: KEME was renamed the *Pedagogical Institute* but schools remained responsible solely to implement its curriculum decisions. Terzis compared the Pedagogical Institute of 1964, the KEME of 1975 and the Pedagogical Institute of 1985 and demonstrated the remarkable similarity in their terms of reference;⁷⁴ as in the past, the Pedagogical Institute is directly subject to the Minister of Education who appoints its members and approves both their research and their curriculum development projects. Thus, the shift to liberal/progressive educational purposes and the competence model of pedagogic practice in the 1980s

was made by preserving the overall mono-dimensional pattern of educational control. How the new pedagogic model was positioned in the mono-dimensional pattern is discussed in the next chapter.

4.4 THE QUESTIONING OF THE EXISTING MODEL OF PEDAGOGIC PRACTICE IN ENGLAND: THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CURRICULUM REFORM

This section moves the discussion to the English case. It will investigate the beginnings of the current curriculum policy in the 1970s. The purpose of this section is to demonstrate the questioning of the educational aims and the existing pedagogic practice in primary schools. In particular, it will be seen that there was an official questioning of the purposes and model of pedagogic practice previously celebrated in the Plowden Report, as well as of the existing mode of curriculum control. Thus, as will be seen, in contrast to the Greek case the same period in England is characterised by an official questioning of the competence model of pedagogic practice.

The first governmental moves were preceded by two previous events which had considerable public resonance: the publication of the *Black Papers* and the case of William Tyndale Junior School. The *Black Papers* were a series of right-wing pamphlets which offered a critique of all levels of education. While the first *Black Paper*⁷⁵ focused predominately on student unrest in 1968 and the consequent implications on higher education, the second and the third *Black Papers*⁷⁶ targeted comprehensive education and primary pedagogic practice. With the title *Primary Schools: Moving Progressively Backwards*, the *Black Paper* writers strongly disputed the competence model. Progressive primary schools were accused of indiscipline and low standards of behaviour, excessive reliance on 'discovery methods' and low standards in literacy and numeracy:

. . .there are many who are very worried by the apparent vagueness of purpose and lack of concern for standards of attainment, inherent in so many public expressions of approval given to progressive education . . . they [the parents] want their children to be happy, to be kept quietly, busily and purposefully learning, to be well behaved, and to be trained to concentrate on

specific tasks set them . . . they want the work to be organised to make the most of the children's talents, predilections and interests in the world at large, at the same time providing a sound basis of knowledge of the 3 R's . . . children come to school to learn not just to be active and self-expressive.⁷⁷

The extensive discussion created by the Black Papers and the media about schools' pedagogic practice⁷⁸ found an illustration in the case of William Tyndale Junior School in Inslington which drew unprecedented national publicity between 1973 and 1975. The William Tyndale case captured the existing concerns about the damage that could occur from child-centred teaching methods and non-accountable teachers. The headteacher and some teachers were accused of disorganisation in teaching, neglect of key aspects of curriculum content and poor discipline resulting in disruption problems. The ILEA sacked the teachers who refused their statutory obligation to be inspected and published a report of its inquiry justifying the original suspicions.⁷⁹ The Tyndale affair was conceived as a typical case of the existing pedagogic 'status quo' in primary schools and, therefore, an appropriate opportunity for re-consideration of the mode of curriculum control. Dale, who analysed the impact of the Tyndale case in the formation of the educational policy, pointed out with ironic intent:

What the William Tyndale affair did, of course, was to *prove* that this was no mere fantasy. It demonstrated that what we had all felt in our hearts about progressive education when it was being so enthusiastically pushed was right after all. There could no longer be any objection to the necessary measures to tighten up the education service being taken; . . . the growing economic crisis which came to a head in the early 1970s, together with its political repercussions, established the need for new objectives for the education system; the route to be followed to these objectives was both specified and cleared of major obstacles by the reactions to the William Tyndale affair. [original italics]⁸⁰

Indeed, these events were taking place in a framework of reactions to the negative economic circumstances that Britain, like most

developed countries, faced in the early 1970s. The sudden increase of oil prices in 1973 and the consequent economic crisis had major implications for the English education system. The resources spent on education and *value for money* were reconsidered. Leading industrialists and employers, Conservative politicians and sections of the media⁸¹ disputed the performance of schools as well as the accountability of teachers: 'the message for education was clear in outline, if not in detail; it called for a much more effective implementation of the human capital policy which had been supposed to maintain the white heat of the technological revolution'.⁸²

The DES also faced criticisms for inadequate educational planning and for its inability to correspond to the new economic circumstances. Such criticisms were revealed in two major studies in 1975 and 1976 asking the DES to intervene in the curriculum planning process in order to increase the performance of education. The first study was a review of educational planning in England and Wales carried out by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), particularly focusing on an examination of the White Paper *Education: A Framework for expansion*. In their final report the OECD examiners criticised the DES for secrecy and failure to lead educational policy in the conditions of economic recession.⁸³

The second study was produced by the House of Commons Expenditure Committee and it was also concerned with policy-making in the DES. Criticisms of excessive secrecy as well as inadequate planning were reiterated, while particular reference was made to the contemporary mode of curriculum control: 'The Committee does not share the view that the curriculum is a 'secret garden' which none but the initiated may enter. We note that the Schools Council has a substantial built-in majority of organised teacher interests and that there is, as it seems to us, far from adequate representation of the many other groups ...'.⁸⁴

Evidently, the DES was a recipient of pressures for its assumed weakness to take measures which would revise its influence over the curriculum. Those criticisms were accepted, since the DES agreed with the Expenditure Committee's view that there should be greater lay participation in the work of the Schools Council, stressing, in addition, that some measures for the appraisal of the major elements of the curriculum had already been taken.⁸⁵

The political initiatives of the DES were given high recognition by the then Prime Minister James Callaghan, who delivered a speech in 1976 at the Ruskin College. Callaghan's speech as well as the governmental publications and initiatives that followed were a political intervention in education, during the years 1976 and 1977. The Yellow Book, the Prime Minister's speech, the Great Debate that followed and the Green Paper comprise a set of actions that can be understood through a phrase used in *The Guardian* on the 13th of October 1976: 'State must step into schools'.⁸⁶

The newspaper sub-title was used on the occasion of the leaking to the Press of the Yellow Book, a DES confidential memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister in July of 1976. The Yellow Book set the agenda of the 'major issues of concern' which James Callaghan referred to in his Ruskin College speech and which were to be the main issues of the Great Debate on education that he launched. Following the Prime Minister's call, a series of preliminary meetings were initiated in November 1976, with the participation of educational and industrial organisations, to discuss the agenda of the Great Debate. Four topics were chosen by those meetings as the subjects of discussion of eight regional one-day conferences that took place in February and March 1977.⁸⁷ Finally, the Great Debate culminated with the publication and presentation to the Parliament of the government's Green Paper in July 1977.

In retrospect, the Great Debate was judged as ‘not a debate and . . . not very great’,⁸⁸ not only for the short length of time and the brief opportunities given to all participants to set out their views but also for its underlying purpose to justify the government’s deliberations: ‘the Great Debate was a publicity exercise in showbiz style, a fanfare for the DES, now publicly entering the ‘secret garden’.⁸⁹ The actual outcome of the Great Debate as a political initiative was a publicly legitimised step towards the alteration of the existing mode of curriculum control.⁹⁰

The discussion below will analyse the political initiatives of 1976 and 1977 focusing on the state’s questioning of the schools’ pedagogic practice and its control as well as the actions proposed for their alteration. In other words, attention will be paid to the re-consideration on the part of the state of the three message systems in primary schools and the contemporary mode of curriculum control.

The concerns expressed by employers and the media about the overall state of education and its contribution to Britain’s economic growth were the starting point of the debate initiated by the government as well as DES publications. James Callaghan stressed in his Ruskin speech that he was ‘concerned to find complaints from industry that new recruits from the schools sometimes do not have the basic tools to do the job that is required’,⁹¹ and the Green Paper referred also to these criticisms and their source of concern:

Children’s standards of performance in their school work were said to have declined. The curriculum, it was argued, paid too little attention to the basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic, and was overloaded with fringe subjects. Teachers lacked adequate professional skills, and did not know how to discipline children or to instil in them concern for hard work or good manners. Underlying all this was the feeling that the educational system was out of touch with the fundamental need for Britain to survive economically in a highly competitive world through the efficiency of its industry and commerce.⁹²

The above criticisms referred to all levels of education. However the inability to respond to the needs of industry was considered much more obvious in secondary schools. Employers, according to the Yellow Book, were dissatisfied by the school leavers' inability to demonstrate the skills needs for their recruitment.⁹³ Thus, schools were encouraged to take into serious consideration the employers' criticisms and especially to realise that industry's well being should be conceived by schools as the country's well being:

... only a minority of schools convey adequately to their pupils the fact that ours is an industrial society - a mixed economy; that we depend upon industry to create the wealth without which our social services, our education and arts cannot flourish; and that industry offers scope for the imagination and even the idealism of young people.⁹⁴

Britain's industrial present and future was the main concern that pervaded the government's educational campaign.⁹⁵ Any alleged decline of educational performance was associated by the government with further consequences for the country's economic performance.

Furthermore, the government went on to trace the sources of inadequate performance. As by that time HMI surveys of both primary and secondary schools were still in process, the government's 'findings' were virtually the assumptions held by the employers and the media. Reiterating these assumptions, the government located the alleged low educational standards in the competence model of pedagogic practice officially endorsed in 1960s as well as the established mode of curriculum control. As the Green Paper stressed:

Unfortunately these newer and freer methods could prove a trap to less able and experienced teachers who failed to recognise that they required a careful and systematic monitoring of the progress of individual children in specific skills, as well as a careful planning of the opportunities offered to them. Nor are they always understood and appreciated by parents even when

successfully applied. As a result, while primary teachers in general still recognise the importance of formal skills, some have allowed performance in them to suffer as a result of the uncritical application of informal methods;⁹⁶

In some classes, or even some schools, the use of the child-centred approach has deteriorated into lack of order and application.⁹⁷

Skills and performance were therefore considered damaged by the use of progressive methods in contrast with what the prosperity of the country and its citizens needed: 'There is no virtue in producing socially well-adjusted members of society who are unemployed because they do not have the skills',⁹⁸ was stressed by James Callaghan, who also underlined that the secondary curriculum should emphasise science, mathematics and technology.⁹⁹

In primary education the necessity was the protection of the 3R's since this was the main area where the government saw decline in standards: 'While the majority of primary teachers, whatever approach they use, recognise the importance of performance in basic skills such as reading, spelling and arithmetic, some have failed to achieve satisfactory results in them'.¹⁰⁰

The identification of a decline in standards was often contradictory.¹⁰¹ However, the government in its various official statements made clear that the main point was not the validity of the findings but the need to shift educational priorities in order to deal with the new economic conditions:

It would be anachronistic and unfair to blame the schools for [over-emphasising social roles], because, to the extent that they exhibited this bias, they were responding to the mood of the country and indeed to the priorities displayed by the wider policies of successive governments; but here [in secondary schools], as in the primary schools, the time may now be ripe for a change (as the national mood and government policies have changed in the face of hard and irreducible economic facts).¹⁰²

Whether or not it is found that standards have remained constant, risen or fallen over some past period is less important than

whether the standards which are being achieved today correspond as nearly as possible to society's requirements.¹⁰³

It is not enough to say that standards in this field have or have not declined. With the increasing complexity of modern life we cannot be satisfied with maintaining existing standards, let alone observe any decline. We must aim for something better.¹⁰⁴

The overall case was for a re-orientation of educational aims so that the English educational system becomes more responsive to the new economic challenge. To meet this purpose, the Green Paper drew up a set of aims that schools should follow:

Schools must have aims against which to judge the effectiveness of their work and hence the kinds of improvements that they may need to make from time to time. The majority of people would probably agree with the following attempt to set out these aims... :

- (i) to help children develop lively, enquiring minds; giving them the ability to question and to argue rationally, and to apply themselves to tasks;
- (ii) to instil respect for moral values, for other people and for oneself, and tolerance of other races, religions, and ways of life;
- (iii) to help children understand the world in which we live, and the interdependence of nations;
- (iv) to help children to use language effectively and imaginatively in reading, writing and speaking;
- (v) *to help children to appreciate how the nation earns and maintains its standard of living and properly to esteem the essential role of industry and commerce in this process;*
- (vi) *to provide a basis of mathematical, scientific and technical knowledge, enabling boys and girls to learn the essential skills needed in a fast-changing world of work;*
- (vii) to teach children about human achievement and aspirations in the arts and sciences, in religion, and in the search for a more just social order;
- (viii) to encourage and foster the development of the children whose social or environmental disadvantages cripple their capacity to learn, if necessary by making additional resources available to them.¹⁰⁵ [italics added]

The above aims underline two main features as a result of the governmental campaign; firstly, schools were called on to assess their

work and secondly to place emphasis on values and skills needed to meet the country's new demands, as described by the government. Along with aims for critical thinking, multiculturalism, humanitarianism and social justice (i, ii, vii, viii), the governmental document expresses the official intent to make schools more responsive to economic needs by emphasising 'essential skills' (v, vi). In primary education the desired shift of emphasis on basic skills was also made clear by the Green Paper: 'Literacy and numeracy are the most important of these [skills]; no other curricular aims should deflect teachers from them. By definition they must form part of the core of learning, the protected area of the curriculum'.¹⁰⁶

Accordingly, for primary pedagogy, the Yellow Book stressed that 'the time is almost certainly ripe for a corrective shift of emphasis'¹⁰⁷ and the Green Paper called on schools 'to restore the rigour without damaging the real benefits of child-centred developments'.¹⁰⁸ Both the 'rigour' and the 'shift of emphasis' were evidently perceived as placing more weight on evaluation procedures. Teachers were asked by the Green Paper to modify their teaching in order to become 'clear about the ways in which children make and show progress in the various aspects of their learning' and to 'be able to identify with some precision the levels of achievement represented by pupils' work'.¹⁰⁹

Both the Yellow Book and the Green Paper made reference to the ways that schools should emphasise pupils' evaluation during classroom teaching as well as at the LEA and national level. In particular, the Green Paper argued that a 'growing recognition of the need for schools to demonstrate their accountability to the society which they serve requires a coherent and soundly based means of assessment for the educational system as a whole, for schools, and for individual pupils'.¹¹⁰ For the purposes of 'demonstrating accountability' the document suggested a whole range of assessment processes which, apart from the individual teachers, included the LEAs, the HMI and the Assessment of

Performance Unit (APU), a newly established body. As HMI had already undertaken two major surveys of both primary and secondary schools, the LEAs were asked to 'try to achieve a greater degree of uniformity in their approach to the assessment of schools' by taking 'account of examination and test results' as well as 'the knowledge of the authorities' officers'.¹¹¹

However, the main evaluative mechanism of the government assigned to carry out the task of a curriculum appraisal was the APU established in 1974. The APU's terms of reference were 'to promote the developments of methods of assessing and monitoring the achievement of children at school, and to seek to identify the incidents [sic] of under-achievement'.¹¹² Although this Unit was supposed to have been established for assessing the special needs of disadvantaged children, it was soon made obvious, as Lawton demonstrated,¹¹³ that its actual aim was to exert central influence over the curriculum. In reality, the APU was a governmental response to the growing anxiety about the standards. Brian Kay, the Head of the Unit, in an article in 1975 explained the rationale of the establishment the APU: 'In recent years there has been a growing interest in the assessment of pupils' performance at school, related in the minds of many people to some anxiety about standards. This interest and concern is felt not only by teachers but by politicians and administrators, employers and the general public'.¹¹⁴ Later on, during 1977 and 1978, in their explanatory leaflets, the DES/APU became more explicit about the real reasons which led to the establishment of the Unit:

The last ten years have seen changes in school organisation and curriculum. We need to be able to monitor the consequences for children's performance in school. We need to know how our schools are serving the changing needs of children and society. That is why the Department of Education and Science set up the APU.¹¹⁵

In the absence of any legal framework allowing central intervention in schools' pedagogic practice, the government set up a mechanism to influence the curriculum via the evaluation of pupils: 'What is tested one year will tend to become the curriculum for future years' Lawton noted in his criticism of the APU's role.¹¹⁶

So far it has been demonstrated that the English state launched, with its 1976-1977 campaign, a re-orientation of educational aims to meet economic goals. For primary education the new aims signified a departure from the competence model of pedagogic practice celebrated in the Plowden Report in 1967 and a move to a performance modality. A major step towards this direction on the part of the state was the monitoring of schools' performance by the APU in order to find out whether pupils demonstrated the required attainment in basic skills and subjects.

However, as this thesis will argue in the next chapter, the emphasis upon evaluation of achievements would be incorporated in the National Curriculum, legislated in 1988. The beginnings of its introduction can be seen in this period (1970s), since the existing mode of curriculum control was, apart from schools' pedagogic practice, the other major target of governmental attack. Indeed, James Callaghan clearly indicated in his speech that the decentralised mode of curriculum control, was considered by the government as an obstacle to the changes planned: 'I take it that no one claims exclusive rights in [education]. . . If everything is reduced to such phrases as 'educational freedom versus State control', we shall get nowhere'.¹¹⁷

In particular, the government was against the Schools Council which, with its majority of teachers, guaranteed teachers' influence in constructing curricula. In criticising the role and performance of the Schools Council¹¹⁸ the Yellow Book suggested that the government: 'should firmly refute any argument - and this is what [teachers] have

sought to establish - that no one except teachers has any right to any say in what goes on in schools'.¹¹⁹

Similarly, the Green Paper in its section 'Action on the Curriculum', instead of analysing further the curriculum issues debated, was predominantly concerned with matters of authority over and responsibility for the curriculum:

It would not be compatible with the duty of the Secretaries of State to abdicate from leadership on educational issues . . . The Secretaries of State will therefore seek to establish a broad agreement with their partners in the education service on a framework for the curriculum, and, particularly, on whether . . . there should be a 'core' or 'protected part'.¹²⁰

Overall, this section has investigated the beginnings of the emergence of a centralised curriculum policy in England. It was suggested that the English state, in order to respond to the economic exigencies that the country was experiencing questioned the competence model of pedagogic practice celebrated by the Plowden Report and the established mode of curriculum control. The main shortcomings that the government identified were that curriculum content did not focus adequately on the basics and that the progressive pedagogy employed in primary schools was damaging pupils' attainment. Teachers and their responsibility over the curriculum were held responsible for the assumed decline of standards.

Furthermore, the government made clear that education should be seen as a basic instrument of economic performance and, thus, an alteration of schools' pedagogic practice was needed. For this purpose, the state activated an evaluative mechanism as a tool to control pedagogic practice and it set the agenda leading to a central curriculum. The process leading to the National Curriculum will be analysed in the next section.

4.5 TOWARDS THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM: THE OFFICIAL MOVE TO THE PERFORMANCE MODEL OF PEDAGOGIC PRACTICE

The previous section located the beginnings of the English curriculum reform in the 1970s and demonstrated that there was an official questioning of the competence model in primary education as well as a dispute over the existing mode of curriculum control. This section will move the analysis to the curriculum reform initiated in the 1980s and it will argue that the reform marked an official shift to the performance model of pedagogic practice. Moreover, it will be suggested that the move to the performance modality was institutionalised through the establishment of a centralised mode of curriculum control.

The state initiatives since the 1970s managed to circumscribe the field in which the educational debate was to be carried out. As Ball notes 'policies do not normally tell you what to do, they create circumstances in which the range of options available in deciding what to do are narrowed or changed, or particular goals or outcomes are set'.¹²¹ In this regard, the Great Debate and the Green Paper had identified problems in existing pedagogic practice and the control of the curriculum, and that was the direction in which the solutions were to be sought.

Following this agenda soon after the publication of the Green Paper, the DES with its Circular 14/77¹²² asked the LEAs to report on their curricular arrangements, attempting thereby to make apparent their deficits in satisfying the educational aims set by the government.¹²³ Two years later, the report produced by the DES on the LEA responses underlined the Secretary's of State intention 'to give a lead in the process of reaching a national consensus on a desirable framework for the curriculum and consider the development of such a framework a priority for the education service'.¹²⁴

The analysis below focuses on this process, attempting to identify the official shifts of pedagogic models especially in primary education. For this purpose, this section distinguishes two phases in the process of curriculum reform: firstly, the period 1979-1986 which coincides with the election of the Conservative Party to office (1979) and the first governmental attempts to alter schools' pedagogic practice; secondly, the period from 1986 until the early 1990s which includes the 1988 legislation for the implementation of the National Curriculum. Whereas during the first phase the move to a performance modality was not accompanied by the centralisation of curriculum control, the second phase was characterised by the official endorsement of the performance model through a newly-established central curriculum.

Indeed, the first half of the 1980s was marked by an official attempt to bring about a consensus over the alterations needed in schools' pedagogic practice so that the deficits in their performance - previously identified by the state - could be dealt with. From the outset though, the debate about a common curriculum was basically monopolised by the DES and the HMI. Professional views were either incorporated in the government's intentions (in the case of HMI) or excluded from the curriculum reform arena (in the case of teachers). Instead, the role of political pressure groups attached to the government (*New Right* groups) acquired an increasing importance in the process of curriculum reform, particularly in the second half of the 1980s.

Initially, the DES with its document *A Framework for the School Curriculum*¹²⁵ expressed its preference for a common curriculum that would respond to national and economic needs, have clear aims and objectives, on the basis of which its effectiveness was to be assessed. This curriculum would be structured in subjects.¹²⁶ On the other hand, the HMI, in their document *A View of the Curriculum*,¹²⁷ offered a different approach, without denying the need for clear objectives and response to public demands.¹²⁸ For HMI a common curriculum, in order

to be effective, should 'contribute to children's present well-being, whatever the age and stage of growth and development they have reached, and to their ability to take advantage of the opportunities available to them'.¹²⁹ Within the framework of these aims, the HMI proposed the organisation of a common curriculum in eight *areas of experience*: aesthetic/creative, ethical, linguistic, mathematical, scientific, physical, social/political and spiritual.¹³⁰

Analogous to the HMI View was the *Practical Curriculum*, the Schools Councils' first overall view of a common curriculum. Their proposal reflected the professional view that the curriculum should aim 'first, to enlarge [the child's] knowledge, experience and imaginative understanding, . . . awareness of moral values and capacity for enjoyment; and secondly to enable him to enter the world . . . as an active participant and responsible contributor to it, capable of achieving as much independence as possible'.¹³¹ In short, the Schools Council's proposal advocated a curriculum that 'fits the child', by planning to take into account his or her stage of development, by organising its content in related groups of subjects¹³² and by ensuring that assessment matches children's present potential: 'professional expertise is needed in planning, monitoring and assessment to ensure that children are given work which matches their development and to judge whether the standard of their work matches their ability'.¹³³

Thus, the official initiative of establishing a common curriculum started with a confrontation between an instrumental and a professional view of the purposes of such a curriculum. This discrepancy was pointed out by many authors who contrasted the DES and the HMI views.¹³⁴ In particular, Chitty discerned 'a professional common-curriculum approach' which reflects a genuine concern with the quality of the teaching process and with the needs of individual children' and 'seeks to undermine traditional subject boundaries',¹³⁵ advocated by the HMI. In contrast, the DES foregrounded a 'bureaucratic core-curriculum

approach' focusing on 'the efficiency of the whole system and the need to obtain precise information to demonstrate that efficiency'.¹³⁶

From the analytical point of view adopted here, the above proposals should be seen as representing two contrasting directions of educational purposes and consequently two competing modalities of pedagogic practice. The HMI and the Schools Council represented the professional advocacy of the competence modality; their common curriculum was *not* based on problems in pupils' performance¹³⁷ but aimed at the personal and social empowerment of pupils and favoured weak boundaries among subjects. The government, on the other hand, signified a desired move towards the performance modality, by advocating an instrumental common curriculum that would serve national and economic needs; their curriculum approach was aimed at dealing with deficits in pupils' performance through explicitly structured and subject-based pedagogic practice.

This incompatibility in curriculum reform purposes was still obvious in the policy document *The School Curriculum*, issued one year later,¹³⁸ despite apparent attempts at an integration. As Maw observed '*The School Curriculum . . . can be seen to incorporate two views of a national curriculum framework without reconciling them*' [original italics] and 'it reflects a lack of consensus within the DES itself, between the political/administrative view (the civil servants) and the professional (Her Majesty's Inspectorate)'.¹³⁹ However, the government through this document reiterated the need for enhancement of schools' performance and its preference for a subject-based common curriculum as well as the connection of the latter with extra-school experiences.¹⁴⁰ Again the governmental concern was to make schools' pedagogic practice explicitly structured and assessed and thus more effective:

Schools should . . . analyse and set out their aims in writing, and make it part of their work regularly to assess how far the education they provide matches those aims. Such assessments

should apply not only to the school as a whole but also to each individual pupil, and need to be supported by the keeping of adequate records for each pupil's progress. The assessments will help schools to plan effectively and to give, both to pupils and their parents, a clear account of what the school is offering.¹⁴¹

The official move to the performance modality was to take high priority in the government's agenda when Keith Joseph was in charge of the DES, from 1981 until 1986. The new Secretary of State for Education was a promoter of the idea of *excellence in education*, a traditional educational notion of the Conservative Party according to Knight.¹⁴² Joseph drew up the government's educational purposes through the DES White Paper *Better Schools*.¹⁴³ One year before, in his speech at the North of England Education Conference, the new Secretary of State illustrated the government's curriculum policy and called for:

an explicit definition of the objectives of each phase and of each subject area of the curriculum, of what in each needs to be learnt by all pupils and of what should additionally be attempted by some. . . Explicitly defined curricular objectives open the way to that increase in teacher expectations which successive HMI surveys and reports show to be so badly needed in so many schools - primary, secondary and special - in relation to so many pupils. High expectations based on defined objectives motivate pupils to give of their best, and help teachers to develop pupil's potential more systematically.¹⁴⁴

Thus, the government in its pursuit of performance enhancement was targeting alterations to bring about clear structuring and processing in the pedagogic practice of schools. As Knight noted analysing Joseph's policy 'the pursuit of *excellence in education* now meant the pursuit of *clear objectives* . . . [and a] much higher target for pupil performance' [original italics].¹⁴⁵ *Better Schools* further analysed and promoted the government's curriculum policy. This White Paper was an important statement in that it clarified the instrumental role attributed by the

government to education and marked the state's decisive move towards the performance model. Once more the starting point for an alteration of schools' practice were the deficits of their performance against the needs of the country: 'The Government's principal aims for all sectors of education are first, to raise standards at all levels of ability; and second, since education is an investment in the nation's future, to secure the best possible return from the resources which are found for it'.¹⁴⁶

The aim of raising standards was thus the principal one, while the personal and social empowerment of pupils – as previously set out by the HMI proposals – did not belong to the official priorities. Such a shift was apparent in the general educational purposes reiterated in *Better Schools*¹⁴⁷ as well as in the specification of the governmental priorities for primary and secondary education. In this framework, the government equated the concept of education with that of training¹⁴⁸ attributing a 'vocational' role to the curriculum of compulsory schooling: 'All the elements of a broad 5-16 curriculum are vocational in the sense that they encourage qualities, attitudes, knowledge, understanding and competencies which are a necessary foundation for employment'.¹⁴⁹

For primary education, the above priorities meant more emphasis on subjects and basic skills. According to the government the primary curriculum content should:

- place substantial emphasis on achieving competence in the use of language . . . ;
- place substantial emphasis on achieving competence in mathematics . . . ;
- introduce pupils to science;
- lay the foundation of understanding in religious education, history and geography, and the nature and values of British society;
- introduce pupils to a range of activities in the arts;
- provide opportunities throughout the curriculum for craft and practical work leading up to some experience of design and technology and of solving problems;

- provide moral education, physical education and health education;
- introduce pupils to the nature and use in school and in society of new technology;
- give pupils some insights into the adult world, including how people earn their living.¹⁵⁰

The above statement is indicative of the way that state policy perceived primary curriculum; the curriculum in primary schools now had to *introduce to, lay the foundation of and provide* subject knowledge. Developmental notions of content acquisition are absent and instead there is an emphasis on distinct subjects and basic skills.

Accordingly, the White Paper called for ‘good order in classrooms, corridors and school grounds’ and stressed the importance of evaluation for the improvement of pedagogic practice and the raising of standards. In particular, it called for ‘careful monitoring and recording of pupils’ progress’¹⁵¹ by teachers and the formulation of homework policies by LEAs and schools.¹⁵² Moreover, through *Better Schools*, the government itself strongly stressed the regulative role of evaluation on the other message systems of the curriculum, when reference was made to secondary education:

Examinations exert a strong influence on the secondary curriculum school curriculum, and they need to be designed and used in the service of the curriculum . . .

The Government believes that the examinations taken at school should serve the following specific objectives:

- 1) To raise standards across the whole ability range;
- 2) to support *improvements in the curriculum* and in *the way in which it is taught*;
- 3) to provide clear aims for teachers and pupils, to the benefit of both and of higher education and employers;
- 4) to record proven achievement;
- 5) to promote the measurement of achievement based on what candidates know, understand and can do;
- 6) to broaden the studies of pupils in the 4th and 5th secondary years and of 6th form students.¹⁵³ [*italics added*]

In line with the above expectations the government announced through its White Paper a range of measures regarding the reform of examinations in secondary schools. In particular, an examination reform for the age 16+ was announced, characterised by the establishment of national criteria according to which the new GCSE syllabuses had to be constructed.¹⁵⁴ Furthermore, the government introduced the Certificate of Pre-Vocational Education (CPVE) for which secondary pupils had to be assessed on the basis of nationally established 'levels of achievement'.¹⁵⁵ In addition, the DES provided financial support in order to develop the 'Records of Achievement', that is pupil profiles of performance for school leavers.¹⁵⁶

Thus, by 1985 the English state, in the course of establishing a common curriculum policy, initiated an official move to the performance modality mainly on the basis of economic criteria. For both primary and secondary education the move was intended to bring about changes to the three message systems: an increasing emphasis on basic subjects and skills, a clearly structured teaching process and the pursuit for higher standards of achievement.¹⁵⁷

What is noticeable in this period, however, is that although the government's policy favoured an alteration of pedagogic practice, it did not consider any alterations necessary in the existing mode of curriculum control:

The Government believes that the action now necessary to raise standards in school education can in the main be taken within the existing legal framework, which gives freedom to each LEA to maintain its existing pattern of school organisation and, if it wishes, to propose changes in that pattern.¹⁵⁸

Nevertheless, measures were taken towards the weakening of the contemporary mode of curriculum control and the consequent marginalisation of the professional voice in the curriculum reform arena. In 1984 the government abolished the School Council¹⁵⁹ and

replaced it by two advisory bodies: the School Curriculum Development Committee (SCDC) and the Secondary Examinations Council (SEC). The members of both bodies were nominated by the Secretary for State. Teachers' collective opposition against the announced re-orientation of curriculum policy could be expressed from then onwards only through union action.¹⁶⁰

Moreover, in the process of establishing a common curriculum policy the government managed to incorporate the initially opposite view of HMI. Both the *Better Schools* and HMI publication of the same year *The Curriculum from 5 to 16* marked, as some authors agree,¹⁶¹ a convergence between the instrumental and the professional view of curriculum reform. The DES based its diagnosis of performance deficits on the 'professional judgement' of HMI, while HMI revealed a shift on the purposes of a common curriculum policy. As was now stated in *The Curriculum from 5 to 16*:

In formulating the aims and objectives on which the curriculum should be built, schools will necessarily have to take account of the policy decisions of LEAs and central government and of the expectations of parents, employers and the community at large. They are properly expected to give attention to academic progress, though not to the exclusion of other important experiences.¹⁶²

Accordingly, as Salter and Tapper anticipated,¹⁶³ the government attributed to HMI the role of 'organic intellectuals' in the course of establishing an instrumental central curriculum. Indeed, Keith Joseph, in a DES conference on evaluation and appraisal held in 1985 as a follow-up to *Better Schools*, described their role as follows:

... HMI inspect and assess quality and standards of both teaching and learning. This work is undertaken not just to inform the government about the health of the education system as a whole; nor simply to provide those directly concerned with the institutions inspected with a basis for assessing and improving

their current practice. HMI's work is also undertaken to inform the education system and the public at large about current standards, and to promote improvements throughout the system at all levels.¹⁶⁴

Thus, the move to the performance modality launched by the government was accompanied by the incorporation (in the case of HMI) or marginalisation (in the case of teachers) of the professional voice which did share the view for a standards-oriented policy and state intervention; on the one hand the government re-defined and re-adjusted the HMI's role towards the new curriculum policy and on the other it excluded the teaching profession from the debate.

From the second half of the 1980s various political groups would take the lead of the curriculum debate. Since their educational discourse was favoured and adopted by the government in the 1988 legislation, as will be seen below, the review of their theses regarding the primary pedagogic practice would be helpful to highlight the official curriculum policy. In comparative terms, the review of these perceptions will show the contrasting difference with the educational perceptions that dominated the Greek reform process in the same decade.

In the course to the legislation of 1988 the so called New Right would dominate the debate about the purposes of the curriculum reform. The term 'New Right' here refers to the differentiated ideological strands and various pressure and 'think tank' groups in and around the Conservative government of M. Thatcher. Some of those groups with particular participation in the educational debate were: the *Black Paper Group*, the *Institute of Economic Affairs*, the *Education Research Centre*, the *Social Affairs Unit*, the *Centre for Policy Studies* and the *Hillgate Group*.¹⁶⁵ The role of these groups in the formation of the modern English educational policy has been identified by many authors.¹⁶⁶ Other authors have categorised the position of the New Right groups according to their ideological variations over the purposes and control of schooling.¹⁶⁷ A common distinction provided by these authors

is between the *neo-conservative* and the *neo-liberal* strands of conservatism, from which, in general terms, the first prefers a strong state while the second favours freedom of choice and market principles.

The discussion below reviews some of the views of these major conservative groups - representative of the neo-conservative and the neo-liberal strands - on primary pedagogic practice and the mode of curriculum control. As will be seen, regardless of the discrepancies between the different strands of thinking over the mode of curriculum control, the common denominator was a demand for a shift towards the performance model.

The key publications were issued by the Centre for Policy Studies (CPS, founded by Margaret Thatcher and Keith Joseph), the Hillgate Group (HG, comprising Caroline Cox, Jessica Douglas-Home, John Marks, Lawrence Norcross and Roger Scruton), and the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA, the pamphlet of which was written by Stuart Sexton, a political adviser of Keith Joseph, based on a paper prepared for the later).¹⁶⁸ The first two groups are taken as exemplars of the shift to the performance model through central curriculum control while the last one is a sponsor of the performance model through market regulation. Indeed, the CPS and the HG advocated a minimalist state curriculum control within a market system and the IEA preferred a total reliance of pedagogic practice upon market regulation.

In particular, the CPS and HP position was characterised by a return to traditional values in curriculum content, a focus on basic skills and distinct subjects, an attack on 'child-centred' teaching methods and an emphasis on *summative* evaluation. The HG prioritised the preservation of traditional values, moral standards, religious understanding and respect for British institutions in the curriculum: 'Children need a firm and spiritual basis, which will engender the values on which their future happiness depends: honest, industry, charity, respect for others and the law'.¹⁶⁹ The same group advocated traditional

subjects and strong boundaries between them while they considered the new areas of study in many schools' curriculum politically biased and harmful:

An increasing displacement of the traditional curriculum in favour of new and artificial subjects, with neither method, nor results, nor real utility to the child subjects such as 'peace studies', 'world studies', 'life skills', 'social awareness', and the like, whose purpose is sometimes transparently political, and whose effect is to distract the child's attention from serious forms of learning. The new 'soft' subjects have been nurtured by an inadequate and politically biased sociology, whose colonization of the school curriculum and of teacher training is itself cause for concern.¹⁷⁰

Instead, the school curriculum should provide 'real skills and genuine knowledge', that is mainly a core curriculum of reading, writing and arithmetic and 'a settled range of proven subjects' such as mathematics, science, history, literature and foreign languages.¹⁷¹ Such a position accorded with that of the Social Affairs Unit which initiated a campaign against the so-called 'wayward curriculum'¹⁷² of schools as well as of the Centre for Policy Studies. The then Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (and one of the founders of CPS) emphasised particularly this position in her address at the Conservative Party conference in autumn of 1987:

Children who need to be able to count and multiply are learning anti-racist mathematics - whatever that may be. Children who need to be able to express themselves in clear English are being taught political slogans. Children who need to be taught to respect traditional moral values are being taught that they have an inalienable right to be gay.¹⁷³

Thus, the above political groups and the government were pursuing a return to traditional values and an organisation of curriculum content so that basic subjects and skills would be restored. The CPS advocated through its publications a return to the 'grounding'

role of schooling considering that this should be 'the only absolute duty of a school'.¹⁷⁴ Accordingly, the CPS attacked the 'new orthodoxy' which maintained that English language teaching should be used for pursuing wider aims of personal development, that English should retain weak boundaries with other areas of learning, that emphasis should be given to oral language, that pupils' self-expression should be prioritised and that grammar should be descriptive rather than prescriptive. On the contrary, it was proposed that:

A better approach to English teaching in schools would reject every tenet of the new orthodoxy. It would recognise English as a subject - no more and no less: the subject in which pupils learn to write standard English correctly and thereby to speak it well, and in which they become acquainted with some of the English literary heritage.¹⁷⁵

Similar criticisms and demands can be found for most areas of the curriculum content, the common point of which was that schools need to stress the transmission of facts rather than an exploratory approach to knowledge acquisition. The main purpose of history for example, according to the CPS 'is not to train future historians in historical methods, but to impart a solid knowledge of British and European history . . . the National Curriculum for history should base itself on learning facts . . .'.¹⁷⁶ Such curriculum content cannot be taught, according to the HG, through child-centred pedagogy as that 'has led to an increasing infantilisation, and a destruction of the forms and disciplines through which skills and learning are acquired'.¹⁷⁷ Moreover, as the CPS pamphlets suggested regarding child-centred pedagogy, 'there is no reason why [the pupil's interest] should determine *what* he learns'.¹⁷⁸ The same group stressed that 'knowledge of our science, mathematics, literature, history, religion and tradition of creative art can hardly be envisaged without ordered, explicit instruction, of the sort found in a formal education'. Such a kind of education presupposes,

according to the HG, that teaching should take place in ‘discipline and order’ and pupils should be allocated to different classes according to their ability.¹⁷⁹

In accordance with the explicitly ordered and subject-based teaching requested by the above political groups, evaluation had a critical role. Firstly, at the level of pedagogic practice the CPS pamphlets rejected the view that what is important is ‘to see what the child can do, rather than what he cannot’ as damaging to the child’s performance.¹⁸⁰ Instead, correction of the child’s errors was considered a fundamental duty of the teacher and necessary to raise the child’s performance. Secondly, at the national level, evaluation was perceived by the HG as a provider of information about standards and a facilitator of parental choice among schools. According to them, the state ‘has a residual obligation to ensure a nation-wide uniformity of assessment’;¹⁸¹ thus the state was called to give priority to the establishment of ‘a statutory framework for national attainment targets and tests, and for the publication of information’¹⁸² rather than to the detailed prescription of curriculum content. Both groups considered essential a core national curriculum which preserves cultural values and traditional subjects. However, they advocated that state control should be exerted through assessment rather than through content. As the HG stated clearly:

We . . . sympathise with the Government’s call for a national curriculum, and for continuous assessment of standards, while maintaining our view that a properly supervised, objective and discriminating system of examinations, such as exists in France and Germany, but no longer in Britain, *is a more appropriate and less contentious means of control.*¹⁸³ [italics added]

In short, the pedagogic model foregrounded by the above political groups was based on distinct subjects, basic skills, traditional values, explicitly ordered teaching and the identification of achievements and

differentiation according to them. Assessment procedures were proposed as a valuable means of state control over schools' pedagogic practice. In other words, the mode of curriculum control proposed was centralised in terms of defining basic (core) subjects and pedagogic practice monitored by national evaluation processes.

On the other hand, the Institute of Economic Affairs, advocates of educational marketisation, were not interested in defining schools' pedagogic practice. Pedagogic practice should be dependent on a free educational market in which parental choice would have regulative effects. Such a policy:

*replaces all the work on curriculum, national syllabuses, examinations, taking out of surplus places, and so on, now being done by the DES and LEAs, with a 'market mechanism' of true parental choice. It supposes that if the system itself were changed to one of self-governing, self-managing, budget centres, which were obliged, for their very survival to respond to the 'market', then there would be an in-built mechanism to raise standards and change forms and types of education in accordance with that market demand.*¹⁸⁴ [italics added]

Accordingly, evaluation should be a responsibility of 'market forces' which are much more suitable than the state in setting standards which pupils are called to reach. A free market in assessment serves the purpose of free choice among different kind of degrees and certificates. It was suggested therefore that 'the Department of Education and the Secretary of State should pull out completely from the examinations scene'.¹⁸⁵ The role of the state should be restricted in approving the assessment procedures and awarding certificates, 'without the Government being involved in the detail of those examinations'.¹⁸⁶ Thus, the examination market can exert control over schools' pedagogic practice as schools would have to compete in order to achieve the standards set by independent bodies: '[independent examination bodies] are much better placed to set standards, to modernise the curriculum,

*and to co-ordinate amongst themselves uniformly high standards, than any group of civil servants based at Elizabeth House or by a committee appointed by Elizabeth House’.*¹⁸⁷ [italics added]

Again here a standards-oriented pedagogic model was advocated, however one dictated by market regulation rather by an articulated pedagogic discourse; that is, there were no proposals for or against a particular kind of content, teaching methods or assessment strategies, nor a subordination of pedagogic practice within wider educational purposes. On the contrary, pedagogic practice was envisaged as an economic transaction and thus contingent upon market demands.¹⁸⁸ The performance modality here arises from the control exerted by the market and its demands for standards of achievement, rather by the state. In contrast, according to the centralist view of the CPS and the HG the state should be responsible for regulating the pedagogic model by holding the control over the curriculum.

Thus, regardless of their differences in the proposed mode of curriculum control the two strands of conservative thinking favoured the official move to the performance model of pedagogic practice; the two views competed within the Conservative Party for legislation which would establish either centralisation of the curriculum or decentralisation through market forces. As will be seen below the centralist view finally dominated curriculum policy and as will be seen in the next chapter of this thesis the ‘marketisation’ option dominated policy for the management of schools.

Indeed, after ten years of reform process with no radical change in the mode of curriculum control, the government with its new Secretary of State Kenneth Baker declared that England ‘should now move quickly to a national curriculum’.¹⁸⁹ The reason of centralising the curriculum was officially stated in the government’s consultation document on the National Curriculum issued in 1987: ‘we must raise standards consistently, and at least as quickly as they are rising in

competitor countries'.¹⁹⁰ To do so the government introduced the Education Reform Act (ERA) in 1988, the largest and the most fundamental educational legislation since 1944, which established a *bi-dimensional* model of educational control in England; that is, a centralised mode of curriculum control and a decentralised market-like mode of management control in schools.

The centralisation of the curriculum was to be actualised initially by the creation of the National Curriculum Council (to advise the Secretary of State on the National Curriculum) and the School Examinations and Assessment Council (for national testing and examinations) as well as the Working Groups for each subject. The appointment of the members of these bodies was a responsibility of the Secretary of State for Education who also held the political responsibility of final decision-making. That is, although for each subject a process of consultation is provided, carried out by the particular Working Group and the NCC, the Secretary of State comments directly on their reports and approves of the final Statutory Orders. Later on the NCC and SEAC were replaced by the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA).

The National Curriculum brought about an alteration in all the three message systems by establishing through a centralised mode of control the performance model of pedagogic practice; it introduced a set of subjects, clearly marked by objectives and explicit criteria of evaluation to allow comparison of performance amongst schools.

A closer look at the National Curriculum is a task of the next chapter. At this point it should be mentioned that the National Curriculum was not the end of the official attempts to shift pedagogic models in primary education. The standards-oriented policies and the consequent educational discourse would dominate the 1990s as well. A prominent example of this process in the current decade would be the so called 'three wise men report' of 1992, an official discussion paper on

primary pedagogic practice.¹⁹¹ The report gave a confirmation of the direction followed after the National Curriculum by providing theoretical support for the performance model. The dismissal as false and damaging of practices rooted in the competence model and the celebration of the contemporary shift were the main features of the report:

Over the last few decades the progress of primary pupils has been hampered by the influence of highly questionable dogmas which have led to excessively complex classroom practices and devalued the place of subjects in the curriculum. The resistance to subjects at the primary stage is no longer tenable.¹⁹²

Teaching is not applied child development . . . In the 60s and 70s, Piagetian theories about developmental ages and stages led to chronological fixed notions of 'readiness', thus depressing expectations and discouraging teacher intervention.¹⁹³

Whole class teaching appears to provide the order, control, purpose and concentration which many critics believe are lacking in modern primary schools classrooms . . . Teachers need to observe pupils systematically, to structure their learning, and to monitor their progress . . . Marking pupil's work is one valuable means of feedback, provided that it offers specific, diagnostic comment and not only encouragement.¹⁹⁴

This section demonstrated the official endorsement of the performance model in England. To show how this model was positioned in the newly-established bi-dimensional pattern of educational control is a task of the next chapter.

4.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The analysis of the policies of curricula reforms in the two countries has demonstrated opposite re-orientations in terms of primary pedagogic models. The Greek state for the first time endorsed officially developmental and liberal/progressive pedagogic notions with respect to the child and the primary school. The curriculum reform signified the weakening of subject boundaries, the introduction of child-centred methods and the impoverishment of formal evaluation. In the same decade the English state was condemning developmental notions and was moving towards the restoration of subject boundaries, clearly structured teaching processes and formal evaluation procedures.

In crude terms, what England was abandoning as false and damaging Greece was adopting it as modernising and useful. The reforms were compatible with the ideological and political projects of the parties in office, a socialist party on the one side and a conservative on the other. However, the analysis of the beginnings of the reform process showed that the overall educational re-orientations transcended the specific party manifesta. The Greek re-orientation in its organisational form had started some years before the curriculum reform and the English concern over standards was first expressed by a Labour government.

As was suggested in the chapter, the curricula reforms were responses to different kind of exigencies; social on the one side and economic on the other. The educational change in Greece was part of a long-due social demand for 'democratisation' which had not found politically stable ground in the past. The analogous organisational and curricula changes which took place in the post-war period and in particular during the 1960s in England were attempted but did not succeed at that time in Greece. When they were finally introduced in the late 1970s and 1980s they were presented as 'modernising', whereas at the same time for England 'modernisation' was to keep pace with the

other advanced industrial countries. Evidently, the meaning given to the 'modern' by the two reforms was associated with the different international status and national pursuits of the two countries. In England, as in the other English-speaking advanced countries, the curriculum reform, even at the primary phase, was part of the agenda to sustain economic advance through educational performance. In Greece, the economic structure of which does not rank it amongst these countries,¹⁹⁵ 'modern' at that time was the establishment of liberal values in school life, a goal which remained unachieved for several decades.

Different educational purposes therefore were set by the two countries as an expression of different social and economic priorities. Subsequently, those purposes gave rise to shifts in models of pedagogic practice.

Who was to be the protagonist of the reform was largely associated with the pedagogic model itself. In both cases the professional pedagogues and teachers' unions were identified with the promotion of the competence model and utilised accordingly by the state. In Greece a group of professionals was recruited and given the exclusive responsibility to carry out the reform. On the contrary, the professional voice in England was gradually marginalised in the reform debate and instead various political groups in and around the government acquired a prominent role in promoting the performance model.

In order to highlight comparatively those contrasting differences in purposes, pedagogic models and their sponsors between the two countries in the same decade, it would be useful to draw on Bernstein's latest work. Bernstein suggests that 'curricula reform emerges out of a struggle between groups to make their bias (and focus) state policy and practice'.¹⁹⁶ In this framework, he proposes an 'official arena' of four positions for the projecting of *pedagogic identities* through the reform

process. According to Bernstein, 'reforms aim to construct pedagogic identities'.¹⁹⁷ Pedagogic identities 'arise out of contemporary cultural and technological change that emerge from dislocations, moral, cultural, economic and are perceived as the means of regulating and effecting change'.¹⁹⁸ In this sense, 'any one education reform can be regarded as the outcome of a struggle to project and institutionalise a particular pedagogic identity'.¹⁹⁹

With this starting point, Bernstein provides a typology of four pedagogic identities, inspired by the English setting but conveying a potential for comparative application: *retrospective*, *prospective*, *de-centred market* or *instrumental* and *de-centred therapeutic*.

Retrospective identities are shaped by national, religious, cultural grand narratives of the past and formed by 'hierarchically ordered, strongly bounded, explicitly stratified and sequenced discourses and practices'.²⁰⁰ The aim here is to stabilise the past in the future. Such identities, according to Bernstein, usually emerge out of the collapse of totalising states such as communist, fascist and theological (i.e. the old Soviet Union, the Balkans, Middle East, North Africa). Unlike retrospective identities, *prospective identities* arise out of an engagement with change which is viewed as necessary and urgent. These identities are constructed to deal with cultural, economic and technological changes and are shaped by 'selective recontextualising of features of the past to defend or raise economic performance'.²⁰¹ Bernstein exemplifies this definition by reference to the English reform:

... in the case of Thatcherism features of the past were selected which would legitimate, which would motivate, and which would create what were considered to be appropriate attitudes, dispositions and performances relevant to a market culture and reduced state welfare. A new collective social base was formed by fusing nation, family, individual responsibility and individual enterprise. Thus prospective identities are formed by recontextualising *selected* features from the past to stabilise the

future through *engaging with contemporary change*.²⁰² [original italics]

De-centred market identities are projected when education is viewed as an economic exchange and in this case 'the pedagogic practice will be contingent on the market in which the identity is to be enacted'.²⁰³ As Bernstein stresses 'the transmission here views knowledge as money. And like money it should flow easily to where the demand calls'.²⁰⁴ These identities favour the managerial autonomy of institutions so that educational provision becomes competitive:

Imagine an educational institution which has considerable autonomy over the use of its budget, the organisation of its discourse, how it uses its staff, the number and type of staff, the courses it constructs, provided: (1) it can attract students who have choice of institution, (2) it can meet external performance criteria, and (3) it can optimise its position in relation to similar institutions. The basic unit of the institution, a department, or a group will also have autonomy over its discourse and practice, and may vary this in order to optimise its own position in the market; that is to optimise its position with respect to the exchange value of its products, namely students.²⁰⁵

In the case of market identities 'there is no theory of pedagogic discourse, this would be an anathema, a blasphemy'.²⁰⁶ On the contrary, the fourth type of pedagogic identities, the *de-centred therapeutic*, is based on a very strong theory of pedagogic discourse. Bernstein calls these identities 'therapeutic' because they are 'produced by complex theories of personal, cognitive and social development, often labelled progressive'.²⁰⁷ These identities favour high discretion in pupils' activities, autonomous and flexible thinking, team work and active participation. Moreover, 'the transmission prefers weak boundaries, integration, prefers to talk of regions of knowledge, areas of experience. The management style is soft, hierarchies are veiled, power is disguised by communication networks and inter-personal relations'.²⁰⁸

The four pedagogic identities, it is argued here, illustrate the shifts of the dominant educational purposes and notions in both England and Greece. In England the reform was dominated by both the prospective and the market position, in a complementary relation (as Bernstein argues applying his typology).²⁰⁹ The two identities were projected by neo-conservative and neo-liberal agents (like the Hillgate Group and the Institute for Economic Affairs) and expressed in the establishment of a bi-dimensional pattern of educational control (central curriculum - decentralised management). Bernstein also argues that elements from the retrospective position are present in the curriculum reform, a 'serial array' of subjects and a focus upon 'basic skills'.²¹⁰ The present analysis showed that the common point amongst these identities was a move to the performance model (though in the case of the market identity this comes as an effect of the market demands) and that the access of the therapeutic identity (clearly associated with the competence model and projected by the professionals) to the official arena was severely restricted. Finally, in Greece there was a clear move from the retrospective identity (before and after the dictatorship) to the therapeutic, projected by the professionals in the Ministry of Education.

Nevertheless, there are two points with respect to the two countries that need to be born in mind before the analysis continues. First, it is characteristic that in England throughout the reform process since the late 1970s the sponsors of the dominant identities and the government stressed the role of evaluation in regulating schools' pedagogic practice. The de-centred market position preferred a total regulation of the curriculum by the examination boards. The prospective position agreed with the creation of a national curriculum but it favoured a strong control of assessment as 'a more appropriate and less contentious means of control' rather than a tight prescription of what is to be taught.²¹¹ Similarly, the first state intervening movement

was the establishment of APU, while later on in the 1980s the government introduced a series of evaluation measures in secondary education ('levels of achievement' for the CPVE, 'Records of Achievement' for school leavers, etc.). The same central authority celebrated through *Better Schools* the role of examinations in influencing the secondary curriculum.²¹² Therefore, there was a general consensus amongst the opponents of the competence model to emphasise evaluation as means of curriculum control, a traditional feature of the decentralised English system. The same emphasis, as will be suggested in the next chapter, would be retained in the construction of the National Curriculum.

Second, the shift from the retrospective to the therapeutic identity and the competence model in Greece did not take place with a simultaneous change in the pattern of control. Bernstein suggests that 'in the case of the therapeutic identity the autonomy of the institution is necessary to produce features of this identity'.²¹³ However, institutional autonomy was neither part of the demands for reform nor of the actual reform. Finally, the traditional mode of curriculum control was not disturbed and the promotion of the competence model was to take place within the mono-dimensional pattern of control. How the curriculum reform was processed under these circumstances and what are the effects of this symbiosis will be discussed in the next chapters.

ENDNOTES

¹Dimaras, A. (1984) op. cit., p. 300.

²See the statutory curriculum; Royal Decree 702 (Φ.Ε.Κ. Α' 218/31-10-1969).

³Ibid. See also Moutsios, S. (1996) *Το μάθημα της Μελέτης τους Περιβάλλοντος στην Πρωτοβάθμια Εκπαίδευση: περιγραφή και ανάλυση του προγράμματος διδασκαλίας* [Environmental Studies in Primary Education: Curriculum Description and Analysis] Thessaloniki: Kyriakides Bros, pp. 54-55.

⁴Indeed, the primary curriculum was a list of strongly insulated subjects which in turn had sometimes internal separations: Religion, Greek Language (divided into Reading, Writing essays and Grammar), History, Arithmetic, Geometry, Geography, Knowledge of the Country, Citizenship, Physics (divided into Zoology and Phytology) and Chemistry, Drawing, Craft, Calligraphy, Music, Physical Education; see *ibid.*

⁵The measures were introduced by the '1976 education reform' which refers usually to legislation voted for from April 1976 to June 1977. The legislation includes the Laws 309 of 30/30 April 1976 (Φ.Ε.Κ. Α' 100) and 576 of 7/13 April 1977 (Φ.Ε.Κ. Α' 102) as well as the Presidential Decrees 503 of 7/7 June 1977 (Φ.Ε.Κ. Α' 158) and 508 of 9 June 1977 (Φ.Ε.Κ. Α' 161). Here in the above term is also included the legislation which established KEME, a central curriculum development body (Law 186/75).

⁶As Kazamias graphically noted juxtaposing the two reforms: 'In some points there is such a homogeny, that some would think that the twelve something years that divide the two reforms were simply a parenthesis. It brings to our mind the mythical Rip Van Winkle. If, as a fervent observer of Greek education, Rip Van Winkle, while attending the debate in the Parliament in August 1964 fell into his deep sleep (obviously not because of the spokespersons) and woke up in April 1976 or the February of 1977, he would need a lot of time to realise that so many years had elapsed'. See Kazamias, A. (1983) 'Η εκπαιδευτική κρίση στην Ελλάδα και τα παράδοξα της: μια ιστορική συγκριτική θεώρηση' 'The Educational Crisis in Greece and its Paradoxes: An Historical Comparative Perspective' in *Πρακτικά της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών 7-6-1983* [Proceedings of Academy of Athens 7-6-1983]. Athens: Academy of Athens, pp. 449-450.

⁷Eliou, M. (1986) 'Οι αντιφάσεις της εκπαιδευτικής μεταρρύθμισης του 1976: αναλυτικό διάγραμμα' ['The Contradictions of the 1976

Educational Reform: An Analytical Diagram'] in Kazamias, A. and Kassotakis, M. (eds), *Οι εκπαιδευτικές μεταρρυθμίσεις στην Ελλάδα: προσπάθειες, αδιέξοδα, προοπτικές* [The Educational Reforms in Greece: Attempts, Deadlocks, Prospects]. Rethimno: University of Crete, p. 47.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.; Fragoudaki, A. and Kondili, M. (1982) 'Η 'εκπαιδευτική μεταρρύθμιση' ως πολιτική ιδεολογία: η θέση των πολιτικών κομμάτων για την εκπαίδευση' ['The 'Educational Reform' as Political Ideology: The thesis of Political Parties for Education']. *Επιθεώρηση Πολιτικής Επιστήμης* [Political Science Review], (3), p. 109.

¹⁰Apart from the teaching of ancient Greek texts in translated versions, the only changes in the secondary curriculum were the introduction of career education and the re-introduction of civic education (which had been abolished by the dictatorship). In general, there was no significant change in a curriculum which was supposed to be taught to the students of the non-selective new *Gymnasio*. For a diachronic comparative study of the statutory curricula of the lower secondary education, see Terzis, N.P. (1988) *Το Γυμνάσιο ως βαθμίδα της υποχρεωτικής εκπαίδευσης: κριτική αποτίμηση και συγκριτική έρευνα* [Gymnasio as a Stage of Compulsory Education: A Critical Review and Comparative Research]. Thessaloniki: Kyriakides Bros.

¹¹The Committee failed to agree on issues such as the reduction of religious education and the introduction of social studies and foreign language in the primary curriculum. See Ministry of Education (1975) *Περίληψεις Πρακτικών Επιτροπής Παιδείας* [Summary of the Committee for Education Proceedings]. Athens: Ministry of Education. Note: the full title of the Greek Ministry is 'Ministry of National Education and Religions', which is shortened in this thesis to 'Ministry of Education'.

¹²Ibid., p. 66.

¹³According to Presidential Decree 1034/12-11-1977 (Φ.Ε.Κ. 347) the aim of primary education was: 'to set the bases of education of the first school age, namely to enrich their experiences, to stimulate and develop their corporal and mental abilities, to introduce them in the knowledge of the natural and historical world, to cultivate their perceptiveness, thinking and sensibility, to awake their moral consciousness and to set the bases of their religious and humanitarian education'.

¹⁴Compare Environmental Studies between Royal Decree 702 (ΦΕΚ Α'218/31-10-1969) and Presidential Decree 1034/1977 (Φ.Ε.Κ. 347, Α'/12-11-1977).

¹⁵The textbooks used in schools have traditionally mirrored the curriculum policy followed. As has been shown in the historical overview, political dispute about curriculum has always been centred on textbooks' content. The unaltered ideological content of the primary textbooks in that case as well indicated that there was no intention to change the overall pedagogical character of primary education. In the next chapter, the role of the single textbook as part of state curriculum control in the Greek educational system will be examined.

¹⁶The first two and the last three grades of primary schools were given modified re-printings of those textbooks, whereas the third grade was given for the school year 1975-76 *Τα ψηλά βουνά* [*The High Mountains*], a textbook issued in 1917. The latter was a part of the 1917/18 reform conveying a liberal pedagogic discourse. However, it was withdrawn and replaced by A. Varela's language textbook, approved in 1973 by the dictatorship. Fragoudaki, A. (1978) *Τα γλωσσικά βιβλία του Δημοτικού σχολείου: ιδεολογικός πειθαναγκασμός και παιδαγωγική βία* [*The Primary School Language Textbooks: Ideological Coercion and Pedagogic Violence*]. Athens: Themelio.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸See Vougioukas, A. (1981) *Το γλωσσικό μάθημα: προτάσεις για μια επείγουσα αντιμετώπιση* [*The Language Subject: Proposals for an urgent encounter*]. Athens: Nikodemos; DOE (1980, 13-4-1980) 'Η ΔΟΕ για τα βιβλία' ['DOE for Textbooks']. Θεσσαλονίκη; Goliou, R. (1980, 17-7-1980) 'Αντιπαιδαγωγικές ασυναρτησίες στα αναγνωστικά της πρώτης τάξης' ['Anti-pedagogic Gibberish in the First Grade Primer']. Θεσσαλονίκη; for a comprehensive study of the Language curriculum see Hatzisavides, S.A. (1992) *Το ιστορικό της αναμόρφωσης του γλωσσικού μαθήματος στην υποχρωτική εκπαίδευση (1976-1984)* [*The Historical of the Reform of the Language Subject in Compulsory Education (1976-1984)*]. Thessaloniki: Kyriakides Bros.

¹⁹Despite the abolition of entrance examination to secondary education assessment in the primary school was still *summative* based on marking within the 1-10 scale. The numerical scale of assessment was replaced in 1980 by the alphabetical scale (Α, Β, Γ).

²⁰Terzis, N. (1981) 'Θέματα εκπαιδευτικής μεταρρύθμισης: εσωτερική και εξωτερική εκπαιδευτική μεταρρύθμιση (1976-1980)' ['Educational

Reform Issues: Internal and External Educational Reform (1976-1980)'] *Filologos [Philologist]*, (23): 272-281, p. 278.

²¹Bernstein, B. (1996a) op. cit., p. 70. In Bernstein's terms the *pedagogic recontextualising field* (PRF) consists of pedagogues in schools and colleges, departments of education, specialised journals and private research institutions. The PRF is distinguished from the ORF (the *official recontextualising field*) which is 'created and dominated by the state and its selected agents and ministries' (p. 48).

²²Eliou, M. (1986) op. cit., p. 47.

²³Anthogalidou - Vasilakaki, T. (1980) *Η Οργάνωση της Γενικής και Επαγγελματικής Εκπαίδευσης πριν και μετά τη μεταρρύθμιση του 1976* [The Organisation of General and Vocational Education in Greece before and after the 1976 Reform]. Ioannina: University of Ioannina, p. 126.

²⁴Chronis, S. (1993) *Διδακτική πράξη και κοινωνικός έλεγχος* [Teaching Practice and Social Control]. Athens: Ekdotikos Omilos Ekpaideftikon Sigrafeon.

²⁵Zabeta, E. (1994) *Εκπαιδευτική πολιτική στην Πρωτοβάθμια Εκπαίδευση 1976-1987* [Education Policy in Primary Education, 1976-1987]. Athens: Themelio, pp. 234-244.

²⁶See Hodolidou, E. (1987) *Η συζήτηση για την εκπαιδευτική μεταρρύθμιση (1976-1981): κριτική και θέσεις των πολιτικών κομμάτων και των οργανώσεων των εκπαιδευτικών* [The Educational Reform Debate (1976-1981): Critique and Theses of the Political Parties and Teacher Unions]. Thessaloniki: Kyriakides Bros, pp. 29-72.

²⁷PASOK (1981, 19-7-1981) 'Το κυβερνητικό πρόγραμμα: Μέρος 3' ['The Governmental Manifesto: Part Three']. *To Vima*.

²⁸OLME (1982) '52η Γενική Συνέλευση' ['52nd General Assembly']. *Μηνιαίο Ενημερωτικό Δελτίο της ΟΛΜΕ* [Monthly Newsletter of OLME], (547).

²⁹DOE (1985) 'Τα νέα Αναλυτικά Προγράμματα και βιβλία για μαθητές και δασκάλους' ['The New Curriculum and the Textbooks for Pupils and Teachers']. *Επιστημονικό Βήμα του Δασκάλου - Special Edition* 30th year(6), p. 5.

³⁰DOE (1985) op. cit.

³¹Vougioukas, A. (1976, 27-8-1976) 'Το σχολικό πρόγραμμα' ['The School Curriculum']. *To Vima*.

³²Reference is being made here to A. Vougioukas, A. Benekos and G. Maragoudakis, the basic protagonists of the failed curriculum reform of 1964 who were marginalised by the Ministry of Education of government of *New Democracy*. The reason for the neglect of their proposals was, according to A. Benekos, a political bias, as they were considered to belong to the political opposition. See Moutsios, S. (1996) *op. cit.*, p. 55.

³³PASOK (1981) *op. cit.*

³⁴See Hodolidou, E. (1987) *op. cit.*

³⁵OLME (1980) 'Η εκπαιδευτική μεταρρύθμιση' ['The Educational Reform']. *Νέα Παιδεία [New Education]*, (15): pp. 10-11.

³⁶OLME (1982) *op. cit.*

³⁷DOE (1985), *op. cit.*

³⁸Vougioukas, A. (1981, 12-11-1981) 'Πρωτοβάθμια Εκπαίδευση: προοπτικές και προτεραιότητες' ['Primary Education: Prospects and Priorities']. *To Vima*.

³⁹Dimaras, A. (1986) 'Η αποτελεσματικότητα της αντίδρασης και το τέλος ενός πάθους' ['The Effectiveness of Reaction and the End of a Passion'] in Kazamias, A. and Kassotakis, A. (eds) *op. cit.*, p. 87.

⁴⁰According to Bouzakis (*op. cit.*, p. 132) the breaking of the 'reform and counter-reform' tradition has to do with the regular operation of the parliamentary democracy in Greece after the overthrow of the dictatorship in 1974.

⁴¹From the foreword of the Law 1268/1982, Ministry of Education (1983a) *Ο νόμος 1268/82 για τη δομή και λειτουργία των ανώτατων εκπαιδευτικών ιδρυμάτων [The Law 1268/82 on the Structure and Operation of Higher Educational Institutions]*. Athens: OEDB.

⁴²*Ibid.*

⁴³*Ibid.*, Section 46. The university education for primary and pre-primary teachers was introduced step-by-step until 1988, following the simultaneous abolition of two-year teacher training colleges (*Pedagogical Academies*).

⁴⁴Law 1304/1982 (Φ.Ε.Κ. 144 Α'/7-12-1982). Further reference and analysis of the *school adviser* institution will be made in the sixth chapter of the present thesis.

⁴⁵Ministry of Education (1985a) *Νόμος υπ' αριθ. 1566/85: Δομή και Λειτουργία της Πρωτοβάθμιας και Δευτεροβάθμιας Εκπαίδευσης* [Law No 1566/85: *The Structure and Operation of Primary and Secondary Education*]. Athens: OEDB, Section 7. It should be mentioned, nevertheless, that the EPL have not spread since their establishment: there are only 14 EPL throughout the country.

⁴⁶Ibid. The provisions of this Law in regard to the pattern of educational control will be discussed further on in this section.

⁴⁷Presidential Decree 297/1982. In particular the Government removed from the modern Greek grammar the *circumflex* (περισπωμένη), the *rough* (δασεία) and the *smooth* (ψιλή) *breathings* and retained the *acute accent* (οξεΐα).

⁴⁸See Presidential Decrees 583/1982 (Φ.Ε.Κ. 107 Α'), 449/18-11-83 (Φ.Ε.Κ. 168 Α'). It is important to point out that the curriculum issued for these three subjects (Language, Environmental Studies and Mathematics) was literally the same as that attempted in the frame of the 1964 reform. As Vougioukas (1985, op. cit., 5. 10), one of the protagonists, stated: 'the approach of some subjects, as the Language, the Environmental Studies and the Mathematics, is basically the same, or, to put in another way, an improved version of the line that we had drawn with 1965 as the starting point and 1975 as the intermediate point'.

⁴⁹Vougioukas, A. (1985), op. cit. p. 9.

⁵⁰Benekos, A. (1985) op. cit., p 80.

⁵¹DOE (1985), op. cit., p. 6.

⁵²DOE (1985), *ibid.*, p. 5.

⁵³DOE (1985), *ibid.*, p. 6. DOE here refers to the right-wing part of the political spectrum (as historically they comprised the conservative opposition to the curriculum reform) and the reaction expressed in the right-wing press. See for example: Vradini (1983, 7-10-1983) 'Μαρξισμός στα Σχολεία' ['Marxism in Schools']. Vradini, p. 1 and 15 and Tilemachos (1983, 10-5-1983) 'Εποπτεία - Καθοδήγηση - Εποπτεία' ['Supervision-Guidance-Supervision']. Vradini, p. 2. However, for most of the press of that time the new curriculum and particularly the new

textbooks were enthusiastically welcome. See for example: Eleftherotypia (1983, 9-10-1983) 'Σχολικά Βιβλία: Αναμείνατε . . . στα θρανία σας' ['School Textbooks: Hold on . . . your Desks']. *Eleftherotypia*, p. 5; Kabourgianni, R. (1983, 9-10-1983) 'Τα νέα σχολικά βιβλία: μια φιλόδοξη προσπάθεια αξίζει κάποιες θυσίες' ['The New Textbooks: An Ambitious Endeavour Deserves Some Sacrifice']. *Eleftheri Gnomi*, p. 10; Kogiannis, G. (1984, 22/8/84) 'Βαθιές αλλαγές στα νέα βιβλία του Δημοτικού' ['Profound Changes in the Primary Textbooks']. 1984, p. 4; Kavathas, V. (1985, 13-9-1985) 'Τα 'μπεστ-σέλερ' της Δημοτικής Εκπαίδευσης' ['The 'best-sellers' of Primary Education']. *Ta Nea*, p. 2.

⁵⁴Ministry of Education (1985) op. cit., Section 1.

⁵⁵Ibid., Section 4.

⁵⁶See, for example, the massive conference (the Ministry's professionals were the only speakers) organised in Thessaloniki, where four thousand teachers were gathered to be informed about the 'new perception' introduced in primary schools: Teachers' Educational Informative Conference of Thessaloniki Prefecture (1984) *The New Curriculum and the New Textbooks*. Thessaloniki.

⁵⁷See Benekos, A. (1985), op. cit., p. 80.

⁵⁸Environmental Studies have been the most integrated area of learning introduced by the new curriculum. Moutsios (1996, op. cit.), who analysed this area of primary curriculum, found that 19 traditional and new subjects usually met in both primary and secondary education (i.e. biology, history, geography, sex education, technology, etc.) were present in Environmental Studies.

⁵⁹The ideology of the new curriculum is mirrored in the new textbooks as the latter are written in most cases by the curriculum planners themselves or they supervised the working groups of the textbooks authors. See next chapter for a detailed analysis of the textbooks' role as a direct means of curriculum control.

⁶⁰For both quantitative and qualitative content analyses of the primary textbooks see Kadartzi, E. (1991) *Η εικόνα της γυναίκας: διαχρονική έρευνα των αναγνωστικών του Δημοτικού Σχολείου* [The View of Woman: Diachronic Research of Primary Education Primers]; Thessaloniki: Kyriakides Bros; Bonides, K. (1992) *Η διεθνής εκπαίδευση στο γλωσσικό μάθημα του σύγχρονου ελληνικού δημοτικού σχολείου* (Global Education in the Language Subject of the Contemporary Greek Primary School). Unpublished Master Dissertation, Aristotle University:

of Thessaloniki; Siligaris, Ch. (1995) 'Αξίες και πρότυπα συμπεριφοράς στα σχολικά εγχειρίδια *Η Γλώσσα μου του Δημοτικού Σχολείου*' ['Values and patterns of behaviour in the textbooks *My Language of Primary Education*'] in Μονάδα Έρευνας Σχολικού Εγχειριδίου [School Textbook Research Unit] *Σχολικά εγχειρίδια Βαλκανικών χωρών* [School Textbooks of Balkan Countries]. Thessaloniki: Kyriakides Bros, pp. 35-46; Bonides, K. (1995) 'Οι άλλοι λαοί στα ελληνικά εγχειρίδια Γλώσσας και Ιστορίας του Δημοτικού Σχολείου' [The other peoples in the Greek textbooks of Language and History] in Μονάδα Έρευνας Σχολικού Εγχειριδίου [School Textbook Research Unit], *ibid.*, pp. 15-33; Friderikou, A. (1995) *Η Τζένη πίσω από το τζάμι: αναπαραστάσεις των φύλων στα εγχειρίδια διδασκαλίας της γλώσσας του Δημοτικού Σχολείου* [Jenny behind the window: Gender Representations in the Language Textbooks of Primary Education]. Athens: Hellenika Grammata.

⁶¹Benekos, A. (1985) *op. cit.*, p. 97; Vougioukas, A. (1985) *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁶²See Benekos, A. (1985) 'Τα νέα Αναλυτικά Προγράμματα και βιβλία και η Μελέτη του Περιβάλλοντος' ['The New Curriculum and the Textbooks and the Environmental Studies'] *Επιστημονικό Βήμα του Δασκάλου - Special Edition 30th year*(6), p 80.

⁶³*Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 88 and 90.

⁶⁵Benekos, A., *op. cit.*, p. 103; Vougioukas, *op. cit.*, pp. 103 and 74. The first paragraph of this quotation is testimony not only of the official shift in classroom pedagogy but also of the way this shift was intended to reach practice; that is, through the directions transmitted by the centralised mode of curriculum control.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 51, 49 and 57.

⁶⁹Salvaras, G. (1985) 'Τα νέα Αναλυτικά Προγράμματα και βιβλία και η Μελέτη του Περιβάλλοντος' ['The New Curriculum and the Textbooks and the Environmental Studies'] *Επιστημονικό Βήμα του Δασκάλου - Special Edition 30th year*(6), p. 124.

⁷⁰Vougioukas, A. (1985), *ibid.*, p. 74.

⁷¹Ministry of Education (1980) Circular Γ/9425/29-11-80. Athens: Ministry of Education; and Presidential Decree 497/1981 (Φ.Ε.Κ. 134Α'/25-5-1981).

⁷²Ibid., p. 61.

⁷³As Vougioukas argued (1985, op. cit., pp. 10-11): 'There has not been such an experimentation because that would presuppose an analogous substructure in order to make it on a systematic basis, and that is by no means an easy case. The main reason, however, was that it [an experimentation] would mean a postponement of general implementation which in Greece is often equivalent with cancellation'.

⁷⁴Terzis, N. (1984) 'Εκπαιδευτική Πολιτική στην Ελλάδα: το παράδειγμα του Παιδαγωγικού Ινστιτούτου' ['Educational Policy in Greece: The Pedagogical Institute Example (1964-1985)']. *Παιδαγωγική Επιθεώρηση [Pedagogical Review]*, (6/87): 23-46.

⁷⁵Cox, C.B. and Dyson, A.E. (eds) (1969a) *Fight for Education: A Black Paper*. London: Critical Quaterly Society.

⁷⁶Cox, C.B. and Dyson, A.E. (eds) (1969b) *Black Paper Two: The Crisis in Education*. London: Critical Quaterly Society; Cox, C.B. and Boyson, R. (eds) (1977) *Black Paper Three: Goodbye Mr Short*. London: Maurice Temple Smith.

⁷⁷Crawford, G.W.J (1969) 'The Primary School: A Balanced View' in Cox, C.B. and Dyson, A.E. (eds) (1969b) op. cit., pp. 96-97.

⁷⁸Explaining the wide resonance of *Black Papers* Hopkins mentions two reasons: 'One reason advanced by Cox is that the Black Papers provided intellectual justification for views which were held secretly, almost guiltily, among many teachers - those who knew that 'informal methods were not working'. A second reason for their impact is that many of the articles have been written by entertaining writers. . . . The Black Papers are much more readable than most of the works produced by the other side'. Hopkins, A. (1978) *The School Debate*. London: Penguin Books; CCCS (1981) *Unpopular Schooling: Schooling and Social Democracy in England since 1944*. London: Hutchinson, p. 85.

⁷⁹Auld, R. (1978) *The William Tyndale Junior and Infants Schools: Report of the Public Inquiry conducted by Mr. Robin Auld, QC into the teaching, organization and management of the William Tyndale Junior and Infants Schools Inslington, London, N1*. London: ILEA.

⁸⁰Dale, R. (1989) *The State and Education Policy*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press, p. 132.

⁸¹Chitty, C. (1990) op. cit., p.7.

⁸²Dale, R. (1989) op. cit., p. 131.

⁸³See OECD Report on Britain in Raggat, D. and Evans, M. (eds) (1977) *Urban Education 3: The Political Context*. Ward Lock Educational in Association with the Open University Press, pp. 127-169.

⁸⁴Tenth Report from the Expenditure Committee (1976) *Policy Making in the Department of Education and Science*. London: HMSO, para 63.

⁸⁵DES (1976b) *The Government's Reply to the Tenth Report from the Expenditure Committee Session 1975-76 H.C.621 Policy Making in the Department of Education and Science*. London: HMSO, paras 12-13.

⁸⁶Quoted in Chitty, C. (1989) *Towards a New Education System: The Victory of the New Right?* London: The Falmer Press, p. 81.

⁸⁷See DES (1977a) *Educating Our Children: Four Subjects for Debate. A Background Paper for the Regional Conferences, February and March 1977*. London: HMSO.

⁸⁸Lawton, D. (1980) op. cit., p. 39.

⁸⁹Morris, M. and Griggs, C. (eds) (1988) *Education - The Wasted Years? 1973-86*. Lewes: The Falmer Press, p. 9.

⁹⁰As Bates noted: 'The very initiation of a public debate on education, involving the unprecedented consultation of industrial organisations and parents as well as educational organisations, served as an explicit reminder to the teaching profession . . . that the curriculum was not solely their responsibility to determine . . . Thus the Great Debate, irrespective of its content, simply as a *means* of intervening education, helped to change the political context in which educational issues were discussed.' [original italics]; Bates, I. (1984) quoted in Chitty, C. (1990) op. cit., p. 10.

⁹¹Callaghan, J. (1976, 22/10/1976) 'Ruskin College Speech'. *The Times Educational Supplement*.

⁹²DES (1977b) *Education in Schools - A Consultative Document* (Green Paper). London: HMSO, para 1.2.

⁹³'In part they [the criticisms] follow the same lines as the criticism of the primary schools and are based on the feeling that the schools have

become too easy going and demand too little work, and inadequate standards of performance in formal subjects, from their pupils. As in the case of the primary schools, proficiency in the use of English and in mathematical skills are the commonest targets. Some employers - some probably recruiting from lower levels of ability than was formerly the case - complain that school leavers cannot express themselves clearly and lack the basic mathematical skills of manipulation and calculation and hence the basic knowledge to benefit from technical training'; DES (1976a) *School Education in England: Problems and Initiatives* (The Yellow Book). London: HMSO, para 14.

⁹⁴DES (1977b) op. cit., para 1.12.

⁹⁵James Callaghan, as he admitted much later, was particularly aware of the Confederation of British Industry's concerns. Chitty, C. (1990) op. cit., p. 9.

⁹⁶DES (1976a) op. cit., paras 12-13.

⁹⁷DES (1977b) op. cit., para 2.2.

⁹⁸Callaghan, J. (1976) op. cit..

⁹⁹Ibid.

¹⁰⁰DES (1977b) op. cit., para 2.2.

¹⁰¹'At the regional conferences there was no widespread view that there had been a serious decline in educational standards. But elsewhere the conviction has been expressed that deterioration has occurred'; DES (1977b) op. cit., para 3.1.

¹⁰²DES (1976a) op. cit., para 24.

¹⁰³See DES (1977a) op. cit., p. 6.

¹⁰⁴Callaghan, J. (1976) op. cit.

¹⁰⁵DES (1977b) op. cit., para 1.19.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., para 2.3.

¹⁰⁷DES (1976a) op. cit., para 13.

¹⁰⁸ DES (1977b) op. cit., para 2.3.

¹⁰⁹Ibid.

¹¹⁰Ibid., para 3.3.

¹¹¹Ibid., para 3.7.

¹¹²Quoted in Lawton, D. (1980) op. cit., p. 51.

¹¹³Ibid., pp. 50-66.

¹¹⁴Quoted in ibid., p. 51.

¹¹⁵Quoted in ibid., p. 60.

¹¹⁶Ibid., p. 61; for such a criticism see also Dale, R. (1989) op. cit., p. 134.

¹¹⁷Callaghan, J. (1976) op. cit..

¹¹⁸DES (1976a) op. cit., para 50.

¹¹⁹Ibid., para 58q.

¹²⁰DES (1977b) op. cit., para 2.19.

¹²¹Ball, S.J. (1994) op. cit., p. 19. The same author, in an earlier work (1990, op. cit.), pointed out the impact of Callaghan's launching of the Great Debate on the right-wing position and its subsequent effects on the alteration of the three message systems of the curriculum: 'Whatever Callaghan's intention the speech gave powerful encouragement and added legitimacy to the 'discourse of derision' mounted by the Black Papers. In discursive terms it marked the end to any possibility of serious public opposition to the critique of comprehensivism and progressivism. It cleared the ground for a shift of emphasis on the Right from critical deconstruction to radical reconstruction. The shaky edifice of comprehensive theory and practice in areas of the curriculum, assessment and pedagogy could now be dismantled with impunity' (pp. 31-32).

¹²²DES (1977c) Local Education Authority Arrangements for the School Curriculum (Circular 14/77). London: HMSO.

¹²³Holt, M. (1983) *Curriculum Workshop: An Introduction to Whole Curriculum Planning*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp. 20-21.

¹²⁴DES (1979a) *Local Educational Arrangements for the School Curriculum: Report on the Circular 14/77 Review*. London: HMSO, pp. 6-7.

¹²⁵DES (1980a) *A Framework for the School Curriculum*. London: HMSO.

¹²⁶*Ibid.* See especially paras 1, 10, 14 and 33.

¹²⁷DES (1980b) *A View of the Curriculum* (HMI Series, Matters for Discussion 11). London: HMSO. The HMI's suggestions on the construction of a common curriculum were also developed in their 'Red Book' Series which focused on secondary education. See DES (1977d) *Curriculum 11-16* (HMI Red Book 1). London: HMSO; DES (1981b) *Curriculum 11-16. A Review of Progress* (HMI Red Book 2). London: HMSO; DES (1983a) *Curriculum 11-16: Towards a Statement of Entitlement: Curricular Reappraisal in Action*. London: HMSO.

¹²⁸Indeed, according the HMI's *View* schools have to be 'sensitive to the hopes of parents for their children' and 'mindful of the expectations of employers' and that 'greater clarity and agreement about aims and objectives can provide a better base for evaluation and hence for more effective action.' However, they also stressed that: 'Schools cannot be expected to be more successful than the rest of society in anticipating the future; nor can they, whatever their perceptions, require in young children and in adolescents an understanding beyond their stage of maturity'. *Ibid.* p. 5.

¹²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹³¹Schools Council (1981) *The Practical Curriculum*. London: Schools Council Publications, p. 14. Here the Schools Council shares the educational aims set out by the Warnock Report; see HMSO (1978) *Special Educational Needs: Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Handicapped Children and Young People* [Warnock Report]. London: HMSO, para 1.4.

¹³²It is evident, that in the Schools Council's approach subjects are not taken as a self-evident way of organising the curriculum content, but as contributors to wider areas of learning; see Schools Council (1981) *op. cit.*, pp. 44-47.

¹³³*Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹³⁴Lawton, D. and Gordon, P. (1987) *HMI*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, p. 113; Skilbeck, M. (1984) *School-Based Curriculum Development*. London: Harper & Row, pp. 126-127; Maw, J. (1985) op. cit., p. 97; Chitty, C. (1988) 'Two Models of a National Curriculum: Origins and Interpretation' in Lawton, D. and Chitty, C. (eds) *The National Curriculum*. London: Institute of Education University of London, pp. 34-42; Chitty, C. (1989) op. cit., pp. 107-123.

¹³⁵Chitty, C. (1988) op. cit., p. 34.

¹³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹³⁷DES (1980b) op. cit. In their View the HMI did not seem to accept the anxieties about primary schools' performance expressed earlier: 'Current practice is such that discussion on the primary school curriculum does not need to concern itself so much with the total range of the work as with the extent to which parts of the curriculum are developed, especially for the more able children' (p. 11). Their judgement about the alleged neglect of the 3 Rs in the framework of a broad curriculum was similar: 'Anxiety is sometimes expressed that maintaining a wide curriculum in primary schools may be possible only at the expense of the essential, elementary skills of reading, writing and mathematics. The evidence from the HMI survey of primary education in England does not bear out that anxiety' (p. 12).

¹³⁸DES (1981a) *The School Curriculum*. London: HMSO.

¹³⁹Maw, J. (1985) op. cit., p. 96.

¹⁴⁰DES (1981a) op. cit., paras 35 and 38.

¹⁴¹*Ibid.*, para 60.

¹⁴²Knight, C. (1990) *The Making of Tory Education Policy in Post-War Britain 1950-1986*. London: The Falmer Press.

¹⁴³DES (1985b) *Better Schools* (Cmnd 9469). London: HMSO.

¹⁴⁴Joseph, K. (1984) 'Speech by the Rt. Hon Sir Keith Joseph, Secretary of State for Education and Science, at the North of England Education Conference, Sheffield, on Friday 6 January 1984'. *Oxford Review of Education*, 10(2): 137-145, p. 141.

¹⁴⁵Knight, C. (1990) op. cit., p. 170.

¹⁴⁶DES (1985b) op. cit., paras 9 and 2.

¹⁴⁷*Better Schools* (ibid., para 44) sets out the following ‘purposes of learning’:

- (i) to help pupils to develop lively, enquiring minds, the ability to question and argue rationally and to apply themselves to tasks, and physical skills;
- (ii) to help pupils to acquire understanding, knowledge and skills relevant to adult life and employment in a fast-changing world;
- (iii) to help pupils to use language and number effectively;
- (iv) to instil respect for religious and moral values, and tolerance of other races, religions, and ways of life;
- (v) to help pupils to understand the world in which they live, and the inter-dependence of individuals, groups and nations;
- (vi) to help pupils to appreciate human achievements and aspirations.

When setting out these general educational aims, the White Paper *Better Schools* as well as the DES documents *A Framework for the School Curriculum* and *The School Curriculum* were supposed to be reiterating those set out initially in the Green Paper (see DES, 1980a, op. cit., para 9). However, in comparing these aims, one can see that the statements concerning the social development of pupils and inequalities amongst them are missing from the later governmental documents. For example, the statement of the Green Paper (DES, 1977b, op. cit., para 1.19) ‘to teach children about human achievement and aspirations...’, the phrase ‘in the search for a more just social order’ is omitted. More strikingly, the aim (vii) (‘to encourage and foster the development of the children whose social or environmental disadvantages cripple their capacity to learn, if necessary by making additional resources available to them’) is removed.

¹⁴⁸DES (1985b) op. cit., para 46.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., para 48. For secondary education the move to ‘vocationalisation’ had already been initiated two years before (1983) when the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI) was introduced; the TVEI was an extensive programme funded mainly by the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) which aimed at embedding extra-school (work) experiences in the secondary curriculum. See Ball, S. J. (1990) op. cit., pp. 70-77.

¹⁵⁰Ibid., para 61.

¹⁵¹Ibid., para 135.

¹⁵²Ibid., para 78.

¹⁵³Ibid., paras 91 and 93.

¹⁵⁴Ibid., para 96. Characteristic of the Government's intention to expose schools' existing performance was the fact that previously, under the 1980 Education Act, school were already required to publish GCE and CSE examination results to allow public comparison.

¹⁵⁵Ibid., para 112.

¹⁵⁶The rationale of recording pupil performance by this method was according to *Better Schools* to make the school 'to think more systematically than is at present the general practice about pupils' curricular needs' DES (1985b) op. cit., para 117.

¹⁵⁷In their principles, according to Knight, these initiatives were in line with the proposals of the *Black Papers* movement: 'In its attempt to offer the prospect of an education policy largely based on a view of education in its traditional sense the government had been placing emphasis on output rather than input, on the efficient use of resources rather than fruitless spending, on the skills manifested by teachers and acquired by pupils rather than on grandiose social aspirations. Such objectives were in keeping with some of the key demands made by Black Paper writers in the 1970s'; Knight, C. (1990) op. cit., p. 175.

¹⁵⁸DES (1985b) op. cit., paras 36 and 212; see also DES (1980a) op. cit., para 3 and DES (1981a) op. cit., para 2.

¹⁵⁹The political deliberations to abolish the Schools Council had come out at first with the leaking of the Yellow Book (see previous section) in 1976. When the curriculum reform process was undertaken by Keith Joseph, Lawton (1983, op. cit., p. 133) had anticipated that the Schools Council was 'seen as too powerful a rival for the DES in the curriculum policy game and [was], therefore, to be eliminated and replaced by a more subservient body, appointed rather than representative'. However, apart from the apparent political reasons, it should be mentioned that though the Schools Council's professional activities resulted in the production of various projects it did not proceed to an overall curriculum proposal until early 1980s. As Lawton noted (ibid., p. 127) 'only in 1981 did a firm statement on the whole curriculum appear with the Schools Council imprimatur - *The Practical Curriculum* - and by that time it was too late. The DES takeover bid was by now under way'.

¹⁶⁰Indeed, as Barber notes, the abolition of the Schools Council 'outraged the teachers' unions, particularly the NUT. . . There was, from that moment on, no national forum in which the professional voice in the curriculum debate could be heard'; Barber, M. (1996) *The National*

Curriculum: A Study in Policy. Keele: Keele University Press, p. 26. NUT expressed their opposition against the announced instrumental curriculum policy in their publication *Response to Better Schools* (1985, London: NUT) where they stressed: 'Such a policy is leading to an impoverishment of the educational experience of children. For the translation of national needs into curriculum terms is likely to lead to provision which bears no relation to the differing needs and circumstances of individual children' (p. 13).

¹⁶¹Maw, J. (1988) 'National Curriculum Policy: Coherence and Progression?' in Lawton, D. and Chitty, C. (eds) *The National Curriculum*. London: Institute of Education University of London, p. 55; Chitty, C. (1989) op. cit., p. 120-121.

¹⁶²DES (1985a) *The Curriculum from 5 to 16* (HMI Series: Curriculum Matters 2). London: HMSO, para 8.

¹⁶³Salter, B. and Tapper, T. (1981) *Education, Politics and the State*. London: Grant-McIntyre, pp. 233-234.

¹⁶⁴DES (1986a) *Better Schools: Evaluation and Appraisal Conference*. Proceedings (14-15 November 1985, Birmingham). London: HMSO, p. 184.

¹⁶⁵For a complete list of the New Right pressure groups and some of their publications see Lawton, D. (1992) *Education and Politics in the 1990s: Conflict or Consensus?* London: the Falmer Press, pp. 44-45.

¹⁶⁶See for example Quicke, J. (1988) 'The 'New Right' and Education'. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 36(1): 5-35; Jones, K. (1989) *Right Turn: The Conservative Revolution in Education*. London: Hutchinson Radius; Lawton, D. (1994) *The Tory Mind on Education 1979-1994*. London: The Falmer Press; Whitty, G. (1989) op. cit.; Chitty, C., (1989) op. cit.

¹⁶⁷Lawton, D. (1989) *Education, Culture and the National Curriculum*. London: Hodder and Stoughton; Lawton, D. (1992) op. cit.; Ball, S. (1990) op. cit. Ball makes a distinction between the *cultural-restorationists* (those who maintain that a national curriculum should focus on the 3 Rs and the preservation of traditional cultural values) and the *industrial-modernizers* (the advocates of 'vocationalisation' as a prerequisite to meet the economic needs of Britain). Lawton's categorisation refers to four ideological positions (the three of which express the New Right groups): the *privatisers* (sponsors of an educational marketisation), the *minimalists or segregators* (favouring a basic national curriculum enforced by testing), the *pluralists* (supporting the idea of pupil self-selection and educational choice) and the *comprehensive planners* (the

professional position of a common curriculum based on the idea of common culture).

¹⁶⁸Hillgate Group (1986) *Whose School? A Radical Manifesto*. London: The Hillgate Group; Hillgate Group (1987) *The Reform of British Education: From Principles to Practice*. London: The Claridge Press; Lawlor, S. (1995) (ed) *An Education Choice: Pamphlets from the Centre 1987-1994*. London: Centre for Policy Studies; Sexton, S. (1987) *Our Schools - A Radical Policy*. Warlingham: Institute of Economic Affairs - Education Unit.

¹⁶⁹Hillgate Group (1986) op. cit., p. 2.

¹⁷⁰Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁷¹Ibid., pp. 1 and 7.

¹⁷²See O'Keeffe, D. (ed) (1986) *The Wayward Curriculum*. Exeter: Social Affairs Unit.

¹⁷³Quoted in Barber, M. (1996) op. cit., p. 31.

¹⁷⁴Letwin, O. (1995) 'Aims of Schooling' in Lawlor, S. (ed) op. cit., p. 19; the same author explains what 'grounding' means as the main aim of schooling: 'Grounding involves acquiring both a range of skills and a certain amount of knowledge - at a level where knowledge and skills are almost indistinguishable from one another. Reading and writing, understanding simple mathematics, and expressing oneself clearly, are of course skills: one has to know how to do them instead of merely knowing that something or other is the case about them. But, in the course of learning, one inevitably acquires certain specific items of knowledge. One learns that certain words refer to certain objects and activities, that $2+2=4$, probably also (on the way) that the moon is not made of cheddar cheese, and a number of other items of sheer information' (ibid.).

¹⁷⁵Marenbon, J. (1995) 'English Our English' in Lawlor, S. (ed), op. cit., p. 57.

¹⁷⁶Lawlor, S. (1995) 'The History Debate' in Lawlor, S. (ed), ibid., pp. 185 and 191.

¹⁷⁷Hillgate Group (1986) op. cit., p. 3.

¹⁷⁸Marenbon, J. (1995) op. cit., p. 43.

¹⁷⁹Hillgate Group (1986) op. cit., pp. 1 and 11.

¹⁸⁰Marenbon, J. (1995) op. cit., p. 44.

¹⁸¹Hillgate Group (1986) op. cit., p. 15.

¹⁸²Hillgate Group (1987) op. cit., p. 17.

¹⁸³Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁸⁴Sexton, S. (1987) op. cit., pp. 8-9.

¹⁸⁵Ibid., p. 26.

¹⁸⁶Ibid.

¹⁸⁷Ibid.

¹⁸⁸Stuart Sexton, a protagonist of this position, was explicit in this: 'What children should learn should be what the customer wants them to learn. Who is the customer? The immediate customer is the parent on behalf of his child. The indirect customer is the future employer of the child, the society as a whole . . . I don't want a committee that sets out ten subjects in such detail that there is no room for anything else, but I want diversity which will be dictated by the market . . . I don't think that there is a role for the LEAs and I don't think that there is a role for the DES and the only role of the government is to provide the money for the parents to go and buy education'; Interview by Kotthoff, H. G. (1990) op. cit., pp. 165-166.

¹⁸⁹DES (1987a, 23-1-1987) 'Kenneth Baker calls for curriculum for pupils of all abilities', Press Release 22/87. London: HMSO.

¹⁹⁰DES (1987b) *The National Curriculum 5-16: A Consultation Document*. London: HMSO.

¹⁹¹Alexander, R., Rose, J. and Woodhead, C. (1992) *Curriculum Organisation and Classroom Practice in Primary Schools: A Discussion Paper*. London: DES.

¹⁹²Ibid., para 3.2.

¹⁹³Ibid., paras 52 - 53.

¹⁹⁴Ibid., paras 89, 113 and 115.

¹⁹⁵Indeed, at the time of the reform (1981) 30,7% of the working population in Greece was occupied in the primary sector of production (agriculture) while at the same time in the European Community (of the ten member-states) the respective percentage was 7,5%. Accordingly, the EEC average of those employed in the secondary sector (industry) was 35,5% while in Greece it was 23% (of which only a small part was employed in the heavy industry). See Kazamias, A. (1993) op. cit., p. 179.

¹⁹⁶Bernstein, B. (1996b) 'Official Knowledge and Pedagogic Identities'. Paper presented at the University of Athens (Ceremony of Honorary Doctorate Conferment): Athens 9-12-1996, p. 1.

¹⁹⁷Bernstein, B. (1992) *Educational Reform and Pedagogic Identities*. Paper Presented at World Bank Seminar, Department of Education: Santiago, Chile 11-11-1992, p. 1.

¹⁹⁸Ibid., pp. 2-3.

¹⁹⁹Ibid., p. 2.

²⁰⁰Bernstein, B. (1996b) op. cit., p. 4.

²⁰¹Ibid., p. 5.

²⁰²Ibid. It has to be noted that Bernstein does not associate his concept of *retrospective identities* only with the conservative government. He maintains that the New Labour's educational agenda signifies a new prospective identity: 'An identity drawing on resources of a different past. An amalgam of notions of community (really communities) and local responsibilities to motivate and restore belonging in the cultural sphere, and a new participatory responsibility in the economic sphere ... The positions remain but the players change' (p. 6).

²⁰³Ibid., p. 8.

²⁰⁴Ibid.

²⁰⁵Ibid., pp. 7-8.

²⁰⁶Bernstein, B. (1992) op. cit., p. 6.

²⁰⁷Bernstein, B. (1996b) op. cit., p. 7.

²⁰⁸Ibid., p. 10.

²⁰⁹Ibid., p. 11.

²¹⁰Ibid.

²¹¹Hillgate Group (1987) op. cit., p. 5. See also Hillgate Group (1986) op. cit., p. 7 where the same group stresses that 'parents now fear official interference in the internal workings of schools, and are aware of the danger that, as our political bosses change, so will the curriculum'. One can recognise in this position the traditional political anxiety of the Conservative Party in England vis-a-vis the direct state control of curriculum content, as that emerged, according to White's interpretation (1975, op. cit.), in two historical points this century: in 1926 when Elementary Regulations were removed and in 1944 when the Education Act did not include any statutory requirements for the secondary curriculum. See also the historical overview of this thesis.

²¹²DES (1985b) op. cit., paras 91 and 93.

²¹³Ibid., p. 6.

CHAPTER 5

CENTRAL CURRICULUM PLANNING AND THE CONTROL OF SCHOOLS' PEDAGOGIC PRACTICE

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter it was suggested that the curriculum reforms of the two countries signified an official move towards different models of pedagogic practice in primary education on the basis of different educational purposes. Greece prioritised aims of democratisation and shifted to the competence modality and England prioritised the raising of standards in basic skills and shifted to the performance modality. It was also seen that curriculum reforms were introduced in both cases through centralised modes of curriculum control - in Greece without altering the existing one and in England by altering the previous mode.

However, as was mentioned at the beginning of the thesis, although the two countries share the common feature of centralised mode of curriculum control, they differ in the mode of management control.

This chapter will move the discussion to what has been defined as the second context of state curriculum control. In particular, this chapter will be concerned with the positioning of the two official pedagogic models that the two countries shifted to in their patterns of educational control. In other words, the chapter will investigate the operation of central *curriculum planning* as an attempt of the state to regulate, within the *mono-* and *bi-dimensional* patterns, schools' pedagogic practice.

The argument to be tested here is that although in both countries curriculum planning is centralised, the emphasis is placed on different message systems: while in Greece curriculum planning emphasises the control of content and pedagogy, in England it stresses the control of evaluation. Central curriculum planning in one country focuses on *what* is and *how* it is *taught* and in the other what is *learned*.

The emphasis on different message systems will be sought in three main areas: a) the theoretical approach to curriculum planning; b) the main means used by the state to make schools to comply with the curriculum requirements; c) the prescription of message systems by the central authority.

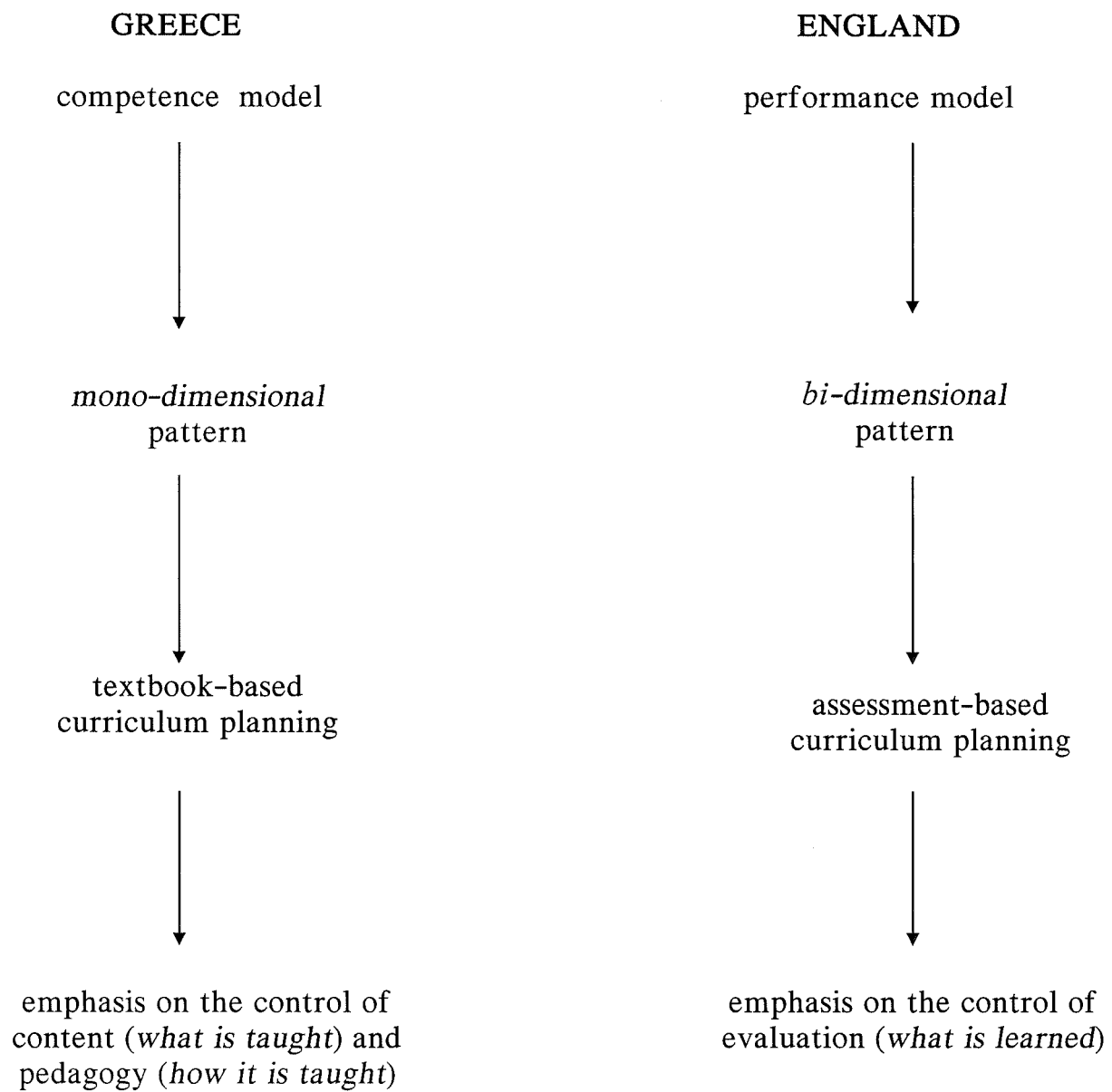
First, the analysis will consider the approach which underpins the planning of the two national curricula. As applications of the competence and performance models in curriculum planning, the approaches employed in the two countries demonstrate different modalities in the control of pedagogic practice. It will be argued that, in reflecting the officially endorsed pedagogic models, the approach to central curriculum planning in Greece is concerned more with the organisation of content and process of pedagogic practice (*spiral curriculum*) whereas in England the National Curriculum planning focuses on the specification of the ends (*objectives* or *assessment approach*);

Secondly, attention should be paid not only to what is prescribed but also to the way that the prescribed curriculum is carried to the classroom. In other words, attention should be given to the *carriers* of the central curriculum, the main means used by the state to regulate schools' pedagogic practice. In this regard, it will be argued that the emphasis by the Greek state on *what is taught* and *how it is taught* is revealed by the compulsory use of a *national teaching text (textbook)* for both pupils and teachers, while in England the emphasis on *what is learned* is revealed by the compulsory *national assessment scheme*.

These two *carriers* are taken here as exemplars of the co-action of the modes of curriculum and management control in the two countries. The diffusion of the officially endorsed competence model in Greece through the compulsory use of a single textbook exemplifies the subordination of schools to the central bureaucracy, which leaves limited margins to schools to manage their own resources. On the other hand, the diffusion of the performance model in England exemplifies the subordination of the self-managing schools to the national assessment scheme which makes their performance visible to the market and facilitates choice.

Finally, there will be a close investigation and analysis of the message systems which are *strongly* or *weakly* prescribed by the central curriculum planning. Where there are statutory and detailed requirements for universal implementation, the prescription will be considered *strong*. Where the requirements for universal implementation are not statutory or detailed, the prescription will be regarded as *weak*. In this framework, it will be argued that the Greek curriculum planning is marked by strong definition of content and pedagogy and weak definition of evaluation. In England, it will be argued, the central curriculum planning defines weakly the content and pedagogy and strongly the evaluation (see Figure 5.1.).

Figure 5.1 Pedagogic models and central curriculum planning in the Greek mono-dimensional and the English bi-dimensional patterns



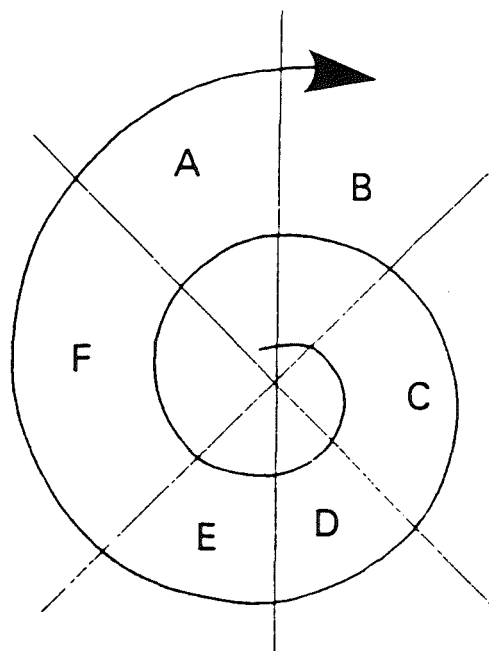
5.2 THE APPROACH TO PLANNING THE GREEK STATUTORY CURRICULUM

It was seen in the previous chapter that the official shift of pedagogic models in Greece was characterised by educational aims for the cognitive empowerment of pupils. The curriculum reform stressed Piagetian psychology by taking into account children's stages of development as the basis of pedagogic practice.

The professionals assigned to produce the new curriculum drew heavily from Jerome Bruner's theory of curriculum planning, which is compatible with developmental psychology. Bruner's approach is largely concerned with the organisation of the content and the process of pedagogic practice rather than the specification of expected results and performance: 'knowing is a process, not a product'¹ according to Bruner's theory of instruction. His central question for curriculum planning was 'how do we tailor fundamental knowledge to the interests and capacities of children?' and the answer that his approach gave was that 'the task of teaching a subject to a child at any particular age is one of representing the structure of that subject in terms of the child's way of viewing things'.² With this starting point, Bruner offered four arguments intended to be a basis for curriculum planning: a) the pupil should understand the fundamental principles first in order to assimilate content; b) details should be presented in organised patterns to be held in memory; c) the acquisition of structures facilitates the transfer of knowledge to new situations; d) the spiral organisation (re-examination) of content can restrict the distance between the 'elementary' and 'advanced' content offered in primary and secondary education.³ Curriculum content in this respect is constructed by locating the structures of knowledge and presenting them according to the child's stages of development: the stage of *enactive representation*, the stage of *iconic representation* and the stage of *symbolic representation*.⁴

In curriculum planning terms, the Brunerian approach can be represented as shown in figure 5.2. The teaching topics (A-F) are sequenced in such a way that the pupil goes through them in spirals which are repeated and extended simultaneously. Thereby, the topics are closely inter-dependent as they are treated as prerequisites and fundamental for those to follow. In this respect, curriculum content is tailored in accordance with the anticipated present competence of pupils (assimilating abilities) and aims at the acquisition of the knowledge taught through the sequential presentation of its structures.⁵

Figure 5.2 Representation of the spiral curriculum⁶



The Brunerian approach was at the core of the Greek educationists' efforts to reform the established approach of curriculum planning in Greece. Apart from changing the ideological content of the

curriculum so that democratic values were present, the reformers were preoccupied with the task of shifting away from the past statutory curricula which were organised as lists of themes and facts to be stored and bringing about instead a 'child-centred' pedagogy. The new curriculum planning thus focused on content structuring and the process of teaching derived from Bruner's theory. Such an approach was implemented throughout the new curriculum and was channelled to teachers by the reformers, as the following statement about mathematics indicates:

The old curriculum was a catalogue which contained the objects of study and some general guidance. Since then a lot has changed. Our world has been transformed. The notions for learning and teaching have changed. The old curriculum used to break up mathematical knowledge and present it in pieces and in mechanistic ways. . . The new curriculum of mathematics is reforming and enriching the *content*, because it was seen that we had been postponing the teaching of important themes. The way of structuring the content is changing. The basic mathematical concepts and relations return from grade to grade, they are re-ordered so that the initial knowledge helps the one that follows. As the pupil proceeds from grade to grade he enriches and deepens the initial mathematical knowledge. The new curriculum also is changing the *process* of learning. The learning takes place with the active participation of the pupil. The pupil is positioned in problematic situations taken from the children's world as well as his every day life. In this way . . . there is activation in the process of research, the discussion, the substantial construction of knowledge and its application in new conditions.⁷ [original italics]

Indeed, after 1982 the primary curriculum was planned according to the spiral organisation of Bruner from the first grade up to the sixth, initially in the subjects of modern Greek, mathematics, environmental studies and, later, in civic education and geography. The protagonists of the curriculum reform also diffused the new perceptions to schools through official publications, textbooks and seminars to school advisers and teachers.

The adoption of Bruner's approach to curriculum planning was also distinguished by the reformers from other alternatives, thereby drawing a line between the competence and the performance modality of pedagogic practice. In particular, the setting of objectives based on behavioural psychology was in principle rejected along with the *objectives approach* to curriculum planning. The objectives approach, developed by Tyler, conceives learning as a visibly demonstrated change in behaviour and thus prefers curriculum planned on the basis of statements which describe the expected behaviour.⁸ Mager, another representative of this approach, remarked that objectives should not describe the process of teaching. On the same theoretical basis as Tyler, he defined an objective as 'a description of performance you want learners to be able to exhibit' and stressed that 'if you don't know where you 're going it is difficult to select a suitable means for getting there'.⁹ In contrast to this perception, the Greek curriculum reformers adopted the view that objectives should indicate the content and the process of teaching rather than the expected outcomes of learning:

The opinion held that if you know where you are going in your teaching you will arrive there for sure, is educationally naive. The main problem of teaching is not the setting of objectives but the creation of the conditions for their accomplishment. . . . Aims should not be analysed in segmental ways as behaviour that is expected from the pupil after teaching, but [they should be analysed] always in conjunction with the logical structure of the object of learning in a series of processes of learning that are defined by the way that the pupil learns.¹⁰

Thus, according to the role attributed to objectives in one of the textbooks for teachers: '[objectives] define, indirectly, the content of the topics and indicate the conditions and the terms under which they are accomplished'.¹¹

The contrast between the two approaches to the description of objectives epitomises their main difference as this is perceived from the

point of view of the present analysis; that is, the two approaches emphasise control of different message systems. Bruner's approach is more concerned to make visible the structuring of content and process of pedagogic practice whereas the objectives approach is more interested in rendering visible the performance of pupils in order to facilitate evaluation.

However, the approach to curriculum planning cannot highlight adequately the modalities of central curriculum control without considering the general pattern of educational control, in which it is enacted. Thus, the analysis below will focus on the carrier of the curriculum to schools as an exemplar of the co-action of the two modes (curriculum and management) of control.

5.3 THE GREEK CENTRALISED MODE OF MANAGEMENT CONTROL AND THE SINGLE TEXTBOOK AS THE MAIN CARRIER OF THE STATUTORY CURRICULUM IN SCHOOLS

As was seen in the previous chapter the mode of curriculum control was retained by the reform of the 1980s and was accepted without dispute by the major interested parties. One of the main aims of the reform of the socialist government was to decentralise decision-making down to the provinces. However, although the Educational Law 1566/85 was alleged to devolve power to the local level, it brought no alteration in the traditional hierarchical and bureaucratic character of the system. Basically, the reform separated the pedagogical and managerial responsibilities that inspectors used to have by introducing *school advisers* and *Directorates and Offices of Education*.¹² The role of the school advisers now is to monitor pedagogic practice (see the discussion in the next chapter), while the role of Directorates and Offices is to keep schools subject to management control.¹³ That is, the

Directorates and Offices distribute the centrally appointed teaching staff, exercise disciplinary action, allocate textbooks and curriculum resources, transmit statutory orders and circulars to schools and in general operate as local services of the official educational hierarchy.¹⁴ The headteacher's duties are restricted to 'implementing the laws, statutory orders and circulars' and along with the *Teachers' Board* he/she is responsible for 'the better implementation of the educational policy and operation of the school' as well as 'for the implementation of the statutory curriculum and timetable'.¹⁵

Moreover, the 1985 Law introduced various bodies at the local and schools levels such as the *Municipal Board of Education*, the *School Council* and the *School Committee*,¹⁶ intending to establish grass-root participation in day-to-day school management. These bodies, however, have no responsibility other than to 'ensure the regular operation of the school' according to the Ministry's perception.¹⁷ Although these bodies operate out of the hierarchical system their acts are subject, as Michalacopoulos demonstrated,¹⁸ to the official hierarchy and final decisions rest with the central power.¹⁹ Kazamias²⁰ attributed the ineffectiveness of these bodies to their political and advisory nature and Samatas characterised them as 'the legitimisation of a populist centralised educational policy'.²¹ PASOK's reform according to Samatas did not alter what he calls 'school bureaucratism in Greece' which 'can in summary be characterised as minister-centred, authoritarian centralisation, which locates the field of education in a space of control, subordination, compliance and formalism'.²² The same author argued that in recent years 'the socialist and liberal governments pleading modernisation finally increased and amplified state control and ministerial interventions in the whole field of education'.²³

Thus, the management of Greek schools rests heavily with the official hierarchy to the extent that schools lack sufficient responsibilities to manage their curriculum resources. Curriculum

resources and in particular textbooks are designed and produced by the agents of the Ministry of Education. The Pedagogical Institute, whose decisions are subject to ministerial approval, not only plans the statutory curriculum, it also constructs textbooks and curriculum resources²⁴ which schools are obliged to use within the hierarchical centralised mode of management control. Thereby, central curriculum planning and central control of schools' management co-act to render textbooks the main carriers of the state curriculum to the classroom. As will be seen more clearly below, curriculum planning is heavily based on the single textbook, that schools are obliged to use for each subject, not only for pupils but for teachers as well.

Indeed, for the first time in Greek education the curriculum reform introduced the *Teacher's Textbook* along with the traditional *Pupil's Textbook*. It is argued here that textbooks are not simply written according to the statutory curriculum, as provided by the law,²⁵ but that centralised planning relies heavily on the textbooks to the extent that it *identifies* them with the curriculum itself. As will be seen below, both kinds of textbook become crucial carriers of content and pedagogy strongly prescribed by the state and regulate pedagogic practice.

A first indication of the dominance of the textbook in curriculum planning would be the fact that in 1982, when the reform was introduced, some of the textbooks were issued and distributed to schools *before* the new curriculum was officially published. That was normal practice in curriculum policy in Greece in the past and it was once more repeated, indicating that in practice a curriculum reform is present at schools when new textbooks are issued. As was seen in the previous chapter, such practices were not disputed by the interest groups struggling for *internal* reform, since the mode of curriculum control was not disputed either; on the contrary, the debate about a new curriculum was often centred on demands for new textbooks. Textbooks

were considered key tools for the alteration of the ideological content of the knowledge taught and classroom pedagogy, by all groups involved in the reform debate. The vocabulary used by one of the curriculum reformers when asked to comment on the new curriculum is revealing for the role attributed to textbooks:

It was preferred that the new textbooks should be given out straightway for universal *implementation* and that they are revised and developed from re-edition to re-edition, on the basis of empirical findings from their *implementation*. But in order to do that, the textbooks should be correctly *implemented*, according to the prescriptions contained in teachers' textbooks so that any comments on the pupils' textbooks are reliable and point out intrinsic shortcomings of the textbooks and they are not based on incorrect *implementation* or misunderstandings and prejudice of teachers.²⁶ [*italics added*]

The issue was not therefore to implement the curriculum but to *implement* the textbooks, as if they were the curriculum itself. Analogous was the stance of the Ministry of Education which issued a circular reminding schools of their obligation to use only the state approved textbooks and that they were not allowed to introduce any other textbooks in their pedagogic practice. As the then Deputy Minister stressed in his circular to schools:

The right implementation of the new curriculum based on the pupil's textbook and guided by the teacher's textbook is a self-evident demand. Only in this way is it possible to check in practice, from the overall picture of the results in schools throughout the country, the accomplishment or potential weaknesses of this innovative attempt. In no case shall the pupil's textbooks be ignored, as the next primary textbooks will be based on them ...²⁷

Clearly, the diffusion and implementation of the newly-introduced pedagogic approach was considered by the state to be identical with the compulsory and loyal use of the prescribed textbooks.

Textbooks were seen as reliable carriers of the curriculum into the classroom and schools' subordination to the centralised mode of management control was seen as a necessary presupposition to alter their pedagogic practice.

However, the exclusive use of the textbooks was not only an obligation imposed by the educational bureaucracy. The textbook, for both pupils and teachers, was an integral part of central curriculum planning as its legal status was taken into account by the curriculum reformers. The components of the new curriculum (aims and objectives, content, teaching methods and evaluation processes) are contained in the Presidential Decree and the textbook. The Presidential Decree contains the aims and the general objectives for each subject as well as the content specified in general and particular units. Particular objectives, content themes, guidance for teaching and ways of evaluation are given in the teacher's textbook and stand in explicit accordance with the contents of the pupil's textbook. In these terms, both the Presidential Decree and the textbooks constitute the statutory curriculum. As the curriculum reformers themselves stressed:

The teachers' textbooks constitute an *extension* and *completion* of the curriculum and contain the rationale of its subject as well as indicative teacher practices and pupil activities, so that the teacher does his work effectively. . . In general, it should be kept in mind that the teachers' textbooks are the extension and completion of the curriculum and *therefore they are obligatory in the sense that the curriculum is obligatory*.²⁸ [italics added]

Thus, the statutory curriculum in Greece is officially considered *both* the legal document and the school textbooks, as schools are obliged by the law to use particular textbooks and also as they constitute an integral part of the planning of the statutory curriculum. This fact is clear evidence of the co-action of the centralised modes of curriculum and management control in the process of transferring the new curriculum into the classroom. It shows how the official discourse of

the competence model was positioned in the mono-dimensional pattern of educational control: through the obligatory use of prescribed textbooks intended to alter pedagogic practice.

This point becomes even clearer if one considers that the sponsors of the competence model were the same people who were assigned by the government, as members of KEME (and later on of the Pedagogical Institute), to produce the new curriculum and write or supervise the writing of the new textbooks. The sponsors of the new pedagogic model, the curriculum planners and the textbooks writers were, therefore, the same persons, indicating the co-action of the centralised modes of curriculum and management control in an explicit way. It seems that the reformers were well aware of the facilitating role of the existing pattern of control for transmitting the new curriculum into schools, both as the above quotations show and the following statement of one reformer:

The best case would be to have more than one textbook for the pupil and the teacher that materialise the same curriculum. *In our case however, as we have only one textbook and as the topics are not analysed in teaching plans in the curriculum, but in the teacher's and the pupil's textbooks, these textbooks from one point of view can be considered not only an implementation but moreover a continuation, completion and integration of the curriculum.*²⁹ [italics added]

The dominance of textbooks is here legitimised by taking for granted first the existing mode of management control ('as we have only one textbook') and secondly the mode of curriculum control, the absence of schools' responsibility to produce teaching plans.³⁰ It is apparent that the statement reflects the way that the Greek mono-dimensional pattern circumscribes the framework of curriculum planning, by making the single textbook as the main carrier.

In sum, it is clear that central curriculum planning in Greece is heavily reliant on single textbooks to the extent that curriculum is

identified with their compulsory use. Based on the co-action of both the curriculum and management modes of control the single textbook becomes a main carrier of the state curriculum into the classroom.

So far the emphasis placed by the Greek state on the control of content and pedagogy was seen in the theoretical underpinnings of the central curriculum planning and in the main carrier used to transfer the curriculum into the classroom. Below it will be argued that the same emphasis can also be seen in the prescription of both message systems by state planning.

5.4 PRE-DEFINITION OF MESSAGE SYSTEMS BY CENTRAL CURRICULUM PLANNING IN GREECE: THE STRONG CONTROL OF CONTENT AND PEDAGOGY

How the Greek state officially conceives and defines the school curriculum can be seen in the fundamental educational law 1566/85 which introduced the reform in the 1980s:

- α) The curricula constitute *complete guides to educational practice* and they mainly include:
 - (αα) explicitly stated aims for each subject in the context of the general and specific aims of education for each phase;
 - (ββ) content to be taught selected in accordance with the aim of the subject at every level, proportionate and symmetrical to the school timetable and to the assimilating abilities of students, and *completely* articulated in allocated units and themes;
 - (γγ) indicative directions for the method and the means of teaching on every unit or theme.
- β) The curricula are drawn up, experimentally tested, evaluated and continuously revised in accordance with the development in the domain of knowledge, social needs and the progression of the sciences of education.
- γ) The curricula of the nine-year compulsory education in particular have internal coherence and comprehensive development of their content.
- δ) The textbooks for pupils and teachers are written in accordance with the curriculum.³¹ [*italics added*]

The above legal text reveals the role that the central authority attributes to the curriculum. There is no mention of evaluation processes nor of any requirements to use curricula as a common basis to judge pupils' expected performance. On the contrary, according to the legal requirement, the statutory curricula should exercise control ('complete guidance') over schools' pedagogic practice by specifying in detail aims/objectives, content and pedagogy. The specification of *what* and *how* is to be taught concerns every subject at every educational phase, distributed in time (school timetable) and analysed in detail (subject and themes).

With this legal text as a starting point, it will be suggested below that indeed central curriculum planning in Greece focuses on the detailed prescription of content and process of teaching rather than on the evaluation of pupil's performance.

The detailed specification of the content consists in the analytical prescription of what exactly is to be taught and in its distribution in the school timetable. In content, each subject is gradually particularised from general statements to detailed description of each individual topic. Each *subject* is divided into *general units*, *segmental units*, and individual *themes*, providing thereby a step-by-step analysis of the prescribed content.³² This kind of analysis leaves no space to schools to interpret the curriculum content in alternative ways. Teachers are obliged to work with the *themes* themselves and thus have no margin to produce teaching plans out of the *general* and the *segmental units*. Both these general statements of content are enshrined in Presidential Decrees to which teachers have no direct access in practical terms due to the legal nature of these texts.³³ Consequently, what constitutes the statutory curriculum in schools is the *themes* of teaching which are analytically described in the Teachers' Textbooks.

The *themes* constitute complete teaching plans and contain the *objectives*, the *analysis of content*, the *teaching actions* and the *pupil*

activities. Whereas the last two parts dictate step-by-step the classroom pedagogy, the *analysis of content* exemplifies the statutory curriculum by prescribing precisely what should and what should not be taught in the particular lesson, as can be seen in the following examples taken from different subjects:

The content of this unit is the development of means of communication from the past to date . . . The teaching will rely on the material which is in the textbook and on some other material which will be presented by the teacher and the children themselves. . . The teacher will insist that the children find the sequence with which various ways and means of communications were used but he will not ask them to identify the particular [historical] period that these means were used.³⁴

The articulation of this theme in the pupil's textbook lies on the climate map accompanied with the analytical legend and illustrates the types of climate and kinds of vegetation, the substructure that the text creates and the teaching aids. The teaching will necessarily be restricted in providing general knowledge and not more that what is contained in the pupil's textbook.³⁵

The teacher will conduct the discussion and will help the children to reach always a conclusion/suggestion, which will be widely accepted . . . With proper care we should avoid any mention of *particular political persons and parties in the actual political life of our country*. . . The teacher is free [sic] to complement the children's answers with examples taken from the world and Greek political history.³⁶ [original italics]

Moreover, the curriculum content is distributed by the state in the school timetable covering the whole time available in primary schools per year, per week, even per teaching hour. The statutory curriculum covers 100% of the school timetable and there is no time left by the statutory requirements to be used at the schools' discretion.

The state defines the duration of the school year across the country, its division in terms as well as the weekly and daily hours of schools' operation.³⁷ Furthermore, the state defines the duration of each teaching hour and breaks between them.³⁸ In this framework, the central curriculum planning defines how many teaching hours each subject

should include in the weekly school timetable, as the following (5.1) Table indicates:

Table 5.2 The statutory timetable of Greek primary education³⁹

Subjects	Teaching hours per grade					
	A'	B'	Γ'	Δ'	E'	ΣΤ'
Religious Education			2	2	2	2
Modern Greek	9	9	9	9	8	8
Mathematics	4	4	3	3	4	4
History			2	2	2	2
Environmental Studies	4	4	3	3		
Geography					1	1
Science					3	3
Social and Civic Education					1	1
Art Education	4	4	4	4	2	2
Physical Education	2	2	2	2	2	2
TOTAL TEACHING HOURS	23	23	25	25	25	25

Schools are obliged to devote the designated time to each subject and in each primary grade. Thus, their daily timetable should be drawn up on the basis of these requirements, the implementation of which is confirmed through the existing mode of management control.⁴⁰ In this respect, central curriculum planning prescribes the content in explicit accordance with school time. This accordance is achieved through the single textbook and produces, as will be explained below, control over the what is transmitted, when, and for how long.

Annually, each grade is expected by central curriculum planning to cover the specified content as that is presented in the textbooks. For this purpose, each subject is accompanied by one or more textbooks designed to cover the school year from the beginning to the end. As formal evaluation procedures at the end of the school year do not exist, the full completion of a grade is not the demonstrable accomplishment of certain objectives but the coverage of the textbooks designated for

each subject. In these terms, the state curriculum planning through the textbooks takes into consideration the whole annual operation of schools in order to match the selected content; that is, when schools start and finish, what are the school holidays, and when there are national and religious celebrations.

Thus, teachers are told in their special textbooks how many teaching hours correspond to what are they going to teach throughout the year in order to ensure that all the prescribed content would be taught.⁴¹ Accordingly, they are told which phase of a particular subject is planned to be completed in a particular month and when they should finish the corresponding textbook and proceed to the next.⁴² Similarly, central curriculum planning caters for the completion of the selected content on a weekly and hourly basis, as the following example from modern Greek shows:

The 9 hours per week provided for the subject of modern Greek are distributed in four two-hour plus a separate one-hour teaching. The lessons (the text and the exercises) have been designed in such a way they are to be completed in two hours. For some texts from the 'literature extracts' textbook one hour is enough. In that case the second hour will be used for revising what had been previously taught. The ninth hour, which should be placed on Friday, will be used for evaluation, remedial teaching and tutorial exercises ...⁴³

It is clear that in Greece curriculum content is analysed from general statements to specific themes and the school time is specified from the level of the year to the level of the teaching hour. Finally, the prescription of what exactly should be taught is matched to when exactly it should be taught: the sequence and pace of the transmission of content is strongly regulated by the state. Any attempts by teachers to break this order are not considered legitimate, unless this is provided by the statutory curriculum itself.⁴⁴

In the same way, central curriculum planning prescribes in detail the classroom pedagogy. Through their special textbooks teachers are given instructions on how to teach, for every subject, every theme and every teaching hour. In particular, the teaching themes contain the so-called *teaching actions* and *pupil activities* which describe what teachers and pupils should do in the classroom. These instructions are alleged to be indicative but, as was mentioned above, the textbooks enjoy a legal status which invalidates their discretionary character. In these terms, the instructions constitute the official pedagogy and consequently the legitimate way of how to teach.

Indeed, the 'new' pedagogy, officially adopted in the early 1980s, was exemplified in the teachers' textbooks which are used to date. Basic elements of the 'child-centred' approach, such as homework policies and ways of memorising, are given to teachers as axioms and orders for obligatory implementation:

Any kind of memorising is strictly prohibited . . .

The exercises are intended to complement the lesson, the school learning. That means that *they will be done at school . . .*

[The pupils] recognise main geographic terms on the basis of particular elements taken from their locality...In no case, however, is it allowed to give definitions, i.e. ' a hill is ...'⁴⁵ [original italics]

The imperative manner used to pass basic practices to teachers in the above and numerous other cases reveals the strong dictation of pedagogy by central curriculum planning which defines what is prohibited and what is allowed in the teaching process. However, the dictation of pedagogy is not restricted to providing some main principles or strategies. There is a step-by-step prescription of activities for teachers and pupils both for general teaching plans as well as for each individual theme in every teaching hour. As general teaching plans, teachers are given detailed instructions which describe the sequence and pace of the teaching activities intended to have universal

implementation. The following are two representative examples taken from the subjects of modern Greek and environmental studies which describe the process that the teacher should follow:

1) check of spelling . . . 2) Reading by the pupils of the text defined from the previous day. . . 3) A few minutes discussion to generate questioning on the content of the new lesson 4) Reading of the text (silently by the pupils or aloud by the teacher) 5) A brief check of comprehension of the content of the text with some questions 6) Reading either by the teacher (if not done already) or piece by piece by pupils who have reading fluency. 7) Deeper comprehension of the content and the expressiveness of the text with discussion. 8) completion of exercises (first orally . . . and afterwards by writing). When there is a 'think and write' exercise [essay], it will be done either before or after the other exercises. 9) Expression (dramatisation etc.) 10. The poems . . . can be presented either in the end, after the oral expression, or before the completion of the exercises.⁴⁶

The teaching takes place with open books. The teacher lets the children for some time observe the pictures so that they satisfy their curiosity and they are not distracted during the teaching. Later on, the children are introduced to the problematic of the theme helped by the textbook or the teacher. They observe and describe the pictures, activate their thought in accordance with the process defined by the text of the textbook. In a second stage, they associate what they learn with what happens or exists in their environment. Afterwards, they are guided with the help of the pictorial material and the teacher to the transcendence of time and space . . .⁴⁷

Evidently, the above demonstrates the strong definition of pedagogy which consists in the precise prescription of the order and time that should be devoted to particular teaching actions and pupil activities. Teachers throughout the country have to follow a specified process in their pedagogic practice by dividing each teaching hour in the way dictated by the central curriculum planning. However, the guidance is not restricted to defining the steps of pedagogic process in terms of general teaching plans. Particular instructions are given for every teaching theme in an impressively detailed way, as if teachers did not have any professional skills:

It should be clear that the instructions are intended for the teacher. That means that the phraseology used in them *will not be transferred unedited to the child*, but will be adjusted to his vocabulary and intellectual competence. For example we do not say in the 1st Grade 'a group has a common aim' etc., but 'the children who do something all together or play the same game make a group'.⁴⁸

In the beginning the teacher with appropriate stimulation by questions, creates a problematic situation for children in relation to the topic of teaching. Such questions are i.e. What do you see here? Why do we have an aerial photograph and a map? What are the similarities and the differences between the aerial photograph and the map? Since we have learned about the template, come now to see how do we plot a bigger area.⁴⁹

We read the poem. We read it for a second time. We let the children read it alone (silent reading). We discuss with the children, articulating our discussion on the following possible questions: What does the child see when he opens the windows? Which hour of the day does he open them? Where can we see this? Which colours are mentioned in the poem? . . .⁵⁰ [original italics]

Through these kinds of instructions, the classroom pedagogy is orientated to the textbooks, since the textbooks have been defined as 'guides of work planning in the classroom, rather than sources of information'.⁵¹ On the basis of this definition, teachers are frequently guided to use the textbooks in the same manner:

We let the children in the beginning observe the pictures in both pages, so that they comprehend, even intuitively, their meaning and their content. Afterwards we call them to observe carefully pictures 1 and 2, which in comparison to pictures 3 and 4 create the relevant questioning: why the young birds and the baby cannot live alone (without a family)?⁵²

In sum, the Greek state exercises strong control over the content and pedagogy by using the textbooks as the main carriers of the curriculum into the classroom. The central curriculum planning, through the textbooks for both pupils and teachers, prescribes in detail what is

valid knowledge and what is valid transmission of knowledge. Furthermore, by matching these two message systems to the pre-defined school time, the state is able to regulate the sequence and pace of pedagogic practice from the annual level to the level of the teaching hour.

In this respect, the objectives set, both as general and particular statements, do not drive pedagogic practice but are rendered obsolete by the curriculum planning. Indeed, although specific objectives are stated for every teaching theme to define the content and the conditions of their accomplishment, as was seen above, they are obliterated by the step-by-step analysis of the content and process of teaching. In crude terms, teachers need not know the aim of their teaching since they are told precisely what and how to teach.

In contrast with the emphasis placed on the control of content and process, it is here suggested that the control of what is learned in the Greek primary education is weak.

It was seen in the previous chapter that in the beginning of the 1980s the numerical grading (1-10) in primary education was abolished as well as the redoublement pattern of pupils' progression. Instead, as a part of the post-dictatorial project of educational democratisation, the then conservative government introduced unobstructed progression of pupils from grade to grade and evaluation of their performance on the basis of a broad alphabetical categorisation (A, B, Γ)⁵³.

The weakening of evaluation in primary schools was soon reinforced by the official shift to the competence model introduced by the curriculum reform of the succeeding socialist government. The reform discarded the use of evaluation as a means of differentiation and classification of pupils according to their performance and introduced instead informal ways of assessment. Testing was given a *formative* character, as the so-called *assessment criteria* introduced by

the reform are tests intended to help pupils' self-improvement and to provide the teacher with information for remedial teaching:

With the *assessment criteria* the pupil shows what he has learned well, a little or not at all. Moreover, the teacher is informed whether his pupils have comprehended the concepts that he had taught and to what extent. The assessment has mainly an *educational* character, which means that the pupil with his own little hand and his own little rubber *recognises* his error and proceeds to its *correction*. Furthermore, this kind of assessment has a *regulative* character which means, if pupils did not comprehend a concept, the teacher brings this concept into his next teaching again in order to *compensate* his pupils. The least that this kind of assessment does is to have an *evidential* character.⁵⁴ [original italics]

In this regard, the reform did not intend to record standards of achievement, nor to compare pupils' and schools' performance. Although this kind of test is standard for all schools, pupils' assessment is largely left in the hands of teachers, as will be seen better below. However, the small importance given to the identification of pupils' performance is not evidenced only by the competence model underpinning central curriculum planning. The way primary testing takes place also raises a matter of validity. Indeed, the *assessment criteria* are tests which either are attached to the textbooks or accompany the textbooks as separate leaflets. Consequently, the content of the tests does not change as long as the content of the textbooks remains unchanged. Thus, pupils are able to know beforehand what are they going to be examined on either because the test items are available in their textbooks or because they can be obtained from the previous years. In this sense, primary testing through the *assessment criteria* - the only formal evaluation procedure - is invalidated even as an instrument of a formative character and therefore assessment relies heavily on a teacher's general judgements.

It should be mentioned, however, that evaluation has been a highly controversial issue amongst the interested parties from the late 1980s onwards. The political conflict targeted the testing and grading of pupils' performance in both the primary and secondary sectors. Nevertheless, neither were external assessment procedures proposed nor were any issues for performance comparison raised in the debate. In all those proposals the teacher was considered responsible for assessing pupils and thus evaluation has retained its informal character.

In particular, during the years 1990-1993, when the conservative party of *New Democracy* was back in power, evaluation of pupils' performance was a priority issue in the government's educational agenda. The then government re-introduced the numerical grading (1-10), this time for the last four primary years, and broadened the alphabetical categorisation (A, B, Γ, Δ) for the first two. Moreover, it established *revision tests* at the end of each term in the last two primary years. These kinds of educational measures were considered by some commentators to be the spearhead of the 'conservative turn'⁵⁵ in education and an attempt to intensify the control over pedagogic practice through evaluation. As Mavrogiorgos for example argued:

With the priority that evaluation is acquiring in educational process, literally, the terms of imposition of particular control on the school knowledge, curriculum, teaching, learning, behaviour, etc. are intensified . . . It is clear that the [new] provisions formulate such conditions so that the system of evaluation defines more tightly the form and the content of the curriculum.⁵⁶

Although it is evident that there was in the early 1990s a movement towards formal evaluation procedures, the discussion below as well as the overall comparative analysis carried out here do not support such an interpretation for the Greek setting.

The state control over evaluation remained weak: both the so-called revision tests were not externally devised, standardised or

moderated and the other criteria of evaluation remained largely implicit and diffuse: As the relevant provision stated:

Evaluation is carried out by the teacher or the teachers of the class and is based on:

- α) the teacher's estimation of the degree of the pupil's response to the objectives of the curriculum;
- β) the results of oral and written work;
- γ) the observation of the pupil's forms of behaviour, attitudes and activities, as those are expressed in the classroom' work and school life;
- δ) the information that the teacher has from his co-operation with parents;
- ε) the estimation of psychological and other data which influence negatively the pupils' behaviour and performance, as the particularities of his temperament, particular needs, poor family and social environment in learning stimuli, etc.⁵⁷

Clearly, the above criteria, to which the major political forces consented,⁵⁸ did not constitute a framework for direct state control over evaluation, as:

- evaluation in general and testing in particular remained a matter of the individual teacher;
- the theoretical approach with which the existing curriculum was constructed, as seen above, did not allow for the transparent demonstration of performances against specific objectives since the latter were not pivotal in the central curriculum planning. In other words, the measures on evaluation were not accompanied by an overall shift from the competence model on which the curriculum planning had been based;
- in any case, the measurement of performances against the curriculum objectives was left to the vaguely defined 'teacher's estimation';
- furthermore, most of the criteria (γ, δ, ε) were vague (i.e. 'estimation of psychological and other data') and irrelevant for the demonstration of visible performances.

Consequently, whereas the state did continue to exercise direct control over the content and process of pedagogic practice, evaluation remained an affair internal to the classroom. Besides, the *revision tests* were withdrawn when PASOK was re-elected in 1993 and primary education returned to its previous informal evaluation arrangements.⁵⁹ The only difference, produced by the political debate, was in reporting and grading of pupils' performance, that is the *summative* aspect of evaluation; a mixed system was introduced according to which in the first two years there is a verbal communication to parents, in the third and fourth years an alphabetical categorisation (A-Δ) and in the final two a numerical grading (1-10).⁶⁰ However, the new grading system is not accompanied by the establishment of explicit criteria of performance and thus assessing and reporting depend upon teachers' judgements. Consequently, evaluation in both its formative and summative aspects takes place with implicit criteria and informal procedures.

Therefore, central curriculum planning in Greece is interested more in making explicit what and how is to be taught rather than what is learned in schools. Such a point was underlined by OECD when, in their recent review of Greek education, they were seeking comparative data on the performance of schools:

... the monitoring of standards at the national level is identified with a process of *regulating inputs* to education in the form of standard curricula and textbooks. In *evaluating the outcomes* of education, individual classroom teachers are given a great deal of leeway; but there is no parallel system in place that would make possible the monitoring of progress towards meeting standards and allow comparison between the regions of Greece. Moreover, neither is collection of data on educational inputs such as enrolments and resources geared to the purposes of monitoring ...⁶¹ [original italics]

In summary, the investigation of the Greek setting focused on the positioning of the competence model of pedagogic practice, officially

endorsed by the reform, in the mono-dimensional pattern of educational control. Firstly, it was seen that the Greek statutory curriculum is underpinned by the Brunerian approach to planning which emphasises structuring the content and the process of teaching to meet the assimilating abilities of pupils. Secondly, evidence was presented for the co-action of the centralised modes of curriculum and management control in making the single textbook the main means for the regulation of pedagogic practice. Finally, it was suggested that central curriculum planning focuses on the detailed and explicit prescription of content and pedagogy whereas evaluation is largely left to teachers' general judgements.

The next three sections will investigate the English setting and will argue that evaluation is the message system which the newly established central curriculum planning emphasises in order to regulate pedagogic practice.

5.5 THEORETICAL APPROACH TO PLANNING THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM

It was seen in the previous chapter that the English curriculum reform signified an official shift to the performance modality. This section will attempt to identify the official shift in England in the curriculum planning approach which underpins the National Curriculum. It will be argued here that, in contrast with the Greek statutory curriculum, the English National Curriculum is underpinned by the *objectives approach*.

The objectives approach in curriculum theory derives from behavioural psychology and amongst its prominent advocates were Tyler, Bloom and Mager. Objectives or *intended learning outcomes*, according to Tyler, should 'illustrate the kind of behaviour the student is expected to acquire so that one could recognise such a behaviour if he saw it'.⁶² In this respect, the curriculum and consequently pedagogic practice should be planned on the basis of the specified performance expected by the pupil. Mager strongly advocated the objectives approach because it provides a basis for the selection of content and teaching procedures, facilitates evaluation and organises pupils' efforts in accomplishing instructional intents.⁶³ The cognitive processes that pupils go through in order to acquire knowledge is not a high priority in planning curriculum; the focus here is to provide great clarity about desirable ends (what should be learned), organise the content and process of pedagogic practice accordingly and identify performances (what has been learned).

Such an emphasis on the ends of pedagogic practice was given by the well known taxonomy of Bloom and his colleagues who devised an elaborated system of hierarchies of learning outcomes distributed in three domains.⁶⁴ Bloom *et al.*'s taxonomy took into consideration the cognitive development of pupils, but the main concern was to facilitate

achievement testing by providing analytical lists of objectives on which curriculum planning can be based:

We are of the opinion that although the objectives (aims) and test materials and techniques may be specified in an almost unlimited number of ways, the student behaviours involved in these objectives (aims) can be represented by a relatively small number of classes. Therefore this taxonomy is designed to be a classification of the student behaviours which represent the intended outcomes of the educational process . . . It should be noted that we are not attempting to classify the instructional methods used by teachers, the ways in which teachers relate themselves to students, or the different kinds of instructional materials they use. We are not attempting to classify the particular subject matter or content. What we are classifying is the *intended behaviour* of students the ways in which individuals are to act, think or feel as the result of participating in some unit of instruction . . . The emphasis in the Handbook is on obtaining evidence on the extent to which desired and intended behaviours have been learned by the student . . .⁶⁵ [original italics]

The starting point of Bloom's project epitomises the rationale of the objectives model: curriculum planning starts with the clear definition of the ends, the expected results to be demonstrated by testing, rather with the organisation of content and pedagogy. Consequently, the focus is on the detailed definition of the outcomes, while the definition of the content and process of teaching results from the classification of the ends. An exemplar of the focus on outcomes with effects on the other two message systems, is *mastery learning* devised by Bloom in the framework of the objectives approach. Mastery learning is based on the clear definition of objectives which link to specific tasks assigned to pupils. Pupils have available a specific amount of time to carry out their task and they can proceed to the next task only if they have attained mastery to previous tasks. In these terms, content and pedagogy are affected by the expected outcomes as they define the units and the pace of teaching. The focus is on the demonstration of pupils' achievement.⁶⁶

However, as Stenhouse underlined in his extensive critique, the most thorough version of the objectives approach to curriculum planning is that which derives from *systems analysis*. Originally developed in the natural sciences and behavioural psychology, the systems approach is concerned with the study of organised complexities and the efficient planning of human action. Stenhouse summarised the characteristics of this approach when it is applied in management:

We must have criteria for judging the effectiveness of a system and the existence of problems within it, and these criteria are provided by specifying objectives. Problems are problems of efficiency in reaching these objectives, and efficiency involves value for money or cost-effectiveness. Given objectives, this can be conceptualised as output budgeting. . . . The aims of an output budgeting system may briefly be stated as being to analyse expenditure by the purpose for which it is to be spent and to relate it to the results achieved.⁶⁷

The systems approach is mainly concerned with the formulation of objectives upon which performance is judged and takes into account the costs of accomplishing these objectives. Its application to curriculum planning starts with the definition of problems and leads to the setting of objectives and continues on the basis of a cyclical framework of decision making.⁶⁸ Again to quote from Stenhouse:

. . . systems theory does not assist us in determining our objectives . . . nor does it contribute to the content of education or to its methods. Rather it is concerned with the identification of problems, with decision-making and with the monitoring of solutions. It is concerned with efficiency, rather than with truth. That is not to be despised. But it should be noted that its concern with efficiency in the sense of value-for-investment provides an emphasis on value rather than values.⁶⁹

In short, the objectives approach in its more or less elaborated versions is concerned with the specification of expected results, measurability, efficiency and evaluation of outcomes. Children's

developmental stages or maturation for learning are not a priority in this approach nor do they constitute a base for curriculum planning. The underlying principle is a linear progression of pupils' performance upwards or as Stenhouse put it to 'teach people to jump higher by setting the bar higher'.⁷⁰

As far as the National Curriculum is concerned, it has often been argued that it lacks any specific theoretical basis. Nuttall, for example, when referring to the assessment arrangements of the National Curriculum argued that 'there is no empirical basis for this model; no theory of learning, no theory of curriculum was invoked to justify any of these figures [the TGAT model - see below] - they are, to an extent, arbitrary'.⁷¹ However, other commentators have suggested that the absence of any theoretical basis is only superficial.⁷² Lawton has argued that the National Curriculum is an exemplar of an *assessment approach* which constitutes a version of the objectives approach:

It is doubtful whether this is a model in its own right, rather than a variant of the objectives model in which objectives are expressed in terms of learning targets which are to be assessed in a clear and specific way. From a planning point of view, however, there are some important features of the assessment-based approach.⁷³

Indeed, as will be seen below, the National Curriculum is tightly linked with the national assessment scheme to the extent that it cannot be seen separately. However, what organises the curriculum subjects and provides the basis for the national assessment is the objectives. Objectives were given a pivotal role when the National Curriculum was first introduced. As was stated in the relevant consultation document issued by the DES:

A national curriculum backed by clear assessment arrangements will help to raise standards of attainment by. . . setting clear objectives for what children over the full range of ability should

be able to achieve - which the pupils themselves and their teachers, supported by parents and others, can work towards with confidence. This will help schools to challenge each child to develop his or her potential.

. . . checking on progress towards those objectives and performance achieved at various stages, so that pupils can be stretched further when they are doing well and given more help when they are not. . . [the programmes of study] will reflect the attainment targets, and set out the overall content, knowledge, skills and processes relevant to today's needs which pupils should be taught in order to achieve them. . . . The attainment targets will provide standards against which pupils' progress and performance can be assessed. The main purpose of such assessment will be to show what a pupil has learnt and mastered and to enable teachers and parents to ensure that he or she is making adequate progress.⁷⁴

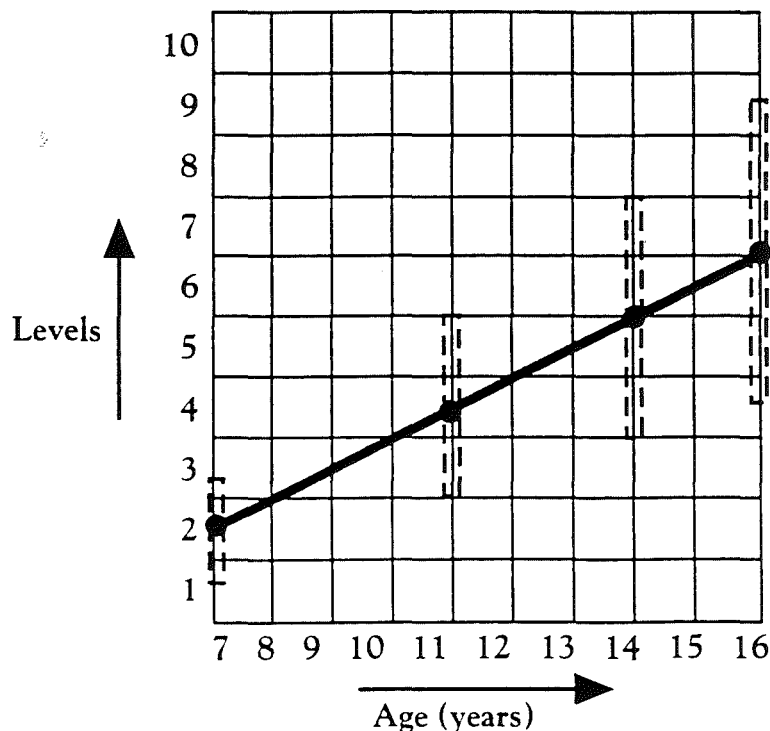
The above extract reflects the rationale of the objectives approach: performance is raised by setting clear and progressively advanced objectives; objectives organise curriculum content, they guide pedagogic practice and they provide measurable indicators of the mastery acquired. The same rationale constitutes the underlying principle of the National Curriculum planning, both before and after its revision by the Dearing Committee in 1994. Reference will be made to both versions of the National Curriculum and it will be argued that although after its revision the objectives have been severely reduced the objectives approach is still reflected in the current National Curriculum.

The planning of the National Curriculum is basically characterised by the dominance of objectives and the linear perception of pupils' progress. In its previous version the following elements can be seen for each subject: *programme of study*, *attainment targets*, *levels of attainment*, *statements of attainment* and *profile components*. The programme of study is an outline of the content to be taught to pupils. The attainment targets are objectives for each subject divided into ten levels of attainment. The levels of attainment reflect differences in ability and progress according to age. The statements of attainment are more precise objectives which analyse the attainment targets for each

level of attainment on a single continuous scale. Finally, the profile components are groupings of the attainment targets and serve purposes of reporting performance.

Clearly, the objectives, set in different degrees of generalisation, are central in the planning of the National Curriculum. However, their particular operation should be seen along with the overall perception of progress devised by the Task Group on Assessment and Testing (TGAT) and incorporated by the curriculum planning (see Figure 5.2)

Figure 5.3 The National Curriculum (the TGAT model)⁷⁵



The four dots in Figure 5.2 represent the principal ages for national assessment (7, 11, 14, 16) and the respective key-stages (1, 2, 3, 4). The levels of attainment go upwards from 1 to 10 and in relation to the age of pupils correspond to approximately one level for every two years. The vertical dotted lines indicate the expected variation of pupils around the defined level. For example, a 'typical' 11-year-old pupil is

expected to be at level 4 while his/her peers are expected to be spread between levels 3 and 5.

The above figure indicates a form of curriculum planning which perceives learning as a ladder, or following Stenhouse's metaphor as a bar put higher and higher which it is anticipated, pupils will be able to jump as they grow up. Complex issues of pupils' maturation and stages of development are excluded from the curriculum planning.⁷⁶ As stated in the TGAT report 'it is not necessary to presume that the progression defined indicates some inescapable order in the way children learn, or some sequence of difficulty inherent in the material to be learnt'.⁷⁷ On the contrary, progression is simply regarded as linear and subject to demonstration at certain points (levels) which differentiate performance.

How this form of curriculum planning is related to the national assessment to make schools' performance publicly visible will be discussed in the next section. It should first be mentioned, however, that the initial National Curriculum planning was revised by Sir Ron Dearing, the chairman of the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA). The revision followed teachers' action caused by the excessive workload which the assessment arrangements imposed.⁷⁸ Responding to the protests, the Dearing Review 'slimmed down' the National Curriculum and in this framework withdrew the detailed objectives without violating the objectives approach which underpinned curriculum planning. Objectives were again given a pivotal role and their importance in guiding pedagogic practice and highlighting performance was particularly emphasised:

The objective is to provide a framework for assessing achievement which:

- offers a clear statement of progression in each National Curriculum subject;
- encourages differentiation of work so that pupils of all abilities are fully stretched;

- provides an easily intelligible means of reporting pupil achievement to parents, teachers and pupils;
- is manageable in the classroom;
- helps to inform parents when deciding on a school for their child;
- helps teachers, parents, governors and society as a whole to assess the achievement of individual schools and the education system generally.⁷⁹

‘Slimming down’ with respect to objectives meant a gathering of the statements of attainments into clusters which describe in less detail than previously the expected performance and relieve teachers from the labour of complex tick-list recording.⁸⁰ This kind of recording and their use for feedback was an intensified application of the objectives approach and it was one of the main targets of Ron Dearing’s revision. The Dearing Report remarked that there was no statutory requirement for such a detail⁸¹ and Circular 21/94 underlined that ‘there is no need to assess against every statement of attainment individually or to record those assessments on a tick-list’.⁸² However, the rejection of tick-lists does not entail the abandonment of the objectives approach in National Curriculum planning. SCAA continued to encourage teachers to use objectives in their school-based curriculum planning. Current publications of SCAA recommend that teachers rely on learning objectives when planning on a long, medium and short-term basis and offer examples:

‘Planning and assessment are integral to successful teaching. *Planning identifies learning objectives and assessment reveals how far children have acquired learning, which in turn determines future planning . . .* In their termly and weekly plans teachers identify specific learning objectives and plan activities that enable children to meet them. Assessment of children’s progress against these learning objectives can be used both to inform future planning for the class and individuals and to evaluate the effectiveness of previous planning’.⁸³ [italics added]

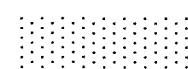
Thus, what was changed by the Dearing revision was not the approach to curriculum planning but *who* has the authority to define detailed learning objectives. In the previous version, the statements of attainment were the *pre-defined* objectives which analysed the attainment targets for each level. Now, the analysis of attainment targets is at the discretion of teachers. Therefore, the ‘slimming down’ did not concern the theoretical approach *per se* but the degree of central intervention in pedagogic practice through the pre-definition of objectives.

Accordingly, the current National Curriculum is structured in *programmes of study*, *attainment targets* and *level descriptions*. Programmes of study set out what pupils should be taught and attainment targets set out the expected performance. The attainment targets are now divided into eight levels of increasing difficulty (as key stage 4 is now covered by the GCSE syllabuses) plus one for exceptional performance. The level descriptions are clusters of achievement criteria which describe the performance that pupils should demonstrate in order to be classified at a particular level.⁸⁴

Thus, the current curriculum planning continues to reflect the objectives approach. The levels of descriptions are directly connected with the evaluation of pupils and are perceived as a means to raise performance (‘stretch pupils’ abilities’), guide pedagogic practice and classify pupils and schools. Progression is again regarded as a linear upward process (Figure 5.4) and, in order to be identified, has to be made visible at pre-defined points (levels) which express the criteria set by central curriculum planning.

Figure 5.4 The revised National Curriculum⁸⁵

	7 years	11 years	14 years
Exceptional performance			
Level 8			
Level 7			
Level 6			
Level 5			
Level 4			
Level 3			
Level 2			
Level 1			



Exceptional performance



Exceeded targets for age group



Achieved targets for age group



Working towards targets for age group

In sum, the English National Curriculum is underpinned by the objectives approach of curriculum planning, in a way that facilitates the exhibition of achievements nation-wide. The adopted approach offers clear criteria of performance which are directly linked with evaluation, making the assessment procedures a main means of control of schools' pedagogic practice. How this is achieved has to be seen in conjunction with the decentralised market-like mode of management control, a task of the next section.

5.6 THE DECENTRALISED MODE OF MANAGEMENT CONTROL AND NATIONAL ASSESSMENT AS THE MAIN CARRIER OF THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM IN SCHOOLS

In the previous chapter it was seen that the official shift to the performance modality in England was brought about along with a simultaneous move to a centralised mode of curriculum control. In the same legislation, however, the management of schools was further decentralised and schools were positioned in a kind of educational market. Below, there will be an examination of the new market-like decentralised mode of management control legislated in the late 1980s and will be argued that in the *bi-dimensional* pattern of control national testing is the main carrier of the official curriculum in schools.

The key provisions for the new mode of management control are enshrined in the 1988 Act which as Ball underlines replaces ‘the principle of equal access to education for all with the principle of differentiation in the market place’.⁸⁶ Indeed, based on concepts such as *choice* and *competition* the English reform shifted power from the ‘producers’ (LEAs, teachers and educationists) to the ‘consumers’ (parents) and signified the victory of those strands of the New Right which advocated market principles in education (see previous chapter). The relevant reform measures consisted mainly in the transfer of decision-making powers to parents (considered as customers), the decisive weakening of LEAs responsibilities and the establishment of an entrepreneurial manner in the management of schools. Below the main of those measures of the Education Reform Act (ERA) are illustrated:

- The creation of the educational market is primarily based on parents’ rights to choose the schools they prefer. This provision was gradually developed in the 1980 and 1986 Education Acts⁸⁷ and was finally established in the 1988 Act.⁸⁸ Open enrolment permits schools’ governing bodies to admit pupils up to the limit of the physical capacity of their

premises. Local authorities are unable to balance admissions amongst schools or to prevent poor or excessive rolls as in the past.

- Local Management of Schools (LMS) brought a fundamental alteration in the way that schools operate. Traditionally the LEAs received funding from central government and distributed it to schools. The LEAs decided the amount of money spent on staff employment, operational needs and curriculum resources and in general were responsible for all expenditure decisions. With the LMS the discretion over expenditure was transferred to individual schools.⁸⁹ That is, the LEAs make available to schools the whole amount of money and their governing bodies decide its allocation to various needs.

- The LMS scheme extended decisively the powers of governors, which had already been increased by the 1986 (No. 2) Act. School governing bodies can now decide about appointing, disciplining and dismissing staff, curriculum resources, educational visits, premises costs etc.⁹⁰.

- The funding that schools receive depends upon the number of pupils that they receive on a pupil-based funding formula;⁹¹ funding is combined with the open enrolment of pupils. Therefore, the more pupils a school attracts, the more budget it has to spend. In these terms, schools have to compete through the policy of open enrolment in order to generate pupils and funds.

- Headteachers are given the managerial role of running a business within the framework of control retained by the governing body and become 'de facto employers of teachers'.⁹²

- Schools establish 'external relations' with their local community, to manage open enrolment, marketing and the promotion of the institution. For example, schools can carry out market research to identify parental preferences, issue brochures to present themselves, rent their premises for other uses, sell printed material or seek sponsorship.⁹³

-Schools under the LMS provisions are recommended to follow the objectives approach (system analysis) in their management plans by considering their inputs (enrolments-finance), processes to be carried out (pedagogic practices) and outputs (performance measurements).⁹⁴ For this purpose schools are asked to specify *performance indicators*, amongst which are pupil assessment results, in order to monitor their effectiveness according to the initial plan.⁹⁵

- An extended version of the decentralised marketised management is the so-called Grant Maintained (GM) schools introduced by the 1988 Act. Schools, according to this provision can opt-out from LEA control (which the LMS provisions have already limited) and be directly funded from the DFEE (Department for Education and Employment, the renamed DES). In this respect, GM schools, as Simon and Chitty noted, break all their relations with the local authorities and operate as a kind of 'state independent school'.⁹⁶

Thus, the decentralised mode of management control introduced by the ERA forces schools to operate in an entrepreneurial manner and to become accountable to the market, that is the parents-consumers. As Bowe and Ball noted, under the new conditions "bureaucratic' constraints upon decision making in the school are replaced by the constraints of consumer preference and the demands of government-imposed measures and indicators of performance'.⁹⁷ In contrast with Greece where schools are accountable to the bureaucratic hierarchy, English schools are accountable to their 'clients', as officially is stated in the relevant legislation:

Effective schemes of local management will enable governing bodies and head teachers to plan their use of resources - including their most valuable resource, their staff - to maximum effect in accordance with their own needs and priorities, and to make schools more responsive to their clients - parents, pupils, the local community and employers.⁹⁸

The LMS arrangements indicate also that schools have considerable discretion to activate schemes of management aiming at performance improvement, within the limits drawn by the official curriculum policy:

Within this statutory framework, governing bodies will be free to allocate resources to their own curricular priorities from delegated budgets. Schemes should not include conditions or requirements which cut across the discretion and duties that governing bodies are given in that framework. LEAs should, however, provide in their schemes that governing bodies should spend their delegated budgets in a manner which is consistent with the implementation of the National Curriculum; with the statutory requirements relating to the curriculum as a whole, including religious education and worship . . .⁹⁹

Thus, the managerial conditions that the ERA created leave space to schools to utilise curriculum resources at their discretion, within the requirements of the National Curriculum.

The above passage encapsulates the apparently contradictory elements of the *bi-dimensional* pattern of control as defined in this thesis; that is, schools are given wide margins to manage their day-to-day operation in order to produce the results required by the central curriculum. This condition exemplifies what Bernstein calls the *extroverted modalities* of the performance model when he discusses its possibilities for autonomy:

In the case of extroverted performance modalities there clearly is less autonomy because of the external regulation on performance futures. However, here it is possible under some managerial conditions for institutions (or organisational units within institutions) to enjoy autonomy with respect to how they distribute their financial and discursive resources in order to optimise their market niche.¹⁰⁰

In sum, the ERA created the conditions on the basis of which schools have managerial discretion to produce the results required by

the National Curriculum. Their performance is judged by the parents/consumers who can select or reject a particular school through the policy of open enrolment. What makes the school's performance visible to the market is the various indicators available to the public amongst which the assessment results over the National Curriculum can be crucial for parents' decision. Evidently, this was the rationale of the LMS policy when was it introduced in the first place:

At the end of the year the LEA would be required to publish information on actual expenditure at each school, which could be compared to the original plans. This information together with that required of governors relating to the achievement of the national curriculum would provide the basis on which parents could evaluate whether best use had been made of the resources available to the governors.¹⁰¹

In this regard, as Gipps and Stobart remarked, national assessment results as '*one indicator of performance becomes the indicator, and then the goal itself*' [original italics].¹⁰² Indeed, with respect to the National Curriculum, the performance results provide the most powerful indicator since they derive from a compulsory and universal assessment scheme and their publication allows for nation-wide comparisons. Under the assessment arrangements introduced by the 1988 reform, primary pupils have to be assessed at the age of 7 and 11 on the *core subjects* English, mathematics and science (the assessment in science applies only to 11-year-olds). The national assessment is compulsory and rests on standard tasks and tests¹⁰³ (*Standard Assessment Tasks*-SATs) and Teacher Assessment (TA). The results of the two assessments are juxtaposed and aggregated and are published in comparative performance tables (league tables) which list each school's scores in the core subjects.

The requirements for publication of assessment results were first introduced under the 1980 Act and concerned exclusively the results of O- and A- level examinations. The 1988 ERA however extended these

requirements to all phases of education by giving the power to the Secretary of State to collect and publish information concerning schools' performance.¹⁰⁴ Schools are now obliged, under the *Parents' Charter*, to report their performance in prospectuses and governors' annual reports to parents and publish scores of achievement in comparative tables alongside local and national averages.¹⁰⁵ A typical report to parents, according to Circular 1/95, should not only provide evidence about an individual pupil's progress but also comparative information about his/her performance and the averages of the school and the country.¹⁰⁶ Thus, parents can base their judgement either on school reports or on the league tables published on the media.

Primary schools were for first time requested by the state to publish their assessment results in the core subjects (for 11-year-olds) with Circular 15/96.¹⁰⁷ The first primary league tables appeared in the media in March 1997¹⁰⁸ accompanied by official statements which clearly express the role attributed to the information provided by compulsory national assessment. As the then Secretary of State stressed: 'Raising standards is the government's highest priority. Performance tables play a vital part in raising standards. That is why we have published similar performance tables for secondary schools for five years'.¹⁰⁹ Thus, the assessment scheme and the publication of its outcomes is officially considered a significant means for exercising control over schools' pedagogic practice to produce high performance. The effect of assessment on pedagogic practice was from the outset intended to be such - by planning an assessment-based National Curriculum as will be seen below - and was also officially confirmed by the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED):

The assessment requirements of the National Curriculum have a vital role in raising the expectations of teachers, pupils and parents. In particular, assessment should ensure that individual learning is more clearly targeted and that shortcomings are quickly identified and remedied, thus contributing towards higher

standards overall . . . Teacher assessment and statutory testing have both played a part *in improving teachers' understanding of the National Curriculum and of the standards that are expected*; taken together they have done much *to ensure that the whole of the National Curriculum is taught* and assessed. As a result, teachers are setting more demanding targets for learning across a broader range of curricular experiences.¹¹⁰ [italics added]

In addition, the assessment scheme and the publication of its results serves the operation of the educational market, since parents are able to choose a school according to its rank in the league tables. The call of the Secretary of State herself to parents to choose a school is characteristic of the market relations in which English schools are involved: 'If you have a child at primary school, or are beginning to think about the primary school you would like your child to attend, I hope you will take time to look at these tables'.¹¹¹

It becomes evident, therefore, that the assessment scheme is the main means used by the central authority to control schools' pedagogic practice and a chief exemplar of the co-action of the two modes of educational control; the assessment scheme (imposed by the central mode of curriculum control) ensures that schools comply with the National Curriculum requirements since they have to make that visible to the market in which their entrepreneurial operation (decentralised mode of management control) forces them to compete. In this respect, the assessment arrangements exert control over pedagogic practice by making transparent its outcomes to the customers/parents.

This point is not only sustained by the schools' obligation to report and submit their pupils' performance for publication but also by the fact that the National Curriculum itself is centrally planned on the basis of the national assessment scheme. The political intentions of assessment and publishing achievement results were given prime importance when the National Curriculum was originally planned, as will be seen below. At a first glance, this is apparent by the new organisation of primary school years; English primary education is now

divided in two *Key Stages* (1 and 2) which refer to the performance assessed, reported and published when pupils reach the age of 7 and 11. This division indicates that the main concern of central curriculum planning is the public demonstration of the acquisition of the pre-defined content at these time points, rather than the mere prescription of what is going to be taught in these ages.

To demonstrate this adequately, it is necessary to have a closer look to the National Curriculum assessment arrangements. It was argued in the previous section that the National Curriculum is underpinned by the objectives approach of curriculum planning. Here it will be seen how the objectives serve the national assessment scheme and render the National Curriculum a 'measurable' or, following Lawton's characterisation, an assessment-based curriculum.

The National Curriculum followed and was largely built upon the proposals of the TGAT report. The TGAT report in its turn was a response to the official advocacy of a performance model in pedagogic practice and the subsequent need to record schools' achievement. As was stated in the government's consultation document:

In order to raise standards, people must be aware of what is being achieved already and of the objectives set. This means that the legislation on the national curriculum must provide for all interested parties to have appropriate and readily digestible information, relevant to their interests, about what is being taught and achieved. The Secretaries of State are convinced that at every level of the service, the provision of more information will lead to a better understanding of how the education system is performing.¹¹²

It was these political intentions to which the TGAT responded when they underlined in their proposals that the National Curriculum and particular stages of learning must be clearly communicated to all interested parties.¹¹³ Hence, the Group attributed a central role to

assessment as both an information provider and as a basis for curriculum planning:

Promoting children's learning is a principal aim of schools. Assessment lies at the heart of this process. It can provide a framework in which educational objectives may be set, and pupils' progress charted and expressed. It can yield a basis for planning the next educational steps in response to children's needs. By facilitating dialogue between teachers, it can enhance professional skills and help the school as a whole to strengthen learning across the curriculum and throughout its age range.¹¹⁴

In curriculum planning terms, the meeting point between the official demands and the TGAT scheme was the objectives approach. As was seen in the previous section, the government's consultation document exemplified the performance modality of pedagogic practice in an objectives approach to curriculum planning. Objectives were attributed a crucial part in setting clear criteria of performance, organising content and providing measurable and informative indicators of the mastery acquired. TGAT devised their scheme in accordance with the potential that objectives provide in pre-determining, classifying and announcing the ends of pedagogic practice upon which evaluation takes place.¹¹⁵ The TGAT report criticised the past testing system existing in many LEAs and schools for being characterised by a 'lack of relationship between these tests and the learning aims actually pursued'¹¹⁶ and advocated instead a scheme in which the pre-definition of what has to be learned accords with what is assessed at the end:

The first risk to confidence arises from lack of clarity in the definition of what has to be learned and assessed. In the past what is to be assessed has often been the only clear expression of what is to be taught and this has often led to a narrowing of the curriculum. This tendency can be reduced if the process can start from agreement about what has to be learned in terms of attainment targets.¹¹⁷

The issue was therefore not to devise a scheme which just dictates what is to be taught through tests, but to relate assessment to the definition of what has to be learned, that is objectives. In these terms, testing would be connected with explicit criteria of performance which can provide information to all interested parties about their fulfilment. TGAT's concern thus was to construct a framework of criteria which facilitates assessment and subsequently guides curriculum planning and pedagogic practice. To accomplish this TGAT utilised attainment targets. However their main contribution, which characterises the English central curriculum planning, was the level scale. The level scale – for each attainment target or profile component – is basically an assessment device, as its main purpose is to demonstrate publicly performances at certain time points (key-stages). Both SATs and TA are designed to identify achievement, that is to record and report pupils' performance, against a certain level and thus facilitate public comparisons. In turn, the curriculum is planned on the basis of this scale so that, through the classification of pupils at levels, the acquisition of the pre-defined content becomes publicly visible. After the scheme was compiled 'each of the subject working groups define a sequence of levels in each of its profile components, related to broad criteria for progression in that component'.¹¹⁸ In these terms, the whole National Curriculum is sequenced on a performance ladder for each attainment target to permit SATs and TA to identify at which point of the ladder the pupil stands. Once this is identified, an overall picture in the form of league tables can be made up and comparisons are facilitated.

The Dearing revision recognised the importance of the level scale operation. The changes brought about in the framework of 'slimming down' the National Curriculum concerned the exclusion of Key stage 4 from the ten-level scale and the removal of the detailed statements of attainment. However, as the Report attributed a pivotal role to

objectives, it retained the level scale (now comprising eight levels) for it supports curriculum planning and provides information about achievement:

... the scale can be revised so that it provides a better and more manageable framework for teaching and learning. It can offer a statement of progression which will help teachers plan the curriculum and match work to pupils of different abilities. It provides information to parents about their children's progress. It offers relevant information on school performance in both absolute and value-added terms.¹¹⁹

It is clear that central curriculum planning in England is heavily reliant on the assessment scheme to the extent that the National Curriculum and the assessment arrangements cannot be seen separately. In fact, the National Curriculum is built upon a linear scale of criteria, which, by using both external and internal testing, aims at rendering the outcomes of pedagogic practice publicly transparent and thus serving the educational market. Schools in their turn, albeit with wide managerial discretion, are obliged to implement the assessment arrangements and consequently demonstrate their compliance to the National Curriculum requirements and its performance expectations. In this sense, in the framework of the *bi-dimensional* pattern of control, the assessment scheme becomes the main carrier of the National Curriculum to schools.

So far the emphasis placed by the English state on evaluation was seen in the theoretical underpinnings of the National Curriculum and the main means used to subordinate schools under the curriculum requirements. The next section will suggest that in contrast with the strong pre-definition of assessment procedures the prescription of content and pedagogy is weak.

5.7 PRE-DEFINITION OF MESSAGE SYSTEMS BY CENTRAL CURRICULUM PLANNING IN ENGLAND: THE STRONG CONTROL OF EVALUATION

In contrast with the legal definition of the statutory curriculum in Greece, where it is characterised as a ‘complete educational guide’, the National Curriculum in England is officially regarded as ‘a clear legal framework for raising standards in schools’:

Specifically, the National Curriculum aims to provide:

- clear and precise objectives for schools, based on best practice;
- identifiable targets for pupils to work towards;
- clear, accurate information for parents about what their children can be expected to know, understand and do, and what they actually achieve;
- guidance for teachers, to help them get the best possible results from each pupil;
- continuity and progression from one year to the next, and from one school to another.¹²⁰

The difference in the definition of the curriculum is revealing for the nature and the operation of state control over pedagogic practice in the two countries. As was seen in the corresponding section of this chapter, there is no concern for performance in the Greek definition. Instead, the focus of the legal requirement, and, as was demonstrated, of the actual central curriculum planning is a content and processual control.

This section will suggest, focusing this time on the prescription of message systems by the English curriculum planning, that whereas the specification of content and process of teaching is weak, there is a strong prescription of evaluation procedures.

Not only traditionally, but also under the current National Curriculum requirements, English schools are not obliged to work with prescribed textbooks and curriculum resources. That what was made clear when the National Curriculum was first introduced.¹²¹ However,

this does not mean that the curriculum content remained a matter of schools to decide as in the past. The 1988 ERA, by establishing a central mode of curriculum control, gave the Secretary of State the power to be directly involved in the construction of the curriculum subjects. Nevertheless, the process of decision-making about the content of a particular subject differs from that in Greece in that it is not simply a matter for the Ministry's bureaucracy but it involves a long procedure of consultation which leaves space for negotiation. In this framework, different interested parties are able to compete and influence the final decisions over the content of subjects.¹²²

What is here called weak prescription of content however does not refer to these decision-making procedures but to the margins of interpretation and implementation that the statutory requirements leave to schools. From this point of view, it was seen that in Greece the prescription is so strong that the content is detailed and distributed in the school timetable by year and by teaching time. In contrast, in the current National Curriculum the definition of content is exhausted in a list of statements (programmes of study) which are available to interpretation and adjustment in the timetable according to the discretion of schools.

The curriculum content, set out in the statutory document as programmes of study,¹²³ is categorised in attainment targets and prescribed in the form of statements. All programmes of study are compulsory, though in some cases (i.e. in history) options are possible. These statements are usually sub-categorised in units, specific for each subject, and comprise the basis of teaching plans at the school level. The programmes of study, as they exemplify the attainment targets, are not merely a list of content themes but in most cases they are accompanied by a list of objectives (usually as *key skills* or *elements*) which vary in their degree of particularity. Thus, the phrase often used when the programmes of study are listed is 'pupils should be taught to . . .' and

what follows are statements which contain the ends of pedagogic practice rather than just its topic.¹²⁴

How the prescribed content is distributed in time is largely a matter for the individual school. It is required however that the National Curriculum content should take up 80% of the school time (in key stages 1, 2 and 3), whereas the rest of time is officially left to the discretion of schools. As the Dearing reports states, it is for schools 'to determine exactly how much time they should allocate to particular subjects in the light of their pupils' specific needs and local teaching opportunities'.¹²⁵ Indeed, the timetable that has been suggested to schools by the Dearing report (Table 5.2) illustrates an indicative total amount of teaching hours per year, but establishing no statutory requirement.

Table 5.3 Indicative timetable for primary schools¹²⁶

	Hours per year	
	Key Stage 1	Key Stage 2
English • directly	180	162
• through other subjects	(36)	(18)
Mathematics	126	126
Science	54	72
Information technology (through other subjects)	(27)	(36)
Each of the six foundation subjects	36	45
Religious education	36	45

The central authority has no power to define the every day timetables of schools and the above Table does not correspond to pre-defined teaching hours. How the programmes of study will be sequenced is matter of schools to decide. Moreover, taking into account

the fact that the content is defined in terms of Key stages - which means that schools have the discretion to distribute content in two and four years span respectively - it becomes clear that direct central control over *what is taught when* is weak compared to the Greek setting.

Nor does the central authority has the statutory power to regulate directly the process of pedagogic practice and that was made clear when the National Curriculum was first introduced.¹²⁷ Nevertheless, that does not mean that state initiatives to influence the classroom pedagogy are absent. The most prominent one, after the reform, was the so-called 'three wise men report',¹²⁸ a discussion paper which, as was seen in the previous chapter, legitimised theoretically the official move to the performance model in primary education. Amongst the issues addressed in the paper were the advocacy of whole class teaching, differentiation according to ability, reduction of topic work and, in general, a more explicitly ordered teaching process aiming at raising performance. However, these recommendations have not resulted in detailed statutory guidance to teachers. Which teaching methods are to be implemented is a matter of the school and the classroom teacher to decide.

In curriculum planning terms, both the interpretation of content statements and the consideration of pedagogical recommendations by schools have to be seen in the framework of the bi-dimensional model of control in which schools operate under new managerial conditions. That is, schools' autonomy in organising content and pedagogy is now subject to the so-called School Development Plans (SDP), management plans characterised by the objectives approach as was seen above, which have been introduced on a non-statutory basis to facilitate the LMS scheme.¹²⁹ Co-acting with this mode of management, the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA, the successor of NCC and SEAC) produces non-statutory guidance which, in the framework of the school's SDP, indicates ways of school-based curriculum planning in

the long, medium and short-term. At the lesson level of curriculum planning in geography, for example, SCAA recommends teachers to:

produce a lesson plan which clarifies:

- the lesson focus or question and the learning objectives;
- the way in which skills are integrated with places and thematic work;
- learning activities and, if appropriate, assessment opportunities;
- grouping of children, resources to be used, other adults to involve;
- additional strategies for teaching the most and least able children;
- opportunities for feedback to pupils.¹³⁰

SCAA recommends to teachers ways of curriculum organisation and teaching processes which are compatible with the officially employed objectives approach. However, in contrast with the Greek case, these kinds of lesson plans are far from being characterised by strong direct state control, since they lack statutory support and they are offered in a diagrammatic form. How the guidelines are to be implemented is largely left at the managerial discretion of schools.

In contrast, state control over evaluation is strong: it is universal, mandatory and based on explicit criteria and largely formal procedures centrally imposed and externally checked.

Whereas the issues of curriculum organisation and teaching practices are contained in non statutory guidance and leaflets, the assessment arrangements at the end of key stages 1 and 2 are governed by statutory orders. Circulars exemplify headteachers' and teachers' contractual duties to administer assessment arrangements, the obligatory and universal character of SATs and TA, possible exemptions, testing times, as well as procedures for recording, reporting, marking and audit.¹³¹

The need for explicit evaluation criteria was from the outset stressed by the TGAT report. In particular, there was a clear disapproval of assessing pupils' attitudes and was underlined instead

that information of performance should be drawn by a range of assessment tasks.¹³² The fact that the criteria should be explicit serves two main distinct kinds of evaluation: the *formative* and the *summative*.¹³³ The formative refers to evaluation aiming to provide feedback so that certain improvements are made. The second term, in relation to the National Curriculum, is explained by SCAA to teachers:

Summative assessment is the term used for the process of making a summary judgement about children's performance over a period of time. Summative assessment at the end of the key stage is an appropriate means for reporting children's attainment to parents and to secondary schools; level descriptions were designed to be used for this purpose . . . In order to do this, you will need information about a child's performance in both formal tasks and informal situations . . .¹³⁴ [original italics]

The main difference between the two kinds of evaluation is in the purpose and use of outcomes. Gipps and Stobart have argued that the combination of both under the National Curriculum provisions has failed, since evaluation is overwhelmed by the summative functions of the national assessment scheme which is designed to provide comparative data on performance.¹³⁵ Indeed, considering that the assessment scheme aims at the classification of pupils at the level scale of the core subjects, which allows for nation-wide comparisons and choice amongst schools, summative evaluation is officially given prime importance.

According to the statutory requirements, evaluation in the core subjects consists in Teacher Assessment (TA) and Standard Assessment Tests and Tasks (SATs). Teacher Assessment draws on evidence of attainment (after the withdrawal of the detailed tick-lists) by observations of practical, oral and written work carried out in the classroom as well as homework. Teachers have to keep records of pupils' attainment, the form of which is no longer prescribed. However, recording should be made against the criteria set by the level

descriptions for each attainment target. Hence, teachers are required to calculate the averages of levels reached by the pupil in each attainment target in order to produce an overall subject level. The overall scores are juxtaposed and aggregated with those deriving from SATs.

Testing includes both tasks and paper and pencil tests and takes place on pre-defined dates - usually in the second half of the Spring term at the end of key stages. SATs are devised by the agency of the central curriculum planning (SCAA) and are externally audited or marked. In key stage 1 the standards of administration and marking of testing are supervised by auditors appointed either by LEAs (for the schools that they maintain) or SCAA (for the self-governing schools). Auditors have extended powers over schools' testing procedures as they can enter their premises at any time to observe the conduct of tests and ask for the re-consideration of results if they find marking inaccuracies.

At the end of key stage 2 the central control exercised over testing is more direct. Apart from producing and distributing tasks and tests to schools, SCAA contracts with special agencies (External Marking Agencies - EMAs),¹³⁶ approved by the Secretary of State, to undertake external marking and thereby the central authority keeps testing under overall control. For the testing of both age groups, detailed instructions are given by SCAA so that marking is made to the criteria set by the level scale for each subject.

Accordingly, schools are given prescribed formats of annual reports in which they are obliged to mention, amongst other information, pupils' results at individual and comparative levels. In the league tables TA and test results are juxtaposed and aggregated at each level. This practice means that the two ways of assessment are treated equally but it also entails, since TA results are publicly exhibited, that teachers should remain close to the National Curriculum evaluation criteria.

Clearly, the central authority exercises direct control over the evaluation procedures as it pre-defines explicit criteria and imposes largely formal procedures, selects the subjects and the time for assessment and supervises its conduct, produces and distributes the tests and makes the arrangements for recording, marking and reporting of the results. In their assessment, teachers, though relieved of detailed recording, are obliged to follow the same criteria applied in the official tests.

The above evaluation procedures apply to the core subjects at the end of each key stage and are crucial for making performances visible and facilitating choice. However, there is also an attempt by the state to align teacher assessment practices to the official requirements in the other primary years as well as in foundation subjects. As was already seen, various official publications recommend schools to make an assessment-based long, medium and short-term curriculum planning in line with the central curriculum planning. Schools are suggested to keep 'consistency' in their evaluation practices, particularise the attainment targets in learning objectives and base their assessment on them as well as to incorporate the assessment scheme in their managerial allocation of duties.¹³⁷ In this framework SCAA has produced optional tests for the end of Year 4 intending to 'support schools in monitoring children's progress since the end of Key Stage 1 and in planning effectively for the second half of Key Stage 2'.¹³⁸

In summary, the investigation of the English setting has focused on the positioning of the performance model of pedagogic practice in the *bi-dimensional* pattern of educational control, established in 1988, and demonstrated that the central authority strongly emphasises direct control of evaluation. First, it was seen that National Curriculum planning is underpinned by the objectives approach which focuses on the clear definition of ends. Secondly, it was made clear that the co-action of the centralised mode of curriculum control and the

decentralised mode of management control renders the national assessment scheme a main means of control of pedagogic practice; while schools enjoy considerable managerial discretion they are subordinated to the assessment arrangements which forces them to pursuit high standards. Finally, there is a strong pre-definition of the evaluation procedures rather than of content and pedagogy, over which schools possess wide margins for interpretation and implementation.

5.8 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Chapter 4 investigated the policies of curriculum reform in Greece and England and demonstrated the official moves towards the competence and performance models of pedagogic practice respectively. The task of this chapter was to examine these models as they are positioned in the patterns of educational control of the two countries, and to investigate how central curriculum control operates in the framework of those patterns. Hence, the analysis focused on the approach to curriculum planning, the main means employed to make schools comply to the statutory requirements and the extent of pre-definition of each message system by the central authority. In all three areas, it was suggested that while the Greek state emphasises direct control of content and pedagogy, the English state stresses direct control of evaluation.

In particular, it was suggested that the Greek statutory curriculum is planned according to the Brunerian approach whereas the English National Curriculum is characterised by the objectives approach. The approach to central planning employed in Greece emphasises structuring and sequencing the selected content in ways that meet the assimilating abilities of pupils. The approach in England emphasises the definition of ends and the setting of clear performance criteria. In Greece the statutory curriculum is textbook-based and the textbook is the main carrier of the official requirements to schools. In England the National Curriculum is assessment-based and national testing is the main means to ensure that schools comply to curriculum requirements. Finally, it was suggested that the Greek central authority strongly prescribes the content and pedagogy whereas in England these two message systems are largely left to the managerial discretion of schools. Evaluation in Greece is characterised by weak central pre-definition, informal procedures and diffuse criteria in contrast with

England where evaluation is strongly prescribed, includes formal procedures (national testing) and is based upon explicit criteria.

The positioning of the two pedagogic models – officially adopted in the framework of different educational purposes – in the patterns of educational control enables the comparative analysis to show the way curriculum control works in the two cases. To illustrate this better, there is need to articulate what has been established for each country.

In Greece, in the process for educational democratisation, there was an official foregrounding of the competence model. The adopted competence model consisted officially in the weakening of subject boundaries, the release of pupil activities in the classroom (child-centred methods) and the removal of formal evaluation procedures. As Bernstein notes, although competence models favour homogeneity of practice in individual institutions they require a measure of autonomy to be realised.¹³⁹ In this regard, the issue raised here is: since the competence model adopted in Greece was positioned in a mono-dimensional pattern what were the effects of this positioning with respect to the control of pedagogic practice?

In planning the curriculum, the main concern was to move away from the traditional curriculum but not to devolve authority for curriculum decision-making to schools, as there was no dispute over the traditional mode of curriculum control. On this basis, as a version of the competence model, the Brunerian approach was appropriate for its inherent assumption that curricula should be constructed by specialists who are able to locate the ‘fundamental principles’ of a field of knowledge.¹⁴⁰ Bruner’s emphasis on the appropriate structuring of knowledge implies considerable control over the content and that was a main point of the critique of his approach.¹⁴¹ Moreover, the importance he attaches to the sequence of the presentation of the selected content entails some control over the pedagogic process. However, wide discretion in pupils’ activities and discovery learning are highly

encouraged and in these terms pedagogy consists of 'principles of procedure', as Stenhouse put it,¹⁴² rather than strict processual control.

At first therefore the positioning of the competence model in the Greek central curriculum planning consisted in the selection of a version which implies control over content and pedagogy (though to a varied extent) and not much attention to the outcomes. From this point of view, the Brunerian approach was more compatible with the existing mode of curriculum control rather than other versions of the competence model which would entail the devolution of control to schools.¹⁴³ Consequently, despite the suggestion of Bernstein that competence models require school autonomy in order to be realised, there was the adoption of a version which does not disturb the existing mode of curriculum control.

How this adjustment was actualised can be seen when considering the mono-dimensional pattern of control which makes, as was seen, the single textbook a main carrier of the official curriculum. Again, as Bernstein notes: 'The pedagogic resources required by competence models are less likely to be pre-packaged as textbooks or teaching routines. The resources are likely to be constructed by teachers and autonomy is required for such construction'.¹⁴⁴ However, the analysis showed not only that the co-action of the centralised modes of curriculum and management control deprives schools of a choice of resources but also that the curriculum planning itself is textbook-based. Through the textbook the Greek state is able to exert direct control over content and process by pre-defining in explicit detail the time available and the sequence and pace of classroom activities. What is more interesting however, is that the positioning of the competence model in the Greek mono-dimensional pattern brings about severe distortions to the extent that basic principles of the model are invalidated from the very beginning of its implementation in curriculum planning. More specifically:

- Textbook-based planning invalidates the intended weakening of subject boundaries, since the correspondence of each textbook to each subject renders the communication amongst subjects largely ineffective.¹⁴⁵ This is reinforced by the centrally prescribed subject-based timetables which schools are not allowed to alter.
- Although the Brunerian approach favours content control it permits wide margins for free pupil activities. However, the step-by-step dictation of pedagogy through textbooks imposes strict control over classroom activities.
- The compulsory single textbook combined with the subordination of school management to the official hierarchy obstructs the utilisation of alternative curriculum resources which would actualise the 'child-centred' principles of the competence model.

Therefore, it is apparent that the mono-dimensional pattern of control has the inherent potential to invalidate the main principles of the pedagogic model *before* that reaches the classroom. Such a point is crucial to understand the operation of curriculum control when new pedagogic purposes and models are recontextualised in what Archer calls the structural features of a system.¹⁴⁶

Similarly, the pedagogic model adopted in England is adjusted to the way the bi-dimensional pattern of control operates. The main concern here was to raise standards by allowing choice amongst competing schools, subsequent to performance comparisons on a central curriculum. The adopted pedagogic model was exemplified in the objectives approach of central curriculum planning, however in a version which is compatible with the bi-dimensional pattern - an assessment-based approach, as Lawton remarked.

What is particular in this version is that it is based on an assessment scheme intended to serve the educational market by identifying performance *nation-wide*. Indeed, as was seen, it was the assessment scheme which was first devised to actualise the political

intentions of achievement comparisons and choice by facilitating the co-action of the two different modes of control. The assessment scheme by extension formed the particular approach of curriculum planning and the National Curriculum itself. In this regard, the objectives approach employed by the National Curriculum takes the form of *national objectives*, devised to show through the testing process what is learned in schools at a national scale and simultaneously classify them accordingly.

Thus, the National Curriculum produced is a set of national criteria of standards constructed by the central authority, which schools have considerable autonomy to work towards in order to optimise their position. Its focus is on defining a sequence of expected performances (level descriptions) not on a sequence of content or classroom activities, as in the Greek setting. Whenever there is direct control it has to do with the mandatory assessment procedures which reveal whether the national criteria are fulfilled. In this respect, the adopted version of curriculum planning is specific to the bi-dimensional pattern in that it allows for managerial autonomy for the organisation of content and pedagogy and controls directly the production of assessment results and their public juxtaposition with the national objectives.

If in the Greek mono-dimensional setting the adoption of a nation-wide single text affects the curriculum planning approach and exemplifies the emphasis on different message systems, in the English bi-dimensional pattern this happens with the nation-wide assessment. The national assessment sets 'the standards that are expected' but also, in the framework of managerial discretion, it does 'much to ensure that the National Curriculum is taught'.¹⁴⁷ In this way, the assessment-based planning is compatible with the operation of the bi-dimensional pattern in exercising control of evaluation (to make performances visible and comparable) and control *through* evaluation (to ensure that the self-managing schools follow the official requirements).

The above remarks sustain the suggestion of this thesis that in order to identify the modalities of control produced by official curriculum policy it is essential to consider the possibilities of autonomy inherent in the mono- and bi-dimensional patterns. Hence, the discussion in this chapter emphasised the role of two main means of central regulation; the nation-wide single text and the national assessment scheme. The analytical usefulness of these two *carriers* will be seen also in the next chapter where state monitorial policies will be investigated.

ENDNOTES

¹Bruner, J.S. (1966) *Toward a Theory of Instruction*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, p. 72.

²Bruner, J.S. (1960) *The Process of Education*. New York: Vintage Books, pp. 22 and 33.

³Ibid., pp. 23-26.

⁴Bruner, J.S. (1966) op. cit., p. 11.

⁵As Bruner (1960, op. cit.) stresses: 'the curriculum of a subject should be determined by the most fundamental understanding that can be achieved of the underlying principles that give structure to that subject . . . knowledge one has acquired without sufficient structure to tie it together is knowledge that is likely to be forgotten' (p. 31).

⁶Adopted from Romiszowski, A.J. (1981) *Designing Instructional Systems: Decision Making in Course Planning and curriculum Design*. London: Kogan Page, p. 282.

⁷Salvaras, G. (1985) op. cit., p. 124.

⁸Tyler, R.W. (1949) *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 44 and 59-60.

⁹Mager, R.F. (1975) *Preparing Instructional Objectives* (2nd ed.). Palo Alto: Fearon, p. 5.

¹⁰Christias, I. (1985) *Μελέτη Περιβάλλοντος: Θέματα Διδασκαλίας* [*Environmental Studies: Teaching Issues*]. Athens: Felekis, pp. 62-63 and 60.

¹¹Ministry of Education-Pedagogical Institute (1993a) *Εμείς και ο κόσμος - Μελέτη του Περιβάλλοντος: Βιβλίο του Δασκάλου, Γ' Τάξη* [*Us and the World - Environmental Studies - The Teacher's Textbook, 3rd Grade*]. Athens: OEDB.

¹²Law 1304/1982 op. cit., and Ministry of Education (1985a) op. cit., sections 56-57.

¹³The Directorates and Offices of Education are local services of the Ministry of Education within the geographic and administrative divisions of Greece, the prefectures. Each prefecture has one or more Directorates and each Directorate manages one or more Offices of

Education in the same prefecture. Both kinds of local services are part of the educational hierarchy (their Heads are directly appointed by the Minister) and exercise management control on schools.

¹⁴Indeed as Lainas's comparative study between England and Greece demonstrated, whereas the local education officer in England functions as a *Leader* who is in position to initiate policies, in Greece the Director of Education functions primarily as an *Administrator* concerned with the application of policies determined at higher levels and the day-to-day running of the local school system (the terms in italics are suggested by the author). Lainas, A. (1989) *Central-Local Relations and role of the Director of Education: A Study in Greece and England*. PhD Thesis: Institute of Education University of London. It should be noted, however, that although in Greece nothing has changed to question the validity of the findings of this thesis, in England a re-investigation of the role of the local education officer would be needed after the introduction of the Local Management of Schools (LMS).

¹⁵Ministry of Education (1985a) op. cit., section 11, paras Δ'1 and ΣΤ'3.

¹⁶Ibid., sections 48-52.

¹⁷Ibid., section 51. The School Committee can also manage funding for operational purposes allocated to the school by the upper levels (Municipality or Prefecture). It is characteristic however, that the central authority reserves the right to intervene in the Committee's decision-making even over the operation of the school's canteen (section 52).

¹⁸Michalocopoulos, G. (1987) 'Ο γραφειοκρατικός χαρακτήρας του ελληνικού σχολικού συστήματος και η παιδαγωγική-εκπαιδευτική διαδικασία' ['The Bureaucratic Character of the Greek School System and the Pedagogic-Educational Process']. *Παιδαγωγική Επιθεώρηση* [Pedagogical Review], (7): 149-194.

¹⁹Andreou and Papakonstantinou also argued that in essence the 1566/85 Law 'has no relation with the alleged democratic planning portrayed in its preamble. On the contrary, the provisions of the law delineate a centralised system on the basis of which important actors in educational life are literally superseded. The one-way process remains stable, that is the decisions move from the top to the bottom. The more we descend downwards to the hierarchy of the councils (School Council, School Committee, Provincial Committee of Education) the more the importance and range of responsibilities is minimised. In all levels the representation of the governmental power in the bodies is stable and strong'. Andreou, A. and Papakonstantinou, G. (1990) op. cit., p. 87.

²⁰Kazamias, A. (1993) op. cit.

²¹Samatas, M. (1995) 'Ο ελληνικός εκπαιδευτικός γραφειοκρατισμός: μια κοινωνικοπολιτική θεώρηση της γραφειοκρατούμενης ελληνικής εκπαίδευσης' ['The Greek Educational Bureaucratism: A Socio-Political Account of the Bureaucratized Greek Education'] in Kazamias, A.M. and Kassotakis, M. (eds), *Ελληνική Εκπαίδευση: προοπτικές ανασυγκρότησης και εκσυγχρονισμού* [Greek Education: Prospects of Reconstruction and Modernisation]. Athens: Serios, p. 129.

²²Ibid., p. 129.

²³Ibid.

²⁴The relevant section of the 1566 Law (Ministry of Education, 1985a, op. cit., section 60) makes clear that the Ministry's services have exclusive control over all kinds of curriculum resources and the processes of approval and distribution to schools:

1. Instructional textbooks are all books, main and auxiliary, that are used by pupils of primary and secondary schools during the teaching of subjects as defined by the respective curriculum. In instructional textbooks are also included all books or booklets or technical means, such as cassettes, films, tapes which are essential for assisting the educational practice of teaching staff.

2. Textbooks are written either by calling for a contest or by assignment to one or more authors after proposals or by direct assignment to authors or groups of teachers who are transferred with this exclusive task and without special wages to the Pedagogical Institute for writing ...

3. Apart from the above modes of writing, supply of textbooks from the market is also possible. [The Law here does not specify the terms of such an exception, that is supply by *whom* and in *which* cases. Below, however, it leaves no doubt that all kinds of textbooks are subject to approval by the Ministry's services]

4. The textbooks are judged by committees of the Pedagogical Institute ...

5. The approval of textbooks is a responsibility of the relevant department of the Pedagogical Institute. . .

7. The editing, release, purchase and distribution of textbooks is carried out by the Organisation of Textbooks Publication (OEDB)

Accordingly, one can find numerous circulars addressed to schools which dictate what curriculum resources/teaching aids can or cannot be used in their pedagogic practice. The following examples, from three relevant circulars, are indicative of the absence of schools' responsibility to decide such issues:

Ministry of Education (1993b) *Άδεια για την τοποθέτηση χαρτών της αρχαίας Μακεδονίας στα σχολεία της Βόρειας Ελλάδας* [Permission for the placement of maps of the ancient Macedonia in the schools of North Greece]. Circular Γ2/6388/23-11-93: We reply to your document with registration number 14454/12-11-93 and we inform you that we have no objection in regard to the production and placement of map of the ancient Macedonia in the primary and secondary schools of Macedonia and Thrace.

Ministry of Education (1994a) *Κυκλοφορία περιοδικών και έντυπου υλικού* [Circulation of magazines and printed matters]. Circular Γ2/2353/10-4-94: In extension to the circular Φ. 12/45/Γ1/155/3-3-94 of ΥΠΕΠΘ [Ministry of Education] we inform you that the magazine 'Πολιτιστική Πράξη' ['Cultural Praxis'] is not allowed to circulate freely in schools because its circulation has been repealed by the circular Γ2/5642/8-10-1993 of ΥΠΕΠΘ.

Ministry of Education (1994d) *Απάντηση σε έγγραφο* [A reply to document]. Circular Γ1/1193/21-12-94: . . . Visits to theatre dramas take place after the decision and with the responsibility of the Teachers' Board and concerns only the plays that have been approved by the relevant committee of the Ministry . . .

²⁵Ministry of Education (1985a) *op. cit.*, section 1, para 3δ.

²⁶Vougioukas, A. (1985), *op. cit.*, p. 11.

²⁷From the Circular of the Deputy Minister of Education P. Moralis 11-10-1982 quoted in *ibid.*, p. 23; see also the Circular Γ1/489/29-9-83 (Ministry of Education, 1983b) where schools are warned that the use of any other textbooks is prohibited and that teachers should follow the instructions given in the Ministry's textbooks.

Amongst the European Union countries with centralised modes of curriculum control Greece is the only one that leaves no choice to schools to select textbooks. Thus, Greek primary schools, as the following table shows (Eurydice, 1994, *op. cit.*, p. 90) are obliged to use a single textbook for each subject or area of the curriculum prescribed by the state. However, the single textbook is the main carrier of the official curriculum in *all* educational phases of both state and private sectors (in most cases single textbooks, written usually by the course tutor, can also be found in higher education).

Table 5.1 'Control over textbooks and levels of freedom of choice in their use'

	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IR L	I	L	NL	P	UK	
												Engl. Wales N.I.	Scot
Prescribed				X									
Limited choice					X* 2				X* 3		X* 2		
Freedom of choice*4	X	X	X			X		X	X	X		X	X
All subjects		X	X	X	X	X			X		X		X
Main subjects	X							X					
Private publications	X	X				X				X	X		
Private publications under control			X*1		X								
Official publications				X					X		X	X	

*1: Must approved by the Minister of the Land concerned (published list of approved textbooks).

*2: Must be used for at least four years.

*3: Textbooks must be approved by the Committee on Teaching (Commission d'Instruction).

*4: For teachers.

²⁸Vougioukas, A. (1985), op. cit., pp. 17 and 22.

²⁹Christias, I., (1985), op. cit., 39.

³⁰Being aware of this absence of responsibility the reformers advised teachers to have the newly introduced *Teacher's Textbook* 'if possible under their pillow and consult it all the time'; Vougioukas, A. (1985), op. cit., p. 22.

³¹Ministry of Education (1985a) op. cit., pp. 3-4.

³²See Ministry of Education (1987e) *Αναλυτικά Προγράμματα Μαθημάτων του Δημοτικού Σχολείου* [*Curricula of the Primary School*] Athens: OEDB.

³³Sometimes a collection of Presidential Decrees containing the statutory curriculum for various subjects is issued by the Ministry in official publications. However, this is not a constant practice (unlike the English National Curriculum) and thus for most teachers the statutory

curriculum, as an official document, is *in practice* inaccessible. It is characteristic that the last relevant official publication distributed to schools is dated 1987 (see *ibid.*), although the corresponding Teachers' Textbooks, which contain the detailed description of the statutory curriculum (in individual themes) are re-issued every year. That is a clear indication of the identification of the statutory curriculum with the textbooks by the state.

³⁴Ministry of Education-Pedagogical Institute (1993a) *op. cit.*, p. 75

³⁵Ministry of Education-Pedagogical Institute (1992) *Η Γη μας: Γεωγραφία Ε' και ΣΤ' τάξης - Βιβλίο Δασκάλου* [Our Earth: Geography of 5th and 6th Grades - The Teacher's Textbook]. Athens: OEDB, p. 78

³⁶The teaching theme here concerns systems of government. Ministry of Education-Pedagogical Institute (1991) *Κοινωνική και Πολιτική Αγωγή - Βιβλίο Δασκάλου, ΣΤ' τάξη* [Social and Civic Education - The Teacher's Textbook, 6th Grade]. Athens: OEDB, pp. 37 and 40.

³⁷Presidential Decree 322/1988 (Φ.Ε.Κ. 150Α'/8-7-1988).

³⁸According to the Presidential Decree 483/77 (Φ.Ε.Κ. 149Α'/1-6-1977) section 5, para. 9, (See also the Circular Γ1/1232/12-10-93, Ministry of Education, 1993a) the duration of the first and second teaching hours is 45 minutes each, while the third, fourth, fifth and sixth hours should last 40 minutes each. Breaks are designated to last 10 minutes each.

³⁹Presidential Decree 528/1984 (Φ.Ε.Κ. 185 Α'/28-11-1984) and Ministry of Education (1992) Circular Γ1/1072/6-9-92. Athens: Ministry of Education.

⁴⁰According to the circular Γ1/317/923/15-12-87 the timetable that schools compile should be submitted to the Directorates or the Offices of Education for approval so that they can check whether the timetable 'has been compiled on the basis of the standing curriculum requirements . . . and . . . monitor the operation of schools' management'. See Ministry of Education (1987d) *Ωρολόγια Προγράμματα εβδομαδιαίας εργασίας* [Weekly Timetables]. Circular Γ1/317/923/15-12-1987. Athens: Ministry of Education.

⁴¹ See for example Ministry of Education-Pedagogical Institute (1989) *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

⁴²See for example Ministry of Education-Pedagogical Institute (1988) *Νεοελληνική Γλώσσα - Βιβλίο του Δασκάλου, Α' τάξη* [Modern Greek Language - The Teacher's Textbook, 1st Grade]. Athens: OEDB, p. 42: 'It

is provided that the first part of the textbook 'My language' will be completed by the beginning of March'.

⁴³Ministry of Education-Pedagogical Institute (1993b) *Νεοελληνική Γλώσσα - Βιβλίο του Δασκάλου, Γ' τάξη* [Modern Greek Language - The Teacher's Textbook, 3rd Grade]. Athens: OEDB, p. 13.

⁴⁴To transcend the designated sequence teachers should see in their textbooks an instruction like the following: 'This poem will be taught in Easter. It can be therefore detached from its sequence. It is an optimistic poem, where the light of faith illuminates the human soul under the resurrection message of the bell . . .' Ministry of Education-Pedagogical Institute (1988) op. cit., p. 163.

⁴⁵Ministry of Education-Pedagogical Institute (1989) op. cit., pp. 6 and 49.

⁴⁶Ministry of Education-Pedagogical Institute (1993a) op. cit., p. 21.

⁴⁷Ministry of Education-Pedagogical Institute (1989) op. cit., pp. 8-9.

⁴⁸Ministry of Education-Pedagogical Institute (1990), p. 14.

⁴⁹Ministry of Education-Pedagogical Institute (1990) *Εμείς και ο κόσμος: Μελέτη του Περιβάλλοντος - Βιβλίο του Δασκάλου, Δ' τάξη* [Us and the World: Environmental Studies - The Teacher's Textbook, 4th Grade]. Athens: OEDB, p. 44.

⁵⁰Ministry of Education-Pedagogical Institute (1993b), p. 72.

⁵¹Benekos, A. (1985) op. cit., p. 109.

⁵²Ministry of Education-Pedagogical Institute (1989) op. cit., p. 37.

⁵³See Ministry of Education (1980) Circular Γ/9425/29-11-80, op. cit. and Presidential Decree 497/1981 (Φ.Ε.Κ. 134Α').

⁵⁴Salvaras, G. (1985) op. cit., p. 165.

⁵⁵Bouzakis, S. (1993) 'Σύγχρονες τάσεις στη διεθνή εκπαίδευση: μια συγκριτική προσέγγιση της συντηρητικής στροφής στην εκπαίδευση' ['Contemporary Trends in International Education: A Comparative Approach to the Conservative Turn in Education'] in Bouzakis, S. (ed) op. cit., p. 85.

⁵⁶Mavrogiorgos, G. (1993) *Εκπαιδευτικοί και Αξιολόγηση [Teachers and Evaluation]*. Athens: Synchroni Ekpaidevsi, p. 43.

⁵⁷Ministry of Education (1991) Circular Γ1/568/1134/25-9-91. Athens: Ministry of Education.

⁵⁸Indeed, as Mavrogiorgos (1993, op. cit., pp. 20-22) demonstrated comparing the positions of New Democracy and PASOK, the criteria of evaluation proposed by the two parties were largely the same.

⁵⁹Ministry of Education (1994b) Circular Γ1/898/21-10-94. Athens: Ministry of Education.

⁶⁰Ministry of Education (1994c) Circular Γ1/1056/28-11-94. Athens: Ministry of Education.

⁶¹OECD (1995) *Greece - Educational Policy Review: Background Report to OECD on Education (Draft Report)*. Athens: Ministry of Education, p. 91.

⁶²Tyler, R.W. (1949) op. cit., pp. 59-60.

⁶³Mager, R.F. (1975) op. cit., p. 6.

⁶⁴Bloom, B.S. (ed) (1956) *Taxonomy of Education Objectives: Cognitive Domain (I)*. London: Longman Group Ltd; Krathwohl, D.R., Bloom, B.S. and Masia, B.B. (1964) *Taxonomy of Education Objectives: Cognitive Domain (II)*. London: Longman Group Ltd. The taxonomy of the third domain, the psycho-motor, was never published.

⁶⁵Bloom, B.S. (ed) (1956) op. cit., pp. 12-13.

⁶⁶Block has summarised the conditions that acquirers should be aware of in order to demonstrate their mastery:

1. The student will be graded solely on the basis of his final . . . examination performance.
2. The student will be graded solely on the basis of his performance vis a vis a predetermined standard and not relative to his peers. [That is, testing is *criterion-referenced* rather than *norm-referenced*]
3. All students who attain the standard will receive appropriate grade rewards (usually A's) and there will be no fixed number of awards . . .
4. Throughout the learning, the student will be given a series of ungraded, diagnostic-progress tests to promote and pace his learning.
5. Each student will be given all the help he needs to learn.

Quoted in Stenhouse, L. (1975) *An Introduction to Curriculum Research and Development*. Oxford: Heinemann Educational, p. 65.

⁶⁷Stenhouse, L. (1975) *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

⁶⁸Cyclical procedures define problems and objectives, select possible solutions, carry out the decision taken and return to re-examination or re-definition of the initial objectives. See indicative examples in *ibid.*

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁷¹Nuttall, D.L. (1988) 'The Implications of National Curriculum Assessments'. *Educational Psychology* 8(4): 229-236, p. 231.

⁷²See for example Butterfield, S. (1995) *Educational Objectives and National Assessment*. Buckingham: Open University Press; Cresswell, M.J. and Houston, J.G. (1991) 'Assessment of the National Curriculum - Some Fundamental Considerations'. *Educational Review*. 43(1): 63-78.

⁷³Lawton, D. (1996) *Beyond the National Curriculum: Teacher Professionalism and Empowerment*. London. Hodder and Stoughton, pp. 7-8.

⁷⁴DES (1987b) *op. cit.*, paras 8, 26 and 28.

⁷⁵Source: NCC (1992) *Starting Out with the National Curriculum: An Introduction to the National Curriculum and Religious Education*. London: NCC, p. 23.

⁷⁶Cresswell, M.J. and Houston, J.G. (1991) *op. cit.*; Butterfield, S. (1995) *op. cit.*, p. 135.

⁷⁷DES (1988a) *National Curriculum - Task Group on Assessment and Testing (TGAT): A Report*. London: DES/Welsh Office, para 93.

⁷⁸The protest caused by the imposed assessment arrangements should be seen in conjunction with the effects that the objectives approach of the initial National Curriculum had on pedagogic practice. Teachers had to develop complex tick-list recording systems in order to follow the numerous objectives of the National Curriculum and consequently to respond to the assessment requirements. See research findings in Pollard, A. (1994) *op. cit.*, as well as recognition of these effects by Dearing, R. (1993) *The National Curriculum and its Assessment - Final Report*. London: SCAA, appendix 6.

⁷⁹Dearing, R. (1993) *ibid.*, para 7.1.

⁸⁰The development of tick-list recordings during the first implementation of the National Curriculum by many teachers was encouraged by the official publications of SEAC. Teachers were asked: 'to record the Attainment Targets and Statements of Attainment which each pupil has attempted; to show the achievement level which each pupil has reached; to give an indication of the progress of each individual pupil in relation to Attainment Targets and Statements of Attainment . . .' SEAC (1990) *A Guide to Teacher Assessment*, Pack C. London: Heinemann Educational. para 7.1. (see also *ibid.*, packs A and B). Detailed recording of performance was recommended by these leaflets as important for providing feedback on pedagogic practice: 'Learning is much improved when pupils, teacher, and others involved, are clear about what has been grasped and what is to be learned. Statements of Attainment provide that clarity. Children should know what these are, and when they have achieved them. This will promote a sense of progress' (*ibid.*, pack C, para 1.4).

⁸¹Dearing, R. (1993), *op. cit.*, Appendix 6.

⁸²DFE (1994) *Assessing 7 and 11 Year Olds in 1995*, Circular, 21/94. London: DFE, Annex B.

⁸³SCAA (1997a) *Teacher assessment in Key Stage 2*. London: SCAA, pp. 3 and 5.

⁸⁴DFE (1995b) *The National Curriculum*. London: HMSO.

⁸⁵Figure downloaded from the DFEE's site on the Internet http://www.dfes.gov.uk/performance/primary__96/g2.gif.

⁸⁶Ball, S. J. (1990) *op. cit.*, p. 61.

⁸⁷Tomlinson, J. (1993) *The Control of Education*. London: Cassell, p. 125; DES (1986b) Circular No. (8/86)-Education (No. 2) Act 1986, 19 December, London, section 32, para 2.

⁸⁸DES (1988b) *Education Reform Act 1988*. London: HMSO, section 26.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, 33-47.

⁹⁰DES (1988c) *Education Reform Act: Local Management of Schools. Circular No 7/88*. London: DES, para 21 and 158-165.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, paras 104-105. The *per capita* funding implemented by the LMS policy has been considered by many authors as a substitute for the

voucher system proposed by the sponsors of school marketisation (see Sexton, S. 1987 op. cit.) According to this method the funding provided by the state to education could be distributed directly to parents as vouchers which could be cashed in schools offering a place. As Thomas pointed out about the pupil-based funding formulae introduced by the ERA: 'link the formula change to more open enrolment . . . and we see emerging a voucher system which enables parents to move children to more popular schools knowing that much of the money effectively follows the child'; Thomas, H. (1990) 'From Local Financial Management to Local Management of Schools' in Flude, M. and Hammer, M. (eds) *The Education Reform Act 1988: Its Origins and Implications* London: The Falmer Press, p. 76. See also Barber (1996) op. cit., p. 29.

⁹²Ball, S.J. (1994) op. cit., p. 85. According to Circular 7/88 'Local management will give head teachers power to match their existing responsibilities. Head teachers are already managers, and the Secretary of State expects that across the whole range of decisions relating to local management the governing body will consult and take the advice of the head teacher. The head teacher will have a key role in helping the governing body to formulate a management plan for the school . . .' DES (1988c) op. cit., para 22.

⁹³See possible marketing options in The LMS Initiative (1990) *Local Management of Schools: A Practical Guide*. London: CIPFA, pp. 159-205.

⁹⁴To this effect the Government has suggested to the schools certain models for improving their performance, as in the so-called Development Plans which constitute a clear application of the systems analysis version of the objectives approach. According to the relevant governmental booklet a Development Plan 'provides a comprehensive and co-ordinated approach to all aspects of planning, one which covers curriculum and assessment, teaching, management and organisation, finance and resources'. In this respect schools are advised to follow the cyclic process of 'audit, construction, implementation, evaluation'; DES (1989b) *Planning for School Development: Advice to Governors, Headteachers and Teachers*. HMSO, p. 4-5. See also the instructions of The LMS Initiative (1990) op. cit., p. 25.

⁹⁵As stated in Circular 7/88: 'In order to plan effectively, and to monitor the effects of their decisions about the deployment of resources, governing bodies and head teachers will need to develop their own school-based indicators, with advice and support from the LEA. The quality of the information base available at school level will be crucial to effective school management under such schemes and it should be a priority for governors and head teachers to develop appropriate

indicators relevant to their own local needs and circumstances'. (DES, 1989b, op. cit., para 152). The setting of *performance indicators* is also an application of the objectives approach in schools' management; the more schools accomplish them the more they become attractive in the market place. In 'quality of learning', for example, such indicators can be: (a) quality of curricular management; (b) management of time; (c) engagement in the learning process; (d) breadth and quality of learning experience; (e) outcomes of learning; etc. See Statistical Information Service (1988) *Performance Indicators in Schools: A Consultation Document*. London: The Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountability. See also the performance indicators developed in DES (1988d) *Local Management of Schools - A Report to the Department of Education and Science* by Coopers and Lybrand. London: DES.

⁹⁶Simon, B. (1993) *SOS: Save Our Schools*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, pp. 28-29.

⁹⁷Bowe, R. and Ball, S.J. with Gold, A. (1992) *Reforming Education and Changing Schools: Case Studies in Policy Sociology*. London: Routledge, p. 86.

⁹⁸DES (1988c) op. cit., para 9.

⁹⁹Ibid., para 175.

¹⁰⁰Bernstein, B. (1996a) op. cit., p. 62.

¹⁰¹DES (1987c) *Financial Delegation to Schools: Consultation Paper*. London: DES, para 10.

¹⁰²Gipps, C. and Stobart, G. (1993) *Assessment: A Teachers' Guide to the Issues* (2nd ed.). London: Hodder & Stoughton, p. 49.

¹⁰³Tasks and tests are differentiated in the sense that the first are open-ended assessment activities whereas the second are the traditional 'paper and pencil' tests. The TGAT in their report initially gave emphasis to a variety of assessment *tasks* in order to link every day practice and formal procedures, make assessment more acceptable to pupils, utilise teachers' professional judgement through group moderation and give more precise feedback to teaching (DES, 1988a, op. cit., paras 45-77). These proposals largely reflected the view of educationists and were not considered by the then Government compatible with the official pursuit for competition and choice. Kenneth Clarke, as the Secretary of State, condemned this aspect of the assessment scheme for being excessively sophisticated and advocated an emphasis on the traditional type of tests (see statements in Ball, S., 1994,

op. cit., pp. 40-41). Subsequent to these statements was a reduction in the number of active tasks and a further distortion of this aspect of the TGAT proposals, since the open-ended tasks were not considered appropriate to inform choice of school by the parents/consumers. See Lawton, D. (1996) op. cit., pp. 10-11 as well as Gipps, C. (1995) 'National Curriculum Assessment in England and Wales' in Carter, S.G.D. and O'Neill, H.M. (eds), *International Perspectives on Educational Reform and Policy Implementation*. London: The Falmer Press.

¹⁰⁴DES (1988b) op. cit., section 22.

¹⁰⁵See for example DES (1992) *The Parents' Charter: Publication of Information about School Performance in 1992*, Circular 7/92. London: DES.

¹⁰⁶DFE (1995a) *Reports on Pupils' Achievements in 1994/95*, Circular 1/95. London: DFE.

¹⁰⁷DFEE (1996a) *Publication of 1996 Key Stage 2 National Curriculum Assessment Results in Primary School Performance Tables*, Circular 15/96. London: DFEE.

¹⁰⁸See for example the London Primary School League Tables by Lepkowska, D. (1997, 11-3-1997) 'Top and Bottom of the Form'. *Evening Standard*, p. 50-53.

¹⁰⁹From the foreword of the primary performance tables by the Secretary of State for Education and Employment Rt. Hon Gillian Shephard on the Internet http://www.dfes.gov.uk/performance/primary_96/psecl.htm

¹¹⁰Quoted in Dearing, R. (1993) op. cit., para 3.39.

¹¹¹Ibid.

¹¹²DES (1987b) op. cit., para 35.

¹¹³DES (1988a) op. cit., paras 56 and 96.

¹¹⁴Ibid., para 3.

¹¹⁵The 'starting point' of the TGAT report was that:
A school can function effectively only if it has adopted:
- clear aims and objectives;
- ways of gauging the achievement of these;

- comprehensible language for communicating the extent of those achievements to pupils, their parents and teachers, and to the wider community, so that everyone involved can take informed decisions about future action. Ibid., para 1.

¹¹⁶Ibid., para 11.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., para 56.

¹¹⁸Ibid., para 101.

¹¹⁹Dearing, R. (1993) op. cit., para 7.37.

¹²⁰NCC (1992) op. cit., paras 1 and 2.

¹²¹DES (1989a) *National Curriculum: From Policy to Practice*. London: DES, para 4.15.

¹²²See this process of 'the construction of a National Curriculum subject' as illustrated by Ball, S. (1990) op. cit., p. 186. Both this illustration as well as the analysis of the same author (1994, op. cit., pp. 33-40) on the outcome of the subject Working Groups on music, geography and history show that the decision-making process is an open field for debate amongst various interested groups rather a definitive ministerial order. With respect to the content of history see also Lawlor, S. (1995) op. cit.

¹²³Reference is being made here to the revised National Curriculum current in England; DFE (1995b) op. cit.

¹²⁴For example in history of Key stage 2 along with the *study units* a list of *key elements* contains a set of objectives. Under the key element *chronology* i.e., 'pupils should be taught':

a. to place the events, people and changes in the periods studied within a chronological framework;

b. to use dates and terms relating to the passing of time, including ancient, modern, BC, AD, century and decade, and terms that define different periods, eg *Tudor, Victorian* (ibid., p. 5).

On the other hand in mathematics the programmes of study list only statements which express the expected ends. For example in Key stage 2 under the attainment target 'Number' and the sub-category 'Understanding relationships between numbers and developing methods of computation':

Pupils should be taught to: . . .

c. consolidate knowledge of addition and subtraction facts to 20; know the multiplication facts to 10x10; develop a range of mental methods for

finding quickly from known facts those that they cannot recall; use some properties of numbers, including multiples, factors and squares, extending to primes, cubes and square roots. (ibid., p. 7).

¹²⁵Ibid., para 4.20.

¹²⁶Ibid.

¹²⁷DES (1989a) op. cit., para 4.15.

¹²⁸Alexander, R., Rose, J. and Woodhead, C. (1992) op. cit.

¹²⁹See, for a discussion of Schools Development Plans, Lawton, D. (1996) op. cit., pp. 110-112.

¹³⁰SCAA (1997b) *Geography at Key Stage 2: Curriculum Planning - Guidance for Teachers*. London: SCAA, p. 2.

¹³¹See Circular 21/94, DFE (1994) op. cit. and Circular 1/95, DFE (1995a) op. cit.

¹³²DES (1988a) op. cit., paras 30-31.

¹³³Initially the TGAT report established four kinds of assessment: *formative*, *diagnostic*, *summative* and *evaluative* (ibid., para 23). However, the same report acknowledged that there usually some problems of distinction (ibid., para 27) between them. The reason that the two of them (*formative* and *summative*) are here used is because they are analytically distinct terms and well established in the curriculum studies literature but also because they are now exclusively used by SCAA to describe the assessment arrangements (see below in the main text).

¹³⁴SCAA (1997b) op. cit., p. 7.

¹³⁵Gipps, C. And Stobart, G. (1993) op. cit., p. 98.

¹³⁶SCAA (1996) *Evaluation of the External Marking of the National Curriculum Tests in 1995: Overview report*. London: SCAA.

¹³⁷See SCAA (1995) *Consistency in Teacher Assessment - Guidance for Schools, Key Stages 1 to 3*. London: SCAA. How SCAA attempts to influence schools' curriculum planning through objectives/assessment is evident in their publication *Teacher Assessment in Key Stage 2* (SCAA, 1997a, op. cit.). In the same document SCAA proposes a managerial scheme of responsibilities on evaluation, the implementation of which

ensures correspondence to the National Curriculum requirements as well as an assessment-based school curriculum planning:

Headteacher: ensures that the school has effective procedures for assessment; ensures that assessment procedures are being carried out; reviews the effectiveness of assessment; ensures that statutory requirements are met; includes sufficient attention to and support for assessment in the school's development plan.

Assessment coordinator: ensures that assessment procedures are clear to all staff; maintains assessment policy (including marking); provides information about training opportunities available on assessment; ensures that assessment requirements across subjects are coherent, manageable and effective; ensures that assessment requirements are carried out and sets targets for improvement.

Subject coordinator: develops a scheme of work which shows learning objectives clearly; keeps under review the quality and impact of assessment; monitors marking; provides information about training opportunities available on assessment strategies; focuses on attainment within a subject; monitors continuity and progression of a subject throughout the school.

Teacher: ensures that all lessons have clear learning objectives appropriate to children's abilities; makes curriculum plans in the light of assessment; focuses on the attainment of individuals; keeps records of children's attainment.

Governing body: knows about assessment procedures; requests evidence of the effectiveness of assessment procedures; focuses on attainment of year group cohorts (p. 22).

¹³⁸SCAA (1997c) *English and Mathematics Tests - Levels 2-4: Teacher's Guide*. London: SCAA, p. 2. The optional testing follows the conditions of the compulsory testing at the end of Key Stages, as it is accompanied by instructions for marking against the level scale as well as by tables of standardised scores which allow for nation-wide comparisons. See SCAA (1997d) *Interpreting and Using the Scores - Teacher's Guide: Supplementary Booklet*. London: SCAA.

¹³⁹Bernstein, B. (1996a) op. cit., p. 61.

¹⁴⁰As Bruner underlines: 'Designing curricula in a way that reflects the basic structure of a field of knowledge requires the most fundamental understanding of that field. It is a task that cannot be carried out without the active participation of the ablest scholars and scientists'. Bruner, J. (1960) op. cit., p. 32.

¹⁴¹Stenhouse, L. (1975) op. cit., p. 30.

¹⁴²Ibid., pp. 92-93.

¹⁴³Such alternatives could include one proposed by Stenhouse (the *process/research* approach) where the emphasis is on pupil learning activities rather than the specification of content as well as on the professional development of the teacher through his/her own research findings rather than the imposition of ready-made solutions. Moreover, Stenhouse associates curriculum planning with the mode of curriculum control: 'In a system in which curricular decisions are made centrally, the problem is seen as finding the right curriculum to prescribe. In a system where decisions are seen as resting with the individual school, the school becomes the focus of curriculum development, and a process of continuous organic development becomes possible'. Ibid., p. 123.

¹⁴⁴Bernstein, B. (1996a) op. cit., pp. 61-62.

¹⁴⁵An exception to this is the newly-introduced area of environmental studies which concentrates elements of various subjects. However, even in this case, the textbook and the official timetable severs environmental studies from other subjects which are not included in this curriculum area, i.e. language and mathematics.

¹⁴⁶Archer, M. (1995) op. cit., pp. 226-229.

¹⁴⁷Quoted in Dearing, R. (1993) op. cit., para 3.39.

CHAPTER 6

CURRICULUM CONTROL AND STATE MONITORING OF PEDAGOGIC PRACTICE

6.1 INTRODUCTION

So far the thesis has identified the shift of the two countries to different pedagogic models and suggested that the control of different message systems is emphasised by central curriculum planning.

This chapter moves the analysis to what has been defined as the third context of state curriculum control, the state monitoring of schools' pedagogic practice. Monitoring is here regarded as state intervening action whose role is to identify whether the actual pedagogic practice is compatible with official curriculum policy. Other kinds of institutions or agencies which exercise monitoring (such as headteachers, local authorities, parental councils, etc.) are not included here, since the focus of the current investigation is on the direct action of the central authority to monitor the realisation of the official curriculum in schools. In these terms the focus of this chapter is on the monitoring exercised by centrally appointed agents over schools, the Greek *school advisers* and the English *inspectors*.

Monitoring should be regarded as the attempt by the state to *normalise* pedagogic practice, in the sense that the main purpose is to align what is taught, how is it taught and what is learned in schools with the requirements of official curriculum policy. However, it will be suggested that, as the patterns of educational control in the two countries are different, the strategies employed for this purpose are different. Normalisation in Greece is attempted by the use of the hierarchical position of the *teacher* to whom the official curriculum can be prescribed in its detail. In England normalisation is attempted by the

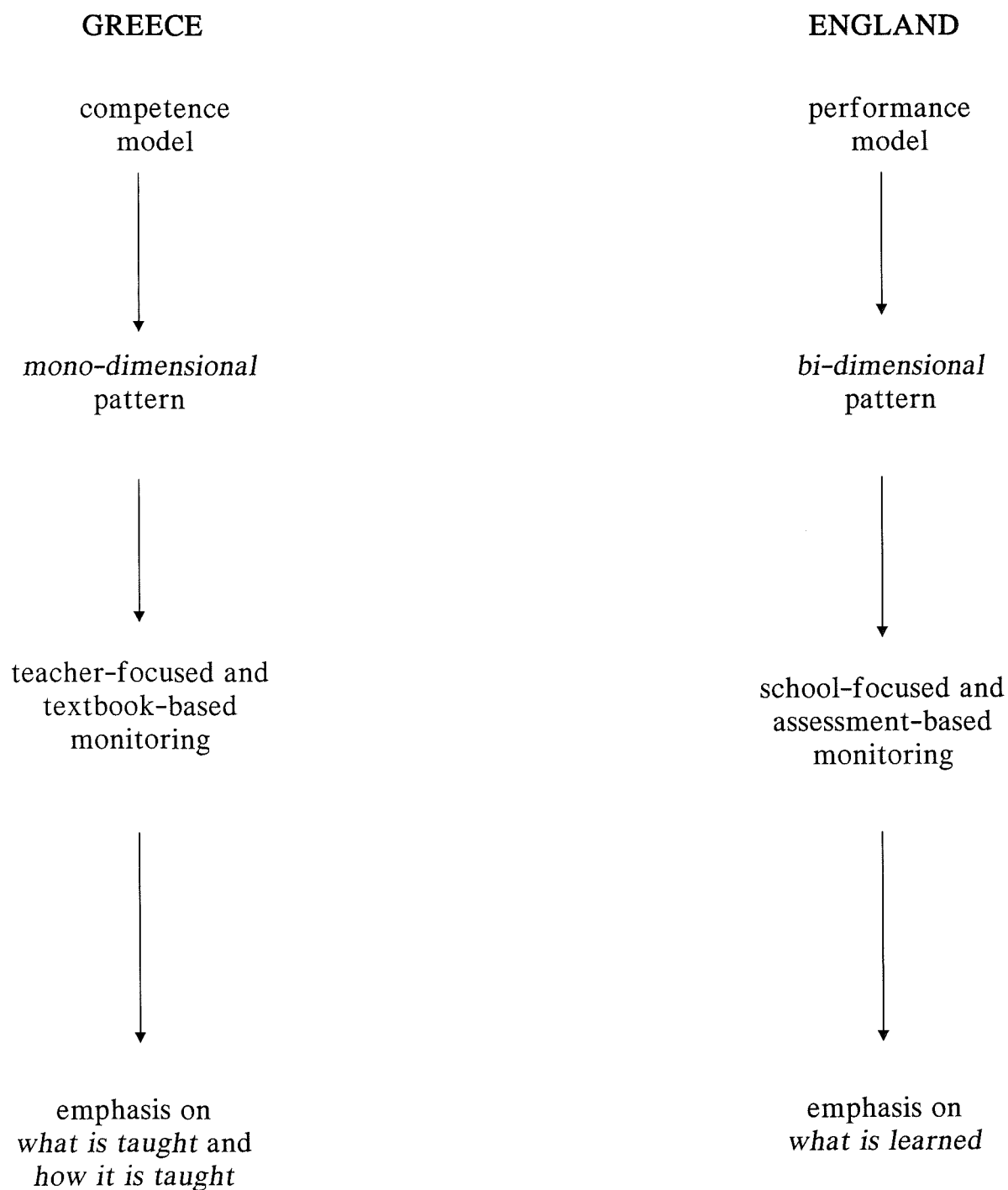
use of the market position of the *school* which once it meets the common performance criteria can ensure its survival in this market.

Moreover, in the light of the comparative analysis in the previous chapter, it will be argued here that monitoring in the two countries is subject to the same modalities of control produced by central curriculum planning: the Greek monitoring aims at guiding teachers in the implementation of the official content and process and the English monitoring aims at evaluating the performance of schools' pedagogic practice.

To summarise, the argument to be tested in this chapter is: in the Greek mono-dimensional pattern monitoring focuses on the hierarchical position of the individual teacher and seeks to ensure the conformity of his/her pedagogic practice to the official content and pedagogy; in the English bi-dimensional pattern monitoring focuses on the individual institution and seeks to identify the performance of its pedagogic practice against the official standards (see Figure 6.1).

Two sections for each country will test the above argument. In the first there will be an investigation of the role that monitoring has been given after the curriculum reforms and the shifts to different pedagogic models; it will be demonstrated that monitoring in Greece is teacher-focused and in England is school-focused. The second section will survey the monitorial procedures existing in the two countries and will demonstrate that the Greek adviser is assigned to ensure the conformity of pedagogic practice to the legitimate content and process and the English inspector is assigned to evaluate the performance of pedagogic practice.

Figure 6.1 Monitorial approach in Greece and England after the shift to the competence and performance models



6.2 THE GREEK MONITORIAL POLICY AFTER THE PRIMARY CURRICULUM REFORM: THE SHIFT FROM THE INSPECTOR TO THE ADVISER

Traditionally, as was seen in the historical review, inspection in Greece was a powerful means of political, managerial and pedagogic control. Inspection as 'one of the most powerful links in state control in education'¹ was regarded by teachers as an authoritarian and intimidating institution of surveillance in their work. Especially during periods of political instability, inspectors' prime duties were to exercise surveillance over teachers' behaviour in and outside the school. Teachers' conscientiousness, moral values, commitment to the government and political attitude were the focus of surveillance intended to subordinate teachers to the dominant political power. Andreou and Papakonstantinou extracted several examples of past reports which show clearly the kind of inspection teachers were subject to:

Inspector's report, January 1955: 'He [the teacher] behaves properly and demonstrates good moral standards and an appropriate Greek moral character. He has healthy social convictions and he is committed to the ideals of the Hellenic race'.

Inspector's report, 31-12-1955: 'The above mentioned [teacher] has to be kept under surveillance for a longer period so that a responsible opinion is based on many specific elements. We watch him continuously, particularly his social relationships, because we have information from a confidential source that he purchases food for his family from a left-wing grocer'.

Inspector's report, 1-4-1968: 'Although in the past he demonstrated centrist beliefs, it seems that this teacher, after the radical change brought by the revolution of the 21st April 1967 [the coup d'etat], has returned to being committed to the national ideals'.²

Inspectors were persons politically attached to and favoured by the government in both undemocratic and democratic periods and, as was often denounced, they were selected through questionable and opaque procedures.³ In this regard, they were direct local representatives of the central authority and their monitorial practice constituted the presence of the government itself in schools. Their power was reinforced by the fact that they combined both managerial and pedagogic responsibilities and thus were able to exercise strong control over teachers and their teaching. As one commentator, an advocate of the inspectorial institution, stressed:

The exercise of management and [pedagogic] guidance by the same person has a tremendous importance for the efficient operation of the school. The binary responsibility, reflected in the persona of the inspector, strengthened his position, imposed better his personality [on teachers], attributed to him the appropriate status and rendered him able to manage with more comfort his subordinates.⁴

This condition was retained even after the post-dictatorial reform of 1976 despite the call of the Committee for Education of 1975 that: 'monitoring should discard its police character and the inspector should become the mentor, adviser and aid of the teacher in his difficult work'.⁵ The legislation maintained the role of the inspector as the local chief of the teachers/civil servants and simultaneously as the person responsible for monitoring pedagogic practice. Inspectors, according to the Law, exercised 'management, inspection, guidance, monitoring and control over the state and private primary schools and their staff'.⁶ More specifically, inspectors were to supervise the operation of schools, to visit and inspect schools, to give guidance, to monitor the implementation of the statutory curriculum, to check and approve school timetables, to issue circulars, to supervise the condition of school buildings and the managing of funds and to exercise disciplinary measures against teachers.⁷

In monitoring pedagogic practice, the focus of inspection was the appraisal of the teacher on the basis of ideological and political criteria of compliance rather than criteria of teaching effectiveness. Indeed, the outcome of classroom observation was the compilation by the inspector of the so-called Report of Substantial Qualifications, a report with crucial importance for the promotion of teachers. First, the headteacher had to submit a report in which he/she appraised teachers in three sectors: 'Managerial', 'Conscientiousness' and 'Action and Attitude'. Second, taking into account this report, the inspector observed the teacher in two lessons and proceeded to the compilation of the Report of Substantial Qualifications in which the teacher was ranked descriptively and numerically in six areas: 'Scientific' (degrees and other qualification), 'Educational' (teaching skills), 'Managerial' (skills in management), 'Conscientiousness' (compliance to educational authorities and adherence to moral values), and 'Action' and 'Attitude' inside and outside the school (moral and lawful social behaviour). Teachers in these reports were ranked on a five-mark scale, with five being the highest mark for each area. Each mark corresponded to five descriptions: 5 for *perfect* (or according to the particular area *skilful, conscientious, exceptional, useful*), 4 for *competent* (or *skilful, conscientious, dignified, active*), 3 for *adequate* (or *good, hardworking*), 2 for *mediocre* (or *indifferent*) and 1 for *inadequate* (or *dishonest, undignified, dull*).⁸ Thus, as in the past, one could often find in the inspectorial reports during the period 1976-1980 characterisations of teachers' attitudes like the following:

'She is an excellent mother and wife and a good Christian. She goes to church regularly and as I realised she offers help to the Sunday [religious] schools . . . Her faith and commitment to the tradition and Helleno-Christianic ideals . . . attribute to her the characterisation of exceptional'.⁹

Evidently, the monitoring of pedagogic practice was the monitoring of teachers themselves in both their educational and non-educational life. Inspection aimed at ensuring the conformity of the teacher to the official ideological and pedagogic principles in order to ensure that pedagogic practice conformed to the same principles. These principles were largely reflected, as was seen in chapter 4, in the statutory curriculum and the compulsory textbooks. Very often, following the statutory lines, inspectors themselves used to issue and distribute teaching guidance to teachers, the implementation of which was checked on their visits in the classroom. Teachers' obedience to the statutory and inspectorial orders was crucial for their appraisal.

Clearly, the focus of inspection was not the evaluation of achievements of the whole primary sector but the ideological and political subordination of teachers, and ensuring the contemporary educational 'status quo'. This can also be seen in the main contents of the General Annual Reports submitted every year by the inspectors to the central authority. Zabeta, who reviewed the inspectorial reports of the period 1974-1982, concluded that the reports mostly emphasised the 'well being' of education while substantial problems were either omitted or downgraded. No feedback was provided to the central authority, particularly about curriculum issues, so that educational policy could be informed and reformulated, since the state appointed inspectors did not dispute the official curriculum. It is characteristic that the central curriculum development body (then KEME) was not a recipient of these reports but only the Ministry which however did not proceed to any elaboration and utilisation of the information given.¹⁰

This condition reveals the role of inspection as this was perceived and determined by the state until the early 1980s: pedagogic control through managerial conformity, political surveillance of teachers, subordination to the official curriculum policy and absence of feedback on learning achievements towards the central authority.

In the project of educational democratisation initiated by the government of PASOK, the abolition of inspectors was one of the first priorities along with the official shift to the competence model signified by the curriculum reform. This decision was in line with the demands of the Primary Teachers' Union (DOE) which asked for the abolition of the inspectorial institution and its replacement with that of the *school adviser* who was to be 'exclusively the aid and adviser of the teacher in his educational practice'.¹¹ Indeed, the 1304/82 Law introduced the institution of the *school adviser* in all educational sectors and defined the areas under their jurisdiction (about three hundred districts in primary sector). Later on, the 1566/85 Law established the separation of the managerial and pedagogic responsibilities that inspectors used to have; henceforth, managerial responsibilities would belong to the Heads of Offices and Directorates of Education while the school advisers would take responsibility for the 'scientific and pedagogic' area.

A new vocabulary in the relevant statutory texts emerged to signify the new kind of relationship between the adviser and the teacher and the removal of the previous inspectorial powers: the school adviser now 'co-operates with the teaching staff . . . , deals with teaching problems . . . , helps . . . , informs . . . discusses . . . etc.'¹² Along with the change in the model of pedagogic practice the new institution was considered a great victory by DOE which announced that: 'a dream of our country's educational world dating from 1925 comes true and our long-term struggles are resolved'.¹³

Superficially, the new legislation marked the transition from inspectors as the agents of both modes of management and curriculum control to advisers, who would be the agent of the mode of curriculum control and, by extension, of the official curriculum policy. However, as argued here, regardless of the heralded separation of managerial and curriculum responsibilities, the adviser's monitorial responsibilities are based on the co-action of both modes of control. It is suggested that in

the Greek mono-dimensional pattern monitoring of pedagogic practice aims at the conformity of the individual teacher to the official curriculum and in this is supported by the centralised mode of management control which holds teachers accountable.

The re-organised inspectorial institution did not consist in the creation of an independent body intended to provide information to the central authority but in the appointment of a number of state agents assigned to realise its policy. The role of the school adviser would be 'to transfer the spirit of the educational policy to schools'¹⁴ as DOE themselves asked for - consenting in the legislation as they consented in the overall preservation of the pattern of control. This is clearly reflected in the terms of reference: '[the school adviser] co-operates with the teaching staff of schools for the planning of the practice of schools and the implementation of educational policy'.¹⁵

More specifically, the same Law defined the duties of advisers: 'the task of the School Adviser is scientific-pedagogic guidance and participation in teachers' appraisal and inservice education as well as the encouragement of any attempt at scientific research in the field of education'.¹⁶ Of these four parts of the advisers' task the first three are about the monitoring of pedagogic practice: the advisers are responsible to provide guidance, inservice education and appraisal of teachers, a set of duties which, combined with the requirement to 'implement educational policy', entails the compliance of the teacher with the official curriculum and his/her appraisal on the basis of this implementation. Thus, apart from the fact that the legislation attributes the role of 'guidance' to advisers, it also maintains the identification of monitoring with teacher appraisal and gives both powers to the same agent.

Advisers, as civil servants, are part of the educational hierarchy and thus of the centralised mode of management control. They are selected through procedures and criteria largely controlled by the

Minister and committees that he/she appoints, not by the relevant curriculum development body (Pedagogical Institute). Previous service in educational bureaucracy is highly valued and political attachment is favoured.¹⁷

Advisers' involvement in schools' management can be seen in their responsibility to monitoring school timetables. As was seen in the previous chapter, schools lack any responsibility for their own timetables; both timetables and individual teaching themes are centrally pre-defined. The adviser monitors the implementation of the statutory timetables by the following procedure:

The school adviser approves the timetable. This approval implies that the timetable has been compiled on the basis of the statutory curriculum orders, the pedagogic principles and the particular conditions in which each school operates.¹⁸ The school adviser notifies the approved timetables of the schools of his district to the Head of the Directorate or Office Education so that the latter is aware of and able to monitor the operation of the school management. The Teachers' Board has the responsibility to implement the timetable approved by the school adviser. The school adviser monitors the implementation of the timetable; if necessary re-adjustments are needed, they are decided in his meetings with those responsible for the management of the school [headteacher] and again they are approved by him.¹⁹

Clearly, there is a utilisation of the hierarchy in monitoring timetables. The adviser here gets involved in the management of schools and thus acts as the agent of both modes of control, despite the alleged emphasis on 'scientific-pedagogic guidance'.

Furthermore, the 'scientific-pedagogic guidance' exercised by the advisers takes place through a hierarchical relation in which the central curriculum planners instruct the advisers and the advisers instruct the teachers. This vertical relationship was particularly used when the principles of the competence model were to be transferred to teachers via the organisation of numerous seminars in a top-down hierarchical order.²⁰ Moreover, teachers are obliged to attend annually seminars in

which advisers transfer updated decisions regarding the official curriculum. Like schools, advisers are not allowed to create curriculum initiatives.²¹ Their 'guidance' consists in the announcement of central decisions to teachers and the monitoring of their implementation according to the law. To ensure the obedience of teachers to the instructions, the advisers, as Mavrogiorgos remarks, make use of educational bureaucracy:

The practice is simple: they notify to the Head of Office and the Head of Directorate their scientific-pedagogic 'mail' which is addressed to the teachers, adding the indication that any opposite pedagogic perception (of teachers) 'will be taken into account by the disciplinary officials'(!). Though just School Advisers, they exercise management!!!²² [original punctuation]

Moreover, although the role attributed to the adviser is supposed to lack the character of inspection and consists mostly in providing 'guidance', the power to watch individuals teach is retained. As teachers are accountable to the hierarchy they are obliged to accept observation of their pedagogic practice: 'anyone who refuses to teach in the presence of school advisers and to co-operate with them, they will have committed a disciplinary offence and relevant measures will be activated against them'.²³

It becomes apparent that the advisers' role is supported by the centralised mode of management control and thus it should be seen as a function of the overall mono-dimensional pattern. Their role of 'guidance', as a transfer of governmental decisions to teachers, and the monitoring of pedagogic practice is actualised in a hierarchical mechanism in which the teacher's position is subordinate.

This last point can better seen in the identification of monitoring with teacher appraisal, a provision of the law that so far has not been enacted. Nevertheless, the issue of teacher appraisal as a result of monitorial procedures has never ceased to be part of the political debate

in Greece. Five attempts to enact teacher appraisal have occurred since 1984 by different governments but none of them has been successful. The first four (1984, 1985, 1987 and 1988) were in Draft Presidential Decrees. These proposals were blocked by teacher reactions. The fifth proposal did finally result in a Presidential Decree in 1993 which was repealed three months after its issue.

Those failed Presidential Decrees need to be discussed here for two main reasons. First, because they were intended to complete the role of the adviser by activating the relevant provision for teacher appraisal of the 1304/82 Law. Secondly, because they present a consensual base amongst the major political parties and demonstrate a common direction in how state monitoring is perceived in Greece. Again, as in past inspectorial procedures, the focus of monitoring is the individual teacher and evaluation targets not the performance of pedagogic practice but his/her conformity to the official curriculum.

In the first two Draft Presidential Decrees (DPD), published in 1984 and 1985,²⁴ the evaluation of the quality of education is identified with teacher appraisal. Considering that in the same period the so-called separation of managerial and pedagogic responsibilities was being legislated for the advisers' role, it is surprising to find a set of criteria for teacher appraisal continuing the role of the former inspectorial institution. Again teachers are judged in categories such as 'scientific', 'pedagogic practice', 'teaching skills', 'managerial abilities', 'conscientiousness' and 'activities-socialbleness' inside and outside the school.

It is apparent that this time the same criteria refer to the ideological values and pedagogic practices foregrounded by the curriculum reform and in general the political changes in the 1980s. However, neither the criteria nor the focus of monitoring alters. In the proposals the individual teacher is subject to appraisal carried out hierarchically by agents who combine the managerial and pedagogic

responsibilities of the inspector; appraisal is carried out by the school adviser and the Head of the Office of Education who take into account a report submitted by the headteacher.

The same emphasis on teacher appraisal is present in the DPDs published in 1987 and 1988.²⁵ Given the strong teacher reactions,²⁶ these new official documents attempted to combine teacher appraisal with the 'evaluation of educational practice'. Now the appraisal of teaching staff is named 'evaluation of the teacher's contribution in educational work' and provides a potential for self-appraisal without however losing its hierarchical character. The school adviser compiles a report about the teacher, in which he adds the views of the headteacher and the teacher, in categories similar to those in the previous DPDs.

The peak of these persistent attempts to restore teacher appraisal through monitorial procedures was reached with Presidential Decree (PD) 320/93²⁷ which finally did not come into practice.²⁸ It was issued by the conservative government which stressed the need for evaluation of the whole system from the school to the national level but again through a strict hierarchical staff appraisal. According to the legislation the teacher was to be evaluated by the headteacher and the school adviser, the headteacher was to be evaluated by the Head of the Office of Education and the Head of the Office of Education was to be evaluated by the Head of the Directorate of Education. At the bottom of this evaluative hierarchy was the teacher whose performance was to be graded from 10 to 100 points in special reports and through criteria not different from before (previous qualifications, teaching skills, service consistency etc.) except that this time they were analysed in more explicit terms.²⁹

What is apparent in the failed official attempts is that even after the abolition of the inspector, monitoring has not ceased to focus on the individual teacher. Nowhere in the above legal texts is there a clear framework of evaluation in terms of drawing attention to certain points

of pedagogic practice which should be improved. Instead, there is an insistence on producing individual reports which judge the teacher as civil servant and sometimes as a citizen (through the teacher's extra-school attitudes).

The weak stress on evaluating pedagogic practice *per se* can be seen in the relevant criteria set by the legal texts which were either vague and diffuse or they referred to practices inhibited by the centralised mode of curriculum control.

When for example the 1984 and 1985 DPDs designate 'pedagogic practice' as one of the 'elements to be evaluated', it is doubtful whether the definition of its criteria provide a basis for such an evaluation:

... the right pedagogic relationship of the teacher with the pupil, understanding of his personality, masterful support so that he adjusts smoothly and creatively in school work and life and the cultivation of mutual respect in the interpersonal relationships of pupils, co-operativeness, democratic dialogue, responsibility and consistency.³⁰

On the other hand, when in the DPDs of 1987 and 1988 an attempt was made to specify what exactly was to be evaluated, emphasis was given to 'the planning of educational practice' which was defined as: 'the obligation of teachers of every educational unit [school], to define in collaboration with the school advisers their teaching practice ... in the framework of the general and particular aims of education'.³¹ On this basis, the evaluation of pedagogic practice 'aims to establish planning and its implementation, to point out the needs and weaknesses of the phase of implementation and to determine any corrective measures that have to be taken'.³² Similar requirements were included in the 1993 PD.³³ Such planning and evaluation was to be carried out by the Teachers' Board of the school and to be submitted to the school adviser and the Director of the Office of Education.

Evidently, the only reference made to pedagogic practice *per se* - not to the individual teacher - in the above texts concerns a responsibility which schools *do not have*. School-based curriculum planning, as was seen in the previous chapter, is inhibited by the centralised mode of curriculum control and the main carrier (single textbook) and thus any reference to such planning is self-contradictory. It is characteristic that this point was noticed by the Primary Education Department of the Pedagogical Institute itself, in particular by its Head, when called to offer an opinion on the 1988 DPD:

The Presidential Decree does not clarify the limits and the potential of planning, which is restricted by our centralised educational system itself. For example, it would be purposeless for teachers to plan the teaching of subjects, since the Curriculum and the textbooks themselves define the details in planning the teaching practice. I am afraid that asking for [school-based] planning might lead to arbitrariness and bureaucratic processes.³⁴

In these terms, as school-based planning of pedagogic practice is non-existent it does not constitute a target for evaluation. Consequently, such monitorial procedures result in nothing more than a repetition of what is centrally prescribed (through additional 'bureaucratic processes', according to the above opinion) and in this sense a confirmation of compliance to the official detailed requirements. This is put more clearly in the 1993 PD which underlines that evaluation of pedagogic practice aims at 'specifying possible deviations . . . so that necessary corrective interventions and re-adjustments take place'.³⁵

In short, the persistent legislative attempts to complete the adviser's role did not move away from prioritising the appraisal of teachers. As the 1988 DPD put it 'the term 'evaluation of educational practice' means the appraisal of the collective and individual work of teachers in a particular school'.³⁶ Any reference to teaching *per se* was characterised by vague criteria, by practices alien to the Greek school

and an intention to ensure alignment to the official prescriptions. There was no proposal to grade teaching descriptively or numerically, though in all the above legal texts it was teachers who were subject to descriptive or numerical rankings. These rankings consist of individual reports produced by a hierarchy which includes the school adviser, and aim at identifying the educational and often the non-educational attitudes of teachers.

In summary, this section discussed monitoring in Greece after the curriculum reform in the early 1980s. It was argued that despite the separation of managerial and pedagogic responsibilities the school adviser has not ceased to function as an agent of both modes of control. It was also suggested that the hierarchical 'guidance' by the school adviser and the intended teacher appraisal, with the participation of the same agent, maintain the focus of monitoring on the individual teacher and seek to identify his/her conformity to the official curriculum. This last point will be discussed extensively in the next section where the operation of the existing monitorial procedures in Greece will be analysed.

6.3 THE MONITORING OF PEDAGOGIC PRACTICE IN GREECE: PURSUING CONFORMITY TO THE OFFICIAL CONTENT AND PEDAGOGY

This section will move the analysis to the operation of monitoring, as that is carried out by the school advisers. It will be argued here that, following central curriculum planning, monitoring in Greece consists in ensuring the conformity of teachers' pedagogic practice to the official content and process rather than in identifying its effectiveness in raising performance.

To test this argument there is need to look at the monitorial procedures as they are designated officially. While in both countries

several aspects of school life might be subject to monitoring (i.e. problems of pupil behaviour, welfare, accommodation, school and community relations, etc.), the focus here is on the realisation of the official curriculum policy. Thus, the analysis below will concentrate on those monitorial duties aiming at bringing about and identifying a compatibility of schools' pedagogic practice with this policy. In this sense, two main aspects need to be reviewed here to show how monitoring operates: the *conduct* (duties and criteria) and the *reporting* after monitoring (what is reported and to whom).

In reality, there is no analytical framework in Greece that specifies in detail the duties of school advisers in terms of the conduct of the monitorial procedures carried out by them. The operation of monitorial institution is described in Law 1304/1982 and in the Presidential Decree 214/1984 which however leave a lot of issues unspecified. A result of this condition is that the advisers, in order to exercise 'guidance', seek managerial powers even in cases where these are not provided directly.³⁷ While such kinds of powers can be drawn from their hierarchical position and their co-operation with the agents of centralised management, as was seen above, what is missing from the relevant legislation is a set of criteria which regulates the conduct of monitoring (such as frequency of visiting schools, lesson observation, etc.). Instead, one can see in the legal texts general provisions like the following:

They help the teachers of their district to become conscious of the deeper meaning of their mission and they encourage them to develop individually and collectively initiatives and activities for dealing with particular problems in school work.³⁸

What is not vague in this quotation and throughout the legislation however is that the adviser is presented as an authority on pedagogic knowledge who is assigned by the state to transmit it to the teachers:

He visits the schools of his district and *directs the work of teachers* with theoretical and mainly with practical instructions about teaching methods, contributing with his personality, his experience and his knowledge to the improvement of the learning and educational conditions.³⁹ [italics added]

The school advisers thus do not check or assess the work carried out in schools. They rather direct and dictate to teachers this work as authorities of a single correct pedagogy. In this regard, they are perceived as sources of knowledge on the legitimate curriculum and agents of surveillance of teachers' work on behalf of the state. Indeed, the prime duties of the advisers are to ensure 'the smooth and unhindered course of pedagogic and teaching work . . . [and] . . . to supervise and co-ordinate the teaching of the content. . .'⁴⁰ in schools. These duties are actualised through the conduct of monitoring which has two main parts: their involvement in the school's curriculum planning and the school visits.

In planning the curriculum the advisers have to organise meetings with the teachers in which they make sure that the designated curriculum content is going to be completed during the school year. In these terms, when the legislation refers to curriculum planning at school level, it means the adviser ensures that the statutory timetables are implemented and match with the designated content:

The weekly timetables of primary school subjects, that is which subjects are taught in every class and how many hours weekly, are defined by the statutory curriculum . . . The school advisor is responsible for the syllabi implemented in the state and private schools of his district. He organises meetings with the teachers, at the beginning of the school year and before schools start, in which the compilation and implementation of the timetable is planned amongst other issues. The aim is to complete, in the framework of the pedagogic principles, the teaching of the defined content of all subjects in the school year-term.⁴¹

Clearly, the adviser is there to ensure that there is no deviation even from what is pre-defined in detail by the textbooks. Any needed deviation has to be approved by him/her, as was seen in the previous section.

In visiting schools according to the PD the advisers mainly provide 'guidance', in areas such as the implementation of curriculum, teaching processes and the use of the curriculum resources (teaching aids and libraries).

At first, 'they are informed by the headteachers and the teachers about the educational practice carried out'.⁴² Then, 'they consider in co-operation with the headteachers and the teaching staff of schools, issues of co-ordination of the taught content. . . .' and in general 'they cater for the more effective utilisation of the curricula and school textbooks'.⁴³ Part of the monitorial process is also the use of curriculum resources, for the control of which they co-operate with the educational bureaucracy:

[The school advisers] supervise the operation of school libraries, workrooms and the use of teaching aids. They give instructions about the improvement of their function . . . They give directions for their enrichment or composition which communicate to the head of office or directorate of education.⁴⁴

Moreover, the advisers 'watch teachers while teaching and discuss with them ways of organisation and improvement of the teaching'.⁴⁵ While observing teaching they 'undertake any initiatives they consider necessary for the better performance of teaching, including practical directions'.⁴⁶ Such initiatives refer to the organisation of exemplary teaching in which either the adviser demonstrates the legitimate way of how to teach or a teacher designated by him/her. The attendance of these teaching models by teachers is compulsory.⁴⁷

Clearly, all the above monitorial activities are described in a set of duties which render the adviser the agent of the official curriculum

and *the* valid state pedagogy: the adviser directs, instructs, informs, makes sure that the content will be completed, demonstrates model ways of how to teach, gives guidance on the use of curriculum resources. The teacher is the recipient of instructions, the guided subject. It would be suitable, in these terms, to borrow Sharpe's metaphor: in his case study in France he remarked that the position of the French inspector 'is somewhat analogous with a bishop in a diocese who is similarly charged with ensuring the transmission of universally defined content in a given geographical area, has authority over staff undertaking the teaching at 'ground level', and is answerable to a structured hierarchy. . .'⁴⁸

It is not irrelevant that in the monitorial process described above there are no clear criteria of conduct specified. The adviser visits schools 'frequently', according to the PD,⁴⁹ but there is no mention of a particular time sequence. Nor is there any obligation on the advisers to warn schools before their visits, or to notify what exactly they will check beforehand so that the teaching staff could prepare accordingly or to record their analyses after the visit. Potentially, an adviser can enter any time a school with no particular schedule of visit. This condition reveals the 'availability' of teachers to surveillance by the educational hierarchy at any time, as the mode of management control allows.

However, though the set of tasks assigned to the advisers reflects the emphasis on the monitoring of content and pedagogy, it lacks the detail of the statutory curriculum and the textbooks. The detail missing in the monitorial process is provided by the textbooks, the main carrier of the statutory curriculum and indirectly the provider of criteria for conducting school visits. This point was stressed in the previous section when reference was made to the critique by the Pedagogical Institute of the intended teacher appraisal. The same critique has been offered by the schools advisers themselves, over their duty to cater for the school-

based curriculum planning in the beginning of the year. One adviser reported to the Ministry:

- a. The content of all primary subjects is scheduled in the pupils' textbooks to be completed in the pre-defined time.
 - b. The teaching objectives, the teaching actions and pupil activities are defined precisely in the teachers' textbooks.
 - b. The teaching aids are almost the same from the beginning to the end of the lesson and are designated also in the teachers' textbooks.
- Therefore, the planning is not the essence but the formality, the inflation of the bureaucracy and the burdening of the teacher with additional and redundant occupations.⁵⁰

The textbook thus shapes finally not only the criteria of the monitorial activity (school-based curriculum planning) but also its content and process. The duties of the adviser (planning, guidance, instructions, teaching exemplars) are circumscribed by the single teaching text, just as the same text circumscribes teachers' pedagogic practice. In these terms, both the adviser and the teacher share a common text upon which the relationship between the 'instructor' and the 'instructed' is based. The same text is the framework of the whole apparatus of monitoring which consists in a hierarchy (curriculum planners-advisers-teachers) of 'scientific-pedagogic guidance' on what and how to teach.

The emphasis on what and how to teach, exemplified in the text-based curriculum, and the simultaneous small interest in evaluating pedagogic practice can also be seen in the advisers' annual reports. According to the 214/1984 PD, the advisers submit an annual report to the Minister and communicate it to the Pedagogical Institute, the local prefect⁵¹ and the head of the local Office or Directorate of Education. The reports are not available to the public, as they are official documents. Nor are the summary reports, based on the analysis of the advisers' reports and compiled annually by the Pedagogic Institute, published. In their annual reports the advisers 'evaluate the work that

was carried out in their district, point out the problems and difficulties of educational practice at schools and suggest measures to deal with [these problems]'.⁵² The Ministry, with two circulars in 1987, specified what information should the adviser's report contain.⁵³

A review of the most recent summary reports produced by the Pedagogical Institute sustains the argument of this section: there is a persistent interest in issues of content and teaching methods and aids and an absence of concern over the effectiveness of pedagogic practice in terms of achieving results. The argument is also sustained by the review of advisers' individual reports during the 1980s which was carried out by Zabeta, though the focus of her research was different from that of the present thesis.⁵⁴ The advisers are asked to report on what the state introduces in schools rather on what is performed in them. The same applies to teachers, as usually the advisers' reports include teachers' responses from questionnaires distributed to them at the end of the school year. The annual reports constitute lists of comments and suggestions constructed by and notified through the educational hierarchy.

In the last summary reports (1992-1995),⁵⁵ one can see the absence of data relevant to pupils' performance or to the extent that schools' practice contributes (or not) to raising achievement. On the contrary, there is an over-preoccupation with textbooks when the reports refer to the statutory curriculum and the primary pedagogic practice. There are comments and suggestions about the time of their distribution to schools, the duration of their use in the classroom, which subjects need new textbooks, even the quality of the paper and the bookbinding.⁵⁶

The identification by the state planning of the curriculum with the textbooks discussed earlier, is also reflected in the advisers' reports in which they identify pedagogic practice *per se* with the textbooks. Indeed, this phenomenon reaches the point of seeing the textbooks as responsible for the elimination (or preservation) of learning difficulties:

'The second issue of the language textbook of the 1st Grade does not help to encounter learning difficulties. [On the contrary] it enhances learning difficulties'.⁵⁷ Similarly, where unsatisfactory achievement is noticed it is attributed to the textbook contents rather to the effectiveness of teaching: 'The pupils encounter difficulties in [mathematical] problems requiring a second way of solution as well as in those requiring a reverse formulation of the problem and solution. It is suggested that these problems are removed [from the textbook]'.⁵⁸

Almost all comments and recommendations by the advisers on individual primary subjects consist in extensive lists of textbook features: what has to be reduced, what has to be added or removed, how many issues should accompany each subject and so on. If, for example, the Ministry and the agents of the centralised curriculum intended to consult the advisers' reports in order to reform primary modern Greek, they would meet this kind of proposal:

To add in the language textbooks texts of well-versed writers which refer to national and religious celebrations, the cultural life of the country and contemporary problems of the Greek society (drugs, violence, environment, sports, healthy diet, etc.); . . .
 to improve the texts in the [textbook] issues of the 1st Grade;
 To make them smaller, especially in the second issue;
 To improve the illustration and add some humour;
 To add poems and folk songs; . . .
 To delete from the textbook of the 2nd Grade the text titled 'an old habit'; . . .
 To improve the bookbinding of the 1st Grade issues; . . .
 In the basic vocabulary of the third issue of the 3rd Grade there are no words starting with T and Ω; . . .
 To establish a copying-book. The insufficient space available for the [exercise] 'write and learn' and the quality of the textbooks' paper favour unreadable writing . . .
 To improve the basic vocabulary of the upper Grades; for example, in the 4th Grade are the words 'packs, brush, mug, mask' etc. basic?⁵⁹

The concern with detail shows not only the inability of schools to bring about even small changes in the content and their curriculum

resources but also the focus of the monitorial process. What the advisers are required to report with respect to pedagogic practice and what they finally report is a set of minor and often marginal content modifications. This demonstrates both the limited scope of their 'guidance' in solving these problems as well as the more specific form that their function takes - despite the vague legal framework. That is, the adviser is there to guard the official content and report or appeal for changes to the hierarchy.

The same picture appears in the schools' control over their timetables, their potential to sequence content according to their discretion and give learning activities a desirable pace. Thus, one can see in the reports requesting for Ministry 'to restrict the time available for the pre-reading and pre-writing stage'⁶⁰ in modern Greek or notifications that 'the time of 15-20 minutes [designated] for the written expression is not enough, particularly in the upper Grades'.⁶¹ This inflexibility can be seen in the following example from mathematics:

The content, despite its reduction in the 4th, 5th and 6th Grades, is still too much and the total teaching time is not enough for its completion. It is suggested that teaching hours in Mathematics are increased . . . The distribution of the content of Geometry against the units of Arithmetic is not the right one. It is suggested that the content of Geometry is transferred from the first to the second issue and in continuous units or be given in separate issue. . . . In the first issue of mathematics of the 1st Grade there is too much time devoted to pre-mathematical concepts and thus the teacher in order to complete the content has to teach quickly the second ten. Moreover, there is an unequal distribution of content which results in devoting too much time to addition and subtraction and the least time to multiplication and division.⁶²

Again, the reports exhibit here the inability of teachers to 'escape' from the control exerted by the textbook in devoting certain amounts of time in their teaching, even in regulating the fixed sequence of lessons and the imposed pace of learning. They also exhibit the

concerns of monitoring which are exemplified in listing simple practical problems which could be dealt with by if schools were allowed to plan their practices.

This persistent focus on content issues as well as the absence of concern in monitoring outcomes can also be seen when the Ministry carries out a curriculum evaluation subsequent to the introduction of a new or a revised subject. In that case, the advisers are assigned to distribute questionnaires sent by the Pedagogical Institute to teachers in order to collect their views about the textbooks. Again, the monitoring of results from this procedure is absent. Instead, the monitorial process is explicated in a collection of views of both advisers and teachers on textbook features and unfounded judgements on the content, as in the case of the revised religious education:

The pupils' textbooks satisfy teachers to a great extent because they are manageable, rich in content and pictures, pleasant and attractive to the pupils. They contain texts, which reinforce the participatory disposition of pupils, construct knowledge about Jesus Christ and the saints of the Church and bring the values of the Orthodox Christian Teaching into the centre of every day life.⁶³

Similar is the picture in the reports when reference is made to the teaching process and the necessary means. The advisers' reports contain requests addressed to the Ministry about teaching aids and additional pedagogic instructions. For example, the Ministry is asked to assign the advisers to distribute teaching aids to schools and to produce special textbooks containing guidance about their use,⁶⁴ or it is informed that the 'cloth-bound maps are better than the plasticized maps'.⁶⁵

Moreover, the Ministry and its curriculum agents are asked to produce videotapes with teaching models or to construct 'more alternative approaches and methodological instructions for the teaching of grammatical phenomena'.⁶⁶ Apparently, the advisers' 'guidance' does not reach the point to provide such alternatives or to produce

modifications in teaching, as another report shows: 'the investigative model, provided by the modern school, does not give the opportunity to children who did not pay proper attention during the lesson to study at home and revise'.⁶⁷ Comments and suggestions about pedagogy are usually related to changes in the textbooks, the special ones for teachers. Thus, the reports require that the teachers' textbooks 'should contain more methodological instructions, present alternative approaches of content and refer to teaching materials . . .'⁶⁸ or, for example, with respect to science:

to improve [the teacher's textbook] so that it contains more explanations for the phenomena to be taught and detailed instructions for the execution of the experiments. The teacher's textbook should include guidance for experiments which can be executed (material, proportions, appliances, possible hazards etc.) as well as the way of the presentation of each unit to the pupils in order to avoid the picture-centred and textbook-centred teaching...⁶⁹

Clearly, the reports reflect the focus on monitoring on content and processual aspects of pedagogic practice. The comments and recommendations are centred on what the main carrier of the official curriculum, the textbook, introduces or should introduce rather on what is performed in schools. The absence of an evaluative monitorial approach is evident throughout the reports.

More specifically, the summary report of the school year 1992-1993 underlines that from the 215 advisers' reports that were analysed only in 45 (21%) was there a mention of evaluation of pupils.⁷⁰ Among these, only one adviser referred to pupils' performance as a result of the teaching of science in his district and provided data about this performance. Most of those 45 reports commented upon the *procedures* for the *revision tests* established in 1990 (and withdrawn in 1993) and on whether these tests were welcomed or not by teachers, parents and pupils.

Similarly, the 1994-1995 summary contains comments and suggestions on the current mixed system of descriptive and numerical grading of primary pupils (satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the grading system, practicalities of assessment reports, etc.),⁷¹ while the 1993-1994 report refers to no relevant issues since in that school year pupil assessment was totally withdrawn.⁷²

The absence of any data on performance deriving from monitorial procedures is not only evident throughout the reports, but it is also underlined by the advisers who made a strong appeal to the Ministry:

Evaluation of *everyone* involved in the educational process is a universal demand. The word 'evaluation' should stop being considered 'taboo' in the Greek educational reality. . . The lack of evaluation leads to flattening and inevitably to a state school with low status. An immediate solution is demanded.⁷³ [original italics]

It is clear that in both conducting and reporting the monitorial process there is an emphasis on content and processual matters rather than with what is achieved at schools.

Overall, as the analysis of the two sections showed, monitoring in Greece takes place through the hierarchical web, it focuses on the individual teacher and it aims at guiding the teacher in the implementation of the official content and process. Moreover, though the whole monitorial process is characterised by a general and vague framework, the criteria of conduct and reporting are finally shaped by the single teaching text.

The next section will turn the discussion to the English setting.

6.4 THE ENGLISH MONITORIAL POLICY AFTER THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM: FROM THE HMI TO OFSTED INSPECTIONS

This section will discuss the role that monitoring of pedagogic practice was given in England after the official shift to the performance model which was brought about by the National Curriculum. It will be suggested here that, in contrast with Greece, monitoring in the English bi-dimensional pattern focuses on the whole institution rather than on individual teachers.

There is a need to clarify first that the analysis of this chapter concerns the central monitorial policies rather than the local, which particularly in England had been widely developed after the establishment of Local Education Authorities in 1902. Local monitorial schemes have usually varied from 'advisory services' to 'inspectorates', corresponding to local demands and innovations.⁷⁴ Their basic difference with the role of HMI is described succinctly by the Rayner Report, published in 1982:

HMI work nationally. Local advisers work for the authority which employs them. HMI report to the Secretary of State and the Department in the context of central government's responsibilities and using national yardsticks. Local advisers report only to their LEA and within the context of local policies and standards.⁷⁵

Indeed, HMI were originally established to inform the state about the achievements of existing elementary schooling in England. According to Matthew Arnold, the Inspectorate's job in the previous century was 'to report on the condition of public education as it evolves . . . and to supply your Lordships and the nation at large with data for determining how far the system is successful'.⁷⁶

Showing how far the existing pedagogic practice of schools is successful would be central in the HMI's role. More specifically, the

English Inspectorate would have three main duties: to check on the use of public funds, to provide information to central government and to provide pedagogic advice to schools.⁷⁷ These duties were compatible with the traditional decentralised structure of the English system, where the state had no direct control over schools' management and curriculum and thus needed to identify what was going on in schools.

Moreover, the English Inspectorate, unlike the Greek, was not incorporated into the central bureaucracy - though the issue of its independence has not been undisputed amongst English commentators.⁷⁸ Attempting to clarify the status of HMI, the Rayner Report stressed that HMI did not have constitutional independence, as their inspections were carried out on behalf of the Secretary of State. Nevertheless, they had an established independence since they were not part of the Department's bureaucracy (they had direct access to the Secretary); no alterations were made in their reports when they were published; what and how was to be inspected was their business.⁷⁹ Probably, it would be more accurate to accept that the degree of HMI independence varied in their historical course following central concerns over the curriculum. As Lawton has suggested, in the post-war period HMI acted as facilitators of the 'partnership' scheme, whereas in the 1970s and 1980s they were drawn into the political agenda of the time.⁸⁰ Indeed, as was seen in chapter 4, HMI were politically pushed to share the governmental concerns for more educational performance. However, the participation of HMI in tense educational debates is a strong indication that the English Inspectorate was a considerable agent in the formation of educational policy.

Thus, in contrast with the Greek inspectors, HMI was a distinct and largely independent agency which monitored the overall performance of the individual institution in order 'to collect facts and information and report on them to the government'.⁸¹ The way HMI's

monitorial activities were to be exercised would differ through time without however changing focus.

Initially, the birth of HMI (1839) was associated with the very particular purpose of superintending the allocation of the first grants contributed to elementary schooling. The first inspectors were asked to consider applications for grants to build or support schools, to inspect those schools aided by grants and report on the elementary schooling provided by them.⁸² Later on, in the 1860s, in the framework of central attempts to exercise curriculum control via funding and evaluation over a diverse school system, the Inspectorate was given a more particular role. Under the 'payment by results' system HMI functioned as examiners of pupils' achievement in the three Rs and allocators of the corresponding amount of grants to the school which they visited. Pupils' response to the questions of inspectors and their assistants was crucial for the financial survival of the school through governmental funding. However, as Lawton and Gordon have pointed out 'the role of HMI as an enforcer of uniformity of curriculum and character between schools through the annual examination was for only a comparatively short period in the Inspectorate's history, lasting a little over thirty years'.⁸³ By the end of the previous century the inspectors were asked by the Education Department to abandon the role of examiner in elementary schools:

Inspection should not include any of the processes hitherto employed in formal examination. The inspection of a school . . . consists chiefly in the observation of methods pursued by the teachers, and any questioning that may be employed should be confined to the purpose of ascertaining how far these methods have been successful.⁸⁴

Indeed, by the first decades of the present century HMI implemented a 'full inspection' approach, initially in secondary education, attempting to identify and report on what was happening in

schools. A justification of this approach was given by the Board of Education in its Annual Report for 1922-1923:

... the school cannot be judged by a mere review of the subjects taught: it is a living thing: its life, which may have behind it a long historic tradition, extends beyond the classroom and must be grasped as a whole. Periodically, therefore, a comprehensive inspection of the school must be undertaken . . . collective judgement on all sides of the school life and work is necessary⁸⁵

Lawton's and Gordon's study suggested that this approach did not change over the years except that it was extended to the primary sector too.⁸⁶ What did change however was the number and frequency of inspections. In the 19th century, due to the revised code, elementary schools were inspected annually. After 1902 a cycle of full inspections was established in secondary schools every five years. By 1922 it became every ten years. In the late 1950s inspection 'had no practical meaning for the purpose of planning HMI time'⁸⁷ while by the end of 1960s 'a relatively small number of schools would have experienced a full inspection'.⁸⁸ The number of inspections declined also in primary schools. In 1979, for example, only 20% of primary schools were inspected and in 1980 only 21%. Inspectorial work was mostly 'a broad sampling process'.⁸⁹

The post-war HMI activities and in particular their functions during the 1950s and 1960s should be seen in conjunction with the move to comprehensivisation and the endorsement of the competence model of pedagogic practice especially in primary schools. Both moves, as was seen in chapter 3, took place in the framework of the decentralised 'partnership' scheme of curriculum control when schools enjoyed high levels of curricular autonomy. Eric Bolton remarked that in this period the central and local governments kept a distance from issues of curriculum, quality and standards and thus there was little call from

officials for inspection on standards of teaching and learning. As the same author stressed:

. . . those matters that traditionally lay at the heart of HMI's work namely, standards of learning, quality of teaching and the value and relevance of what was being taught and learned were not of great interest to national politicians during the 1950s and 1960s. Consequently, the central work of HMI namely, inspecting and reporting nationally, was little called for.⁹⁰

This condition reflected the shift of HMI's role from the inspectorial to the advisory aspect, something which was officially recognised in the late 1960s. As the Parliamentary Select Committee on Education and Science underlined in its 1967-68 Session: 'Throughout our inquiry we have found that the work of HM Inspectorate is widely appreciated. We share that view and welcome the emphasis upon the advisory rather than the inquisitorial aspect of that work'.⁹¹

However, while the shift to school advisers in Greece meant the vertical channelling of the competence model to teachers, in England, due to the 'partnership' scheme, the advisory role of HMI meant the encouragement of professional initiatives and curriculum development in schools. Various individual HMI, 'committed to the progressive cause', were active in disseminating practices of the competence modality.⁹² Later on, when educational 'progressivism' was being officially endorsed by the Plowden Committee the contribution of the whole body of HMI was immense; 20,000 primary schools were surveyed and categorised by HMI, and affected the judgements of the Report. If Bernstein's concepts of *official* and *pedagogic recontextualising fields* (ORF and PRF)⁹³ offer a useful distinction to describe the control exerted by state agents and professional pedagogues in England respectively, it would be hard to categorise HMI. HMI during the apogee of the competence model acted in both fields indicating not only the convergence of the ORF and PRF, as Bernstein

argues,⁹⁴ but also the way that the advisory role of the Inspectorate was exercised under the decentralised mode of curriculum control: provision of survey data to official committees and dissemination (not channelling) of pedagogic practices to primary schools.

As in Greece, the role of HMI has been compatible with the prevailing model of pedagogic practice. When the performance model was dominant the role was inspectorial whereas with the shift to the competence model the role of HMI became mostly advisory. The difference with Greece - and a difference in the mode of curriculum control - is that the Inspectorate was part of the progressive shift rather than mere conveyors of prescribed pedagogic ideas. Moreover, the traditional focus of HMI's action on individual schools rather than on teachers (who are employed locally) remained unaltered either when the case was to inform the centre about existing standards or when the competence model was to be disseminated to schools.

However, in the 1970s the growing dispute over the competence model and the official concerns about standards raised the issue 'that an inspectorate that didn't inspect was no inspectorate at all'.⁹⁵ On the basis of those concerns the Inspectorate was pushed by the central government to concentrate on 'those education issues that historically lay at the heart of the work of HMI namely, what is being taught, how effective is it; what standards are being achieved . . .'.⁹⁶ The first major step towards this direction was the conduct of two large scale surveys in primary and secondary sectors, intended to identify existing performance, which confirmed many of governmental concerns.⁹⁷ Later on, in the 1980s, with the increasing official advocacy of the performance model, the role of HMI would be crucial in sustaining through their reports the claimed need to raise standards. As Bolton, who was a Senior Chief Inspector in the 1980s, noted analysing that period:

The Secretary of State and the Department needed the professional, inspection based, information and advice that came from HMI more than they had ever needed it before. That was because no government in modern times had been more directly involved in influencing what was actually going on within schools, colleges, universities and the education system generally. Consequently, it needed informed advice and a reliable picture of what was actually happening.⁹⁸

If however the official shift to the performance modality required the restoration of the traditional role of HMI to formulate the new educational policy, with the establishment of the bi-dimensional pattern of control in 1988 a differentiated monitorial policy would be needed. From the late 1980s and early 1990s, the issue for the Inspectorate would not be to implement full inspections to inform only the government about 'what was actually happening' in schools, but primarily to inform the public about schools' achievements. Thus, with the new arrangements:

The Chief Inspector for England shall have the general duty of keeping the Secretary of State informed about

- (a) the quality of the education provided by schools in England;
- (b) the educational standards achieved in those schools;
- (c) whether the financial resources made available to those schools are managed efficiently; and
- (d) the spiritual, moral, social and cultural development of pupils at those schools.⁹⁹

As will be shown below, the prime function of the new scheme is to evaluate the overall performance of the whole school and make the outcome available for public judgement and choice.

The new arrangements were established by the 1992 Education (Schools) Act which created a non-ministerial government department, the Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector, to manage a national scheme of school inspection by independent inspectors.¹⁰⁰ The department is called the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED) and is headed by the HMCI. HMI are no longer the front-line inspectors

of schools. Their size was reduced by two thirds¹⁰¹ and their new role is to organise and supervise the monitoring carried out by others. The main criticism of the traditional scheme was that previously HMI had not been able to carry out more than 150 full inspections annually.¹⁰² With the new arrangements the expectation was to have up to 6,000 full inspections per year and to inspect each school once every four years.¹⁰³

Now inspections are carried out by the so-called Registered Inspectors (RgIs) and teams that they set up - with the restriction to include a member with no previous professional experience in education ('lay inspector').¹⁰⁴ HMCI is charged with promoting competition and efficiency by selecting Registered Inspectors on a value-for-money basis. OFSTED invites tenders on the inspection of particular schools and once a proposal is cost effective a contract is signed between the two parties. OFSTED in this way 'has the responsibility for opening up and regulating an inspection market'.¹⁰⁵ Thus, the new monitorial scheme relies, not on a permanent inspectorial body, but on accredited individuals and their teams who bid for contracts to inspect specific schools.

How and what these *ad hoc* teams inspect is a matter for the next section to discuss. Here the task is to demonstrate that the role of the inspectorial teams consists in evaluating and making public the existing pedagogic practice of the individual school as a whole.

The evaluative role of monitoring was made clear from the outset by the government in 1992 which declared in the relevant White Paper that 'the Government is firmly wedded to quality within the framework provided by the National Curriculum, measured by the school assessment and examination process and - very importantly - judged by a powerful and independent new Inspectorate'.¹⁰⁶ Under the *choice and diversity* policy and the *Parents' Charter* the government announced also its intention to 'take the mystery out of education by providing the real choice which flows from comparative tables setting out

performance of local schools and independent inspection reports on the strength and weaknesses of each school'.¹⁰⁷ Monitoring of pedagogic practice was thus given a role analogous to the national testing, the main carrier of the curriculum requirements in the English bi-dimensional pattern; like the assessment scheme and publication of results, the new monitorial approach was introduced to make schools' performances visible to the public and to facilitate choice. Accordingly, like the assessment scheme, the new inspectorial arrangements were to serve the co-action of both modes of control since they are intended to identify the extent that the autonomously managed schools meet the National Curriculum standards.

More specifically, the purpose of inspection now in England is:

. . . to identify strengths and weaknesses so that schools may improve the quality of education they provide and raise the educational standards achieved by their pupils. The published report and summary report provide information for parents and the local community about the quality of the school, consistent with the requirements of the *Parents' Charter*. The inspection process, feedback and reports give direction to the school's strategy for planning, review and improvement by providing rigorous external evaluation and identifying key issues for action. Inspection findings also provide a basis for the national evaluation of schools and the annual report of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools in England (HMCI).¹⁰⁸

Clearly, inspection aims at evaluating the school and exposing the pedagogic practice performed in it (its 'strengths and weaknesses') to the public. Improvement (in the sense of meeting the National Curriculum standards) is expected to be brought about by 'rigorous external evaluation' rather than by advising and guidance. The monitorial process seeks to scrutinise and evaluate the school as a whole and, in the framework of 'the national evaluation of schools' and the *Parents' Charter*, to make the way it works transparent to the central authority and the public.

To actualise these duties, the inspectorial teams have access to all aspects of the school's operation to collect information which will enable them to present a complete picture of the school:

The governing body and staff of the school *must offer the Registered Inspector every opportunity to make a full and fair assessment of the school*, by providing him with necessary documents, ready access to lessons and school activities and discussions with individuals and groups of governors, staff and pupils. The School Act gives Registered Inspectors and their teams the formal right to enter any part of the school's premises and take copies of documents; wilful obstruction of a Registered Inspector or a member of his or her team is an offence under the School Act.¹⁰⁹ [original italics]

In both Greece and England the legislation ensures the access to schools of the school advisers/inspectors. However, the kind and the extent of this access indicate the different monitorial foci in the two patterns of control. In Greece both the management and curriculum issues are arranged by the educational hierarchy, a member of which is the adviser. Thus, there is no need for the advisers to scrutinise materials (i.e. documents and curriculum resources) already known by them. Consequently, what remains to be monitored is the individual teacher in the *classroom*, unobstructed access to which is ensured by the relevant legislation.¹¹⁰ In England, where the management is autonomous and schools have discretion in interpreting the curriculum, each individual school constitutes a particular case. Hence, the above circular asks for unobstructed access by the inspector not only to the classroom but also to all the school premises and documentation: to enable the inspector to give a full account of the actual pedagogic practice carried out in the school and to present the school in its particularity against the official standards.

If therefore in Greece the main target of monitoring is the teacher, as school-based planning is non-existent, in England the access to a broad range of evidence is considered essential to bring to light the

individuality of the school. For this purpose, the *Framework for the Inspection of Schools* designates that inspection evidence ‘must include’: observation of lessons, scrutiny of pupils’ work, discussion with pupils, teachers, governors, parents and others and ‘review of documentary evidence including statements of aims and policies, and educational programmes’.¹¹¹ To collect their evidence the inspectorial team may spend up to approximately a month in a big primary school.¹¹² All this information results in the compilation of the *Record of Evidence*, a pack of detailed forms and questionnaires consisting of the *Pre-inspection Context and School Indicator* (PICS, for the history of the school and its past and current performance in the national context) the *Headteacher’s Form and Statement* (for quantitative data and characteristics of the school), the *Observation Form* (for lessons, pupils’ work and assessment data), the *Subject Profile* (judgements for and grading of each of the core subjects) and the *School Profile* (judgements on and grading of the overall school operation).¹¹³

While these forms enable the inspectorial teams to provide a full account of the pedagogic practice performed in the school none of them is intended to record and grade individual teachers. This fact was clarified from the beginning by OFSTED. In the relevant audio-visual material which OFSTED released on the purpose of the new arrangements it was stressed that the target of inspection ‘is the quality of teaching and the quality of *learning*, not individual teachers. . . .’¹¹⁴ [original vocal emphasis]. Accordingly, it was stressed that one of the main concerns during inspection was to ensure that ‘the staff realised that it wasn’t their performance that was being inspected; it was the delivery of the curriculum and the effectiveness and appropriateness of the curriculum to the pupils’.¹¹⁵ Similarly, the *Framework* leaves no doubt about this when it stresses that ‘inspection must lead to a full report . . . which: (i) evaluates the school . . .; (ii) identifies the strengths and weaknesses of the school; and (iii) gives the appropriate authority

for the school a clear agenda for the action required to improve it'.¹¹⁶ Indeed, it is various aspects of pedagogic practice (i.e. curriculum planning, learning resources, attainment in subjects) which are judged and graded in the official forms rather than teachers. This point is also sustained by the research of Wilcox and Gray who noted that 'it is teaching, rather than the individual teacher, which is evaluated and learning generally, rather than that of specific pupils'.¹¹⁷

Finally, after analysis of all the evidence collected, a written report is prepared by the inspectorial team intended to provide a full picture of the school. Under the *Parent's Charter* the publication of the inspection reports is compulsory and vital for the facilitation of choice. As Circular 7/93 orders:

Once the report is delivered *the governing body must*

- make arrangements for the parents of every registered pupil to be sent a copy of the summary report
- make reasonable arrangements for the report and summary to be available for inspection by any member of the public who wishes to see it
- provide any person who asks with a copy of these documents, subject to the arrangements for charging set out below.

Single copies of the summary *must be provided free of charge on request to any member of the public. . . .* Schools should ensure that the existence of the full report is widely known and that it is readily available to all those who have an interest.¹¹⁸ [original italics]

However, whereas schools are asked to ensure that reports are made known to 'all all those who have an interest', OFSTED caters for the publication of reports to a much wider audience. It is characteristic that copies of the full reports for all those schools which have been inspected can be found on the Internet.¹¹⁹ This means that potentially anybody inside and outside of the country is able to know 'what is actually happening' in an English school.

In this way the 'mystery' is taken out of education, as the Secretary of State declared in 1991, and the pedagogic practice of each

school becomes visible to both the government and the public. Thereby, schools are placed under the public gaze not only in terms of what they achieve in a particular moment but also in what they intend to do to increase their achievements. Indeed, after the inspection schools are obliged to draw up an *action plan* which ‘must set out the action to be taken in the light of the inspection report’.¹²⁰ Copies of the action plan ‘must be made available for inspection by any member of the public, and a single copy provided free of charge on request to any person living a 3 mile radius of the school’.¹²¹ Moreover, every annual report to parents prepared by the school governing body ‘must include a statement of the progress made in implementing the latest action plan’.¹²² Therefore, the customers/parents are enabled to know which school is succeeding and which is failing to approach National Curriculum standards and can make their choices.

Thus, the point of monitoring in Greece is to ensure the conformity of the teacher to the curriculum (or to grade him/her if the relevant legislation had passed). In England the point is to grade the school and exhibit its success or failure in published reports. In this way the school can be rewarded or rejected by parents’ preferences and governmental funding. However, in case of a failing or likely-to-fail school, the inspectorial judgement has an additional effect: the activation of *special measures*, that is the intervention of central authority.

A school can be deemed failing or likely to fail if, along with other problems, it presents low attainment and progress in the National Curriculum subjects, low expectations, unsatisfactory teaching and failure to implement the National Curriculum.¹²³ In that case the HMCI brings the ‘at risk’ report to the attention of the Secretary of State. In turn, the LEA is required to submit to the Secretary of State a copy of the school’s action plan with their comments. The Secretary of State can either allow them a full academic year to improve the school or, if

he/she is not satisfied by the action plan, can bring the school immediately under the management of an *Education Association* (EA). The EA operates as a Grant Maintained governing body, its members are directly appointed and funded by the Secretary of State and possesses extensive powers: it can require staffing changes and also it is allowed 'to propose changes in the character of a school under its management, and if necessary to propose closure'.¹²⁴

Evidently, apart from parents' preferences, the 'punishment' of a failing school can be either the loss of its managerial autonomy or, in an extreme case, its exclusion from the educational market. Here the decentralised mode of management control is abolished and central authority is activated to normalise the school. While in Greece such an authority is present from the beginning, in England it intervenes *after* the unfavourable inspectorial evaluation. This is a clear indication of the different monitorial strategies used in the two countries to normalise pedagogic practice; in contrast with Greece, where the hierarchy operates *ex ante* and focuses on the teacher, in England the central hierarchy is activated *ex post* and focuses on the school, when its managerial autonomy proves to be ineffective in bringing the required standards.

However, central intervention in the school management does not mean that the evaluative character of monitoring is evoked and the focus on the school as a whole is withdrawn. On the contrary, the school is now the object of direct central evaluation, since the Education Association has to 'report to the Secretary of State on its progress in raising standards at the school'.¹²⁵ If standards are not raised, the institution is closed. This means that the prime concern for the central authority is not to keep exercising managerial control in school, as in the Greek setting, but that the purpose is either to normalise it or to exclude it from the provision of education.

To summarise the analysis of the English monitorial policy after the 1988 reform, it is useful to quote Wilcox and Gray who concluded after their research on inspection:

Inspection is the examination of a whole school resulting in a multiplicity of normalising judgements made by applying criteria, rating scales and judgement-recording statements. The outcome is an account of the school cast in the various descriptors of institutional 'good' and 'evil' such as: strengths and weaknesses; success and failure; effectiveness and ineffectiveness; efficiency and inefficiency. Inspection creates a school as a case with its associated dossier or 'record of inspection evidence'. It effectively locates an individual school on a continuum of cases ranging from the 'excellent' and 'successful' to the 'failing'.¹²⁶

Overall, with the shift to the performance model and the establishment of the bi-dimensional pattern in England schools are now the objects of the OFSTED's evaluation and marking. The traditional focus on the school as a whole, rather than on teachers, is retained, but monitoring now aims primarily at placing the school under public judgement. The next section will scrutinise the operation of monitoring and show the evaluative approach employed by the inspectorial teams.

6.4 THE MONITORING OF PEDAGOGIC PRACTICE IN ENGLAND: THE EVALUATIVE FUNCTION OF INSPECTION

This section will analyse the way monitoring of pedagogic practice operates when schools are inspected by the Registered Inspectors and their teams. It will be argued here, taking further the previous discussion, that the English inspectorial process consists in evaluating the existing pedagogic practice rather than prescribing it as in Greece.

Again, it should be made clear that the discussion below will not be concerned with aspects of school inspection other than those directly connected with the official curriculum policy. In particular, of the four

main functions of the HMCI and the RgIs mentioned above (quality of education provided, educational standards achieved, management of financial resources and moral/social development) the first two will be considered here. As in the corresponding Greek section, the present discussion will concentrate on modes of conduct and reporting to test the above argument.

Inspections, as was mentioned above, are now carried out by special teams led by the Registered Inspector. The RgI is the manager of the team and the responsible by legislation for the whole process. The RgIs form groups of evaluators who can stay in a school from one week up to four weeks and scrutinise everything which can give them evidence to present publicly the performance of the school. In contrast with their Greek counterparts their task is not to dictate nor to prescribe or advise the teaching staff. Instead, the overall inspection is characterised by commitment to an evaluative function with distinct phases and explicit criteria of judgement and takes place through a detailed scrutiny of the school.

Before the inspection the RgI should arrange an initial visit to discuss its purpose and negotiate a programme, offer to meet with the headteacher, the governing body, the teaching and non-teaching staff and the parents to explain the inspection process and discuss the information that will be required. In this phase the inspectors should request school prospectuses and development plans, annual reports to parents, minutes of meetings of the governing body, reports to LEAs, timetables, curriculum plans and various other policy documents.

During the inspection the *Framework* defines which documentary evidence will be reviewed, the minimum amount of time for observation of lessons, what will be sought in the discussions with pupils, the percentage of pupils' work to be sampled and the persons with whom the inspectors will hold discussions. In reviewing documents their task is to bring to light and evaluate statements of aims and policy

documents ‘in terms of their impact on the work of the school’.¹²⁷ In observing classroom work (at least 60% of their time) they keep notes about the teaching and join individual pupils and groups to look at their current work. Pupils are considered a key source of evidence for the inspection and discussion with them a crucial point for establishing judgements about the performance of the pedagogic practice. For this purpose inspectors have to listen to ‘pupils’ incidental talk and comments; their contribution in class; their responses to questions; the questions initiated by them; and their views, feelings and comments expressed in discussions’.¹²⁸ Moreover, inspectors have to sample pupils’ work (three pupils in each year group) in order to identify their literacy and numeracy skills. Discussion with the teaching and non-teaching staff (classroom assistants, secretaries, voluntary helpers and visiting specialists) is intended to build a complete picture of the school.

Finally, after the inspection the RgI has to give an oral report to the headteacher and the appropriate authority, structure the full and the summary reports according to a pre-defined order and attach the documents required by OFSTED. Here it is made clear that ‘the report should reflect the school as it is’ and ‘concentrate on evaluating rather than describing what is seen’.¹²⁹

Clearly, the inspector’s duty is to scrutinise a variety of school features and evaluate the *existing* pedagogic practice rather than to give guidance. Inspectors should not ‘allow discussion [with teachers] about the work and its evaluation to stray into giving on-the-spot advice, nor adopt an advisory role in any part of the inspection’.¹³⁰ On the contrary, they are asked to judge what they see, following specific steps and applying pre-defined criteria. For every aspect that is to be looked at, the *Framework* gives an *inspection focus* which ‘highlights the central judgements which must be made [and] provides an interpretation of those parts of the schedule which define what inspectors must evaluate and report on’.¹³¹ The inspectors are also given a set of criteria which

‘amount to standards for good practice [and] provide inspectors with the basis for accurate and consistent evaluation and for the identification of strengths and weaknesses’.¹³²

Thus, the whole process is based on set of clearly defined steps and criteria of conduct to facilitate evaluation. The school is informed when exactly the inspection will take place, how long will it last, what the inspectors will do before, during and after the inspection, where they will draw evidence from, and on which standards will they base their judgements. Moreover, inspections are governed by a *Code of Conduct*, a set of professional principles which inspectors should follow during the whole process.¹³³ All these are notified not only to the inspectors themselves but also to everyone participating in the inspection. The relevant procedures and criteria are contained in the *Framework for the Inspection of Schools* and the *OFSTED Handbook* (the second gives extensive guidance about the former), which are published documents and thus available to everyone. This condition differentiates the OFSTED inspections with the previous HMI inspections which, according to Sandbrook, were another ‘secret garden’.¹³⁴ For the first time inspections are characterised by open procedures and published standards against which pedagogic practice is judged.

This condition is different from the terms under which school visits are carried out in Greece. Whereas the Greek advisor functions within a vague framework and diffuse criteria, the English RgI has to act within a detailed framework providing explicit steps and criteria of conduct. Finally in Greece the textbook provides the criteria of monitoring and circumscribes the monitorial activity itself. In England the ‘*Framework* forms the basis for assuring the standard of inspections, which must be founded on appropriate evidence, judged by consistent evaluation criteria and informed by quantitative indicators’.¹³⁵ In other words, the English *Framework*, like the national assessment

scheme, is an evaluation device intended to assess pedagogic practice. Thus, whereas the Greek textbook defines the basis of the relationship between the 'instructor' and the 'instructed', the English *Framework* defines the relationship between the evaluator and the evaluated.

The fact that in England inspection is an evaluative process rather than a process of dictation of what exactly and how to teach can be seen in the *inspection schedule*. The inspection schedule combines tightly the phases of conduct and reporting, indicating in this way the strong emphasis of OFSTED's policy on making public what is observed in schools. As is stressed 'the schedule is the key to producing a report which evaluates the school accurately and informatively'.¹³⁶

The inspection schedule is concerned with two main aspects: the performance already produced and the extent to which the existing pedagogic practice contributes to this performance. To inspect these two aspects the inspection schedule attributes a causal relation between them - characteristic of the behaviourist position of the performance model: performance (*attainment and progress*) is regarded as the *outcome* and the existing pedagogic practice (*teaching and the curriculum and assessment*) as the *contributory factor*.¹³⁷

As an *outcome*, *attainment and progress* is considered the first priority of inspection and the focus here is 'to assess what pupils know, understand and can do - that is to say, their attainment; and to *evaluate* their progress' [original italics].¹³⁸ In particular, inspectors must 'evaluate and report on ...':

- attainment;
 - i) in the school overall, in relation to national standards or expectations, highlighting any significant variations in attainment among pupils of different gender, ethnicity or background;
 - ii) in English, mathematics and science, and in the other subjects or areas inspected, highlighting relative strengths and weaknesses;
 - iii) over time, if there are any clear trends in overall attainment, with a comment on how well any targets set or adopted by the school are being met.
- progress in relation to prior attainment.¹³⁹

To arrive at judgements about the above outcomes inspectors have to use evaluation criteria, such as: the extent to which the attainment of pupils at 7 and 11 years meets or exceeds national standards, particularly in the core subjects; whether high, average and low attaining pupils progress as well as or better than expected; and whether the school sustains high levels of attainment or improving.

As evidence the inspectors use the results of national and teacher assessments, tables of comparative data, entry profiles and previous school records, value added analysis based on previous and current attainment, outcomes of diagnostic tests, observation of pupils at work, and scrutiny of samples of pupils' work. The point here is to check progress and to identify how the attainment of pupils compares with national averages in terms of results in key stage tests and assessments. In case national data are not available, attainment is judged on the basis of the inspectors' expectations which should be 'informed by National Curriculum level descriptions'.¹⁴⁰

The analogy between the monitorial operation at this point and national testing is clear; like the assessment scheme inspectors seek to produce national performance data either by comparing the existing data with the observed outcomes or by juxtaposing these outcomes with the official level descriptions. In fact, the inspectorial teams go further than the national assessment scheme since their judgement is not restricted in the tests and tasks but it is extended to numerous other sources and instruments which reveal attainment outcomes.

Turning from the *outcome* to the *contributory factors*, the inspection process shows clearly that the main concern is the extent to which the existing pedagogic practice contributes to raising performance according to the National Curriculum standards. As is stated in the *Framework*: 'every aspect of the school listed in this Schedule is to be evaluated in terms of its impact on the pupils' standards of achievement and quality of learning'.¹⁴¹ In these terms,

teaching is considered 'the major factor contributing to pupils' attainment, progress and response' and 'thorough evaluation of its quality and its impact on the educational standards achieved by pupils is, therefore, central to inspection'.¹⁴² Accordingly, *the curriculum and assessment* 'involves evaluation of how the school provides and assesses a full range of learning experiences in order to promote the attainment, progress and personal development of pupils'.¹⁴³

Inspection does not violate a school's discretion in making up its curriculum policy by dictating specific practices. What it does is to evaluate the use of this discretion in raising standards. Granted that a basic requirement is that schools incorporate the National Curriculum programmes of study, inspection focuses on the extent to which 'the content and organisation of the curriculum and its assessment provide access to the full range of learning experiences and promote the attainment, progress and personal development of all pupils'.¹⁴⁴

In this regard, the emphasis is placed on issues such as the adequacy of subject content of and effective planning by teachers in promoting knowledge acquisition. Inspection is not concerned with the specific content of lessons or with how the National Curriculum content is organised and distributed in teaching hours. The prime concern is whether the actual interpretation of the statutory orders is effective in producing progress:

Curriculum planning in primary schools needs to make effective provision for the programmes of study, whatever type of organisation is adopted. Many primary schools use topic work as a major mode of curriculum organisation. Topics may be broad-based or have one subject as the major focus, particularly at KS2. If topics are broad-based, inspectors should evaluate how effectively they are planned to cater for the intended programmes of study and whether they provide a clear structure and sufficient progression.¹⁴⁵

Similarly, the *Framework* makes clear that ‘the choice of teaching methods and organisational strategies is a matter for the school and the teacher’s discretion’.¹⁴⁶ Again here the criterion applied is the effectiveness of pedagogy in meeting the learning objectives:

The key to the judgement is whether the methods and organisation are fit for the purpose of achieving high standards of work and behaviour . . . The test of their effectiveness is the extent to which they extend or deepen pupils’ knowledge and understanding and develop their skills. They are likely to do so when they are selected and handled with careful regard to:

- the nature of the curricular objectives being pursued; and
- what pupils know, understand and can do and what they need to learn next.¹⁴⁷

Similarly, there is no intention to dictate how teachers will sequence content and give learning a desirable pace, or how they will use teaching aids. There is an intention however to assess whether the actual arrangements facilitate learning outcomes:

Central to the judgements . . . is the extent to which the management of time and resources contributes to pupils’ working productively – that is, spending a high proportion of the available time ‘on task’. A key point is whether the structuring and the pace of work help sustained learning to take place . . . In lessons, therefore, inspectors should judge whether:

- the structure of the lessons means that time is well used;
- pupils are clear about what they are doing, why they are doing it, how long they have to do it, and the way in which they can judge success in their work.¹⁴⁸

While inspection recognises the discretion of schools in organising the statutory content and the classroom pedagogy, in evaluating pupils schools are reminded of their statutory duty to implement accurately the official requirements for the national assessment scheme: ‘[Inspectors] need to establish whether teachers’ assessments relate accurately to National Curriculum requirements, and external validation arrangements where these apply’.¹⁴⁹ This indicates the strong control

exerted on the evaluation procedures (something which was discussed in the previous chapter) not only through the statutory orders but more closely through the inspection process. The monitoring of schools in implementing the assessment requirements serves the first priority of inspection which is the monitoring of *outcomes*: the more schools assess accurately in terms of National Curriculum requirements, the more data are available to bring to light their *outcomes*.

To demonstrate the evaluative approach of the English monitoring the analysis used mainly the inspection *Framework* whereas in the absence of such a framework in Greece it used the annual reports submitted to the Ministry in order to show the content and processual control. In Greece there are no individual reports on schools produced and the only source of information about the general condition of education are annual ministerial reports. In England individual school reports are gathered in annual publications which summarise the inspection data. The individual as well as the national reports to some extent follow the structure of the inspection schedule which, as was noted above, is made up in such a way that reporting is facilitated. Therefore, the analysis of the inspection schedule demonstrates what is reported to both the public and the government.

An indicative example of the content of a recent annual report in the two countries is given below to highlight further the main points of this chapter with respect to the role and operation of monitoring. The example, which refers to primary science, is taken from the publication based on inspection reports of the school year 1994-95 in England and it is juxtaposed with the corresponding section of the annual Greek report of the same year (see Table 6.1).

Table 6.1¹⁵⁰ Main findings on primary science (school year 1994-1995)

Greece	England
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -It is difficult to cover the content of science of the 5th and 6th Grades due to its extensive size. -The content of many teaching units is difficult and it does not meet the level of pupils' mental development. -It is impossible to implement and to abide by the statutory curriculum in rural schools. -From a lot of teaching units the implementation of natural phenomena is absent. -The teaching content is extensive and its consolidation is inhibited. -The investigative model, provided by the modern school, does not give the opportunity to children who did not pay proper attention during the lesson to study at home and revise. ... - In many units of pupils' books self-activity is restricted. -There are a lot of lengthy units which are impossible to teach in one teaching hour. -The way that the content is presented in the 5th Grade is successful in raising questioning and leading to research. However, it does not facilitate consolidation and revision. -Some teachers stress that the textbook of the 5th Grade contains lessons which although they are simply written are hardly comprehensible by the pupils of this age (e.g. inertia, attrition, action, reaction, etc.). They believe that a redistribution of the content between the 5th and the 6th Grades would solve the problem. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Standards of achievement in science are satisfactory or better in about four-fifths of lessons, and good or very good in around a quarter. However, there is a decline in standards from pre-Key Stage 1 through to Key Stage 2, with significant weaknesses in one school in six in Key Stage 2. -Most pupils gain a reasonable breadth of scientific knowledge and many are beginning to handle some abstract ideas by the end of Key Stage 2. Knowledge is generally more secure in AT2 (biological sciences) than in ATs 3 and 4 (physical sciences). There is some under-achievement of the most able pupils due to lack of appropriate challenge. ... -The quality of science teaching is satisfactory or better in about four-fifths of lessons and good or very good in two-fifths. It is both more variable and less satisfactory overall in Key Stage 2 than in Key Stage 1, with significant weaknesses in one school in six. A lack of appropriate pace and challenge in the teaching was noted in one-fifth of schools in Key Stage 2. -Lessons generally have clear objectives and contain appropriate activities but pay insufficient attention to the development of scientific concepts and skills. Weaknesses in the teachers' own understanding are often a key factor in limiting the quality of teaching. -The great majority of primary schools are broadly meeting the requirements of the National Curriculum with respect to science, although there are serious shortcomings in a small number of schools. Curriculum planning for science has significant weaknesses in a quarter of schools in Key Stage 2. ...

As the Table shows, the Greek central authority presents a list of comments and requirements about the distribution of the content and the teaching process. Quantitative figures and information about performance are absent while most of the remarks listed are made with reference to the relevant textbooks. The English central authority presents a set of evaluative comments on current achievements based on quantitative data and fixed characterisations (e.g. satisfactory, very good). The judgements are made against the official performance standards, the Attainment Targets. The concern about the content is that schools meet the statutory requirements in broad terms while attention is paid to the teachers' subject knowledge and to the extent that the existing pedagogic activities are sufficient to bring about progress.

Overall, the English monitoring consists in the evaluation of the outcomes as well as the extent that existing pedagogic practice produces the desirable outcomes. To facilitate this process inspection operates on the basis of a published framework of explicit criteria of performance. The inspectorial penetration of pedagogic practice is extensive and the evaluative criteria particularly detailed. In these terms, the detail missing in the National Curriculum is present in the inspection *Framework*. This a clear indication of the strong control of evaluation since, while the central authority does not prescribe in detail, it evaluates in detail. Matthews characterised this monitorial approach as a standard *outcome-based approach* noting that:

The Framework does not address input factors or processes for their own sakes. What is important is the extent to which, for example, teaching, resource provision or management contribute to or detract from the achievements of pupils. Nor is the Framework doctrinaire about how things should be done. The criteria for 'teaching', for example, do not predicate a particular type of approach.¹⁵¹

Indeed, as the analysis of the *Framework* showed no specific approaches are dictated. However, whereas inspectors are not supposed to impose a specific approach they evaluate pedagogic practice from the point of view of the *objectives approach*. This is evident in the inspectorial judgements, for example, about the assessment practices of the school, where the criteria applied are: 'is assessment information used to inform curriculum planning?' and 'do teachers assess pupils' work thoroughly and constructively, and use assessments to inform teaching?'¹⁵² Inspectors are here asked to 'evaluate whether assessments are accurate and used to plan future work to help pupils make progress',¹⁵³ an approach highly recommended by the Dearing revision and the subsequent SCAA and OFSTED publications, as was seen in the previous chapter.

However, the official recommendations take here the form of compulsory evaluation criteria with which monitoring is carried out. As OFSTED stresses 'whatever form planning takes, inspectors need to look for evidence of teaching intentions and how they will be met. They should look for evidence that planning: . . . sets out clear objectives . . .'¹⁵⁴ Similarly, one of the 'key issues' for pedagogy is 'whether the objectives are best achieved by pupils working alone, in pairs or small groups, or all together'.¹⁵⁵ Therefore while the objectives-based (and consequently the assessment-based) pedagogic practice is not dictated it is an important criterion that should be met. It is characteristic that, because of monitoring, the School Development Plans (an application of the objectives approach which covers the whole school) 'are now virtually compulsory', as Lawton remarks, since inspection expects to find them.¹⁵⁶

This point comes as additional evidence, along with the public display of the school achievements, to what was argued in the introduction of this chapter: English monitoring uses a different strategy from Greece to normalise pedagogic practice and that consists

in setting evaluation criteria deriving from the official curriculum policy. As with the assessment scheme which according to OFSTED has 'done much to ensure that the whole National Curriculum is taught'¹⁵⁷ the inspection criteria are used to ensure that schools plan and teach in accordance with the approach celebrated by the central authority. That shows once more the analogy between the carrier and the monitorial policy in exerting curriculum control. It also shows that the strong control over evaluation consists not only in regulating the production of performance data (national testing, teacher assessments, league tables etc.) but also in regulating pedagogic practice itself in the desirable way.

To summarise, this chapter demonstrated that the role and operation of the English monitoring consists in the evaluation of the whole school. Normalisation is pursued through the exhibition of the performance of the school which can result either in its public approval or, in an extreme case, to its exclusion. To function in this way, inspection is carried out on the basis of a framework of explicit and detailed evaluation criteria. In this regard inspection has a function similar to the national assessment, the carrier of the official curriculum, since it monitors the outcomes and exerts control through evaluation.

6.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the framework of the main argument of the thesis, this chapter examined the state monitoring of schools' pedagogic practice in the two countries. The argument tested here was that whereas Greek monitoring is chiefly concerned with the alignment of the individual teacher to the official content and pedagogy, English monitoring is concerned with the performance of the individual institution as a whole in meeting the official standards.

Three points need to be summarised here.

First, the particular monitorial policies analysed in this chapter have emerged after the curricula reforms in the two countries, as a result of the shift to different pedagogic models. In Greece the abolition of the inspector and the introduction of the school adviser was part of the project of educational democratisation and the shift to the competence model. In England the dispute over the advisory role of HMI and their replacement by the OFSTED's inspectorial teams was part of the political concern about standards and the official shift to the performance model.

In principle, both kinds of monitoring are consistent with the pedagogic models from which they arise, specifically in the criteria under which school visits are conducted. Advising, as a monitorial approach within the competence model is based on vague and diffuse criteria and does not aim at arriving at judgements about outcomes. Inspection, on the other hand, is primarily concerned with performances and it is based on specific and explicit criteria and thus acquirers (in this case schools and teachers) are 'made aware of how to recognise and realise the legitimate text'.¹⁵⁸ Evidently, these characteristics are exemplified in the official frameworks governing monitoring in the two countries. The Greek adviser functions under the general and vague

terms of the relevant Presidential Decree which gives the potential for personal and arbitrary manner in conducting school visits. The English RgI is obliged to function under the explicit terms of the *Framework of the Inspection of Schools* which are publicly known and thus the possibility of arbitrariness is reduced.

However, in Greece, regardless of the vagueness of the legislative framework, the role of the advisers is shaped by the mono-dimensional pattern which places them in the official hierarchy and thus enables them to exercise guidance as agents of both modes of curriculum and management control. Furthermore, regardless of the vague framework of conduct, the single teaching text provides the terms under which guidance is exercised and thus constitutes the framework by which the relation between the instructor-adviser and the instructed-teacher is actualised.

In England, in the absence of a centralised mode of management control which would link the central authority with the schools, inspection is carried out by independent teams. The role of these teams, as evaluative agents, is compatible with the operation of the bi-dimensional pattern which prioritises assessment and announcement of the actual school practices rather than prescription. Hence, monitoring is given a function like that of the national assessment: clear and public evaluation criteria, production of comparable performance data and publication of final judgements.

Thus, monitoring in Greece is textbook-based and in England assessment-based. The role and operation of monitoring is shaped by the different margins of autonomy that the mono- and bi-dimensional patterns allow and the main means employed to regulate pedagogic practice.

Secondly, because of the different patterns of control the focus of monitorial activity in the one case is the teacher and in the other it is the school as a whole. This different focus has not changed regardless

of the shifts to different models of pedagogic practice. In Greece either before or after the official endorsement of the competence model the teacher has always been the subject of hierarchical conformity through personalised forms of monitoring. Sharpe's findings in France would be suitable to depict the traditional teacher-focused monitoring in the Greek setting:

Inspections are always effected on a one-to-one basis, inspector to individual teacher, with the inspector thinking more in terms of having charge of over 300 'instituteurs' than 40-plus schools. There is no concept of a whole inspection, no concern with reporting on the school as an educational community.¹⁵⁹

By contrast, in England due to the traditional decentralised structure of the educational system the target of 'full inspection' has always been the school as a whole. Today this monitorial approach is systematised and intensified due to both school-based management and the setting of central standards of performance.

The shifts to different pedagogic models therefore affect the content of the relationship between the inspector (or adviser) and the teacher and the inspector and the school respectively. However the relationship itself is defined by the pattern of educational control and particularly by the mode of management control. In other words, what kind of power the state agent of monitoring has, over whom, is a matter which is regulated by the mode of management control. In the Greek centralised management, where the teacher is a subordinate member of the official hierarchy, state monitoring targets individuals. In contrast, in the English setting where management is a school affair the school is dealt with as a whole.

Thirdly, relevant to the pattern of control is also the strategy employed by state monitoring to normalise pedagogic practice according to official expectations. The hierarchical position of the Greek teacher

facilitates procedures of direct prescription and the autonomous market position of the English school allows for control by means of evaluation.

In particular, Greek monitoring is concerned with the hierarchical transfer of central curriculum decisions, surveillance of timetables and guidance of the teacher on when, what and how to teach. Normalisation of pedagogic practice is attempted by means of direct hierarchical and bureaucratic regulation. The compulsory single textbook provides the detailed pre-defined tasks and the adviser is there to check possible deviations. The teacher is guided to adjust his/her pedagogic practice to the requirements rather than evaluated.

In contrast, the monitorial mechanism in England is concerned with recording the school's practices, making it visible in its particularity to the public and classifying it. Detailed prescriptions are not given, only standards of performance. If these standards are not met the object of monitoring can be excluded. Normalisation, in these terms, is embedded in the evaluative process of inspection which renders deviation subject to *exclusion*, not to *preclusion* as in the Greek setting. State hierarchy in England (i.e. the appointed *Education Association*) is activated only as a result of an unfavourable evaluation (*special measures*) and its temporary presence in the school consists in a continuous evaluation until correction is brought or exclusion is decided.

The emphasis on the employment of different strategies of monitoring by the two states reflects the different modalities of curriculum control suggested in this thesis. Further discussion of and reflection on the main argument of the thesis is a task of the concluding chapter.

ENDNOTES

¹ Noutsos, Ch. (1986) *Ιδεολογία και εκπαιδευτική πολιτική [Ideology and Educational Policy]* Athens: Themelio, p. 106.

² Andreou, A. and Papakonstantinou, G. (1990), op. cit., pp. 106-107.

³ See the reaction of the Primary Teachers' Union in their bulletin; DOE (1978a) Press Release. *Didaskaliko Vima [Teacher Tribune]*, issue 839, p. 9.

⁴ Dolonis, D. (1983) 'Ο Σχολικός Σύμβουλος: Μειονεκτήματα του θεσμού' ['The School Adviser: Disadvantages of the Institution'] *To Scholeio kai to Spiti, [The School and the Home]* 5/6: 202-205, p. 203.

⁵ Ministry of Education (1975) op. cit., p. 46.

⁶ Law 309/1976 (Φ.Ε.Κ. 100, Α'/30-4-1976), section 20, para 2.

⁷ See the provisions of Presidential Decree 51/1977 in Zabeta, E. (1994) op. cit., pp. 238-239.

⁸ See Andreou, A. and Papakonstantinou, G. (1990), op. cit., p. 78.

⁹ Quoted in Zabeta, E. (1994) op. cit., p. 241.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 242 and 351.

¹¹ See the bulletin of Primary Teachers' Union, DOE (1978b) 'Οι αποφάσεις της 47ης Γενικής Συνελεύσεως' ['The Decisions of the 47th General Assembly'] *Didaskaliko Vima*, issue 841, pp. 4-5.

¹² Law 1304/1982, op. cit., and Presidential Decree 214/1984 (Φ.Ε.Κ. 77Α'/29-5-84).

¹³ DOE (1982b) 'Μπροστά στο νέο θεσμό του Σχολικού Συμβούλου' ['Facing the new institution of the School Adviser'] *Didaskaliko Vima*, issue 926, p. 1.

¹⁴ DOE (1982a) 'Αλλαγές στο χώρο της παιδείας' ['Changes in the Field of Education'] *Didaskaliko Vima*, issue 919, p. 5.

¹⁵ Law 1304/1982, op. cit., section 1, para 2α.

¹⁶ Ibid., section 1.

¹⁷The criteria of selection were vague when the new institution was first introduced so that they allow for the appointment of persons politically attached to the government. As the Law 1304/1982 (op. cit., section 17) provided: 'Basic criteria for the selection of School Advisers are the knowledge on matters of the educational service, the social contribution, the remarkable educational practice and the democratic personality of the candidates'. Only recently with the Presidential Decree 398/1995 (Φ.Ε.Κ. 223Α'/31-10-1995) have the criteria of selection been clarified and now candidates are ranked on the basis of numerical grades. It is noticeable however that criteria relevant to theoretical and academic knowledge in the field of education are overwhelmed by criteria relevant to the previous service of the candidate in positions in the official hierarchy. Previous service in state managerial positions implies that the candidate had been favoured by the central authority and also that the managerial skills acquired in these positions are regarded as more important to become a school adviser; it is characteristic, that 60% of the points given to the candidates derive from the categories of 'service status and teaching experience' and 'ability to exercise managerial duties and work of guidance - social activities' while the academic qualifications are given 40%. Moreover, even the new criteria do not preclude appointment of favoured candidates since the Minister controls the majority of members of the selection committee; see Law 2266/1994 (Φ.Ε.Κ. 218Α'/13-12-1994), section 16.

¹⁸The consideration of *the* pedagogic principles and the particularity of each school in compiling timetables is self-contradictory, since the central authority defines both these principles and the time that should be devoted in each subject across the country (see previous chapter).

¹⁹Ministry of Education (1987d) op. cit.

²⁰See Ministry of Education (1985b) *Πρακτικά Σεμιναρίου Επιμόρφωσης Σχολικών Συμβούλων (17-28 Σεπτεμβρίου 1984)* [*Proceedings of Inservice Seminar to School Advisers*]. Athens: Ministry of Education.

²¹Indeed, both advisers and Heads of Directorates or Offices of Education are notified initiatives taken centrally and they are responsible for monitoring their implementation. See for example Ministry of Education (1988a) *Δοκιμαστική Εφαρμογή νέων προγραμμάτων Φυσικής Αγωγής, μουσικής, ξένων γλωσσών και καλλιτεχνικών μαθημάτων στα δημοτικά σχολεία* [*Pilot Implementation of Physical Education, Music, Foreign Languages and Art in Primary Schools*] Circular Γ1/593/929/1-9-1988. Athens: Ministry of Education.

²²Mavrogiorgos, G. (1987) 'Σχολικοί Σύμβουλοι: Η πολιτική του ΥΠΕΠΘ, η (αντί-)στάση των εκπαιδευτικών και ο 'εγκιβωτισμός' ενός θεσμού' ['School Advisers: The Policy of the Ministry of Education, the (Resi-)stance of Teachers and the 'Boxing' of an Institution']. *Synchroni Ekpaidevsi*, [Contemporary Education] (32): 16-18, p. 18.

²³Ministry of Education (1987a) *Αρμοδιότητες σχολικών συμβούλων* [Responsibilities of School Advisers]. Circular Δ1/910/19-2-1987. Athens: Ministry of Education. The warning was addressed to all teachers after the refusal of a primary school in Chalkidiki to be observed by the adviser and it consisted a clarification of the relevant law in the sense that the new monitorial procedures do not lack the power that the inspector used to have in visiting the classroom.

²⁴Ministry of Education (1984) 'Διαδικασία αξιολόγησης του εκπαιδευτικού προσωπικού δημοτικής, μέσης γενικής και μέσης τεχνικής-επαγγελματικής εκπαίδευσης' ['Process of Appraisal of Teaching Staff of Primary, General Secondary and Technical-Vocational Secondary Education'] Draft Presidential Decree, in Mavrogiorgos, G. (1993) op. cit.; Ministry of Education (1985c) 'Διαδικασία αξιολόγησης του εκπαιδευτικού προσωπικού δημοτικής, μέσης γενικής και μέσης τεχνικής-επαγγελματικής εκπαίδευσης' ['Process of Appraisal of Teaching Staff of Primary, General Secondary and Technical-Vocational Secondary Education'] Draft Presidential Decree, in Mavrogiorgos, G. (1993) op. cit.

²⁵Ministry of Education (1987f) 'Αξιολόγηση του εκπαιδευτικού έργου των σχολείων και υπηρεσιακή κρίση του εκπαιδευτικού προσωπικού της πρωτοβάθμιας και δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης' ['Evaluation of Schools' Educational Practice and Service Judgement of the Teaching Staff in Primary and Secondary Education'] Draft Presidential Decree, in Mavrogiorgos, G. (1993) op. cit.; Ministry of Education (1988b) 'Αξιολόγηση του εκπαιδευτικού έργου των σχολείων καθώς και του συμμετοχικού έργου των εκπαιδευτικών της πρωτοβάθμιας και δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης' ['Evaluation of Schools' Educational Practice as well as of the Participatory Work of Teachers in Primary and Secondary Education'] Draft Presidential Decree, in Mavrogiorgos, G. (1993) op. cit.

²⁶DOE argued that 'if the school advisers are called to evaluate their colleagues and are turned into evaluators-inspectors they should submit their resignations'; DOE (1986) 'Οι αποφάσεις της 55ης Γενικής Συνέλευσης' ['The Decisions of the 55th General Assembly'] *Didaskaliko Vima*, issue 980, p. 39. The same union also stressed that 'policing, authoritarian measures, . . . inspections and . . . evaluations do not improve educational practice, but they silence and control the

pedagogic freedom and the teacher's responsibility'; quoted in Zabeta, E. (1994) op. cit., p. 255. This last author noted that teachers were determined to reject any proposal regarding their appraisal and in general 'the refusal of any form of evaluation is the point that unifies the teachers of all parties'; *ibid.*

²⁷Ministry of Education (1993c) 'Αξιολόγηση του έργου των εκπαιδευτικών και του εκπαιδευτικού έργου στην πρωτοβάθμια και δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση' ['Evaluation of the Work of Teachers and of Educational Practice in Primary and Secondary Education'] Presidential Decree 320/93 (Φ.Ε.Κ. 138Α'/25-8-93).

²⁸The Presidential Decree 320/93 was repealed by the socialist government when it came back into office in 1993. See Ministry of Education (1993d) *Αποχή από την αξιολόγηση του έργου των εκπαιδευτικών* [Abstention from the Evaluation of Teachers' Work] Circular Δ2/24168/25-11-93. Athens. Ministry of Education.

²⁹For example in the last DPD the 'work of the teacher in the classroom' as a domain for appraisal was to be evaluated in two broad categories: (*organisation and conduct of teaching and organisation of school life in the classroom and workroom*) for the exemplification of which some indicative points were given (i.e. strategies, activities, pedagogic climate etc.); Ministry of Education (1988b) op. cit., section 5. In the Presidential Decree 320/93 the same domain was to be judged in more specific terms: planning of teaching and of particular units, use of teaching methods and aids in accordance with the topic, checking of assimilation of the taught content etc. (though again some vague criteria, such 'helping of pupils to adjust smoothly and constructively in school work and life', were still present); Ministry of Education (1993c) op. cit., section 3, para 3β.

³⁰Ministry of Education (1984) op. cit., section 2, para 2β. The same definition in shorter form is given in the Ministry of Education (1984) op. cit., section 2 para 2γ.

³¹Ministry of Education (1987f) and (1988b) op. cit., section 1, para 1.

³²*Ibid.*, section 3, para 1.

³³Ministry of Education (1993c) op. cit., section 2.

³⁴Pedagogical Institute-Department of Primary Education (1989) 'Πράξη 13/1989, Θέμα 4: Αξιολόγηση του εκπαιδευτικού έργου των σχολείων καθώς και του συμμετοχικού έργου των εκπαιδευτικών της πρωτοβάθμιας και δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης' ['Act 13/1989, Topic 4:

Evaluation of Schools' Educational Practice as well as of the Participatory Work of Teachers in Primary and Secondary Education'], in Mavrogiorgos, G. (1993) op. cit., p. 270.

³⁵Ministry of Education (1993c) op. cit., section 1, para 2.

³⁶Ministry of Education (1988b) op. cit., section 1, para 2.

³⁷See DOE (1987) *Προβλήματα Σχολικών Συμβούλων: Προτάσεις για την αντιμετώπισή τους - Πρακτικά Ημερίδας ΔΟΕ [Problems of School Advisers: Proposals for their Solution - Proceedings of Meeting organised by DOE]*. Athens: DOE. In this meeting, organised by the Primary Teachers' Union, the school advisers expressed their complaints about the 'lack of clear definition of responsibilities' (p. 30). However, this objection did not refer to issues relevant to the conduct of monitoring (i.e. visits in schools, observation of lessons etc.) but to the unclear managerial and disciplinary powers in cases like 'approval of educational or recreational trips and visits, dealing with indifference [by the teachers] to [the advisers'] guidance, etc.' (p. 30).

³⁸Presidential Decree 214/1984, op. cit., para 2.

³⁹Law 1304/82, op. cit., section 1, para 2γ.

⁴⁰Presidential Decree 214/1984, op. cit., paras 1 and 3.

⁴¹Ministry of Education (1987d) Circular Γ1/317/923/15-12-1987, op. cit..

⁴²Presidential Decree 214/1984, op. cit., para 4.

⁴³Ibid., paras 4 and 7.

⁴⁴Presidential Decree 214/1984, op. cit., para 5.

⁴⁵Ibid., para 6.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Sharpe, K. (1995) 'An Inspector calls: An Analysis of Inspection Procedures in French Primary Education' in Brighouse, T. and Moon, B. (eds), *School Inspection*. London: Pitman Publishing, p. 152.

⁴⁹Ibid., para 4.

⁵⁰Quoted in Zabeta, E. (1994) op. cit., pp. 322-323.

⁵¹The prefectures constitute the geographical and administrative divisions of Greece. The prefects, heads of prefectures, were traditionally agents appointed by the state. By communicating the reports to them, the advisers kept these key agents of the state hierarchically informed. Since 1994 however the prefects have been elected. So far the powers of the elected new prefects are unclear and under continuous negotiation with the state.

⁵²Presidential Decree 214/1984, op. cit., para 13β.

⁵³With the Circulars Γ1/63/238/5-5-87 and Γ1/306/11-6-87 (Ministry of Education, 1987b and 1987c) the Ministry created a committee to produce an outline of what the advisers should report and to analyse those reports submitted annually to it. The reports would contain various issues (such as school accommodation, management and expenditure, equipment etc.) from which those concerning the implementation of the official curriculum are considered here.

⁵⁴Zabeta (op. cit., 1994) did not find references in the reports concerning the 'evaluation of educational practice' apart from advisers' persistent demands towards the centre to introduce specific evaluative procedures during school visits (pp. 323-324). On the contrary, she found a constant pre-occupation with the textbooks and teaching methods (pp. 356-357).

⁵⁵Pedagogical Institute (1994a) *Αποδελτίωση των Ετήσιων Εκθέσεων των Σχολικών Συμβούλων Α/θμιας Εκπαίδευσης (Σχολικό έτος 1992-1993)* [Summary of the Annual Reports of Primary Education School Advisers (School Year 1992-93)]. Athens: Unpublished; Pedagogical Institute (1994b) *Αποδελτίωση των Ετήσιων Εκθέσεων των Σχολικών Συμβούλων Α/θμιας Εκπαίδευσης (Σχολικό έτος 1993-1994)* [Summary of the Annual Reports of Primary Education School Advisers (School Year 1993-1994)]. Athens: Unpublished; Pedagogical Institute (1995) *Αποδελτίωση των Ετήσιων Εκθέσεων των Σχολικών Συμβούλων Α/θμιας Εκπαίδευσης (Σχολικό έτος 1994-1995)* [Summary of the Annual Reports of Primary Education School Advisers (School Year 1994-95)]. Athens: Unpublished. These three documents are the last and most up-to-date summary reports produced by the Pedagogical Institute and are based on the analysis of the advisers' reports for the whole country.

⁵⁶Pedagogical Institute (1994a) op. cit., p. 22.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 25.

⁵⁸Pedagogical Institute (1995) op. cit., p. 39.

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 36-38.

⁶⁰Ibid., pp. 36.

⁶¹Pedagogical Institute (1994b) op. cit., p. 29.

⁶²Pedagogical Institute (1995) op. cit., pp. 38-40.

⁶³Ibid., p. 35.

⁶⁴Pedagogical Institute (1994a) op. cit., p. 16.

⁶⁵Pedagogical Institute (1994b) op. cit., p. 15.

⁶⁶Pedagogical Institute (1994a) op. cit., pp. 17 and 23.

⁶⁷Pedagogical Institute (1995) op. cit., p. 40.

⁶⁸Pedagogical Institute (1994b) op. cit., p. 14.

⁶⁹Pedagogical Institute (1995) op. cit., p. 40.

⁷⁰Pedagogical Institute (1994a) op. cit., pp. 9-10.

⁷¹Pedagogical Institute (1994b) op. cit., pp. 62-69.

⁷²Pedagogical Institute (1995) op. cit.

⁷³Pedagogical Institute (1995) op. cit., p. 28. For the same kind of commends and demands, see also the previous reports; Pedagogical Institute (1994a) op. cit., p. 8 and Pedagogical Institute (1994b) op. cit., p. 12.

⁷⁴For studies on the development local monitorial schemes, see for example: Bolam, R., Smith, G. And Canter, H. (1978) *LEA Advisers and the Mechanisms of Innovation*. Windsor: NFER Nelson; Winkley, D. (1985) *Diplomats and Detectives: LEA Advisers at Work*. London: Robert Royce; Stillman, A.B. (1989) 'Institutional Evaluation and LEA Advisory Services'. *Research Papers in Education*, 42(2): 3-27; Lowe, P.A. (ed) (1992) *Changing Demands, Changing Role*. London: Longman.

⁷⁵DES (1982) *Study of HM Inspectorate in England and Wales*. London: HMSO, para 4.9.

⁷⁶Ibid., para 2.3.

⁷⁷Lawton, D. (1987) 'The Contemporary Role of HMI in England'. *Journal of Education Policy*, 3(2): 191-196; DES (1982) op. cit., para 2.3.

⁷⁸See for example the different views of Lawton, D. (1987, op. cit.) and Salter, B. and Tapper, T. (1981, op. cit.). The last two authors regarded HMI as the local representatives of the DES while Lawton considered the Inspectorate as a part of a three-way system of tension, the other two parties being politicians and bureaucrats.

⁷⁹DES (1982) op. cit., paras 2.7 and 2.8.

⁸⁰Lawton, D. (1987) op. cit., p. 193.

⁸¹Brighouse, T. (1995) 'The History of Inspection' in Brighouse, T. and Moon, B. (eds) op. cit., p. 3.

⁸²Lawton, D. and Gordon, P. (1987) op. cit., p. 9.

⁸³Ibid. p. 30.

⁸⁴Quoted in ibid., p. 32.

⁸⁵Quoted in Lawton, D. and Gordon, P. (1987) op. cit., pp. 51-52.

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 52.

⁸⁷DES (1982) op. cit., para 3.2.

⁸⁸Bolton, E. (1995) 'HMI 1976 to 1992' in Brighouse, T. and Moon, B. (eds) op. cit., p. 15.

⁸⁹DES (1982) op. cit., para 3.2.

⁹⁰Bolton, E. (1995) op. cit., p. 18.

⁹¹Quoted in ibid., p. 19.

⁹²Lawton, D. and Gordon, P. (1987) op. cit., p. 39.

⁹³Bernstein, B. (1996a) op. cit., p. 48.

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 72.

⁹⁵The issue was raised by Sheila Brown who became the Senior Chief Inspector in 1973; Bolton, E. (1995) op. cit., p. 21.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 22.

⁹⁷In primary education the survey mainly stressed the insufficient subject knowledge of teachers and unsatisfactory performance in science whereas in secondary education the prominent issue was the variation of curricular provision amongst schools. See DES (1978) *Primary Education in England: A Survey by HM Inspectors of Schools*. London: HMSO and DES (1979b) *Aspects of Secondary Education in England: A Survey by HM Inspectors of Schools*. London: HMSO.

⁹⁸Bolton, E. (1995) op. cit., p. 33.

⁹⁹DFE (1992a) *Education (Schools) Act 1992*. London: HMSO, section 2. See also the new legislation which consolidated the provisions of the 1992 Act DFEE (1996b) *School Inspections Act 1996*. London: HMSO, section 2.

¹⁰⁰DFE (1992a) op. cit., sections 1-3.

¹⁰¹Harris, N.S. (1995) 'Quality Control and Accountability to the Consumer: An Evaluation of Education (Schools) Act 1992' in Brighouse, T. and Moon, B. (eds) op. cit., p. 50.

¹⁰²Harris, N.S. (1995) op. cit., p. 49.

¹⁰³Matthews, P. (1995) 'Aspects of Inspection, Improvement and OFSTED' in Brighouse, T. and Moon, B. (eds) op. cit., p. 67. The four-year inspection cycle started for secondary schools in 1993 and for primary in 1994. Under the recent revision of the inspection arrangements, the inspection cycle will be six years. See OFSTED (1996b) *Consultation on the Future Inspection Arrangements: Report on the Consultation on the Arrangements for the Inspection of Maintained Schools from September 1997*. London: HMSO as well as OFSTED (1997, 24-7-1997) 'Chief Inspector Sets Out Range of Improvements for School Inspections'. News Release.

¹⁰⁴For a review of and suggestions about the role of the lay inspector see Institute Office for Inspection (1995) *The Role of Lay Inspectors in Primary School Inspections*. London: Institute of Education University of London. Inspections until recently have been carried out under section 9 of the 1992 Act (DFE, 1992a, op. cit.,) and now they are carried out under section 10 of the 1996 School Inspections Act; (DFEE, 1996b, op. cit.).

¹⁰⁵Matthews, P. (1995) op. cit., p. 70. See also OFSTED (1994c) *Corporate Plan 1994: Improvement through Inspection*. London: HMSO, para 2.2 where the intention of OFSTED to establish a 'competitive system' and an 'inspection market' is explicated.

¹⁰⁶DFE (1992b) *Choice and Diversity: A New Framework for Schools*. London: HMSO, para 1.13.

¹⁰⁷Statement by the Secretary of State in launching the *Parents' Charter* on 27-9-1991 quoted in Wilcox, B. and Gray, J. (1996) *Inspecting Schools: Holding Schools to Account and Helping Schools to Improve*. Buckingham: Open University Press, pp. 29-30.

¹⁰⁸OFSTED (1995a) *The OFSTED Handbook: Guidance on the Inspection of Nursery and Primary Schools*. London: HMSO, p. 8.

¹⁰⁹DFE (1993) *Inspecting Schools: A Guide to the Inspection Provisions of the Education (Schools) Act 1992*. Circular 7/93. London: DFE, para 29.

¹¹⁰Reference to the relevant circular (Δ 1/910/19-2-1987) was made above when the powers of the Greek school adviser were examined; see Ministry of Education (1987) op. cit.

¹¹¹OFSTED (1994a) *Framework for the Inspection of Schools* (revised edition). London: HMSO, p. 5.

¹¹²According to the *Framework* (ibid., p. 10) in a school which has more than 19 classes the inspection days can be 28. This is clear indication of the extent of scrutiny of the whole school in England and shows the sharp difference with Greece where the school adviser does not spend more than one day in the school.

¹¹³See OFSTED (1995b) *Inspection Resource Pack*. London: HMSO.

¹¹⁴Stella Blackmore, Registered Inspector, interviewed in OFSTED (1994b) *OFSTED Inspection for Quality: Video of the OFSTED Inspection Process*. London: Central Television Limited in association with Channel 4 Schools.

¹¹⁵From the interview of Jan Atkinson, Headteacher of *Stretford High*, who explained the inspectorial process in the same audio-visual material; ibid.

¹¹⁶OFSTED (1994a) op. cit., pp. 8-9.

¹¹⁷Wilcox, B. and Gray, J. (1996) op. cit., p. 118.

¹¹⁸DFE (1993) op. cit., paras 32-35.

¹¹⁹See the OFSTED (1997) Report data base on the Internet: <http://www.open.gov.uk/ofsted/repdb3.htm>. Primary reports can be found on: <http://www.open.gov.uk/ofsted/htm/prilea.htm>

¹²⁰DFE (1993) op. cit., para 41.

¹²¹Ibid., para 43.

¹²²Ibid., para 44.

¹²³To categorise a school as failing or likely to fail the *OFSTED Handbook* provides a list of characteristics under three categories: educational standards, quality of education provided, management and efficiency of the school. See OFSTED (1995a) op. cit., p. 15.

¹²⁴DFE (1992b) op. cit., para 11.11.

¹²⁵Ibid., para 11. 13.

¹²⁶Wilcox, B. and Gray, J. (1996) op. cit., p. 120.

¹²⁷Ibid., p. 28.

¹²⁸Ibid.

¹²⁹Ibid., pp. 35 and 36.

¹³⁰OFSTED (1995a) op. cit., p. 31.

¹³¹Ibid., p. 45.

¹³²Ibid.

¹³³The *Code of Conduct* consists of six principles: 'inspectors should carry out their work with professionalism, integrity and courtesy; inspectors should evaluate the work of the school objectively; inspectors should report honestly and fairly; inspectors should communicate clearly and frankly; inspectors should act in the best interests of pupils at the school. See *ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

¹³⁴Sandbrook, I. (1996) *Making Sense of Primary Inspection*. Buckingham: Open University Press, p. 8.

¹³⁵OFSTED (1994a) op. cit., p. 5.

¹³⁶OFSTED (1995a) op. cit., p. 42.

¹³⁷As *outcomes* the inspection schedule defines the 'educational standards achieved by pupils': *attainment and progress; attitudes, behaviour and personal development; and attendance*. The *contributory factors* are defined under the heading 'provision, or the quality of education provided': *teaching; the curriculum and assessment; the spiritual, moral, social and cultural development of pupils; support, guidance and pupils' welfare; and partnership with parent and the community*. (ibid., p. 43). As however the focus of the chapter is the official curriculum the analysis is concerned with the *attainment and progress* as an *outcome* and the *teaching and the curriculum and assessment* as *contributory factors*. The *Framework* itself considers these aspects the first priorities of inspection.

¹³⁸Ibid., p. 55.

¹³⁹Ibid., p. 54.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., p. 55.

¹⁴¹OFSTED (1994a) op. cit., p. 8.

¹⁴²OFSTED (1995a) op. cit., p. 43.

¹⁴³Ibid.

¹⁴⁴Ibid., p. 75.

¹⁴⁵Ibid., p. 77.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., p. 69.

¹⁴⁷Ibid.

¹⁴⁸Ibid., p. 70.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., p. 78.

¹⁵⁰See Pedagogical Institute (1995) op. cit., p. 40 and OFSTED (1996a) *Subjects and Standards: Issues for School Development Arising from*

OFSTED inspection findings 1994-95 (Key Stages 1 and 2). London: HMSO, p. 6.

¹⁵¹Matthews, P. (1995), *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.

¹⁵²OFSTED (1995a) *op. cit.*, pp. 78 and 71.

¹⁵³*Ibid.*, p. 78.

¹⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p. 68.

¹⁵⁵*Ibid.*, p. 70.

¹⁵⁶Lawton., D. (1996) *op. cit.*, pp. 110-111 and OFSTED (1995a) *op. cit.*, pp. 100-105.

¹⁵⁷Quoted in Dearing, R. (1993) *op. cit.*, para 3.39. See the complete quotation in the previous chapter.

¹⁵⁸Bernstein, B. (1996a) *op. cit.*, p. 60.

¹⁵⁹Sharpe, K. (1995) *op. cit.*, p. 153.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

7.1. INTRODUCTION

The concluding chapter will discuss the main argument of the thesis and its theoretical implications.

7.2 THE MAIN ARGUMENT OF THE THESIS: A DIFFERENT ECONOMY OF CURRICULUM CONTROL

Focusing on the way the two states regulate schools' pedagogic practice the thesis argued that the two centralised curricula policies emphasise the control of different message systems. In the Greek mono-dimensional pattern the textbook-based planning and a set of accompanying measures, such as prescribed materials for pupils and teachers, detailed circulars and guidelines, timetables, teaching aids and monitorial activities, exemplify an emphasis on the control of content and process. In the English bi-dimensional pattern the assessment-based planning and resources, such as standard assessment tasks and tests, examining and marking agencies, performance indicators and league tables, records of evidence, frameworks for inspection, inspectorial schemes and their published reports, indicate the strong emphasis on evaluation.

This difference was made evident by analysing in detail the two national curricula and the monitorial procedures. The analysis showed that the National Curriculum and the OFSTED inspections serve the bi-dimensional organisation of the system to produce assessment data and compare schools publicly. The National Curriculum is assessment-based,

it gives prominence to national criteria on standards, it allows discretion in content and process and regulates directly the assessment procedures. OFSTED's function is aligned with the assessment scheme and serves the purpose of public exposure of schools. The Greek textbook-based planning corresponds to the absence of the responsibility by schools to manage their own resources and, along with the teacher-centred monitoring, demonstrates hierarchical regulation of content and process.

Therefore, the Greek pattern gives rise to a mechanism of guidance while the English pattern prioritises a mechanism of assessment. Such a contrast, as the thesis demonstrated, is not simply an emphasis on an input control in Greece and an output control in England, but it entails regulation through guidance and through evaluation. In this sense the emphasis on different message systems reflects a different strategy of central steering or in other words a different *economy* of curriculum control in the two countries – in terms of human, symbolic and financial resources made available to regulate pedagogic practice.

7.3 CURRICULUM CONTROL IN GREECE AND ENGLAND: CONTINUITIES AND DISCONTINUITIES

The analytical distinction between the modes of curriculum and management of control allowed the thesis to test the argument that, though in both countries now the curriculum is centralised, the pedagogic practice of schools is not subject to the same kind of control.

The preservation of both curriculum and management under centralised, minister-centred and hierarchical control in Greece indicates the way in which the state manages education provision. Pedagogic practice is regulated through the bureaucratic apparatus by means of prescription and guidance. Curriculum planners and their

products convey the authority of the single pedagogic proposal and advisers are presented as the only legitimate agents for its transfer. There is an emphasis on inputs and the detailed dictation of time, sequence and pace of teaching activities and in this sense non-legitimate practices are precluded by hierarchical regulation.

Bureaucratic educational control has been a traditional characteristic of the Greek system since its genesis and was further developed during this century in accordance, as Kazamias noted, with the overall paternalistic function of the state.¹ Though political and ideological changes were often reflected in the state bureaucracy² no structural alterations were introduced to loosen up the strict bureaucratic control. In contrast with its French prototype, which has moved to more flexible procedures of planning and accountability,³ the Greek bureaucracy, despite 'democratising' and 'modernising' policies, has remained stagnant and impermeable to alternative practices. In education the effect was the continuation of the same structure in central/local power relations which entails a 'top-down', 'outside-inside', hierarchical and detailed regulation in both curriculum and management issues.

In England the separation of curriculum and management control leaves the procedural details to the organisational discretion of the school. The centralised curriculum is not concerned with detailed prescriptive control but to steering at a distance, by setting explicit criteria of performance and evaluation requirements. The control is outcome-focused and aims at measuring, making visible, comparing and classifying. The state in this way acts as a facilitator of choice and competition by revealing the value of the institutions to the public or the parents/consumers. In other words, reflecting the position of 'strong state/free economy', the role of the state in the bi-dimensional pattern is that of an evaluator of services offered by competing providers.

From this perspective, terminology such as 'deregulation' which denotes the absence of state regulation over schooling should be considered as inadequate to describe what occurs in practice. In the bi-dimensional pattern the weakening of bureaucratic power - a pivotal rationale for the reform - in school management entails the strengthening of evaluation and the public communication of achievements. As Weiler underlines, commenting on the significance of evaluation in decentralised school governance:

To the extent that evaluation goes beyond the mere gathering of information about students, and teachers, and proceeds not only to publicising that information, but also to interpreting it authoritatively against certain standards - to that extent evaluation does become an obvious and major instrument of control and intervention.⁴

However, both Weiler, who maintains that 'evaluation enters a competitive relationship with the basic premises of decentralisation',⁵ and other commentators who interpret this condition as 'paradoxical'⁶ fail to recognise the symbiotic relation of the two modes of control in the bi-dimensional pattern. The analysis carried out here suggests that this combination should not be regarded as a paradox but as an alternative to the mono-dimensional bureaucratic prescription.

As the historical overview showed, the prioritisation of evaluation procedures should not be considered a novel phenomenon. In England the role of assessment was from the beginning crucial in controlling a largely voluntary and dispersed elementary schooling. As Broadfoot noted:

In recognising public examinations as *an alternative to a centrally directed* education system, many people also recognised the potential power of . . . examinations to impose their own form of control and . . . many feared and deplored their effects, for although the precise emphasis on different control procedures varies according to the prevailing economic and social climate,

the importance of assessment procedures in this process does not.⁷
[italics added]

Initially the payment-by-results and afterwards the 11+ examination constituted schemes of external evaluation imposed by the state which had powerful regulative effects on primary pedagogic practice. The absence of direct control over what and how to teach in conjunction with school autonomy allowed for the development and diffusion of progressive pedagogic ideas and practices, yet the external assessment (11+) was always a serious constraint to the full shift to the competence modality. As Bernstein remarked, referring to the 1960s reforms:

With the change in the organisational structure of secondary education towards weakening of classification, a space was now available for pedagogic appropriations at both secondary and primary levels, *not subject to direct state regulation*. How this space was filled was a function of the level of education. At both levels there was a strong move to a competence modality and its modes, powerfully legitimised by the convergence in the field of the production of discourse.⁸ [original italics]

‘Direct state regulation’ was produced by assessment procedures necessary for selection purposes. The removal of this crucial regulator released the professional activities concerned with the actualisation of the competence model. In Greece however, as was noted in chapter 4, similar organisational changes (the move of assessment barriers from primary to secondary education) were not a sufficient condition for shifting pedagogic models, due to the centralised control of content and pedagogy. This kind of direct control inhibited the access to schools of alternative practices unless their sponsors were recruited by the centre. Thus, whereas the removal of assessment constraints in England left, in Bernstein’s terms, a ‘space available for pedagogic appropriations’ in Greece similar initiatives were not sufficient to release such activities as this space was also occupied by the state. While in Greece there was

always a potential for direct dictation inherent in the centralised bureaucratic system, in the English decentralised structure evaluation was traditionally prioritised as a crucial regulator of existing school autonomy.

In this regard the contemporary economy of control in England is largely consistent with the traditional state strategy of regulating pluralistic and diversified educational provision.

However, there are differences in the use of evaluation in the modern bi-dimensional pattern. In attempting to identify the differences between the past and the present, some authors have suggested contradictory interpretations. Broadfoot maintains that assessment for 'system control' in England has always been focusing on *product* and that the 1980s reform policies signified a increasing emphasis on *process* evaluation.⁹ Neave remarked that state policy to keep the accountability of higher education has moved from evaluation for system maintenance to evaluation for strategic change, meaning a move from a *priori* to a *posteriori* evaluation, from *process* to *product*.¹⁰ This shift of emphasis, which according to Whitty *et al.* is applicable also to the compulsory phase,¹¹ 'seeks to elicit how far goals have been met, not by setting the prior conditions but by ascertaining the extent to which overall targets have been reached through the evaluation of 'product''.¹²

The scrutiny of the National Curriculum planning and the monitorial procedures in this thesis showed that there is a clear official intention of stressing the outcomes but also - as evaluation is carried out from the perspective of a particular pedagogic model - of causing changes in pedagogic practice through evaluation. For example, though monitoring is an outcome-based assessment, the detailed evaluation by OFSTED of a wide range of classroom practices carries the potential to cause alterations to those practices. Foucault's analysis of the examination as 'a means of control and a method of domination' has

shown its multiple regulative effects (i.e. correcting, training, categorising, normalising) over the evaluated.¹³ An outcome-focused evaluation, from this point of view, should not only be considered in its intention to encourage the production of results but also in its potential to produce the desired changes in both content and process.

The analysis of governmental documents in this thesis highlighted the official attempts to utilise this dynamic function of evaluation. However, empirical research at the school level could reveal the extent to which changes are produced by evaluation, that is the extent to which the assessment of product alters previous practices.

What is however more important to note about the current use of evaluation is that it marks the new role of the state, after the re-classification of the central/local power relations and the creation of a competitive 'marketised' schooling, in England. In the past, assessment and monitoring, as alternatives to centralised prescription, were serving the need of the state to superintend schooling as they provided information to the central government about 'what was actually happening in schools'. Today, with a move to market principles in educational provision, evaluation serves primarily the operation of free choice and competition for standards, pupils and funds, by providing information, at the state's demand, to the parents/consumers. That has been particularly evident in the analysis of both curriculum planning and monitoring in which evaluation and publication of results/reports are tightly connected. Through these procedures the state imposes an unprecedented visibility in the way schools operate and perform which allows for public comparison, classification and choice. The current use of assessment therefore signifies the shift to a state which is an evaluator, an agent of information and a mediator between the autonomous institutions and the citizens/consumers.

7.4 MODELS OF PEDAGOGIC PRACTICE AND THE MODALITIES OF CENTRALISED CURRICULUM CONTROL

The analysis in this thesis showed that the emphasis on the control of different message systems in the two countries should not be regarded *ipso facto* as a feature of the mono- and bi-dimensional patterns. What is called here a different economy of curriculum control is the outcome of the recontextualisation of the competence and performance models in the structural conditions of the two systems. The term refers, in other words, to the modalities of control which are produced by the official move and the attempt to transmit a different pedagogic proposal to schools which operate in different patterns of control.

In England the traditional prioritisation of evaluation as a means of control is associated with the dominance of the performance model. The shift from the performance to the competence model (the post-war 'golden age' of extended curricular autonomy) and the reverse shift to the performance model was accompanied by a respective weakening or strengthening of the evaluation constraints. Today, with the move to the bi-dimensional pattern, these constraints, as the analysis showed, are built into the construction of the National Curriculum.

In Greece the shift to the competence model with the simultaneous preservation of the mono-dimensional bureaucratic control did not disturb the traditional regulation of content and process but it weakened severely the assessment procedures (examinations and marking of pupils and appraisal of teachers).

This point sustains what was stressed in the comparative framework of the thesis: that is essential to consider, along with the patterns of control, the official educational purposes in order to understand comparatively the modalities of curriculum control.

The educational priorities foregrounded by the 1980s reforms in the two countries were categorised under Bernstein's conceptualisation

of pedagogic models which, on the extension offered in this thesis, reflect analytical categories in curriculum theory (i.e. the spiral curriculum and the objectives approach). The pedagogic models describe the dynamics of curriculum change and most of all the modalities of control emerging from this change. However, as was also stressed in the theoretical introduction taking into account Archer's criticism, which modalities of control are finally produced can be identified when these models are examined within the possibilities of autonomy that the two patterns allow.

In theorising the possibilities of autonomy of the two models, Bernstein stresses that the competence model favours conditions of institutional autonomy whereas in the case of performance model there can be either restricted autonomy (*introverted modalities*) or managerial discretion so that the school optimises its position in the market (*extroverted modalities*). However, while the *extroverted modalities* of the performance model accord with the analysis of curriculum control in the English bi-dimensional pattern carried out here, the thesis demonstrated that despite the shift to the competence model the strict regulation of content and process in Greece was not disrupted.

As the analysis showed, the spread and the endorsement of the competence model in Greece are associated with the permeability of the educational system to alternative practices and the centralised and uniform processing of the reforms.

Historically, the move to a competence modality in Greece was an issue tightly linked with the language question (*katharevousa-demotiki*) and the overall ideological orientation of the curriculum (classicist-modern). The struggle between the progressive and conservative pedagogic proposals reflected wider ideological polarities and, as the educational system was subject to strict central control, a reform presupposed political change at a national level and uniform implementation. As independent progressive experimentations were

hardly allowed, in contrast with England, the Greek progressive pedagogues were bound to place their proposals in the political agenda of the time. The move to a decentralised mode of curriculum control has not been prioritised in the reform agendas. It is not accidental that curricula reforms, failed or successful, were always textbook-based and debates over educational purposes were textbook-centred. Due to the impermeability of the educational system and the absence of the potential for differentiation of practices, curriculum change was a matter of central leverage. In this regard, the competence model, in its process of recontextualisation in the Greek setting, lost its possibilities of autonomy, both because it was part of a wider political project as well as because its sponsors were unable to act independently from the central apparatus.

When finally the shifts of models became politically possible (in the 1980s) the centralised processing of the reform distorted basic principles of the new model. The overall preservation of the mono-dimensional pattern – despite the heralded decentralisation – invalidated the self-regulatory logic of the ‘new pedagogic approach’ and led to strong content and processual control and weak emphasis on evaluation.

Kazamias, in his explanatory framework of what he called ‘the curse of Sisyphus’ in Greek education, underlined this catalytic role of the system as a part of the modern state apparatus:

The evident compliance of the Greek educational system, namely *its tendency to revert to previous familiar positions*, or its inertia and its refractory character must be considered in conjunction with the inelastic bureaucracy of the wider state system . . . and with its built-in inhibitory mechanisms and power relations, which co-exist in a centralised and hierarchically bureaucratic apparatus.¹⁴ [italics added]

Indeed, as the analysis showed, the textbook-based curriculum planning in the Greek mono-dimensional pattern acts against the

celebrated primary reform: it invalidates the weakening of subject boundaries, the freedom of selection, sequence and pace that teachers and pupils are supposed to have been given, the discretion in allocating time and the school's options over producing teaching resources. Apart from the assessment procedures which became largely informal and diffuse, the centralised bureaucracy kept imposing through the textbook a pre-defined visibility in content and pedagogy.

Bernstein's theorising on the possibilities of autonomy of the competence model does not reflect the permeability of an educational system such as the Greek but his conceptual categories can contribute to the further investigation of the above points. More particularly:

- Pedagogic proposals in Greece have often been imports from economically advanced countries with similar or different patterns of educational control.¹⁵ The compatibility or incompatibility of those proposals with the ideological and political conditions of the time and in particular with the possibilities for realisation that the inelastic system (in Kazamias's terms) allows are issues which should be further highlighted. The thesis managed to show the modalities of control produced by the selective appropriation and relocation of a particular version of the competence model in the Greek bureaucratic textbook-based planning. More inter- and intra-national research is needed to highlight the processes of recontextualisation of pedagogic models in the Greek setting in both historical (i.e. the promotion of 'progressivism') and contemporary terms (i.e. reform implementation).
- Textbook adoption should not just be enumerated as a mere indication of centralised input control, but it should be seen as an important instrument of ideological and pedagogic intervention in the classroom. The single teaching text potentially imposes a particular attitude to the scope and validity of official knowledge and manifests the modes and progress of transmission and acquisition of the selected content. Bernstein's view that the textbook 'orders knowledge according to an

explicit progression, it provides explicit criteria, it removes uncertainties and announces hierarchy'¹⁶ accords with the analysis of the invalidating effects of the textbook on the Greek primary reform. However, there is need for additional research, at an empirical level, to highlight these effects, since in the Greek pattern the single teaching text is a pivotal instrument of reform, decision-making and hence control *at all levels* of education.

New reform measures are now initiated in Greece. The possibilities of a move away from the present economy of control are discussed in the final section of this chapter.

7.5 MODERN AND LATE-MODERN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS AND REFORMS IN GREECE AND ENGLAND

Chapter 4 discussed the rationales for primary curriculum reform in the two countries and demonstrated the opposite pedagogic directions to which they officially shifted in the same decade. The Greek reform was a response to long-term demands for educational democratisation and in England the reform was a response to economic concerns. Considering the simultaneous preservation and change of the role of the state in the two cases, does the contrast in educational orientations signify more profound differences in the contemporary development of the two systems?

Cowen proposes an analytical sketch of three major periods in the historical development of educational systems constituting respectively three different patternings: pre-modern, modern and late-modern.¹⁷ The tripartite sketch involves different political, economic and cultural conditions in time and space but the transition from one educational patterning to the other does not necessarily imply a linear historical evolution: 'there is nothing which is predetermined in these shifts and, in any given educational system at any given time, elements of pre-

modern, modern and late-modern educational systems will continue to exist simultaneously'.¹⁸

In these terms, Cowen locates the pre-modern patterning in the feudal and pre-revolutionary past of many contemporary nation-states. Central elements of this period were the powerful influence of Church, the dominance of religious and moral values, the education of elites, the absence of educational administrative structures (systems) and subsequently the absence of a state provided schooling.

In the modern educational systems, which emerged after the formation of nation-states and developed particularly this century, the state is a monopoly provider of mass schooling. Here what is prioritised is the formation of a common political and cultural identity, a citizen with political loyalty, correct civic behaviour and who is prepared to respond to various social roles. Common curricula, equality of opportunity, international educational relations and exchange and a general contribution of the educational system to economic development are central elements of this patterning.

The recent educational reforms in many advanced Anglophone countries have altered, according to Cowen, the basic configuration of a modern educational system to what he calls late-modern. In the late-modern system the moral message is economic, the contents and structures become diversified, and international economic relations are crucial in defining educational purposes. In this patterning the national centre creates a system which allows for diversity, freedom of choice and consumer rationality and its role is restricted to certifying standards and qualifications. Educational provision is marketised, schools operate in an entrepreneurial manner, educational choice is expected to have an economic return and is more tightly linked with preparation for the labour market. There is a shift of emphasis from the citizen to the consumer, a shift through which social minorities are also dealt with. Modularisation of knowledge, skill specification, sophisticated

differentiation and increased measurements of performance are prevailing features of curricula policies. The purposes of the latter are strongly defined by international pressures for economic competitiveness and efficiency.

Summarising the features of the modern and late-modern educational patternings Cowen notes:

... the dominant message system for modern educational patterns was equality of opportunity and for the late-modern educational system, the international economy. In the modern educational system, the strongest ideological pairing is the link between citizen formation and equality of educational opportunity, while in the late-modern educational system the strongest ideological pairing is between the international economy and the effort to gear the educational system to knowledge competition. In the modern educational system, the economic motif (selection and training for occupation) is present, but the political and civic motifs remain paramount. In the late modern educational system, the political is displaced by the economic and what is abandoned is the political promises of the varieties of the social contract promised in the French, American and even the Soviet Revolution.¹⁹

Clearly, the two curricula and in general the education reforms studied here present the modalities that Cowen describes in the modern and late-modern patternings. The reform project in Greece from the mid-70s and especially in the 1980s foregrounded principles of *external* and *internal* democratisation, equality, participation and democratic citizenship. The rationale for reform in England was the international pressure for economic competitiveness and the whole project moved towards the enhancement of performance and efficiency, competition rules and differentiation in the provision of schooling.

In discussing the possibilities of transition between the eras that he outlines, Cowen stresses the necessity for comparative studies to consider 'the patternings of the mixtures of educational inheritances and the mix of earlier and current reform purposes'.²⁰ This thesis

identified such mixtures in both curricula purposes and patterns of control which, in Bernstein's terms (see chapter 4), project tensions between different *official pedagogic identities*. In Greece a liberal/progressive reform (therapeutic identity) was accompanied by the preservation of a traditional machinery of bureaucratic regulation (retrospective identity). In England the move to entrepreneurial management and competition (market identity) was combined with a national curriculum stressing traditional values, basic skills but also engagement with technological progress (retrospective/prospective identities). Inherited strategies in managing schooling (direct and indirect state intervention) are present along with current curricula purposes and both are reflected to the different economy of control identified in this thesis.

What is clear in the two reforms studied here, from the perspective of Cowen's distinction between modern and late-modern systems, is that the main reform criterion in Greece was *social/pedagogic* and in England *economic*. However, taking into account the possible mixtures between traditional patterns and pursued re-orientations, it is unclear whether the shift in reform criteria in Greece would entail a shift to the English kind of pattern and economy of control.

Green, for example, recommends that educational researchers should be sceptical of claims that a global policy-shift is occurring with respect to educational 'marketisation' and outcome-related control because not enough evidence exists to support these claims. He notes that in many eastern Europe and western continental countries issues concerning 'deregulation' and choice have been central in the debates about educational reform. However, as he remarks, most movements have been concerned with devolution of responsibility to regional and local levels rather than to institutions (France, Sweden), no serious moves there have been to abolish state bureaucracies and to introduce

choice (Germany) and in eastern European states (Hungary, Poland, the former Czechoslovakia) strong educational bureaucracies are still in place. Finally, Green underlines that the economically advanced Anglophone countries have been particularly prone to neoliberal ideas of diversification and choice, as their educational systems were historically pluralistic, though he mistakenly attributes the recent moves only to New Right governments (consider New Zealand and Australia).²¹

Though the Greek primary curriculum analysed here is still in place there are also in Greece some moves away from the policies of the 1980s. There is now more involvement of the private sector in the post-compulsory vocational level of education (the creation and expansion of the private *Institutes of Vocational Training* - IEK). Higher education courses are often offered by private institutions with quasi-legitimate status (as private tertiary education is prohibited by the Greek constitution) which have links with foreign universities and which send students abroad. However, there are recent official plans to discourage the seeking of university studies abroad and reduce the consequent financial cost to the national economy by providing more places in the Greek universities.²² There is a tendency that vocational qualifications at the post-compulsory level have to be 'bought' from private institutions but the government with its new plans declares a commitment to the 'public and free character' of educational provision, 'equal opportunities' and 'access to the educational process'.²³

The situation is still uneven but it is becoming clearer that the reform criteria tend to be largely economic. This tendency should be seen in conjunction with the European Union constraints for economic improvements and particularly with the Union's funding of recent educational plans. The funding criteria presuppose a timely and efficient response and consequently they exercise pressure upon the inelastic and slow-moving bureaucratic structure.²⁴

The new reform agenda prioritises expansion and objectification of assessment procedures ('objective tests' and 'data bank of test items') in a common type of upper secondary circle (Comprehensive Lykeio) and the increase of university entries.²⁵ Curriculum change in the compulsory phase is not yet part of the agenda but there are initiatives for re-introducing evaluation procedures. As is officially identified: 'the basic problem of education and the educational process is the lasting lack of evaluation of teachers and educational practice for about 18 years'.²⁶ A new Presidential Decree has established a Body of Permanent Evaluators (ΣΜΑ) at the head of a mechanism which will evaluate schools, teachers and senior administrative staff.²⁷

Again however, the main focus of the intended evaluation, which is subject to strong reactions by the teacher unions, is the teacher as a civil servant and the whole process is to be carried through the hierarchical web. This is because no parallel initiatives are being promoted for the alteration of the mono-dimensional bureaucratic pattern of control. Earlier ministerial attempts to devolve financial responsibilities to local authorities met massive teacher protests.²⁸

In these conditions it is likely that the return to strong forms of evaluation, as a part of a shift of models of pedagogic practice, will not mean the abstention of the central authority from strong content and processual control.²⁹ A shift to the English kind of economy of curriculum control would presuppose a change in the role of the state and its power relations with the schools, apart from changes in the reform criteria and supra-national pressures.

Whether such changes would be accompanied by radical modification in the structure of the educational system or whether resistances of inherited modes of control would mix with new purposes is something to be seen and researched. In terms of state control, the transition to a late-modern educational era in Greece might continue to be different from the English pattern.

ENDNOTES

¹Kazamias, A. (1993) op. cit., p. 174.

²According to Samatas the Greek *bureaucratism* of the post-war period can be characterised as *oppressive* whereas in the post-dictatorial period it has acquired a *populist* form. Samatas, M. (1995) op. cit., pp. 124-131.

³Broadfoot, P. (1996) op. cit., pp. 163-167.

⁴Weiler, H.N. (1990) op. cit., p. 444.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 445.

⁶Cole, M. (1992) op. cit.; Johnston, J. (1992) op. cit.

⁷Broadfoot, P. (1996) op. cit., p. 204.

⁸Bernstein, B. (1996a) op. cit., p. 71.

⁹Broadfoot, P. (1983) op. cit., 258 and Broadfoot, P. (1996) op. cit., p. 219.

¹⁰Neave, G. (1988) 'On the Cultivation of Quality, Efficiency and Enterprise: An Overview of Recent Trends in Higher Education in Western Europe, 1968-1988'. *European Journal of Education*, 23(1/2): 7-23, pp. 8-10.

¹¹Whitty, G., Power, S. and Halpin, D. (1998) op. cit., p. 36.

¹²Neave, G. (1988) op. cit., p. 9.

¹³Foucault, M. (1977) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. London: Penguin Press, pp. 184-192.

¹⁴Kazamias, A. (1993) op. cit., p. 182.

¹⁵The monitorial system, the 'Guizot Law' of 1834, the Herbartian pedagogy, the German progressives' *Gesamtunterricht*, the post-war English curriculum development are some examples of pedagogic imports from different countries. The protagonists of the 1964 and 1982 reforms studied curriculum theory in Britain in the early 1960s, in a time when the competence model was at its apogee and the objectives approach was unpopular. See Moutsios, S. (1996) op. cit., p. 51.

¹⁶Bernstein, B. (1975) op. cit., p. 127.

¹⁷Cowen, R. (1996) 'Last Past the Post: Comparative Education, Modernity and perhaps Post-Modernity'. *Comparative Education*, 32(2): 151-170.

¹⁸Ibid., p 155.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 163.

²⁰Ibid., p. 166.

²¹Green, A. (1997) op. cit., pp. 22-26.

²²Ministry of Education (1997) *Εκπαιδευση 2000: Για μια Παιδεία Ανοικτών Οριζόντων* [Education 2000: For an Education of Open Orisons]. Athens: Ministry of Education, section 3.2 and appendix 3.

²³Ibid., section 1.

²⁴Zoulas, S. (1997, 16-11-1997) 'Κοινοτικός Έλεγχος για την Παιδεία: Η τεράστια καθυστέρηση στην απορρόφηση κονδυλίων έχει δυσαρεστήσει τους αρμοδίους της Ε. Ένωσης' ['Community Control over Education: The Tremendous Delay in the Consumption of Funds has discontented the E. Union Officials']. *Kathimerini*, p. 26.

²⁵Ministry of Education (1997) op. cit., section 2.6.

²⁶Ibid., section 2.9

²⁷Rapti, S. (1998, 25-1-1998) 'Φίλτρα για εκπαιδευτικούς: Πώς θα γίνεται η αξιολόγηση [Filters for Teachers: How Evaluation will be Made]'. *To Vima*, p. A53.

²⁸Ministry of Domestic Affairs (1995, 1-3-1995) 'Η πολιτική ηγεσία του Υπουργείου Εσωτερικών συναντήθηκε σήμερα με τον Υπουργό Παιδείας Γ. Παπανδρέου' ['The political leadership of the Ministry of Domestic Affairs met today the Minister of Education G. Papandreou'], Press Release. Athens: Ministry of Domestic Affairs; DOE (1995, 3-4-1995) 'Η ΔΟΕ αποφασίζει την κινητοποίηση του Κλάδου και καλεί τον Υπουργό Παιδείας να ξεκαθαρίσει τις προθέσεις του για τα περί αποκέντρωσης του εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος' [DOE decides about the Action of the Profession and calls on the Minister of Education to clarify his intentions regarding the decentralisation of the Educational System]. Press Release. Athens: DOE.

²⁹It is characteristic that the success of the planned reform in *Lykeio* is subject to the timely delivery of new textbooks. Rougeri, N. (1998, 22-2-

98) 'Η μεταρρύθμιση περιμένει . . .' ['The reform awaits . . .'] *To Vima*, p. A56.

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