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EDUCATIONAL REFORM AND

POPULAR EDUCATION IN GREECE

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EDUCATIONAL REFORM AND POPULAR EDUCATION IN GREECE

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ABSTRACT

EDUCATIONAL REFORM AND POPULAR EDUCATION IN GREECE

The evolution of institutionalized educational an system in Greece has been a turbulent one closely linked with the development of other social, economic, cultural and political institutions. This study deals with the development Greece's educational system through reform of focusing specifically on one of the most recent educational events and institutionalization trends-the and evolution of adult education known as Popular Education in Greece. Through a history of Greek educational reform reflecting broader socioeconomic and political trends, the creation of an agreeable climate or "social context" for successful progressive reform, this research examines how Popular Education commences and develops.

ÖZET

YUNANİSTAN'DA EĞİTİM REFORMU VE HALK EĞİTİMİ

Yunanistan'daki kurumlaşmış eğitim sisteminin evrimi diğer toplumsal, ekonomik, kültürel ve siyasal kurumların gelişimiyle yakın bağlantılı olarak henüz hareket halindedir. Bu çalışma Yunanistan eğitim sistemindeki reform gelişimineson zamanlardaki eğitsel olaylar ve eğilimlerden özellikle biri üstüne odaklanarak-ve Yunanistan'da Halk Eğitimi olarak bilinen yetişkinlerin eğitiminin kurumlaşması ve evrimine ilişkindir. Bu araştırma, daha geniş toplumsal, ekonomik ve siyasal eğilimleri yansıtan Yunan eğitim reformu tarihi ve ilerici ve başarılı bir reform için kabul edilebilir bir zemin ya da "toplumsal bağlam"ın yaratılması yoluyla Halk Eğitiminin nasıl başlayıp geliştiğini inceleyecektir.

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I

INTRODUCTION

This is a historical, analytically descriptive and to a certain extent critical research of educational reform and the development of institutionalized adult education named Popular Education in Greece.

Greece is a state in southeastern Europe located in the eastern part of the Mediterranean Sea. Greece includes the southernmost parts of the Balkan peninsula and numerous surrounding islands (more than one hundred of which are inhabited) making up onefifth of the country's area of 131,900 square kilometers. The largest islands are Crete, Evia, Rhodes and Lesbos. Greece borders on the north with Albania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Turkey from west to east. According to the 1971 census the population is 8,740,000. Cities with a population exceeding 100,000 (according to the 1971 census) are the capital Athens (2,530,000 including Pireaus), Thessaloniki (545,000) and Patras (102,000). Approximately half the population- 55 % is settled in urban areas, of the remainder inhabiting the rural regions. The country is divided into historic-geographical regions: Greater Athens (Attica),

Central Greece and the island of Evia, the Peloponnesus, Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace, the Aegean Islands, the Ionian islands, crete, and the autonomous monastic state of Ayion Oros (Mount Atho). These regions known as "eparchies" are further divided politically into what are known as "nomes" or prefectures.

Greece is an agrarian and newly industrial country economically dependent on foreign capital. Approximately 50% of the capital investment in the processing industry is foreign (primarily U.S., German and French) and many branches the economically crucial mining industry are of directly controlled by foreign monopolies which are closely related to Greek monopoly groups dominating the national economy. Since the early 1960's the economy based on a series of Five Year Plans has undergone substantial structural changes which are evident and reflected in the emphasis on industrial development. From 1960 to 1970 industry's share in the country's national income increased almost 1.5 times. As for as occupation of the nations working force, about one-fifth of the economically active population is employed in industry and crafts and half of the economically active population in agriculture (the remainder being occupied for the most part in services).

The first law on compulsory education in Greece was passed in 1834. The law of 1929 introduced free compulsory six year elementary education, extended to nine years in 1976.

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All schools in Greece -public and private- function under the direction of the Ministry of Education and Religion. The success of the established formal educational system and particularly compulsory elementary education is doubtful. According to the Census of 1971, 14.2% of the country's population is illiterate and only 63.2% has completed primary schooling. Figures on regional levels of illiteracy also suggest a poor geographic distribution of opportunity for education, urban areas displaying lower illiteracy and higher educational level than rural areas. For example with regard to illiteracy, urban Athens and Thessaloniki display 7.6% and 9.6% illiteracy while rural thrace displays 27.4% illiteracy. Numerous reforms throughout Greece's educational history have attempted to address problems related to the country's level of education as well as to the nature and quality of material presented in school curriculae. During the last few years special emphasis has been given to a relatively new for Greece educational form-adult education. Through the institutionalization of adult education in Popular Education authorities have invested effort in hope of aleviating Greece's anomalous educational situation resulting from years of an ineffective formal system.

The evolution of an institutionalized educational system in Greece has been a very turbulent one closely linked with the difficult development of other social, economic, cultural and political institutions. This research deals with the development of Greece's educational system through reform

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and focuses most specifically on one of the most recent educational events and trends —the institutionalization and evolution of adult education— known as Popular Education in Greece. Through a history of Greek educational reform reflecting broader socioeconomic and political trends, the creation of an agreeable climate or "social context" for successful progressive reform, this research shall examine how Popular Education commences and develops.

Educational reform and Popular Education are dealt with together within the framework of a single research for a number of reasons: (a) In order to orient the reader towards the Greek educational situation and thereby examine Popular Education within its socio-historical context. An analysis of Greek educational reform reflecting broader socioeconomic and political trends presents just such an occasion for orientation-hopefully leading the reader to a comprehension of the context in which Popular Education develops and thrives; (b) Popular Education is to a large extent the offspring or extension of the last educational reform (1976) and the institutionalization of adult education coincides chronologically with the execution of the 1976 progressive reform measures; (c) Popular Education in its conceptual make-up emphasizes and serves the principles and aims expressed by progressive educational reformers throughout the century; (d) Popular Education through its functions intends to fill in the gaps, eliminate the disparities and aid those educationally neglected by an elitist educational tradition of over

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a century, one which reformers were incapable of effectively changing until 1976.

The aim of this study is to investigate the development of the Greek educational system through reform and the emergence of Popular Education. Central in this researche's aim is an analysis of Popular Education from its commencement in 1981 to the present. As it is still early to look at the Popular Education movement's implementations from a comfortable chronological distance, this research will be a midpoint analysis revealing the institutions conceptual framework and activities in the realm of implementation over the last couple years. An attempt shall be made to investigate the essence of Popular Education, the conceptual framework which characterizes it, principles, aims, administrative structure, pedagogy and the institutions implementation of concepts in the form of programs and courses to reach desired goals set.

Conducting and compiling this study on educational reform and Popular Education in 1986, the researcher employed a number of sources both primary and secondary. Regarding educational reform, literature related to Greece's educational history, condition and policy have been employed. Statistical information provided by the National Statistical Service of Greece and information secured from the Greek Center for Social Research have been relied upon. As no previous research on Popular Education has been conducted, the research has relied solely primary sources investigating оп in the institution's conceptual framework and activities. Procedures

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and relevant laws in the "Government Gazette of the Hellenic Republic", pertinent sections from the "Five Year Plan of Economic and Social Development 1983-1987", circulars and publications of the General Secretariat of Popular Education and Ministry of National Education and Religion have been investigated in an attempt to reveal the institutions character.

One of the most obvious limitations of this study is the historical proximity of the event with which it deals. Having commenced only a few years ago popular Education is still in an early stage of development. under these circumstances, analysis and criticism of the institution's activities is to a certain extent unjust and of limited value. Regarding the history of Greek educational reform, numerous helpful material was obtained allowing the researcher to make a more circumspect approach in an analysis of the historical events. Regarding Popular Education however the researcher limited to primary sources (relevant laws, was ministry circulars, secretariat documents, Five Year Plan) as no prior study on Popular Education has to the researchers knowledge been conducted. The lack of prior research makes this study to a certain extent void of critical input on Popular Education created by sources not part of the institution proper.

The usefulness of this study will hopefully be multiple. As an analysis of Greece's educational reform movement and particularly adult education policy, this study shall attempt

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to reveal the conceptual basis of Popular Education and its characteristics in terms of implementation. Hopefully this study will be useful to those interested in Greece's educational situation as an introduction to the existing system and particularly to one of its subcategories-Popular Education.

Undoubtedly this study will be presenting a situation familiar to educators in other countries-particularly of the Mediterranean region and developing countries. The material of this study will hopefully be of interest to educators in developing countries where educational systems and particularly adult education, as a relatively recent development, are going through periods of essential transition.

A. An Introduction to the Concept of Adult Education

Τn the U.N. universal declaration regarding human rights (1948) the world community expresses its realization that education is the natural right of all and that each nation has the responsability of securing this right to its populations without exceptions or distinctions¹. With worldwide acceptance of education as a human right and the further development of pedagogical concepts emphasizing the instrumentality of education in bringing about social, economic and political change-there has been a worldwide push in the development of educational systems and programs. In this analysis, criticism and development of educational mechanisms, traditional formal education undergoes serious criticism for

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its inability to perform the role it can and should execute as a basically revolutionary institution necessary for stimulating socioeconomic development. Some educators have even gone as far as to claim that the traditional formal system's effect is "to prevent or at least retard desirable social change... and perpetuate social inequalities."²

The search for new forms in education has given rise to innovative attempts made on the part of educators to discover a more effective pedagogy relevant to the contemporary needs of reality and in harmony with the values and aims of democratic societies. More specifically what has been sought is a system satisfying international, national, communal and individual needs and demands; an educational mechanism functioning in harmony or coordinated with plans of economic development, responding to national economic demands on the one hand, satisfying communal needs by helping to form individuals with a sense of social participation and responsability towards the communal, national and international whole, on the other hand. In the course of this research for a new all embracing, non-discriminatory pedagogy an appreciation for "life-long education" has developed.

With the genesis of androgogy, education is slowly no longer seen as an experience occurring during a restricted period of time during life, a once-for-all experience realized during a prescribed period of childhood and adolescence but a life long activity and process. Adult education has been

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defined in numerous manners, perhaps presenting a couple of the definitions set forth in John Lowe's <u>The Education of</u> <u>Adults: A World Perspective</u> would assist the researcher and readers alike to focus properly on the topic of this study by clarifying the central term of the text. The first International Conference on Adult Education sponsored by UNESCO in 1949 in Elsinore, Denmark³ defined adult education as follows:

> Adult education is taken to mean those forms of education which are undertaken voluntarily by mature people (in the United Kingdom meaning persons above the age of (8) and which have as their aim the development without direct regard to vocational their value, of personal abilitics and aptitudes, and the encour-agement of social, moral and intellectual responsibility within the frameworts of local, national and world citizenship. As used both in the United Kingdom, and in the Scandinavian countries, the term presupposes a general standard of literacy resulting from compulsory childhood education.4

Recently a anrrow definition of adult education is not particularly favored as one of the system's aims is to be as broad and comprehensive as possible. Another familiar definition of adult education goes as follows:

> whereby Adult education is a process persons who no longer attend school on regular and fulltime basis (unless а fulltime especially programmes are designed for adults) undertake sequential and organized activities with a conscious intention of bringing about changes information knowledge, understanding or skill, appreciation and attitudes; or for the purpose of identifying and solving community personal and problems.5

This definition like the previous one may be more suitable for developed than developing countries since the first definition includes a presupposition of a "general standard of literacy" as a rerequisite for participation. As the first definition includes a presupposition "a general standard of literacy resulting from compulsory childhood education" and the second includes "...no longer attend school on a fulltime basis" these explanations seem to imply the existence of some type of compulsory education making no allowance for programs designed for adults that have not participated in some type of obligatory formal schooling.

These definitions are useful to have in mind to understand the evolution of the field though obviously the scope and dimension and meaning of ault education in the seriously educationally impoverished underdeveloped and developing world has not been considered. In the UNESCO, <u>Proposals for</u> <u>the Collection of Adult Education Statistics</u> of 1974 a definition eliminating the previously mentioned exclusion is proposed for data collecting purposes, so according to UNESCO adult education is "Organized programmes of education provided for the benefit of and adapted to the needs of persons not in the regular school and university system and generally fifteen or older"⁶. A most comprehensive definition is proposed by J.A.Simpson in his study <u>Today and Tomorrow in</u> <u>European Adult Education</u>: By adult education we mean the provision which a society consciously makes, either publicly or through approved voluntary organizations, of facilities for learning by anyone, of whatever age, where initial education in schools, colleges, universities, apprenticeship and initial professional training has been terminated, who wishes to learn any subject what so ever, for any purpose whatsoever-provided, of course, that the subject does not conflict with the fundamental principles of a democratic society.7

This last definition is of special relevance to this research not only because of its all-inclusiveness (comprehensive character) but also beause of its reference to "fundamental principles of democratic society". Certainly the concept of an adult education serving and disseminating democratic values is very much in the forfront of the field, its conceptual and practical goals particularly with regard community building in the newly independent, underdeto veloped and developing nations. 8 The concept of education as an individualistic, purpose-free acquisition of mental values predominant in the west during the early part of this century been critically examined and reoriented towards the has creation of a new educational concept in which socioeconomic development at the community and national level has become a primary aim of adult education.⁹ Since not specifically mentioned in the definitions presented it is imperative to state the fact that adult education can, should and does play a considerably significant part as a stimulus and propelant of socioeconomic development. Third World nations have felt

obliged during recent years to diversity their adult education activities related mainly to public or collective rather than to individual gools and classified by Lowe under two broad headings: "(a) those related to the pursuit of national goals; and (b) those related to community goals".¹⁰ More specifically a number of these adult education goals can be identified when specifying functions: Occupational training has been more or less universally accepted as a definite virtue of nonformal education. Creating and maintaining an adequate supply of motivated and skilled manpower is generally appreciated as a signal economic stability and presperity. In the highly industrialized countries the speed of technological innovation has resulted in the quick obsolescence of knowledge, thus school acquired knowledge and initial training must be compensated. In the less industrialized nations the introduction of technology has led to the need for quick effective training of skilled workers and professionals. Both these cases result in a very definite demand for non formal educational activities. The negative effects of rapid, poorly planned industrialization-one being neglect of rural areas because of mass exodus to urban industrial centers, the problem of decentralization is also very much on the agenda of adult education program planners¹¹. As far as community goals are concerned numerous nonformal educational programs particularly in nations which have undergone recent independence or abrupt sociopolitical changes focus on inculcating a sense of national identity and sociol cohesion 12 .

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Undoubtedly the functions of adult education are undergoing a considerable level of diversification to meet the various and diverse demands of developing and developed societies. Joachim H.Knoll in his article "Findings and Trends in Adult Education in a European Perspective" included in a compilation of the German Commission for UNESCO, has attempted to define the recent trends in adult education in the Federal Republic of Germany. Though these hends are presented as specific to one nation, they most likely can bee seen throughout (internationally) as they are quite comprehensive.

- Expansion of cultural education and a balance of cultural and vocational education and a balance of cultural and vocational education;
- Establishment of partnership and communication through educational worts in identifiable areas;
- Functions geared to the needs of specific marginal groups;
- 4. Establishment of a comprehensive basic or minimum offer to enable the citizen to find his way through his social, political and economic relationships and to participate in shoping it;
- Conceptualization of vocational education with a view to increased spatial and situative mobility 13⁻

B. Adult Education and its "Social Context"

In Greece organized adult education as an institution is a very recent development. When organized adult education does become reality in Greece through legislations of the late 1970's and 1980's, this occurs in an atmosphere of progressive educational innovation - specifically educational liberalization and modernization, attempts at which had been frustrated and impeded throughout the century. Progressive reform in formal education marking the establishment of organized adult education occurs in a climate of liberal change and modernization characteristic of the entire gambit of Greek institutions social, economic and political. In their article "The Context of the Systems of Adult Education" Vera Biró and George Fukász suggest that adult education, its system and structure are "...deeply rooted within their social context, incorporated into the network of social relations and social institutions."¹⁴ Regarding research in adult education, Biró and Fukász insist that adult education must not be isolated from its oscial context:

> Adult education must not be seperated from its social context and cannot be investigated in isolation from the web of its basic social indicators, as this isolation distorts the very nature of adult education, and leads to a narrow conception of adult education as instruction. Adult education is, by its very nature and existence, organically linked with social relationships, whose product specific segment is the manifold and process of adult education. The whole process of adult education, its composition and structure, are fundamentally determined by these social indicators, to whose network the integrated system of adult education and its whole structure are adopted.15

As indicators within the social context Biró and Fukász present a number of factors to which the development of adult education is invariably linked, those being historical tradition and development, economic development and level, political institutional development and circumstances, and the level of cultural development.¹⁶ Level of cultural development as a social indicator is composed in a large part by the school system: "The supreme indicators of the cultural development of society in any country may be ascertained from the development of its school system."¹⁷ The development of the adult education mechanism can therefore not be analyzed in isolation from the formal system as it is this that sets the initial pedagogical and educational trends.

As it would be a far too arduous and limitless task to assess the development of Greek adult education within the numerous elements of "social context" mentioned by Biró and Fukász, the researcher shall concentrate on the description of one social indicator-the evolution of the Greek educational system through reform. As an indicator or guide of social context and trend, the development of the educational system and reform seems most appropriate for the researcher's purpose for a number of reasons: Formal education as a supersystem of the nonformal education mechanism is the most pertinent as a "social indicator"; particularly in the case of Greece educational development and reform reflect broader political, social and economic trends, thereby possibly orienting towards a wider context-the general national situation.

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П

THE GREEK EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND REFORM

Considering the complementary nature of the formal and non formal educational systems, embarking on a description and analysis of reform and adult education in Greece during the 1981-1985 period requires a certain amount of familiarity with the overall system, its developmental trends and the type of nation it has created in terms of division of educational opportunity and general educational level. A brief glance at Greek educational history may well serve to better orient us towards understanding more recent trends and the contemporary situation.

While in other European countries the complexity of their systems today may make it difficult to seperate out and trace back their various components - a task made even more arduous by their long history - in the case of Greece the matter appears more clear-cut owing to the system's relatively short history and the simplicity of its structure. Despite the existence of a very long Greek educational tradition which could lead the researcher back to ancient times, events in the country's hisory caused a break in continuity in the early nineteenth century and created conditions which allowed for a fresh start. In fact, the Greek state which emerged after a war of independence which, among other things, dissolved the existing institutions of instruction and created the conditions for administrative organization and thereby for the establishment of an educational system with no functional ties with the past.

A. Establishment of the System

Chronologically, post Ottoman Greece of the early nineteenth century can be seen as the official starting point of modern Greek educational history as it is in this period that the first government legislation regarding education is formulated. Post Ottoman Greece is characterized by such an extremely low educational level (in 1828, 90% of the adult mole population was illiterate; in 1870, 94% of the adult female population was illiterate)¹ that the first established system essentially confronts an immense educational void. Government legislations of the 6th and 18th of February 1834 for the first time establish seven year obligatory schooling, provide for the organization of schools, the training of future insructors within those schools, and specify the subjects to be tought.² In this first legislations organizational principle and ideological approach, issues which later become topic of serious political and pedagogical dispute begin to chrystalize.

Greek schooling (as displayed in Figure I). Was divided into four levels of which all, except for the Demotic Schools were centrally established and Controlled by the state. Demotic schools were founded locally and functioned under the supervision of their respective community councils within broad guidelines set by the state-defining the nature of the material to be instructed. Apparently Demotic Schools also known as "Schools of the People" were quite successful in so far as their development and influentialnesses as in 1834 there were only 71 of these attended by 6.000 pupils while by 1860 there were already 45,000 pupils and in 1901, 189,000 pupils attending Demotic Schools (representing 8%, 30%, and 63% of the school age youth population respectively).³ The relative success of these schools in as for as combating illiteracy is concerned is evident in statistical information displaying a drop in adult male illiteracy from 90% to 50% to 38% during 1828, 1870 and 1907 respectively.⁴ The state years the controlled Hellenic Schools were an advanced continuation of the Demotic Schools as well as a preparation for entrance to the higher educational system (Gymnasium and University) which could be realized through successful completion of a Successful candidates for the competitive examination. gymnasium underwent a three year university preparation program, completion of which guaranteed university entrance.5

The nature of the material to which this first educational sysem's academic program gives importance and emphasizes sheds a certain amount of light on the pedagogical

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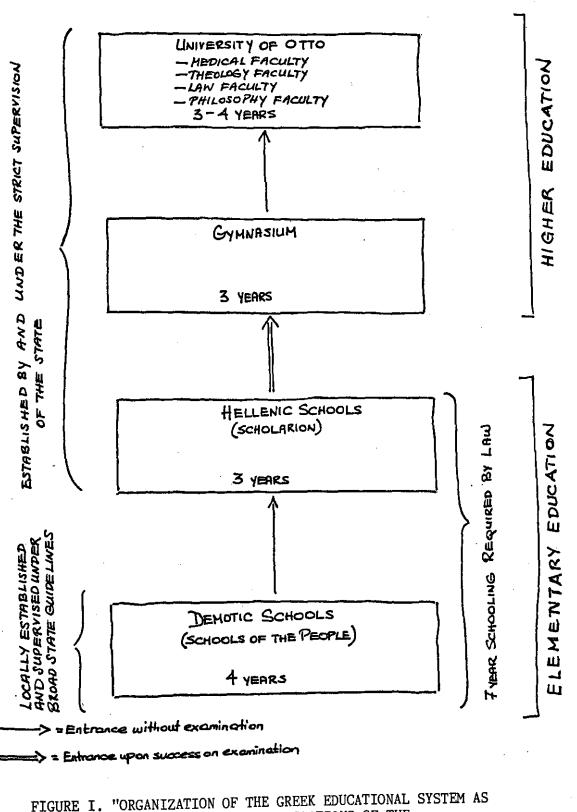


FIGURE I. "ORGANIZATION OF THE GREEK EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AS ESTABLISHED BY THE LEGISLATIONS OF THE 6th/18th OF FEBRUARY 1834" (Bouzakis, Sifis <u>Modern Greek</u> <u>Education 1821-1985</u>, Gutenberg, Athens 1986) philosophy adopted during this period-one which for all practical purposes dominated until ten years ago until the mid 1970's. The program of the Demotic Schools included the following required courses: Catechism (Greek Orthodox Christianity), elements of Classical Greek, reading, writing, grammer, drawing and music. At the teacher's discretion geography and physical sciences were tought-though for less importance was given to these. Twice a week (again at the teacher's discretion and depending on his/her ability to do so) gardening and bee keeping was instructed to boys, hand crafts to girls. Courses in the theoretical sciences-basically ancient Greek dominates the course program schedule in the Hellenic School and Gymnasium. Specifically 53.2% of the total class hours is dedicated to classical Greek studies, while a mere 19.2% is dedicated to physics and mathematics combined. 6 When in 1837 the University of Otto (bearing the name of Greece's first Bavarian king) is completed, four faculties are established: Medicine, Theology, Law and Philosophy.7

The character of the school program's content as well as the type of faculties established at the University Otto demonstrate an emphasis on theoretical sciences with extreme importance given to classics. This tendency goes hand in hand with the imposition of "Katharevousa"-Purist Greek-as the official school language. "Katharevousa" is somewhat of a pseudolanguage composed of archaic and Byzantine Greek linguistic forms adjusted for modern day use. It was the

language of the government's complex bureaucratic mechanism and following its introduction to the educational system - the small educated elite. For the masses speaking "Demotiki" -Colloguial Greek- katharevousa was almost completely incomprehensible.⁸ The emphasis of this first system's approach promotes a pedagogical ideology which appears to be the result of influence of two intellectual movements of the period: The German neoclassical movement as pedagogically expressed in the German "Lateinische Schule" and "Gymnasium" and the Fanariot movement.⁹ The "Lateinische Schule", embodying and disseminating the nineteenth century neoclassical movement's philosophy was essentially imported as an educational system prototype by the Bavarian monarchy of King Otto (1833-1862) ruling Greece during this period. This German prototype, at the time heavily influenced by neoclassicismand admiration of the classical past, was easily accepted by the Greeks as it "sewed their desire to regain their national identity and reinforce their links with their glorious ancestors".¹⁰ The more indigenous Fanariot movement embodied the nationalist aspirations of the Greek speaking population living within the Ottoman Empire. With the Patriarchate of Constantinople (from whose place of residence the movement's name is derived Fanari (Fener in Turkish)-Fanariot) as the center of Fanariot activity this movement, though largely composed of a Rum bourgeois class paradoxically finds its intellectual inspiration in the Eastern Orthodox Church and past glories of the theocratic Byzantine Empire. The language

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promoted by the Fanariots with its unusual mixture of bourgeois terminology was a predecessor archaisms and of "Katharevousa" devised by Greek intellectuals of the period and later adopted by the educational system. 11,12 The spokesmen of this intellectual movement were greatly responsable for the close tie existing between education and church*a relationship which to а considerable extent retarded progressive educational development.

Many of the original features of this first system have been maintained and even reinforced over the years: The overemphasis of classical sudies, imposition of a noncolloquial language, the lack of education in the positive sciences and later the deficiency of pedagogical opportunity in technical and vocational training. The system has also become increasingly centralized under an all-powerful National Ministry of Education and Religion which has imposed, as part of its tight control over the system, the "one-textbook-persubject-per-year"¹⁴ regime. Moreover, the tendency towards selectivity, with crucial examinations drastically narrowing

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^{*}In Greek education it is characteristic that regardless of its secular nature, church influence was never completely discarded. A constant relationship between school and church is reinforced by the fact that the affairs of both are handled by the same government unit: the National Ministry of Education and Religion-this regime continues to this day. Though teaching was and is officially secular in nature both in the Demotic School and Gymnasium-the teaching of Eastern Orhodox Christianity is required during all twelve years of schooling. The church and religious education has never been removed from Greek schools. Mavbe this is not one of the minor reasons why anticlericalism and specifically antictericalism in the educational mechanism was always a very marginal movement.¹³

the route to the apex of the educational pyramid, has progressively become marked.¹⁵ However, a relative continuity (and consistency) in the systems developmental trends should not be taken to signify that it has received unanimous acceptance from its first application to present day. On the contrary, very soon after the completion of its structure, it was subjected to very severe criticism. Initially these criticisms were mostly centered around the system's suitability for a naton which was emerging from a period that kept the vast majority of the people in darkness, but soon after focused on the systems efficiency as well. In other words these citicisms were of both a philosophical and technical nature, questioning not only the aims but the means used to reach them. Already from the 1870's onward there is the development of a "progressive" movement (related to wider national sociopolitical developments) demanding a fundamental reorganization and reorientation of the system to serve different aims. It is in this context that educational reform becomes a pervading issue of political and pedagogical battles throughout the Greek educational system's short history.

Reorganization and renoration of Greece's educational system known as reform has been and is to this time a pending and pervading issue in Greek educational policy. In a situation like that of Greeces where violent political and social developments go hand in hand with abrupt organizational changes in the state mechanisms, educational policy makers face the constant task of reforming the system (which from the time of its creation was also of from the socioeconomic reality) in order to maintain a mechanism in touch with the nations socioeconomic and political developments. Modernization and liberalization $^{f 16}$ of the system are the predominant demands of the reformers throughout the century. As these terms (modernization and liberalization) are rather loosely used and not clearly defined by (a number of the more progressive Greek pedagogues who liberally use them) Greek pedagogues, judging from the character of more specific demands made on the part of reformers, the researcher shall take the liberty of attempting to define these terms: Modernization may be defined as the orienation and adjustment of the educational system, its organization and content, to contemporary socioeconomic and political demands. Likewise educational liberalization might be seen as a democratization of the system whereby educational opportunity is opened to the greatest numbers possible, eliminating the barriers which make education the right of a selected group (be it a group defined by sex, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, age etc.). These types of developments have been envisioned by a number of Greek eudcators who have attempted to define reform in ways they saw fit for the Greek educational reality. Greek pedagogue Anna Frangoudaki in her work Educational Reform and Progressive Intellectuals characterizes what she labels Greece's "bourgeois-democratic educational reform" as:

... the spreading of educational opportunity to all regardless of age, social background, economic position, ethnicity etc; orientation towards the positive (practical) sciences and the adjustment of education to society's economic needs; the development of education in the technical branches...17

Sifis Bouzakis in his work <u>Modern Greek Education: 1821-1985</u> further develops the components of "bourgeois-democratic" educational reform:

> ...adjustment of education to the bourgeois estalishment (capitalist means of production, parliamentary system of government), the expansion of education to all social groups but simultaneously the division/seperation at the middle school level between general education and technical-occupational education. 18

References to "bourgeois-democratic" reform are most pertinent to Greece considering the change in social stratification which were taking in the country particularly during the first half of the Twentieth Century. The vision of social mobility and the actual trend of class movement during the late nineteenth and twentieth century is characterized by the mass exodus from a rural class involved in small scale agricultural activity to the a) urban middle class) as industrial activity remained quite limited and is to this day somewhat underdeveloped, the existing working class in the industrial sector-proletariat-is of lesser importance because of its considerably smaller size).¹⁹ One plausible speculation as to educational reform becomes such a crucial issue is why suggested by Konstantinos Tsoukalas in his widely acclaimed

BOĞAZİCİ ÜMİVERSİTESİ KÜTÜPHANESİ

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work Dependence and Reproduction: The Social Role of Educational Mechanisms in Greece (1830-1922). Tsoukalas emphasizes the change from rural agricultural class to an urban middle class position, characteristic of a large sector of the population during this century, and suggests that this alteration in class position is accompanied by certain processes of ideological change. This ideological transformation takes the form of obtaining specific tools or skills (the ability to read and write, arithmetic skills) as well as creating a new personal ideology in harmony with the middle class structure (developing a sense of social mobility, acceptance of middle class values and in the case of Greece cultivating a national identity or rather nationalist sentiment thereby discarding the feudal mentality of regionalism). At this point Tsoukalas mentions that his type of ideological transformation cannot properly take place within the family (in this particular case the rural family) because of the low educational level and lack of class consciousness on the part of parents. For these reasons, in a nation undergoing such drastic changes in social stratification, school serves to import the necessary tools and propels the ideological change necessary to face class transition. $^{20}*$

^{*}With his own terminology sociologist Louis Althusser stresses this same point in his article "Idéologie et appareils idéologiques d'Etat". Althusser notes a change in what he labels "basic mechanisms of orientation" where there is a transformation from traditional to industrial society. While in traditional societies the "basic mechanism of orientation" is the family, in modern industrial societies school serves as the mechanism which supplies the necessary knowledge-the necessary cognitive tools to function as a productive individual, the educational system orients the individual towards the contemporary social trends and values.21

As the educational system, claims Tsoukolas, can through its channels impress an ideological message in a "standardized", collective and generalized"²² fashion, it is the most effective institution as a means of propelling an ideological transformation.²³

B. Reform of 1913

Theory for reform during the early part of this century might be seen in the light of Tsoukolas' speculations as the inadequate educational mechanism seems uncapable of confronting the needs of a society undergoing rapid socioeconomic transformation. Under the ouspices of the liberal government of Elefterios Venizelos, ruling from 1909, and a progressive Ministry of Education controlled by members of the Ekpedertikos Omilos-Educational League*, a reform is instituted in which for the first time the educational mechanism is adjusted to the contemporary socioeconomic situation and developmental trend (rapidly growing middle class and its related economic activity, gradual indusrial growth). Included in the educational reform drawn up by Dimitris Glinos, (see asterisk

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^{*} The Ekpedevtikos Omilos or Educational League was founded in Athens in 1910 and made up of a number (650 members in 1912) of progressive educators pedagogues and writers of the period, among others D.Glinos, N.Kazantzakis, L.Mavilis, and P.papanastasiou who through their literature promoted the colloquial language "Dimotiki". For seventeen years until 1927 when this league has dissolved, it served as a forum for progressive pedagogical deas and promoted liberal educational reform. This league fought seriously for the replacement of katharevousa and the establishment of Demotiki as the official language of education and the state bureaucratic mechanism. 24,25

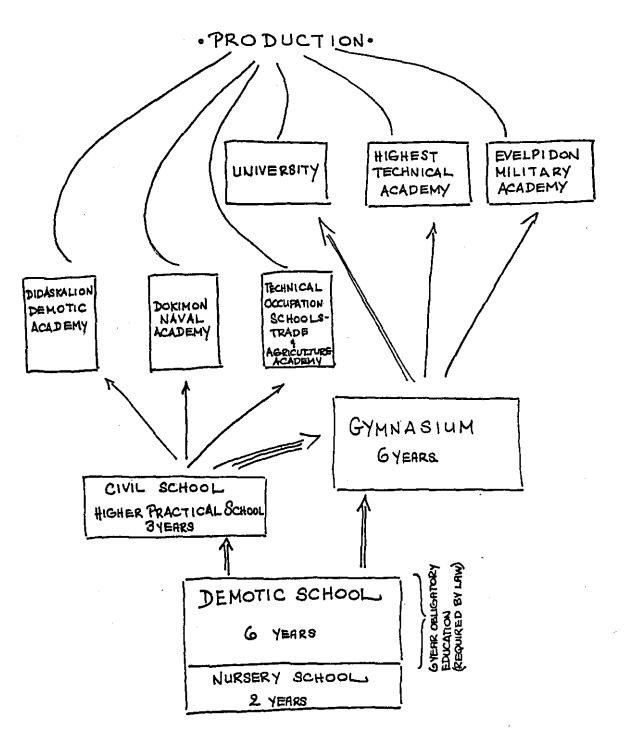
below) and passed as legislation in 1913 were the following points displayed in Figure II.

Six obligatory years of Demotic School in which basic language and arithmetic skills were instructed as well as agriculure-animal husbanbry (in rural areas), handicarfts and trade (in urban areas). classical Greek was completely removed from the system's program.²⁶ It should be noted that language skills of the Colloquial-Demotiki language, not of the Katharevousa-Purist, are tought. In a supplementary government decree in 1917 Kathareovousa is a completely removed from all levels of education.²⁷

Following Demotic School students had the choice of entering without examination the Gymnasium, in preparation for university level studies (at the University, Highest technical or Military Academies), or the Civil School preparing students for technical vocational education (at the Demotic, Naval or Technical-Occupational-Trade and Agriculture Academies).

Gymnasium education was divided into two branchesphilological and scientific-the student choosing that which better suited his/her interests and future educational ambitions. The earlier emphasized theoretical subjects in its program (ancient Greek, Latin, foreign languages); the latter stressed practical positive sciences (mathematics, physics et.)

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Entrance upon examination ____> = Entrance without examination ____> = Entrance upon placement examination

FIGURE II. "ORGANIZATION OF THE GREEK EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AS ESTABLISHED BY THE EDUCATIONAL REFORM OF 1913" (Bouzakis, Sifis <u>Modern</u> <u>Greek Education 1821-1985</u> Gutenberg Press, Athens 1986)

In its legislation the reform of 1913 also provided for an increase in the number of school buildings, improvement of existing facilities, improvement of teacher training, and mentioned women and rural populations as educationally underprivileged thereby for the first time specifying target groups.

Through a supplementary decree of 1917 a system of school inspectors and supervisors is devised and instituted in order to monitor and asses the implementation of the points set down in the reform of 1913 (at this point Demotic School is no longer locally controlled but incorporated under state control as all other levels of education).²⁸

The reform of 1913 and supplementary decrees of 1917 make up the first attempt at educational liberalization, modernization and language reform in Greek educational history. Notable in the attempt to adjust the educational mechanism to the new social and economic situation is the establishment of a network of technical vocational education functioning parallel to the original Gymnasium. This innovation plus the discarding of katharevousa-Purist Greek from the system, made education desireable to individuals (basically of the working and rising middle class) previously excluded for linguistic reasons and themselves uninterested in participating for the systems total impertinence to their life styles and welfare.²⁹

In short the system's character of exclusivity with regard to the material instructed and the students attracted

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is considerably diminished. The reform of 1913 creates a system of multiple-diverse opportunity aimed at all social levels of both rural and urban environments as well as institutes a mechanism importing an educational experience more suitable for the rising middle class.

As reform-any progressive move in education and language reform-in Greece was and is to this day closely associated with liberal political forces, the toppling of the Venizelos government and the rise of a conservative royalist regime in 1920 escorts the abolishment of all the legislations related to education and language passed by the previous government. Briefly-Katharevous purist Greek is once again reinstituted as the official language of all educational activity, new curriculae emphasizing classical studies are established at all levels and technical vocational education, still in an early stage of development, falls into disarray. 30 The system instituted by the reform of 1913 and supplementary laws passed in 1917 become an all too short lived educational experience-a brief pedagogical and intellectual spring. Excepting one more brief though far less bold and dynamic attempt at liberal pedagogical reform in 1929, the regime of Katharevousa and pseudoclassicism lasts essentially until 1976. On the political stage the period between 1920 and 1928 is characterized by fierce political battles among conservative and royalist forces resulting in thirty four changes in government and twenty five changes of the Minister of Education during the eight year period. 31 The catastrophic

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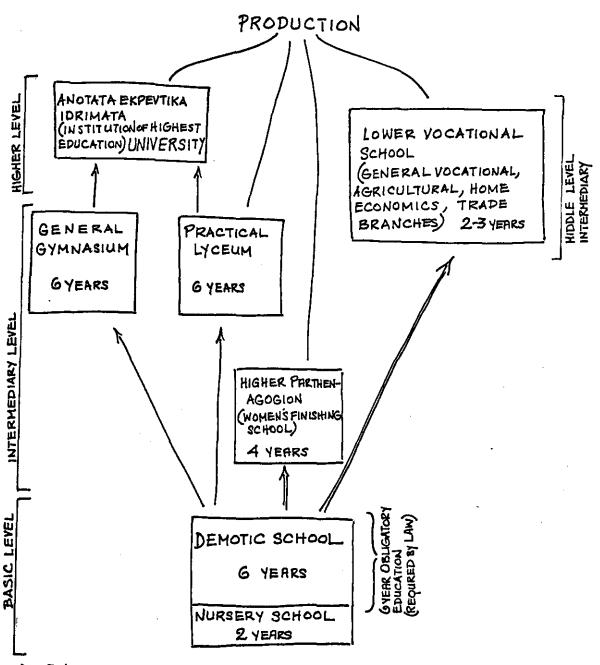
for Greece was in Asia Minor in 1922 resulting in the population exchange between Greece and Turkey causes a population explosion particularly of the urban working and middle clases.³²*

C. Reform of 1929

Once again under the government of Elefterios Venizelos which came to power in the midst of political chaos in 1928, an attempt at educational reform was instituted again under the influence of the remnants of the shattered Educational League. With laws N.4397/16.8.1929 and N.4373/13.8.1929 regarding "Basic Education" and "The Reform of Intermediate and Higher Education" respectively, the reform of 1929 is instituted. ³⁴ As displayed in Figure III the following new (with respect to the reform of 1913) elements were included in these legislations:

- The establishment of a Higher Parthenagogion exclusively for women and much like a finishing school with a light general curriculum and a program preparing students for trades traditionally associated with women (i.e. home economics, handcrafts...)

^{*}The 1920 population of Greek territory, as later designated by the Treaty of Lausanne, was 5,016,889 with a density of 39,50 per km². Eight years later the census of 1928 shows a population of 6,204,684 and a density of 47,99 per km². Likewise the population of Athens increases almost twuofold during this period: 450,000 inhabitants in 1920, 800,000 in 1928**33**



· Entrance upon examination

Entrance without examination

FIGURE III. "ORGANIZATION OF THE GREEK EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AS ESTABLISHED BY THE EDUCATIONAL REFORM OF 1929" "LAWS 4397/16.8.1929 & 4373/13.8.1929) (Bouzakis, Sifis <u>Modern Greek Education 1821-1985</u> Gutenberg Press, Athens 1986) - The establishment of a Lower Vocational School imparting vocational education in agriculture, home economics and trade related fields. Graduates of this level could theoretically immediately enter he job market.

- The General Gymnasium and Practical Lyceum was essentially the organizational structural seperation of the original Gymnasium's branch division; the earlier with a curriculum heavy in theoretical sciences the latter emphasizing physical sciences.

- The structural divsion of the system into three levels-basic, intermediate and higher.³⁵

Neither the intentions nor the successful implementation of this reform were ever fully realized. because of reactionary elements within the Ministry of Educationvocational education remained extremely weak, classical studies and Eastern Orthodox catechism dominated the Gymnasium and Lyceum curriculums, Katharevousa-Purist was not discarded as official language. The reform Proved to be little more than a brief superficial reorganizational maneuver.³⁶ Any attempts at educational liberation made in 1929 and remnants of the reform of 1913 are brutally crushed following the coup d'Etat of August 4, 1936 and the rise to power of Ioannis Metaxas and his dictatorial regime closely tied with the nazi National Socialist party in Germany. During this period the educational system essentially digresses to the pre 1913 original Bavarian model of the pseudoclassicist character. 37 Any attempt at pedagogical and linguistic lireform are associated with treasonous activity: beral "...education in Demotic Geek is contemptuous-it is the language of communist propaganda...", "...previous educa-. tional reforms had the sole purpose of undermining religion, the Motherland and the family..." are characteristic remarks attributed to the first Minister of Education of the Metaxas dictatorship-K.Georgakopoulos. 38 As previous members of the Educational league and other spokesmen of progressive intellectual movements were imprisoned or exiled, the prospect of any liberal educational reform vanished. All activities related to youth, including their pedagogy, come under the jurisdiction of Metaxas dictatorship's Ministry of Education & Religion and E.O.N. (Ethniki Organosi Neoleas-National Youth Organization) fashioned after the nazi German youth movement "Hitlerjugend".³⁹

D. Reform of 1976

For nearly fourty years until 1976 there are only minor changes in the system with nothing resembling a liberalization like that of 1913. Though after the fall of the metaxoas dictatorship, organizations like E.O.N. were abolished, situational circumstances made the possibility of reform very difficult: The Second World War, Greek Civil War, a series of royalist-conservative regimes, the military coup d'Etat of April 21, 1967 and the ensuing years of military rule delay educational modernization and liberalization. Not until 1976 is the longest lasting to date liberal educational reform insituted. Until this time the Greek educational mechanism can be briefly characterized by the following points demonstrating the systems most consistent features since its earliest stages:

 a) Extreme centralization in two aspects-organization and geographic distribution of opportunity. Organizationally, nearly all decision making processes regarding all levels of the educational mechanism are concentrated at the omnipotent Ministry of Education. With regard to the distribution of educational opportunity-availability and quality are concentrated in Greece's urban areas-particularly the two largest cities. Athens and Thessaloniki-leaving rural areas educationally destitute.

b) A curricular structure and orientation overemphasizing general education, particularly classical studies, at the expense of technical vocatioal education.

c) An educational system detached from the actual economic activity on the job market (an element well characterized by the lack of technical vocational education).

d) Linguistic detachment from the masses through the imposition of Katharevousa-Purist Greek at all levels of the system.

e) A seriously deficient material infrastructure-lack of buildings and basic school equipment. 40

Delayed reform had serious consequences for the national character and level of education as well. On the eve of the educational reform of 1976 Greece displays not only a low overall educational level but a profound discrepency between urban and rural areas. Urban areas-basically the two largest centers-Athens and Thessaloniki-display consistent superiority as for as the lower percentages of illiterates and higher percentages of primary, intermediate school and university graduates. In some cases the discrepency between regions is great: According to the 1971 census the percentage of illiterates (aged ten and up) ranges from 7.6% (District of Athens) to 33.9% (Nome* of Xanthi); graduates of primary education range from 76.0% (District of Athens) to 38.9% (Nome of Xanthi); graduates of Intermediate education range from 26.6% (District of Athens) to 3.2% (Nome of Evritania); Graduates of University level education range from 5.3% (District of Athens) to 0.0% (Autonomous Orthodox region of Aghion Oros).⁴²

The Appendix displaying the figures for individual nomes of each geopolitical region, demonstrates the extent of imbalance and inequality with regard to the distribution of educational level within the country as well as the overall low national level. Maria Iliou in her Education and Social Dynamics remarks that even though the unequal distribution of educational level within Greece reflects the consequence factors-amoung others-regional historical deof numerous velopment, social stratification, local ethnic composition, the level of economic activity, topological and demographic factors, a considerable proportion of the situation is the outcome of unequal distribution of educational opportunitythe quality and density of regional school networks and the

^{*}Greece is administratively subdivided into Nomes (in Greek Nomoi)-Singular Nome (Nomos) Nomes are administrative subdivisions analogous in size and function to French "départements" and headed by a prefect or "nomarches".41

success with which the educational mechanism functions.⁴³ The Appendix also displays the level of illiteracy which to an extent illustrates the lack of universal participation in basic education and the failure of the primary education mechanism. In twelve nomes illiteracy surpasses 20% regardless of the fact that primary primary education is declared obligatory in the Constitution of 1911.⁴⁴ Sixty years later in the census of 1971 it is statistically displayed that 9.3% of the 20-24 years of age population group have not completed primary education.⁴⁵

Iliou goes further to point out the destitute situation of certain underprivileged groups-emphasizing women: In 1971 one fifth of the woman's population was illiterate and two out of three who had not completed primary education were women. 46 The figures for the region of Thrace and particularly those figures indicating the extremely high level of illiteracy and low level of educational achievement in the Nomes of Xanthi and Rodopi as compared to that of the Nome of Evros (and the rest of Greece) may be indicative of the educational situation of linguistic, ethnic and religious minorities in Greece. Though Greece as a whole is ethnically and linguistically homogeneous, these two regions of Thrace are exceptions. In both Xanthi and Rodopi approximately half of the populations speak either Turkish or Pomak as their mother tongue (according to the Census of 1951-the last census in which minority groups are included in statistical calculations-179,895 speak Turkish as their mother tongue, 18,671 speak

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Pomak, the populations of both minority groups being most heavily concentrated in Xanthi and Rodopi). 47 Relating this demographic information to statistical information regarding educational level it is very possible to come to the conclusion that the state educational mechanism either excluded these individuals or poorly accomodated the needs of the Turkish and Pomak speaking populations leaving them educationally desitute. This theory is reinforced by the fact that in the neighboring Nome of Evros, the situation is quite different. In Evros very similar to Xanthi and Rodopi topographically and economically but demographically distinct in that its minority population is insignificant, illiteracy is considerably lower and the level of education comparable to that of the rest of the nation and far higher than both Xanthi and Rodopi. Conclusively, prior to the reform of 1976, this heavily centralized mechanism characterized by an outdated curricular program, neglected technical vocational training and general remoteness from the economic developmental trends results in a country with an over all low educational level, marked discepency between rural and urban areas and seriously underprivileged groups.

The long over delayed reform of 1976 embodying aspirations of educational liberalization and modernization expressed but frustrated throughout the century is finaly realized in a climate of broader socio-economic and political liberal reform following the return to democracy (marked by the 1974 collapse of the regime initiated by the April 21, 1967 military insurrection). Unlike previous reforms this is promoted by the same conservative regime which had impeded former reform attempts:

> The reform of 1976 was possed as legislation in a climate of political change which didn't permit ultraconservative elements to act according to their earlier patterns. However, the fact that a conservative regime promotes the some reform measures that it had fiercely battled during past decades does not cease to be an irony of history. 48

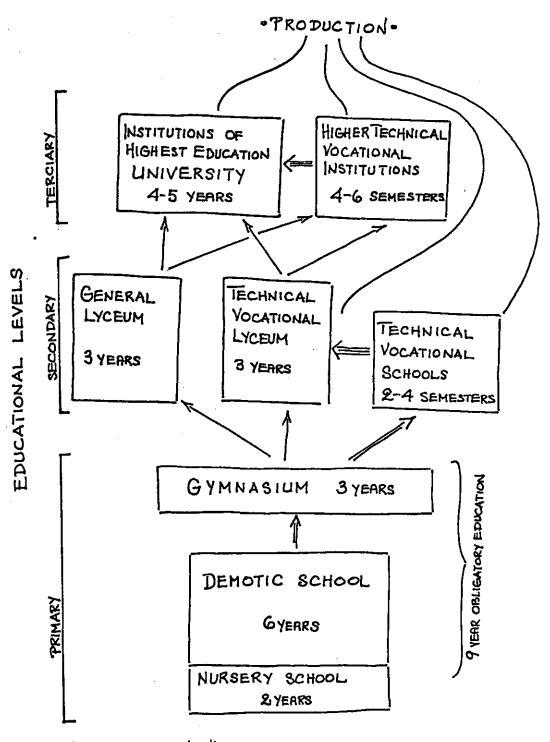
Speculations made by Greek educators as to why such a reform was proposed by conservative forces center around Greece's broader basically economic situation.⁹⁴ Economically characteristic of post Civil War Greece is an influx of foreign capital, industrial development, a decrease in small business and agricultural activity, the nations association with the European Economic Community and participation in broader economic circles of the west. Greece's educational system, particularly with its lack of technical-vocational training could not produce the cadres necessary for such economic development.⁵⁰ The reform of 1976 reflects a realization on the part of the periods conservative regime (and all other political groups) that Greece as an educational entity was simply unacceptable and inferior in comparison to the remainder of Europe for its low level and aloofness from the nation's economic reality and basic concepts of capitalist development; among political channels fear arose that the educational status quo was not only unfeasable but detrimental to economic development.⁵¹

The reform of 1976 composed of the two essential laws N.309 of 1976 involving "General Education" and N.576 of 1977 regarding "Technical and Vocational Education", ⁵² call for the reorganization of the educational mechanism according to Figure IV. In brief these essential laws of reform declare the following:

- The establishment of nine year compulsory education to be commenced at the Demotic level with the 1979-1980 academic year and 1980-1 academic year at the latest. Primary education is free at the Nursery and Demotic school level. Nursery school is of a two year duration and can become compulsory in certain regions of the country upon the request of the Minister of Education (Law N.309/1976).

- Demotic School importing primary education of a "humanistic nature" in the Demotic- colloquial language is of a six year duration. Entrance examinations for continuation to the Gymnasium are abolished (Law N.309/1976).

- The three year compulsory Gymnasium constitutes the first cycle of "general secondary education". Purpose of the Gymnasium is a continuation of a general education upon the academic foundations created by the Demotic School. The language of instruction is Demotic-colloquial Greek. At this level a considerable number of curricular changes are instituted: Ancient Greek text is to be tought exclusively in modern Demotic Greek translation, the hours of theoretical



->= Entrance upon examination =>= Entrance following placement examination

FIGURE IV. ORGANIZATION OF THE GREEK EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AS ESTABLISHED BY THE EDUCATIONAL REFORM OF 1976 (LAWS N.309/1976 ON GENERAL EDUCATION & LAW N.576/1977 ON TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION)

courses are reduced, courses in vocational orientation are introduced (Law N.309/1976).

- To Gymnasium graduates three options are made available (see Diagram IV):

(a) Without entrance examinations, access to the Technical Vocational Schools. These schools prepare students for semi-skilled and some skilled occupational activities as well as serve as access to the Technical Vocational Lyceum;

(b) Upon success of an entrance examination, access to the General Lyceum preparing students for University education. General Lyceum has a divided curriculum creating two branches: the theoretical-philological and practical-scientific, a specific branch to be chosen by the student according to personal interest and academic ambitions;

(c) Upon success of an entrance examination, access to the Technical Vocational Lyceum preparing students for skilled professions and if desired, entrance to the terciary-University level (upon certain conditions including the completion of certain additional course work not part of the normal curriculum) (Low N.576/1977).

- Parallel to the University the establishment of the Higher Technical-Vocational Institutions preparing students for higher skilled technical professions and offering access to the university (horizontal mobility) for those who so desire, upon a placement examination. Both the Universities and Higher Tech. Vocational Institutions comprise the terciary Educational Level (Law N.576/1977).

- Demotic-colloquial Greek is established at all levels of the educational system without exception (all textbooks are to be rewritten or translated from Katharevousa to Demotic (Law N.309/1976)⁵³

E. The Adjustments of 1981-82

The reform of 1976 though similar in content to previous reforms proves considerably more effective as it is implemented in an atmosphere of change throughout Greece's social, economic and political institutions.⁵⁴ An innovative, liberal and progressive open system is finally created and this context makes the development of a nonformal educational system 'iminent, 55 With the establishment of Demotic-clloquial Greek, nine year obligatory scholarship, essential program changes aimed at linking the ystem to the socioeconomic reality rather than a falsely glorified past, and the creation of ample alternatives to general education in the form of technical-vocational education at the secondary and terciary levels, the monolithic, sterile, elitist pattern of Greek education since its beginnings is broken. The innovative liberal momentum is further reiterated and complemented with supplementary adjustments made to the educational reform policy by the government of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement in 1981-1982. As displayed in Figure V, according to these subsequent adjustments:

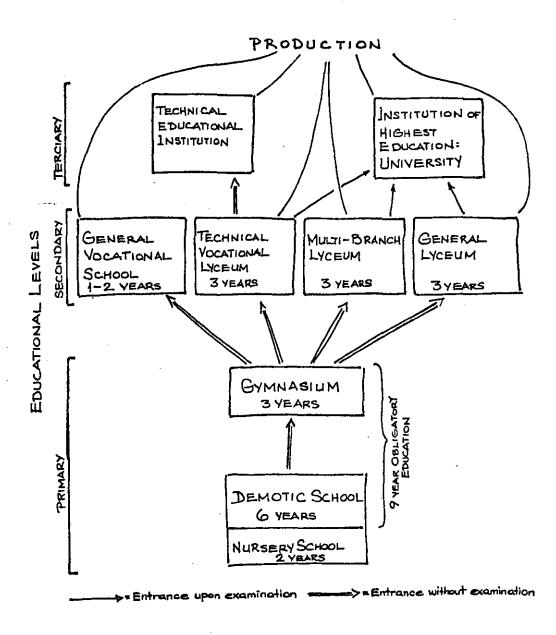


FIGURE V. ORGANIZATION OF THE GREEK EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM FOLLOWING SUBSEQUENT 1981, 82 ADJUSTMENTS MADE UPON THE REFORM OF 1976 (N.309/76 & N.576/77)

- All secondary education becomes accessible without entrance examinations
- Multi-Branch Lyceums, combining general education with technical vocational training in their curriculums, are established.
- The number of Higher Technical-Vocational Institutions renamed.

Technical Educational Institutions is multiplied, their programs broadened to include informatics-computer sciences and certain social sciences.⁵⁶ As the Five year Plan 1983-1987 states-the purpose of these adjustments is to further "..interlink education with the nations vocational priorities."⁵⁷ and "...abolish the barriers to the attainment of knowledge through education by supporting a flexible system of vertical and horizontal mobility."⁵⁸

In this climate of progressive reform, organized nonformal education is established. Like aspects of the formal educational reform of 1976, legislations passed in that year and 1977 are not implemented until the 1980's. In this manner paragraph 3 of Law N.147/76 of 1976 calling for "the establishment of a Directorate of Adult Education under the auspicies of the Ministry of National Education and Religion"⁵⁹ is neither completely materialized nor further elaborated on until 1981. In that year the establishment of organized adult education is declared, its character and function defined in the blueprint for national development to become the Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1983-1987. For the first time in Greece, adult education is incorporated into a scheme national development.

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THE DEVELOPMENT AND CHARACTER OF POPULAR EDUCATION

A. The Institutionalization of Popular Education

The basic points and goals of the Five Year Plan of Economic and Social Development for the period 1983-1987 were actually set forth in 1981 with the ascension to power of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement.¹ The specific aims pursued in education as stated within the plan's broader goals of "mobilization and utilization of the nations human dynamic element to achieve socialist reform of the economy, society and political life"² are the following:

- (1) The free and multifaceted personal development of the individual within an educational process and practice requiring a careful choice of goals. Through the individual and society the long term aim of education is to secure cultural development.
- (2) The harmonious interlinking of education and vocational occupational priorities. Education is a social good and the State is obliged to secure this good for all.
 - (3) The requirement of the state to inform, within the process of democratic planning, every citizen of future occupational possibilities in the various economic sectors-in which the individual may be interested or for which the individual may have pursued academically.

- (4) The social recognition of the value of work. The realization of one's right to paritcipate in education and the occupational activity desired.
- (5) The revision of curricular programs having in mind the necessity of importing "contemporary general knowledge" of a theoretical and practical nature.
- (6) The institutionalization of a system of adult education to develop parallelly to the formal system in such a way that one complements the other.
- (7) The realization of the necessity and the encouragement of popular participation in whatever involves the planning and implementation of educational policy.³

The reference to the establishment of a system of adult education in the Five Year Plan (point 6) is the point of commencement for this institutions organized development. The function education is to have in implementation of the Five Year Plan 83-87 -cultivation of the individual- propelling personal development; social mobilization-motivating economic and political popular participation; connecting the individual and society to the economic mechanism-stimulating increased productivity, are further reiterated as the direction and general aims sought in adult education programs:

> ... among the basic pursuits (of the Five Year Plan) is included the development in as wide a range as possible, of programs of continuing education-adult education. Programs will be developed and supported in light of the need of ameliorating the situation of work and production with the least possible social and economic sacrifice (combating unemployment, underemployment, increasing decreasing productivity etc.). Programs will also be developed in light of the need of the popularization of scientific and other knowledge so that the People -participatin all aspects of democratic proging

ramming- obtain the definite power to pertain to the economic and social re-form.4

Institutionalization of a system of adult education working parallel and complementarily to the formal system as stated in the plan⁵ is mentioned in a later paragraph comprising the only specific reference to the type of programs to be conducted by adult education institutions:

> "Importance and preference will be given to adult education programs for youth that attempted but failed to enter and paritcipate in formal education of the terciary level (University). Likewise importance shall be given to the development of special programs for returning immigrants and workers.⁰

With regard to formal education this paragraph suggests that the adult education mechanism will have as one of its functions-compensation for what the formal system has neglected. As previously mentioned the numerous barriers to higher education and the absence of technical vocational training characteristic of what the plan itself labels an "elitist"⁷ educational system, resulted in the creation of a number of neglected categories. This paragraph in its reference to youth who have failed to enter higher education, presents one of these neglected categories to be dealt with by adult education. In this statement is also the first distinction of target groups (returning immigrants and workers) a topic to be further elaborated on in later adult education planning. Finally the Five Year Plan calls for the establish-

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ment of a general secretariat to deal with the drafting and implementation of a code of adult education:

> ...For the institutionalization of adult education, the major political measures shall be the establishment of a General Secretariat of Adult Education, within the Ministry of National Education and Religion, whose responsibility will be to draft and materalize a Canon for the development of the institution.8

The institutionalization of adult education through the creation of a general secretariat and code is carried out by an executive body created solely for this purpose in late 1981. This body known as the Central Council of Popular Education was composed of representatives of the Ministries of National Education and Religion, Culture, National Economy, Agriculture; various state organizations-Greek Tourist Organization, Organization for the Occupation of the Work Force, Greek Center of Production; representatives of the formal educational system-Highest Institutions of Education, Technical Occupational Academies. Leading the Council were the then Ministers of Education, Culture and National Economy. 9 This council drafted the Code of Popular Education published in the Government Gazette of December 31, 1982.¹⁰ In this code institutionalized adult education is renamed Popular Education, its nature is defined, its direction, principles and aims determined, and its administrative structure planned.

Though the Code of Popular Education is designed to define and characterize that particular institution, Article I. defines Popular Education as "...every type of organized education outside of the formal school system..."¹¹ suggesting though not further specifying that Popular Education is to be understood not only as the specific institution's title but as a generic term implying all organized nonformal educational activity. The focus of this research however is on the state organized institution of adult education titled Popular Education.

Article 1- "Definition" further states:

Among the aims of Popular Education is the free development of each individual's personality regardless of educational level, age or sex; additionally the aim of Popular Education is the promotion of active participation in the social, economic and cultural life of the country. 12

This definition sets forth the non discriminatory policy of Popular Education and somewhat dilutes its exclusivity as an institution for adults by opening its functions to all regardless of age as well. If there is any reason to justify, the inclusion of all age groups in Popular Education programs is necessary considering Greece's educational circumstances in which one of the most seriously underpriviteged groups is comprised of young drop-outs from formal education (a phenomena referred to by Iliou as the "steady leakage of students from the school system commencing at the primary level),¹³ illiterate youth (nearly 10% of the 20-24 age group had not completed elementary education in 1971)¹⁴ and young people barred from secondary education for failure on competitive entrance examinations. However, it should be noted that certain Popular Education programs pertaining to social-cultural issues are exclusively designed for the 15 and above age group.¹⁵

Article I also presents one of the basic of the manifold social dimensions of Popular Education-mainly that of stimulating social mobilization. Thought this function may be interpreted as being rooted in deeper intentions of the Socialist government to rally the public around proposed Socialist erform, it should not be overlooked that this point reflects a wider world tendency in nonformal education to inculcate a sense of social, economic and cultural identity in the individual and his relation to society- "...to inculcate a sense of national identity and social cohesion so that citizens will pull together for the common good". 16. The broader acceptance of this function is further expressed by Joachim H.Knoll in his article "Findings and Trends in Adult Education in a European Perspective", in a reference to adult education policy regarding marginal groups in the Federal Republic of Germany: "Establishment of a comprehensive basic or minimum offer to enable the citizen to find his way through his social, political and economic relationships and to participate in shaping it"¹⁷.

B. Principles

Popular Education as a nondiscriminatory nonformal educational institution with social, economic, political and cultural functions is based on the principles outlined in Article II- "Principles" of the Code of Popular Education:

Popular Education is based on the following principles:

- 1. The need for continual education of the people.
- 2. The recognition that school education and Popular Education are complimentary parts of lifelong education.
- 3. The right of all to participate in continual education and the right to vocational formation.
- 4. The collectiveness, equality and solidarity among all those who participate in the learning process.
- 5. The recognition that all participants are carriers of an invaluable experience that should be exploited in the road to knowledge.
- 6. The recognition that the process of learning makes up an inexhaustible spring of knowledge.
- The fight against educational inequality which is both the cause and consequence of social and economic inequality.
- 8. The affirmation that knowledge is a prerequisite for the active participation of every citizen in economic, social, cultural and political life.18

The principles expressed in Article II of the Code clearly reflect a tendency in favor of educational renovation and expansion. According to these principles, adult education is to become part of a broader process known as lifelong education. Regarding lifelong education Lowe in his <u>The Education</u> of Adults: A World Perspective expresses the fear that the development of such a system may actually be detrimental to adult education resulting in an expansion of "post school formal education and occupational training, directing attention to man as a producer and neglecting his family and civic functions".¹⁹ Greek adult education planners do not however seem to perceive the existence of such a threat suggesting that school (formal) education and Popular Eudcation shall work complimentarily in the achievement of a life-long educational process for all (Point 2, Article II-code). Furthermore Popular Education is endowed with certain social functions like social mobilization, completely foreign (historically and traditionally) to Greece's formal educational process; in short the possibility of the formal educational mechanism's usurping the functions of Popular Education (integrating them into its formal program) seems rather remote.

"Knowledge", a rather abstract concept left undefined in the Code, is referred to in a number of the principles in varying contexts. Basically Aritcle II suggests that knowledge is what shall be imparted by Popular Education, that the acquiring of knowledge is a prerequisite for one's participation in the process of social mobilization, an inequality of knowledge reflects broader injustices and disparities in society. Knowledge is seen as a multifaceted good -a stepping stone in fulfilling personal, social potential and all-round development. Furthermore, not only knowledge but the process by which it is to be attained -collectively- (Point 4) reflects once again the broader social dimensions of the institution. Point 4 of Article II "Principles" emphasizes the "collectiveness, equality and solidarity among all those who participate in the learning process".²⁰. This principle suggests that in fostering civic commitment and public participation the institution commences the process within its channels by developing a sense of striving for a common good and a spirit of cooperation among the participants.

C. Aims

The multiple tasks and functions of Popular Education are more specifically reflected in the goals outlined in Article III: "Aims" of the Code:

- 1. The development of the necessary prerequisites for the functioning of a system of continual education of vocational orientation and formation.
- The multifaceted development of the human character within the atmosphere of abrupt economic, social, scientific and technological change.
- 3. The securing of consciouss and consequential participation of the individual in the life of the society's entirety and the development of the ability to create new material goods and new intelectual aesthetic values.
- 4. The cultivation of a sense of understanding and respect towards different traditions and cultures at the national and international level.
- 5. A realization of the value of the natural, historical and cultural environment, cultural heritage and contribution to its protection and improvement.
- 6. Cultural and socio-economic development.
- 7. Cultural and socio-economic decentralization.
- 8. Contribution in the attempt to restrain the trend of migration to the urban centers; contribution

towards the development of underdeveloped peripheral areas; the revitalization of rural areas.

- 9. Contribution towards the development of new activities of production and new relationships within the mechanism of production which shall contribute to the reduction of unemployment and underemployment.
- 10. Offering of alternative occupational opportunities with additional educational formation, particularly for those endangered by unemployment because of changing demands on the job market.
- 11. The fight against illiteracy and semiliteracy.
- 12. Contribution towards the satisfaction of the educational needs of Greeks residing abroad-in the conservation of their national, cultural identity, in assisting in their smooth reaclimatization and repatriation to Greek society. This shall be carried out through the materialization of special educational programs carried out by organizations in the countries they reside working in conjuction with Popular Education.
- 13. Contribution towards the solution of personal, family and social problems (health, family relations, environment etc.)
- 14. The preparation for creative orientation of retiring and retired individuals.
- 15. The creative utilization of free time through the cultivation of personal interests, talents and tendencies.
- 16. The progressive securing of equality of opportunity and balanced social progress.
- 17. The social-vocational rehabilitation and help to physically and mentally disadvantaged (disabled) individuals.
- 18. Contribution towards the elimination of the conceptual opposition between intellectual and manual work and the fight against any such anachronistic ideas.
- 19. Informing on issues such as the structure and function of the State, the Public Administration, Local Self-Administration, enterprises and collectives, as well as informing about the rights and obligations of workers.

- 20. Contribution towards the solution of local problems through local initiative, having in mind the particularities of the region.
- 21. The active popular participation at all decision making levels, active participation in the materialization of decisions.21

Being the first such code for a truly novel institution in Greece, the first point in Article III. "Aims" presents a preparatory goal outside of the new institution's interior function-basically the establishment of an infrastructure for Popular Education. As an institution inculcating a sense of social mobilization, the creation of Popular Education itself and furthermore its development are to be carried out through a process in which active social participation is present (Point 21).

The trends of Popular Education as expressed through the goals of Article III reflect broader tendencies of adult education in both the developed and underdeveloped countries. This what one might label "dual character" of Popular Education is a feature to be expected considering Greece's socioeconomic idiosyncracy. A number of developmental economists during the last few years have characterized Greece's socioeconomic position as a peripheral one, whereby a relationship of economic dependence exists with the metropolis 22 - in this case the developed nations of the West. Takis Fotopoulos in Dependent Development: The Greek Case expresses the his existence of such a relationship and further reiterates the fact that Greece's economic development has been increasingly controlled and dependent on Western capital in the attempt

to industrialize and develop technology. Symptomatic of this periphery-metropolis relationship, Fotopoulos continues, has been Greece's unequal development with the nation's economic, particularly industrial activities, concentrated in the major urban areas. The result has been on equal distribution of income (geographic and class), an economically neglected rural region abandoned by its populous because of internal migration to the economically more prosperous urban areas, emigration abroad.²³ Whether one chooses to accept an interpretation like that of Fotopoulos or not, Greece undoubtedly displays a dichotomous socio-economic character with a severe discrepency existing between the developed urban centers and underprivileged rural regions. As earlier mentioned this situation -a discrepency between the urban and rural- is clearly mirrored in Greece's educational condition.

The goals set by Popular Education reflect a sensitivity towards the nation's various educational needs resulting from its dichotomous socio-economic situation with certain goals typical of nonformal educational programs in the underdeveloped Third World, and other aims more typical of those set by adult education functions-particularly those related to public or collective goals which he classifies under two broad headings: "(a) those relating to the pursuit of national goals; and (b) those relating to community (goals)".²⁴ Aside from aims pertaining to vocational orientation and formation in accordance with the demands of the changing job market ("Virtually all countries now appreciate that economic prosperity and stability are contingent upon creating and maintaining an adequate supply of motivated and skilled manpower"²⁵), Popular Education has set aims related to the aleviation of a more specific national -community probleminternal migration. In points 7 and 8 of Article III- "Aims", the code specifies that Popular Education through its functions will contribute to the restraint of movement to urban areas, and contribute in the reparation of this phenomena's outcome-the abondonment and neglect of rural areas, socio economic cultural centralization.

At the community level Popular Education aspires to contribute towards the solution of local problems through local initiatives (Article III, point 20) - a clear reference to the cooperation for community development by Popular Education working in conjunction with the Organizations of Local Self-Administration (Topiki Aftodioikisi). Local Self-Administration, a concept and institution legislatively defined in the Constitution of the Hellenic Republic of 1975,²⁶ is revitalized after 1981 in an attempt to break down centralized administration of the nation. Local Self-Administration represents an attempt to distribute the responsibility of the central decision-making mechanism - opting for regional administrative autonomy whereby nome administrators (better comprehending their regions particularities) are encouraged to take the initiative and are invested with the authority to legislate changes without consulting the central national authorities.²⁷ Aside from socio-economic goals related to the community or society as a whole, Popular Education in point 2 of Article III focuses on the individual struggling to survive and maintain his identity in an atmosphere of abrupt change. This goal seems to express a bold attempt on the part of Popular Education to conduct on educational process by which the individual is constantly oriented and aclimatized to the sudden changes of socio-economic conditions so characteristic of developing countires like Greece.

Goals set by Popular Education also reflect adult education trends in the developed countries, though not exclusively of these. Joachim H.Knoll (in his article "Findings and Trends in Adult Education in a European Perspective") describes "expansion of cultural education" as one of the contemporary primary directions in the Federal Republic of Germany.²⁸ Cultural education is implied amply in Popular Educations aims referring to cultural development and the cultivation of aesthetic values, understanding and respect for domestic and foreign tradition and historical heritage (points 4, 5 & 6, Article III). Though leisure remains a scarce commodity for many inhabitants of the world, because of in the developed nations 29 and in Greece leisure time is increasing (decreased working hours, shortening of the work week and earlier retirement) creating free time, utilization of which adult education might be responsible. Points 14 and 15 of Article III "Aims" present Popular Education's functional intention to assist individuals in utilizing their free time from occupation or retirement period creatively for the development of personal interests or talents.

Though the goals of Popular Education cover many aspects of the social, economic, cultural and political sphere, suggesting functions all very pertinent to the Greek reality and in harmony with broader international trends in adult education, as goals however these 21 points may present number of problems in the realm of implementation. Should а a well formulated goal be considered a directive indicating a particular function and that function's specific outcome, the goals set by Popular Education are too general and thereby rather abstract. Serving better as theoretical points expressing Popular Education's philosophical directions, a number of the goals do not give a clear idea of the specific outcome sought through a function. An example to point might be: "The securing of conscious and consequential participation of the individual in the life of the society's entirety and the ability to create new material goods and new intellectual aesthetic values" (Point A, Article III); in this goal there is a definite ambiguity as to the specific function(s) to be executed and outcomes pursued - are they social mobilization, higher productivity or a change in aesthetic values? This lack of clarity is not confined to the more "complex" goals like the above but characteristic of the "simpler" ones as well: "The fight against illiteracy and semiliteracy" (Point 11, Aritcle III, "Aims"). For implementation's sake a for more directive goal would be one expressing

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the elimination of illiteracy or its reduction to some specific percentage level within a designated chronological period. criticism of the goals of Article III as a body reveals A weaknesses not only in clarity but in conciseness as well namely because of a problem of tautology. Many of the more complex compound goals are redundant in that they imply aims set by other points of the body. For example points 4 and 5, 7 and 8 or 9 and 10 are between themselves very close in the functions and aims they imply. In the defense of repetion one may of course maintain that tautology has been over looked in order to emphasize the importance of those particular aspects of Popular Education's functions and goals deemed most essential. However, once again for the sake of more suceffective implementation, precise, specific cessful and concisely expressed aims might be more directive.

D. Administrative Structure

"The materialization of the aims set by Popular Education occurs within the framework of an appropriately constructed administrative mechanism. Appropriate in the sense that this organizational system does not conflict with (but compliments) the conceptual composition of the aims": ³⁰ This reference illustrates the importance of the institutions principles and goals not only in educational functions but in the administrative organization of Popular Education as well. The importance of decentralization, local initiative as conceived by Local Self, Administration, and popular participation so emphasized in Popular Education's principles and aims are concepts heavily influencing the institutions administrative structure.

The General Secretariat of Popular Education exists as an administrative unit functioning under a collaboration of the Ministry of National Education and Religion and the Ministry of Culture. Although though, aside from these ministries, the General Secretariat represents the formal hierarchical peak of the Popular Education administrative structure, as far as the concrete implementation of goals this body is merely figurative in function. The General Secretariat sets the theoretical guidelines for adult education in Greece and monitors lower levels of the mechanism in their application of the concepts defined in the Code of Popular Education. Furthermore the General Secretariat maintains the UNESCO Information and Documentation Centre, the Central Popular Education Library and directs the institution's educational and other publications. Communication and collaboration with foreign adult education agencies is to a certain extent carried out by the General Secretariat though not exclusively by it as this is also done at lower local levels. 31 .

The nucleus of Popular Education's administration in the realm of implementation is the NELE (Nomarchiki Epitropi Laikis Epimorfosis) or Nome Committee of Popular Education. The NELE function at the local level with each of Greece's 51 nomes forming its own committee, each committee forming

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a SLE (Simvoulio Laikis Epimorfosis) or Counseling Body of Popular Education. The NELE are composed of a wide range of representatives of national and local social, political, economic and cultural institutions (see Figure VI) congregated to plan and implement adult education programs in harmony with the aims and principles set by the government Five Year Plan, the General Secretariat's Code of Popular Education, and the particularities of the region (nome). Responsabilities of the NELE are the following:

- The coordination of efforts in the realm of education (by the institions represented in the NELE structure; the development of cooperation with all organizations, public or private, which may be conducting educational activities.
- Approval for the establishment of adult education
 Educational Centers and Night Demotic Schools following the suggestion of the Counseling Body of Popular Education.
- The hiring and releasing of personelle and Educational Center staff upon the suggestion of the Counseling Body of Popular Education.
- The Monitoring of the Educational Centers ensuring their proper function.
- The organization within and outside of the Popular Education Center of educational programs and events of a social and cultural nature.
- The organization of educational programs and seminars for the further training of Popular Education Center instructors.
- The Management of the NELE bank account to be opened in the Bank of Greece. All NELE funds and income (for example those originating from government sources, donations, income or profit from NELE activities) are to be deposited in this account. NELE decides how account money is to be spent on educational activities in its region.
- The establishment of a loaning library with didactic (educational) and auxiliary equipment related to Popular Education.

The SLE or Counseling Body to Popular Education is embodied within the NELE and formed under the supervision of the nomarch. As its title suggests the SLE is a counseling, advisory board serving as a link between NELE and developments within the Generial Secretariat, activities of the Local Self Administration, State Planning Commission (Five Year Plan developments), and other national or local institutions. Furthermore it is the responsibility of SLE to maintain contact with adult education agencies in other countries, particularly with those nations where there is a significant Greek minority community (in order to execute joint program efforts). Other responsibilities of the SLE include:

- The proposition of infrastructural changes with regard to the material-technical development and enriching of Popular Education Centers.
- The proposition of and suggestions related to the establishment of new Popular Education Centers.
- The hiring and releasing of center personnel and staff.
- The organization of educational seminars for center directors and staff designed to inform on conceptual developments within the General Secretariat, the field and adult education developmental trends abroad.
- The development of teaching material and ensuring its distribution to centers.
- The conducting of research related to needs assesment and program development.³⁴

On a number of points the responsibilities of the SLE coincide with those of the NELE, one must keep in mind that structurally the latter contains the earlier and these two bodies work jointly in policy planning and implementation: SLE more as a planning unit and the remainder of the NELE as an implementing unit. The SLE, as a body within the NELE serving as a line of Communication with national and local authorities representing Greece's broader social, economic, political and cultural trends, has as its principle responsibility the conducting of research related to needs assessment, program development and the assessment of implementation. Article XIII "Responsabilities of the Counseling Body to Popular Education" specifies SLE activities in the above realms.

- B. Five days a month the Counseling Body to Popular Education will have as its sole occupation contacts with NELE authorities and center staff for the dealing of issues related to:
 - (a) pedagogical method and material taught.
 - (b) program development, refining course content.
 - (c) evaluation of the pedagogical methods applied in centers.
 - (d) development of experimental projects related to pedagogical method, program development and course content*.
- C. Each member of the Counseling Body of Popular Education in a coordinated effort with the educational center staff shall:
 - (a) realize a process of needs assessment of their respective regions (nomes) through research.
 - (b) cooperate with the Local Self-Administration authorities and any other organizations which might be able to contribute to Popular Education efforts.
 - (c) define individual or social groups for whom Popular Education programs may be beneficial. Develop programs for groups with special educational needs...35

^{*}The General Secretariat of Popular Education may assign members of SLE with special knowledge, training or experience to organize experimental programs or training seminars for educators at the nome, eparchy or Panhellenic level.36

SLE as an advisory body conducts research and experimental programs related to needs assessment, program planning, development and the distinguishing of target groups. Based upon this research and conclusive recommendations, NELE proceeds to implement its program through the Centers of Popular Education. There is no prescribed limit as to the number of centers to be established in each name, however, each must conduct at least 8 courses or seminars at a given time.³⁷

The most notable and predominant administrative structural feature of Popular Education is its decentralized character. The essence of the administration is the NELE which functions at the name level as an autonomous from the center unit. Functioning within the conceptual guidelines developed and set by the center or General Secretariat of Popular Education, the NELE and its submit SLE conduct their own research and experimental programs in an attempt to develop nonformal educational activities sensitive to the particularities, appeasing the special educational necessities of their respective regions. In this sense Popular Education's administrative structure works in harmony works in harmony with the institution's principle of creating a nation in which authority is decentralized -social, economic, cultural and political activity and opportunity equally distributedaim shared by the Local Self-Administration authorities an as well. Through this administrative structure of distributed responsibility Popular Education aims to create an atmosphere

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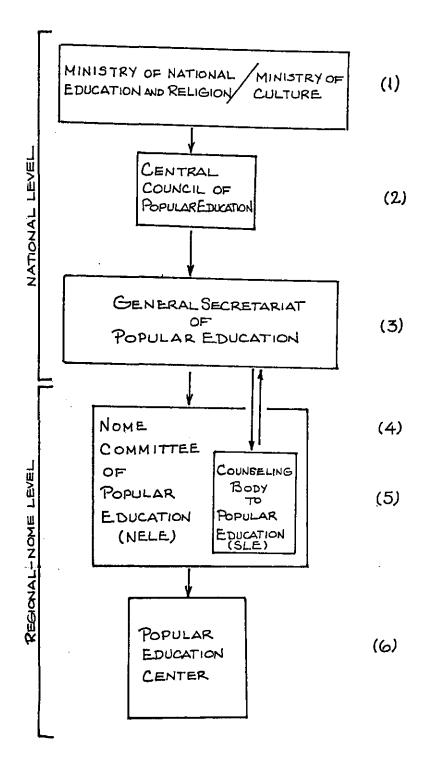


FIGURE VI. ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF POPULAR EDUCATION (MINISTRY OF NATIONAL EDUCATION & RELIGION, MINISTRY OF CULTURE & SCIENCES-GENERAL SECRETARIAT OF POPULAR EDUCATION, TEXTS ON POPULAR EDUCATION, ATHENS 1985./GOVERNMENT GAZETTE OF THE HELLENIC REPUBLIC No.894 ATHENS 1985) in which popular paritcipation is necessary and present, an atmosphere conducive to the taking of local initiative and decision making processes.

E. Pedagogy

Though the administrative structure through the NELE AND SLE prescribes and provides for a forum of discussion on teaching method or the pedagogy to be applied in the centers, pedagogy is not a heaviy belabored issue in Popular Education. This is not however to say that the institution does not take a stand and define its proposed pedagogical approach at least in broad conceptual terms. In "Framework for the qualitative improvement of Popular Education" a 23.10.85 declaration made by Theofrastos Gerou current General Secretary of Popular Education appointed in 1985, the following reference to pedagoy is made.

> Popular Education programs are to be realized through a process of antiauthoritarian, participatory, collective pedagogical practice characterized by creative dialogue and the desire to reveal the essence of human relationships. 38

Though in this statement Theofrastos Gerou makes no mention of Paulo Freire it is highly likely that this is a direct reference to Freire's concepts regarding pedagogical process. In <u>Deep Incisions into Education 1981-1985</u> Greou compiles on annotated bibliography of the work of Paulo Freire and presents a number of critical essays on Freire's theories intro-

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ducing this pedagogue to Greek educational circles and particularly to adult education planners and implementers.³⁹ The themes which Gerou adopts as central from Freire's work are those of 'dialogue' and 'conscientization'. Briefly, to be understood by 'dialogue' is a pedagogical means whereby a non hierarchical, vertical relationship exists between educator and educatee. Within the framework of this relationship, revealing dialogue evolves from which consequential themes are born and develop. Paulo Freire expresses this notion thus,

> Authentic education is not carried on by 'A' for 'B' or by 'A' about 'B' but rather by 'A' with 'B', mediated by the world - a world which impresses and challenges both parties, giving rise to views or opinions about it. These views, impregnated with anxieties, doubts, hopes or hopelessness, imply significant themes on the basis of which the program content of education can be built. 40

'Dialogue' is not only a pedagogical process by its nature non-hierarhical and anti-autocratic but a means of defining the content of education. Through this process the basic aim is to achieve 'conscientization', one of Freire's essential concepts which implies a critical understanding of reality and causality:

> As they (men) apprehend a phenomenon or a problem, they also apprehend its causal links. The more accurately men true causality, the more critical their understanding of reality will be. Their understanding will be magical to the degree that they fail to grasp causality. Further, critical consciousness always

submits that causality to analysis; what is true today may not be true tomorrow. Naive consciousness sees causality as a static, established fact, and thus is deceived in its perception. Critical consciousness represents 'things and facts as they' exist empirically, in their causal and circumstantical correlations...naive consciousness considers itself superior to facts, in control of facts, and thus free to understand them as it pleases' (Alvaro Vieira Pİnto, Consciência e Realidade Nacional, Rio de Janeiro 1961) ... We wanted to offer the people the means by which they could supersede their magic or naive perception of reality by one that was predominantly critical, so that they could assume positions appropriate to the dynamic climate of the transition.41

This type of process places in a pedagogical perspective the principle of popular paritcipation so vehemently stressed by Popular Education. As Freire suggests, only a process of 'dialogue' and 'conscientization' creates individuals who can grasp reality having comprehended its causality, and through these revelations understand their ability to mold and shape reality. In a 1985 informative bulletin on Popular Education released by the General Secretariat, the question of whether pedagogy is "neutral" arises:

> The question which arises is whether pedagogy can be 'neutral' overlooking social hierarchical patterns based on repression and dependence or whether pedagogy should fight this neutrality aiming for the destruction of hierarchical social patterns, pursuing the individual's realization of these patterns as a first step towards individual and thereby social freedom. 42

The conceptual conclusion reached in the bulletin's report on pedagogy is that if the process realized by Popular Education is to have as its goal liberalization of society through the development of social mobilization, then its pedagogy cannot be a 'neutral' one.

References to pedagogy in Popular Education documents are not sepcific with directions prescribing particular teaching methods but rather of a conceptual, philosophical nature. Essential to the theories revealed is the adoption by Popular Education of a pedagogical process based on dialogue through which critical understanding is reached. Popular participation, one of Popular Education's primary aims, is not possible without individuals performing critical thought processes who believe they can be consequential in affecting the causality of reality.

F. Program and Courses

"Popular Education courses and seminars comprise the nuclei in which the institution's principles and aims are materialized".⁴³ As previously mentioned, these courses are realized after a process of needs assessment, program planning and development as well as the defining of target groups. Implementation of programs occurs in Popular Education courses in which an anti-authoritarian educational process and pedagogy based on creative dialogue takes place between educators and paritcipants. As stated in the "Informative Bulletin" of 1985, Popular Education courses in their thematic content attempt to

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...penetrate the most crucial levels of life in Greece, in harmony with the existing and forcasted needs which exist, taking into consideration the developmental philosophy of the five year socioeconomic plans...44

Popular Education courses are divided into two broad categories (a) courses related to vocational formation, and (b) courses related to socio-cultural issues. Courses in vocational formation, presently comprising about 75% of the Popular Education courses, are designed to involve productive occupational training with the ain, of creating semi skilled and skilled individuals capable of paritcipating in productive activities and succeeeding on the job market. Through vocational training Popular Education realizes on of its aims of paritcipating in the nations developmental process by dispensing educational training pertinent to the nation's economic activities and thereby combating unemployment by creating employable individuals. The proposed list of themes to be covered in Popular Education programs and courses are for 1985-1986:

- Floriculture, forestry, beekeeping, fish cultivation and forming
- Repair and maintenance of agricultural machinery
- Training of hotel and small business employees
- Training of office employees (typing, stenography, business correspondence, special terminology in foreign languages, computer programming and TELEX etc.)

- Traditional building trades (construction)
- Constructing of traditional musical instruments, furniture, wood cutting and woodworks.
- Ceramics and pottery
- Cultural courses whose sole purpose is the creation of professiona groups (music and dancing and theatre groups)
- Decorative arts, jewelry making
- Cutting and sewing
- Embroidery and knitting
- Weaving
- Batik and textile design
- Maintenance and repair of household appliances
- Small sea craft building
- Book binding
- Fur production
- Photography⁴⁵

According to the General Secretariat's 31-5-85 supplementary circular, in addition to the above themes, each nome each year can establish up to 15 courses in vocational formation on themes not proposed by the General Secretariat but of content pertinent to the regions economic activities, related to the particularities of the nome. These courses are designed by NELE and SLE authorities.⁴⁶

Of the themes listed, special attention should perhaps be given to courses in handicrafts, particularly those related to needlework, cutting and sewing. Courses of this nature approximately 1/3 of the total Popular make-up Education offered throughout the country (for more courses precise figures regarding handicraft courses see Tables IA and IB). For 1986 the General Secretariat recommends that the number of courses in needlework, cutting and sewing in each name, should correspond to the number of centers in each name (in other words an average of one such course per center). 47 The maintenance of these programs at a controlled level and a simultaneous gradual reduction of the number of these courses (a trend displayed graphically in Table IB) has been sought by Popular Education for a number of reasons: On the one hand one of Popular Education's basic interests has been to address women (it is assumed that women will make-up the bulk of participants in such courses), particularly women of the agricultural periphery, to offer them educational opportunities corresponding to their desires and simultaneously offering rural women some kind of vocational outlet. In light of these concerns of Popular Education, embroidery, cutting and sewing course are maintained. On the other hand there exists a trend within adult education planning circles to move away from traditional occupations and particularly away from vocations stereotyped by sex in order to developed vocational programs more relevant to contemporary economic developments, programs aimed at participants male and female alike.

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Distribution of Number of Courses Years By Subject of Courses*

	Courses/Seminars			
Course Themes and Subjects	1982	1983	1984 (First Half)	
Handicrafts	8,727	6,603	4,290	
	5.3%	49.9%	45.9%	
Traditional Arts&Trades	725	1,308	963	
Conservation&Development	4.4%	9.9%	10.3%	
Cattle Ransing, Animal	850	724	486	
Husbandry, Fishing	5.2%	5.5%	5.2%	
Mechanics, Electronics	849	701	449	
Informatics&Engineering	5.2%	5.3%	4.8%	
Marketing, Management	4,963	3,226	2,280	
Business Sciences	30.3%	24.3%	24.4%	
Social Studies	284	674	878	
	1.7%	5.1%	9.4%	
TOTAL	16,398	13,236	9,348	
	100%	100%	100%	

TABLE IB

Distribution of Number of Handicraft Courses, Number and Percentage of Handicraft Courses in Cutting and Sewing by Year

Years	Number of Handicraft Courses	Number and Percent of Handicraft Courses in Cutting&Sewing
1982	8,727	6,345 72%
1983	6,603	2,497 38%
1984 (Firsthalf)	4,290	1,460 34%

*(Ministry of national education and religion, general secretariat of popular education, "Popular Education '85: Informative Bulletin", Athens 1985). Characteristics is a constant increase of course in peripheral (rural) areas related to subjects of contemporary technology as well as topics for which there is a demand in todays job market such as:

- technology of informatics (computer programming)
- training in the "Services" sector with educational programs in foreign language business terminology, TELEX, typewriting, etc.
- syndicalism and collectivization
- bee keeping
- floriculture
- construction of musical instruments

Simultaneously there is a steady decrease of courses in traditional "women's" occupations such as cutting-sewing, embroidery and knitting. 48

Commencing in 1984 with the handicraft courses and later implemental in other courses of a vocational training nature, Popular Education planners have recommended and instructors applied an expansion of the material covered in vocational training courses. By Popular Education authorities this "expansion of course material" is referred to as "Dievrinsi" (literally, spreading or dilation) or "enrichment". 49 "Enrichment" as a concept expresses the desire of Popular Education organizers to enrich courses in vocational training with social, economic political and cultural themes. "Enrichment" commenced with an experimental application in cutting and sewing courses in early 1984. With the application of this concept, aside from classic vocational training, participants of those courses received briefing on issues concerning the job market and occupational opportunity related to their trade, syndicalization, collectivization, marketing of

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goods, pooling and utilization of profits to improve collective labor situations.⁵⁰ So "Enrichment" allows participants who attend courses in vocational formation to not only secure knowledge in a particular trade but to expand their understanding of issues which affect them related to syndicalist and other worker's issues as well as social issues: Woman's position in society, parent-child relationship, health, hygiene, cultural trends to mention a few of the more frequently dealt with themes. Since 1984, "Enrichment" has become an essential part of all vocational training courses conducted within the framework of Popular Education:

> An inseperable part of vocational formation should be an attempt to transmit to the learner the economic, social and political dimensions and relations of his/her occupation. This knowledge is a prerequisite for the individual's participation in the formation of working conditions, for the individual's comprehension of the importance of work in man's life, for the individual's ability to negotiate his/her position in the job market without becoming an object of exploitation.51

Instituted in all occupational education courses "Enrichment" is conducted during seperate teaching hours constituting 10%-20% of the courses total number of hours.

Though "Enrichment" of vocational training courses may at first sight appear to be an infrigement on the activities occuring within the framework of Popular Education's courses related to social and cultural issues, this type of course is maintained as a distinct category within the insti-

tution's activities. Actually "Enrichment" corresponds with social-cultural courses on many points thereby integrating the vocational and social-cultural course categories previously more sharply distinguished by content material. Programs and courses of a social-cultural nature are of growing importance within Popular Education activities. A steady increase in the number of these courses and their percentage within the total of courses has been taking place since Popular Education's establishment. Courses categorized as having a "social study" theme were by number 284 in 1982, 674 in 1983 and 878 during the first half of 1984 -percentage wise-1.7%, 5.1% and 9.4% respectively (see Table I.A). A General Secretariat circular dated 23.10.85 expresses a desire to increase the number of these programs suggesting that by 1986 social-cultural courses should make-up 25% of the courses offered in Popular Education Centers (projections for a 1987 further increase of this percentage are made in the same circular)⁵². Though the two types of courses offered within the framework of Popular Education are parallely categorized ("...this institution's courses are seperated into two main categories - 1. programs in vocational preformation - formation and 2. programs with social and cultural themes..." 53), conceptually they are not parallel categories. Vocational formation courses are topic oriented whereby social-cultural programs are target group oriented and based. Though a number of social cultural courses are of a specific subject content (theater, dance, music, principles of syndicalization, prin-

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ciples of factory self management and socialization, principles of agricultural collectivization workers rights, parent-child relationship, women's rights - to mention some of the major courses offered around the country in 1986)⁵⁴, the emphasis of the bulk of social-cultural programs is not one specific topic but rather an entire target group. Target group oriented, the content of a single program or course may cover a wide range of the target group's concerns-social, cultural, political and even vocational.

1- Target Groups

During 1984, 1985 and 1986 Popular Education defined seven target groups for which social-cultural programs would function: I. Physically disabled, II. Gypsies, III. Parents, IV. Prisoners, V. Immigrants, VI. Illiterates, VII. Women.⁵⁵

I. A program designed for the physically disabled has been functioning in Heraklion, Crete since 1984, continuing successfully through 1986. The aim of this program has been the vocational formation, social rehabilitation and reintigration of the physically disabled. Within the framework of this program, special types of vocational training have been emphasized so as to create productive individuals which may be absorbed by the regions economic activity. Vocational training for these individuals has been of a special nature as it involves selected activieties (not involving strenuous physical work or extreme agility) suitable for disabled in-

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dividuals. To date the program has included three different training units:

a) the greenhouse unit in which training in greenhouse agriculture, particularly floriculture is conducted. This units capacity allows for 30 individuals to be trained at a time;

b) the ceramics workshop unit training in pottery production (vases, jars, and casks) as well as in the refining of the region's raw material clay previously exported, refined abroad and reimported for ceramics purposes. This unit undertakes the training of 15 individuals every six months;

c) the horitculture and canning unit training in vegetable gardening and the canning of horticultural produce. In this particular unit disabled and non disabled individuals paritcipate with a 2 to 1 proportion, 15 individuals being trained every six month period.⁵⁶

II. In 1984 Popular Education programs for Gypsies, were commenced in Aghia Varvara, Attiki and in Kato Achagia, Achaia. Programs were developed in these municipalities as they both have stable Gypsy populations (for the most part unsettled and nomadic in Greece) making up 1/5 and 1/2 of those municipalities' populations respectively. Regarding Gypsies NELE authorities in these municipalities have organized programs in which research, projects are conducted by

participants. These projects have involved collecting demographic data, recording ethnographic and anthropological information-particularly data related to Gypsy music, language and history. Programs for Gypsies have also covered literacy education, included informative seminars on economic issues related to Gypsy economic activity, and the training of Gypsy instructors to work in the Centers of Popular Education. In early 1986, the Popular Education center in Aghia Varvara, Attik had already trained and incorporated three Gypsy instructors conducting courses related to Gypsy ethnology.⁵⁷ In the two mentioned municipalities Popular Education activities related to Gypsies has been successful-however these minority Gypsy communities are exceptional in that they are settled and stationary. Reaching nomadic Gypsy groups (making up the bulk of this minority's population) has not been attempted nor planned for by Popular Education authorities.⁵⁸

III. Parents have recently been distinguished as a target group with the realization that in Greece there exists a broadening generation gap as the nations socio-economic structure moves from traditional rural patterns to those of a technological, urban consumer society. Parent education courses are in a very early, stil pre-experimental stage of development. Research on needs assessment related to parents in urban areas has revealed a need and demand for the development of programs for parents with topics such as unemployment (consequences with in the family), child drug abuse, child rearing, child psychology, problems of the adolescent, the ageing parent. 59

IV. In an attempt to "...break the wall of prejudice of society towards prisoners and assist in their social rehabilitation and reentry into society's economic life ...,"⁶⁰ Popular Education through coordinated efforts with the Ministry of Justice has designed a number of educational programs for prisoners. Since 1984 Popular Education has been active with the following workshops in four penal prisons:

- a) Halikarnasos Prison (Heraklion, Crete): woodworks, woodcarving, drawing and ceramics;
- b) Koridallos Juvenile Prison (Attiki): woodworks, woodcarving, pottery and cooking;
- c) Chania Prison (Crete): musical instrument instruction and ceramics;
- d) Tyrinthia Agricultural Prison (Argolida): theater workshop

the theater group put together by the prisoners and Popular Education, instructors has since 1984 mode 18 performances which have been viewed by a total of 3,000 spectators.⁶¹ In a fall 1986 presentation "Popular Education in the Prisons" (Municipality of Athens, November 13 & 14, 1986), institution authorities implied that though it could not be determined whether prison workshops had actually served to reoriennt prisoners toward reentry to society's economic life (upon release), these workshops had most certainly improved prison conditions by stimulating inmates with creative, productive activities. At the same presentation it was mentioned that prerelease social reorientation courses would be applied shortly for prisoners in the last months of their terms.

V. During most of this century Greece has been a country of emigration. During the last decade however there has been a marked shift in the migration tide with numerous former emigrants and their families returning to Greece with the desire to be repatriated. Repatriation of returnees has been reiterated as an issue of relative importance since 1981 when the PASOK regime, through an amnesty, invites political exiles and refugees of the Greek Civil War to return home. With regard to repatriation the 1985 Popular Education Bulletin states:

> The radical change of social conditions through which the migrant lives before emigration, during his/her stay abroad (during which for the most part he/she occupies a hierarchically underprivileged social position), and upon return to the homeland, cause numerous personal and family problems for the migrant... Popular Education aims through systematically

organized educational procedures to contribute towards the smooth repatriation of returning emigrants and refugees.⁶²

In October of 1984 the General Secretariat of Popular Education in coordination with the Ministry of National Education and Religion and the General Secretariat of Greeks Residing Abroad organized a Panhellenic Conerence in Thessaloniki titled"Popular Education and Emigrants." Popular Education aims regarding emigrants and repatriation were distinguished as the following:

 a) contribution towards the smooth repatriation of returning emigrants and political refugees;

b) expanding Popular Education activities to the countries where Greek emigrants reside, offering programs in Greek cultural subjects -for the maintenance of ethnic identity, social subjects- to help the emigrant comprehend his/ her special social position as a member of a minority, and courses designed to prepare returning migrants for repatriation. Programs within Greece for repatriates have basically been of an occupational orientation and cultural reassimilation nature. The aims of these programs have been to inform repatriates on the current economic trends, vocational opportunities social cultural developments and occuring in Greece.⁶³ Greek language courses for reatriates have also been organized under the auspioes of Popular Education though have been characterized as courses not of a social cultural pre-formation.64 Outside but rather of vocational nature Greece, Popular Education has only recently (1986) commenced efforts to offer Greek communities abroad the adult educational opportunities mentioned in the 1984 Thessaloniki Conference. This year (1986) plans have been mode to conduct experimental culture courses among Greek working immigrant communities in Stuttgart, Nurnberg and West Berlin of the Federal Republic of Germany.⁶⁵

VI. Regarding illiterates the 1985 Informative Bulletin presents the following information:

> The census of 1981 shows that there exist 706,721 illiterates above 10 years of age (8.6%) and 1,282,839 semi,literates (15.6). In other words 24.2% of the Greek population above 10 years of age is not only unable to express itself in writing but also incapable of reading and comprehending a simple text. 66

With regard to the problem of illiteracy in Greece, Nome Councils of Popular Education have been cooperating in research efforts to determine the causes, nature and consequences of illiteracy in different regions of the country which though on the decline continues to exist. In 1982 the General Secretariat formed the Popular Education Literacy Conference - an investigation team divided into three research subgroups dealing with: (a) needs assessment related to illiteracy, (b) research regarding literacy education methods and the compiling of literacy education texts and other teaching material and (c) literacy program coordination.⁶⁷

Upon the realization by Popular Education planners partially through the Conferences process of needs assessment, that the character and level of illiteracy vary considerably by region (rural and urban), by ethnic, linguistic or religious group (Gypsy, Pomak, Turk, Koutsovlach and Albanian) and by social category (low income recipients, rural dwellers, women)⁶⁸, jointly coordinated NELE efforts for the adoption of a single literacy training method to be used nationwide has come to somewhat of an impasse. Recently there has been some doubt expressed by Popular Education planners as to whether literacy education activities should be uniform throughout the country as illiterates around Greece have very diverse needs different regions. Presently the uniform in system being implemented in Popular Education's 47 literacy courses (1985) throughout Greece is being reevaluated by NELE and SLE authorities to check whether course content truly corresponds to the local needs.⁶⁹

VII. Popular Education distinguishes women as an underprivileged group and thus target group for a number ofeconomic, social and educational reasons which Iliou points out in Education and Social Dynamics:

> (women in Greece are victims of) salary inequality, deprivation of promotion and neglect at the place of work... one in three women is illiterate in the rural regions-one in five is illiterate of the nations total female population while the corresponding figure for males is one in nine (rural) and six out of one hundred (total). Furthermore two out of three who have not completed basic elementary

education are women. Consequently a large part of the female population remains on the periphery of the society's communication and information network...70

Though women have comprised the bulk of participants of vocational formation courses related to cutting-sewing, embroidery, training for the "Services" sector, through "Enrichment" and social-cultural programs, Popular Education has attempting to bring women's social, political and economic issues to the forefront of its programs. Programs related to women as portrayed in the Greek song, literature, art, the press and advertisement; women in the nation's economic activity, woman's role in the family, male-female sexuality, homsexuality, contraception and family planning, the 1982 Women's Rights Penal Code and Family Penal Code have all been realized in Popular Education centers since 1982.⁷¹ By 1984 a total of 166 courses related to women's issues were functioning in all of Greece's nomes. In 1984 these courses registered approximately 3,000 participants of which 12.1% 87.9% women. During the same year a number of were men, "single events" related to women's issues were conducted ("single events" referring to evening lectures, exhibitions, one day mini-courses) in which 12,000 partiipants attended, approximately two-thirds of which were women.⁷² The general aims of programs related to women's issues have been to stimulate social sensitivization regarding problems which women face in Greece and abroad, to create a forum in which women can congregate and voice their concerns, to help women achieve becoming active participants and creators in Greece's

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social, economic and political life.⁷³ Though Popular Education has been quite active as far as developing programs and courses women's on issues it has not successfully recruited an increasing number of women participants-pasing a question as to whether a proper process of needs assessment was carried out prior to implementation. During the three years 1982, 1983, 1984 the number of female participants and the perentage of total participants they make-up has dropped 196,486, 74% to 135,014, 68.2% to 96,213, 67.5% (during the firsthalf of 1984) respectively (see Table II). As the number of participants in Popular Education programs has also decreased during these years, the drop in female participants is expected as part of this trend, however, the drop in their percentages may be of some concern.

TABLE II

Distribution of Participants by Sex and Year

Participants By Sex	Absolu Numbers Percent For 198 ;	and ages	Absolute Numbers and Percentages For 1983		Absolute Numbers and Percentages For 1984(Firsthalf)	
Male	69,081	26%	62,882	31.8%	46,373	32.5%
Female	196,486	74%	135,014	68.2%	96,213	67.5%
Total	265,567	100%	197,896	100%	142,586	100%

(Ministry of National Education and Religion, General Secretariat of Popular Education, "Popular Education'85: Informative Bulletin", Athens, 1985). 2- Participants

The total number of partiipants in Popular Education programs and courses has demonstrated no predominant trend with regard to increase or decrease-if such a trend can be discerned within the short chronological period since the institutions commencement. As displayed in Table III, 1982 the first year of the institutions full implementation was the most successful in terms of number of participants with 265,567 attending. In 1983 there were 197,896 participants, a considerable drop from the previous year. During the first half of 1984, 142,586 attended Popular Education programs-by the end of the year probably representing an increase on the previous years figure.

TABLE III

Distribution of Courses/Seminars and Participants By Type of Region and Year

TYPE OF REGION	COURSES/SEMINARS			PARTICIPANTS		
	1982	1983	1984 (Firsthalf)	1982	1963	1984 (Firsthalf)
RURAL	4,733	6,755	4,239	70,594	100,019	63,050
	29%	51%	45.4%	26.6%	50.6%	44.3%
SEMIURBAN	6,268	3,107	2,096	103,253	47,926	32,115
	38%	23.5%	22.4%	39%	24.2%	22.5%
URBAN	5,397	3,374	3,013	91,720	49,926	47,421
	33%	25.5%	32.2%	34.4%	25.2%	33.2%
TOTAL	16,398	13,236	9,348	265,567	197,896	142,56
	100%	10 0%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(Ministry of National Education and Religion, General Secretariat of Popular Education, "Popular Education '85: Informative Bulletin", Athens 1985).

Though not particularly successful in recruiting an increasing number of participants, Popular Education authorities have to a certain extent been successful in shifting the demographic make-up of participants according to desired aims. Points 7 and 8 of Article III - "Aims" of the Code of Popular Education clearly reveal Popular Education's desired focus on rural development and socio-economic decentralization. Regarding participants, the partial realization of these aims is reflected in an attempt to increase the percentage of rural participants. Between 1982 and 1984 the percentage of rural participants doubled at the expences of participants from urban and semiurban areas (see Table III). However, the trend of increase in participants from peripheral rural areas seems to be of a somewhat questionable impetus as in 1983 rural participants made up 50.6% while the following year a drop to 44.3% is exhibited. Urban participants, after a drop in their percentage in 1983, once again climb to a near 1982 level in 1984. Semi urban participants have displayed a gradual decline in their percentage since 1982.

With regard to sex, women have dominated making up the great majority of Popular Education course and program participants. Though distinguishing women as a target group, the percentage of women participants has decreased between 1982 and 1984. Regardless, with women distinguished as a target group, Popular Education has not so much focused on recruiting female participants but rather on orienting course themes towards women's issues.

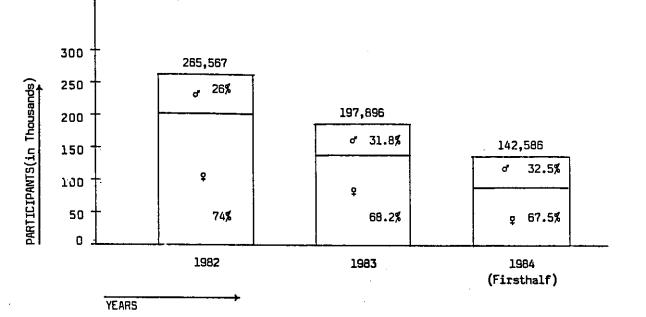


FIGURE VII. COMPARATIVE HISTOGRAM PARTICIPANTS-SEX BY YEAR (Ministry of National Education and Religion, General Secretariat of Popular Education, "Popular Education '85: Informative Bulletin", Athens 1985)

The increase in male participants is perhaps welcome as their percentages are quite low, in 1984 still making up only 32.5% of the participants. Regarding increased male participation the 1985 Informative Bulletin States:

> A constant increase of male participation in courses is principally a result of the updating of course thematology as well as its enrichment with topics such as computer programming, collectivization and syndicalization, bee keeping, floriculture, courses related to the assimilation of expatriots etc. 74

Implied is that Popular Education has succeededin attracting male participants with a wider selection of courses related to male occupational necessities (as typically considered). 3- Instructors

According to the Code of Popular Education, course instructors are hired by the NELE on the basis of regional educational needs.⁷⁵ Point 2 of Article 20- "Instructors" states the NELE criteria for the selection of course instructors:

As criteria for the selection of instructors, the following are taken into account:

- (a) A good knowledge of the topic to be tought.
- (b) Social experiences through which knowledge and practical experience related to Popular Education instructors' responsabilities have been gained.
- (c) The ability to communicate and cooperate with students as well as with others working in Popular Education. The ability to think critically and comprehend the concepts of anti autocatic pedagogy.
- (d) Previous participation in Popular Education seminars for the education of instructors.76

As Popular Education does not stipulate that instructors be professionally trained in the field they are to perform, instructors are drawn from a large pool of professionals and non professionals. Instructors are however required to attend in-service training seminars designed by the NELE and SLE (at the local level) and General Secretariat of Popular Education (at the national level) to develop the pedagogical method of instructors and to an extent specialize educators in their fields:

> For the development of pedagogical skills and or the specialization of instructors, the General Secretariat of Popular Education or the NELE may organize in-service training seminars at the nome, peripheral or panhellenic levels... the participation of instructors in these seminars is obligatory. 77

The character of the in-service training seminars for instructors aiming not only at the further specialization of instructors on the subject of their course work but also at training in concepts of anti-autocratic pedagogical method, follow the guidelines set in a General secretariat circular of 19.6.1985. According to this circular:

- 1- Seminar topics are developed by the NELE and SLE as well as by the instructors themselves and are carefully designed to meet the needs and interests of the educator participants. Topics are pertinent to regional issues (unless organized at the panhellenic level), issues covered will be of pertinence to the problems faced by the instructors participating.
- 2- The topic of a seminar should be concise and specific, related to the problems faced by instructors in their work. Only seminars of a panhellenic character shall deal with general, broad issues —otherwise themes shall be for the most part specific to the region or district— local issues. As most seminars are of a two to three day duration, concise topics are for more manageable and easily grasped by the participants. Concise seminar topics reflecting broader national themes and issues have in the past included - "Syndicalization in our Nome", "How Popular Education can contribute to the development of tobacco collectives

in Thrace", "Experiences in educational dialogue and antiautocratic pedagogy in Center X, "Enrichment as it can be applied to local farmers issues in region X".

3- Seminars shall be realized principally in the form of study groups. Following an introduction to the theme by the seminar coordinator, the partiipants are divided into, discussion groups of not more than twelve to share experiences and ideas. At the end of the seminar a conclusive session of all the groups takes place in which a representatitve of each group and seminar coordinator record the principle discussion outcomes.⁷⁸

As there is no system of training of adult educators in Greece's formal educational system-Popular Education attempts to undertake the task through its seminars for instructors. This in-service training may of course be limited in its effectiveness however it does serve to import to the extremely diverse group of Popular Education instructors some common body of knowledge regarding concepts related to Popular Education's theoretical character, its principles, goals and methods for practical implementation.

4- Infrastructure

Popular Education activities take place principally in centers established across Greece upon the decision of the NELE functioning within the broader programming plans of the

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General Secretariat of Popular Education. According to Point 4 of Artice 15 - "The Establishment and Housing of Centers of Popular Education" of the Code of Popular Education: "The activities of Popular Education take place in centers located in public space pertaining to the municipalities and nomes or in rented private space."⁷⁹

Presently Popular Education has no educational centers built exclusively for its purpose, a serious infrastructural shortcoming which has posed a series of problems in implementation of programs. In 1985, 70% of all Popular Education courses took place in costly rented private space for the most part unsuitable facility wise for the programs taking place and lacking in necessary equipment. In an attempt to overcome this infrastructural deficiency, two programs have been planned for:

(a) Program for the establishment of 25 Popular Education centers in Athens —a plan to be carried out in cooperation with the Organization of School Structures— a division of the Ministry of Public Works responsible for the construction of structures housing formal education facilities. In 1984 studies for the first 7 centers commenced but to date (fall 1986) none has been completed. Funding of these works will occurr through the Program of Public Investment a state mechanism funding public works.

(b) Program for the establishment of 255 "Policenters" throughout Greece. These shall be multipurpose public facilities in which not only Popular Education Centers shall be housed but other facilities for socio-cultural activitieslibrary, theater, exhibition and lecture rooms etc.

CONCLUSION

IV

The institutionalization of adult education in the form of Popular Education follows the reform of 1976 representing a period in which an atmosphere of progressive educational innovation is predominant. In this climate of progressive innovation characteristic of Greece's social, political, economic and cultural institutions of the post dictatorship period, educational liberalization and modernization become major themes. Central to these concepts and their application to the educational mechanism is the creation and development of a system open to the greatest numbers possible -an elimination of the barriers which make education the right of a selected group and the adjustment of the system to contemporary social, economic, cultural and political demands. Biro and Fukasz suggest that the system and structure of adult education are "...deeply rooted within their social context, incorporated into the network of social relations and social institutions."⁸⁰ Perhaps the trend for educational liberalization and modernization (reflected in the reform of 1976) represent the opportune moment, indicate the existence of a "social context" in which an institution like Popular Education could commence and evolve.

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In its conceptual framework Popular Education asserts itself as an institution dedicated to the existing trend of progressive innovation, liberalization and modernization of the educational mechanism. The institution's principles and aims repeatedly reiterate concepts such as social participation, decentralization and local self-administration, peripheral development and mass non-discriminatory education. With regard to practical implementation a number of points can be made, however, the proximity of this educational event and the lack of a comfortable chronological distance make an evaluation of the institution's activities somewhat difficult to realize.

The character of Popular Education's administrative structure, evident since the institutions commencement, reveals the institutions intended implementation of a system espousing decentralization and local self-administration. The essence of Popular Education's administrative structure is not at the national but at the nome level in the form of NELE -a unit which functions autonomous from the center within broad guidelines set by the General Secretariat of Popular Education. As previously mentioned, the NELE and its sub unit SLE conduct their own research and experimental programs-developing adult education activities sensitive to the particularities and serving the special needs of their respective regions. The implementation of this structural feature indicates some level of success in the institutions attempt to decentralize

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authority and the decision making process. The breakdown into regional administrative units also facilitates social participation in institution decision making processes as a regional authority is not only more sensitive to regional issues and needs but more accessible to the local public as well. Social participation is also an inseperable aspect of the institutions proposed pedagogical method. A critical understanding of reality, one of the basic prerequisites of the participatory individual, is a point repeatedly emphasized in Popular Education's pedagogical approach. Specifically, the emphasis on dialogue and critical understanding within a non-hierarchical educational environment create the basis of an educational experience hopefully producing individuals who are not passive but active participants in the process of social mobilization.

Greece's formal educational system has until reently been seriously deficient in technical vocational education, emphasizing general education with a stress on classical elements. In an attempt to orient and adjust the material covered in formal education to the nation's socio-economic reality, the reform of 1976 and 1981-82 adjustments upon the reform measures reiterate technical-vocational education. The establishment of General Vocational Schools, Technical-Vocational and Multi-Branch Leyceums (at the secondary level) and Technical Educational Institutions (at the terciary level) represent concrete examples of an attempt to inject technical -vocational education into a system where it was seriously lacking. In its endeavors Popular Education has seriously pursued the development of technical-vocational training to meet the needs of a public seriously deprived of it. With needs assessment processes occurring at the regional level, NELE authorities have developed a wide range of occupational formation programs geared towards local economic situations and needs. As courses in vocational and technical training comprise approximately 75% of the institution's programs, the importance given to the formation of employable individuals in touch with the nations economic reality is evident.

Popular Education's distinguishing of target groups reflects the implementation of a policy of educational service to previously neglected groups as well as a sensitivity towards the needs of certain underprivileged categories. The choice of seven diverse target groups during the three years 1984, 1985, 1986 is somewhat commendable considering the institutions short period of existence and the facilities necessary to accomodate the groups chosen. A diversity can be discerned within the groups chosen in that certain categories such as Gypsies, illiterates and women are underprivileged because of neglect by the formal system. Physically disabled, parents, prisoners and returning immigrants though not necessarily neglected by formal education represent groups with special problems for whom Popular Education as a social service maybe of educational assistance. Intended and realized intervention of Popular Education into the diverse issues concerning these groups to a large extent displays the mechanisms intention to become an influential educational force in a broad spectrum of social issues.

As to a large extent peripheral development begins with the extension of educational opportunity to rural areas, Popular Education has attempted a shift in its activities' concentration to Greece's peripheral regions. Programs related to agricultural occupations and rural socioeconomic issues as well as an attempt to increase the number of rural participants attest to Popular Education's interest in extending educational opportunity to Greece's rural periphery. Though an evaluation of the institutions success in reaching rural areas may be somewhat premature, it maybe noted that between 1982 and 1984 the percentage of rural participants has registered a notable increase from 26.6% to 44.3% somewhat disconcerting is the fact that between 1983 and 1984 there was drop in this percentage from 50.6% to 44.3%, suggesting а that a definite trend is not yet distinguishable.

For all practical purposes individuals expressly trained in adult education —administration and instruction do not exist in Greece. The lack of specialized personnel maybe one of the institution's serious deficiencies in the realm of implementation as administrators and instructors are more or less obliged to "play by ear" and learn through experience. In order to compensate for the absence of specialized adult education training of instructors, the institution conducts a number of seminars and discussion groups intended to aid instructors in pedagogical method and issues dealt with in the course of programs. These seminars represent the only tangible training that Popular Education instructors receive. Somewhat disconcerting is the fact that Greece's formal educational system has not incorporated studies in adult education so as to create some source of trained personnel to man and manage the institution. As Greek universities have not yet incorporated adult education as a field of study (pedagogy was not incorporated as a field of study at the University level until 1985), a scholarly environment in which research in the field might be conducted does not exist. To some extent the NELE and SLE through their processes of needs assessment conduct limited research-however this occurs basically for the development of programs, functioning at a local level no and programs less. Not receiving sufficient constructive criticism and influence from outside the institutions mechanism, Popular Education is in danger of becoming a self centered system void of external input.

A scholarly environment, like that existing in a university, in which studies related to adult education can take place must be established. In such an environment not only could planners, instructors and administrators be trained but research related to the field could be conducted. The creation of such a field at the university level seems to be one of the necessary prerequisites for manning adult education institutions, stimulating research and serving as a channel of evaluation, constructive criticism and influence for the institution's development.

Though Popular Education is largely a product of the innovative progressive trend within Greece's social, economic and political institutions of the late 1970's, it is very much a creation of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement's ideology regarding education and the role it is to play in socioeconomc development. Points vehemently stressed in Popular Educations conceptual framework (social mobilization, local self-administration, syndicalization, collectivization and self-management for example) all closely reflect the socioeconomic and political ideology of the regime in power. Thus Popular Education, though imparting an educational service is very much a political institution serving very definite needs of the ruling regime. The ability of the institution to maintain its developmental momentum under diverse political conditions as well as its flexibility in adjusting to political demands shall socio-economic and be varying decisive factors in determining the institution's durability and existence under future regimes of different political orientation and changing socio-economic conditions.

APPENDIX

PERCENTAGES FOR THE POPULATION AGED 10 AND ABOVE INDICATING LEVEL OF EDUCATION BY NOME

(National Statistical Service of Greece, Results of the Population and Housing Census of March 14, 1971, Vol.II. Athens 1973)

Regions and Nomes	% Of Illiterates	% Of School Graduates	% Of Intermediate School Graduates	% Of University Graduates	
DISTRICT OF ATHENS	7.6	76.0	26.0	5.3	
*STEREA HELLAS AND EVIA:		i			
ETOLOAKARNANIA	22.0	52.6	5.6	1.4	
ATTIKI	12.	61.4	8.2	1.2	
VIOTIA	16.9	57.9	6.6	1.4	
EVIA	20.4	46.5	6.6	1.6	
EVRITANIA	29.3	44.5	3.2	0.9	
PIREAUS	13.3	62.2	9.9	1.4	
FTHIOTIDA	19.0	59.4	6.6	1.7	
FOKIDA	19.9	58.8	6.1	1.6	
*PELOPONNESUS:					
ARGOLIDA	13.2	61.1	5.9	1.2	
ARCADIA	15.3	61.2	7.8	2.2	
ACHAIA	14.7	64.0	10.7	2.0	
ILIA	19.3	54.0	5.9	1.5	
KORINTHIA	12.	67.2	10.7	2.6	
LAKONIA	16.8	57.7	6.6	1.8	
MESSINIA	19.8	57.7	6.8	1.7	
*IONIAN ISLANDS:					
ZAKYNTHOS	18.8	55.6	3.7	0.7	
KERKYRA	25.	53.0	5.9	1.3	
KEFALONIA	16.6	55.1	7.6	2.2	
LEFKADA	25.0	53.5	4.5	1.5	
*EPIROS:					
ARTA	24.6	50.1	4.2	1.5	
THESPROTIA	23.2	47.7	4.3	1.5	

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APPENDIX

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Regions and Nomes	% Of Illiterates	% Of Primary School Graduates	% Of Intermediate School Graduates	% Of University Graduates	
IOANNINA	15.8	61.2	8.6	1.8	
PREVEZA	20.0	55.7	3.6	1.3	
*THESSALY:					
KARDITSA	26.1	49.3	4.0	1.3	
LARISA	16.7	56.5	7.4	1.8	
MAGNESIA	14.4	60.1	6.8	1.7	
TRIKALA	22.6	49.0	5.5	1.6	
*MACEDONIA:					
GREVENA	17.8	47.0	5.2	2.1	
DRAMA	19.3	50.5	5.5	1.7	
IMATHIA	14.9	55.7	6.9	1.6	
THESSALONIKI	9.6	69.2	19.2	3.5	
KAVALA	16.7	57.0	8.8	2.5	
KASTORIA	13.8	63.0	5.4	1.9	
KILKIS	17.7	53.5	5.7	1.2	
KOZANI	14.6	57.7	6.5 °	1.7	
PELLA	15.9	54.1	5.5	1.4	
PIERIA	17.3	52.2	5.5	1.6	
SERRES	18.3	51.1	5.4	1.5	
FLORINA	16.8	53.6	5.9	2.3	
HALKIDIKI	14.2	58.6	4.5	1.0	
AGHION OROS	10.3	63.2	3.4	0.0	
*THRACE:					
EVROS	19.9	52.3	6.5	2.0	
XANTHI	33.9	38.9	4.3	1.6	
RODOPI	32.3	40.2	4.7	1.5	
*AEGEAN ISLANDS					
DODECANESE	17.9	53.8	9.6	2.5	

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APPENDIX

continued

Regions and Nomes	% Of Illiterates	% Of Primary School Graduates	% Of Intermediate School Graduates	% Of University Graduates	
CYCLADES	17,3	55.6	6.1	1.7	
LESBOS	18.6	53.7	6.7	1.7	
SAMOS	13.6	53.0	5.6	1.3	
CHIOS	10.5	65.7	9.0	1.6	
*CRETE:					
HERAKLION	15.0	62.3	8.3	1.5	
LASITHI	17.1	61.9	6.3	1.8	
RETHYMNON	18.3	60.2	5.1	1.3	
HANIA	12.9	64.3	9.7	1.9	

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