

ETUDES HELLENIQUES

HELLENIC STUDIES

**L' éducation en Grèce et
dans la diaspora
Education in Greece and
in the Diaspora**

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Andreas Kalvos in the English Press (1818-1821)

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Éducation en Grèce et dans la diaspora

Michael Damanakis*

Le titre de ce volume donne à penser que l'éducation grecque en tant qu'institution et surtout en tant que contenu, ne se limite pas à l'intérieur de l'Etat grec. Ceci n'est pas nouveau. Déjà avec la création de l'Etat grec en 1830 et la mise en place du premier système d'éducation nationale grecque, ont commencé à fonctionner deux systèmes éducatifs parallèles, l'un à l'intérieur du pays et l'autre dans la diaspora, soit dans les collectivités «non libérées» ou dans les communautés «commerciales» de l'hellénisme.

L'intégration géographique de l'État grec, en particulier après les guerres balkaniques et la première Guerre mondiale, le déclin progressif de communautés «commerciales» et surtout les effets de la catastrophe de l'Asie Mineure, ont entraîné, entre autres, un rétrécissement de l'éducation grecque en dehors des frontières étatiques du pays.

Cette évolution était dûe, et l'est encore en grande partie aujourd'hui, à une introspection idéologique et à une recherche d'identité au sein de l'hellénisme de l'État grec, d'autant plus que l'hellénisme en dehors de ses frontières a cessé d'exister - au moins dans la version qui existait et fonctionnait jusqu'aux deux premières décennies du 20e siècle.

L'accent mis par les politiques éducatives sur l'éducation à l'intérieur du pays a conduit à négliger l'éducation dans la diaspora, malgré le fait qu'il y avait encore des besoins éducatifs dans la «diaspora historique», de nouveaux besoins ayant émergé, dans la «diaspora de la migration».

En particulier dans la région entourant le Caucase et en Transcaucasie d'importantes populations d'origine grecque ont continué à vivre et à se développer. Mais la politique répressive de Staline et en particulier la période de la guerre froide ont conduit non seulement au rétrécissement de l'éducation en langue grecque dans ces régions, mais également à la négligence totale de cette partie de la diaspora grecque.

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Cependant, la politique modérée de M. Gorbatchev et en particulier l'effondrement du socialisme réel ont porté à l'avant scène les Grecs de la Mer Noire, dont les racines et l'histoire remontent à Byzance.

L'émergence de la diaspora grecque de migration avait précédé la réémergence de la diaspora historique de la Mer noire pour deux raisons principales: son renforcement par l'immigration massive entre 1950 et 1973 aux Etats-Unis, au Canada, en Australie et en Europe et le fait qu'en son sein s'est développé un mouvement d'opposition à la junte (1967 - 1974) par des forces politiques qui ont joué un rôle actif dans sa chute ainsi que pendant la première période de changement de régime qui a suivi.

Au plus tard, à la mi-1970 et surtout après la fin de la guerre froide, l'éducation de la langue grecque réapparaît dans la diaspora comme le deuxième réseau d'enseignement en cette langue.

La relation entre les deux réseaux d'enseignement de langue grecque, pour ce qui a trait à leurs liens institutionnels et organisationnels, leurs orientations idéologiques et leur contenu, leur contribution à la formation de réseaux transnationaux et supranationaux et d'une culture mondiale contemporaine grecque, n'a pas encore été suffisamment étudiée.

Les études préparées dans le cadre du Programme «Education des Grecs de la diaspora» (Paideia Omogenon)¹ constituent une première tentative dans cette direction. Le riche matériel empirique recueilli peut aussi servir de base à des études comparatives et de synthèse. La contribution dans ce volume de Michael Damanakis avec son article «*Transitions, les flux et les sorties des élèves dans l'éducation grecque de la diaspora*» va dans ce sens.

Cependant malgré ces efforts, il existe toujours très peu d'études sur les relations entre les deux réseaux. La présente édition ne prétend pas combler cette lacune. Elle veut juste donner un certain élan pour pousser plus loin l'intérêt à la réflexion et à la réalisation des études complémentaires sur des thèmes sélectionnés, tirées de l'éducation en Grèce et dans la diaspora.

Athanasios Gotovos dans son article propose un cadre théorique qui peut fournir une base à l'analyse des phénomènes actuels qui préoccupent l'éducation dans les sociétés multiculturelles. Le concept du multiculturalisme est discuté en relation directe avec la cohésion sociale et les valeurs communes qui doivent être transmises aux nouvelles générations, indépendamment de leur origine ethnoculturelle, pour que l'éducation contribue à la création d'un code commun, et donc à la cohésion sociale.

Les articles de Theodosia Michelakaki, M. Kassotakis et P. Papageuli-Vouliouri

traitent des aspects spécifiques de l'éducation au niveau des écoles primaires et secondaires grecques et visent principalement à informer les lecteurs de la revue *Études helléniques/Hellenic Studies* à l'étranger.

Plus précisément, l'article de Michelakaki présente et discute l'évolution de la structure du système éducatif grec, ses caractéristiques et fonctions à partir de 1974 jusqu'à aujourd'hui. Son analyse se concentre sur la fonction de socialisation et de l'évaluation ainsi que les compétences acquises par les étudiants. L'auteur aborde également l'absence d'un système d'évaluation dans le système éducatif grec et les effets de celui-ci sur ce dernier.

Dans ce sens l'article de Michelakaki est relié avec ceux de Kassotakis, Papageuli-Vouliouri, qui s'attachent à la question de l'évaluation dans l'éducation grecque. Une question qui préoccupe et affecte gravement le système éducatif grec depuis le milieu des années 1970 jusqu'à aujourd'hui. L'effondrement de l'institution autoritaire de l'inspecteur et le système d'évaluation correspondant a laissé un vide qui n'a pas jusqu'à présent été entièrement comblé. Dans ce sens, l'évaluation reste un problème dans l'éducation grecque - y compris l'enseignement supérieur.

Un second problème chronique, à part l'évaluation de l'éducation en langue grecque, est l'accès des diplômés du secondaire à l'enseignement supérieur. Ce problème a été analysé par Siphis Bouzakis, qui l'aborde d'un point de vue historique et sociologique.

Plus précisément, l'auteur examine les quatre périodes suivantes de l'éducation grecque:

1re période: De l'admission gratuite adoptée en 1837 à l'introduction d'examens d'entrée en 1922.

2ème période: De l'examen d'entrée (1922) au contingentement d'admissions ("numerus clausus") des étudiants admis dans les établissements d'enseignement supérieur (1930)

3e période: Du contingentement ("numerus clausus") des étudiants admis dans les établissements d'enseignement supérieur (1930) au diplôme académique (1964).

4ème Période: Des examens généraux panhelléniques (1974) à la réforme de Gerasimos Arsenis (1997/98).

On peut facilement voir qu'un certain nombre de logiques et de pratiques se répètent à travers le temps et parviennent jusqu'à nos jours.

L'article de N. Andreadakis, A. Gotovos et M. Damanakis mettent l'accent sur

les progrès des élèves dans les universités grecques. En particulier, ils analysent des paramètres détaillés tels que la réussite / échec à l'examen de certaines matières, la performance dans certaines matières, le retard dans l'obtention du diplôme, l'interruption des études. Grâce à ces tests sont mis en évidence les vérités et les mythes de l'enseignement supérieur grec, comme le mythe des «éternels étudiants».

Aux problèmes chroniques affectant l'éducation grecque sont venus s'ajouter de nouvelles questions à partir de 1990, période pendant laquelle la Grèce de pays d'émigration a commencé à devenir un pays d'accueil d'immigrants.

Pendant l'arrivée massive et l'établissement permanent, au début d'immigrants en provenance des pays des Balkans, de l'ancienne Union soviétique et des pays asiatiques et africains par la suite, ont conduit à des changements significatifs dans la population étudiante. La présence d'étudiants issus de l'immigration met, d'une part, l'éducation grecque en face d'un nombre de questions pédagogiques, didactiques et méthodologiques sans précédent et d'autre part pose à la science et à la politique de nouveaux défis théoriques et idéologiques.

Cette nouvelle situation est examinée et analysée par M. Damanakis, dans son article «*L'éducation des élèves ayant des antécédents migratoires en Grèce*» et par G. Markou dans son propre article.

L'article de Michael Damanakis se concentre sur la relation entre les politiques éducatives du Ministère de l'Éducation et le discours pédagogique scientifique et sur l'impact de cette relation dans l'élaboration de la loi sur «l'éducation interculturelle» (loi 2413/1996) ainsi qu'à l'application de cette dernière.

George Markou dans son article met l'accent sur une approche spécifique, celle des minorités ethniques, sur la réalité multiculturelle qui est en train de prendre forme en Grèce et sur l'application de cette dernière approche à la minorité musulmane de Thrace.

L'article de Michael Damanakis «*Transitions, le débit et la sortie des élèves dans l'enseignement grec à l'étranger*» relie l'éducation de la langue grecque dans la diaspora avec les politiques éducatives du Centre, c'est-à-dire de la Grèce, concernant la diaspora. Cette tentative de la part de l'auteur est effectuée en examinant les différentes formes d'éducation en langue grecque dans la diaspora et la réussite de leurs diplômés aux examens d'admission aux universités grecques. Il analyse également brièvement le succès ou l'échec des étudiants de la diaspora admis dans les universités grecques. Dans ce sens, cet article est relié à celui d'Andreadakis, Gotovos, et Damanakis.

Anastasios Tamis, analyse le maintien, le transfert et la situation générale de la langue grecque en Australie, ainsi que le contact et l'interaction de cette dernière avec la langue anglaise.

Ce numéro d' *Études helléniques/Hellenic Studies* se termine avec l'article de Stephanos Constantinides sur l'éducation à Chypre, un bref historique et une analyse de sa situation actuelle.

NOTES

1. Le Programme «Paideia Omogenon» (Éducation pour les Grecs de la diaspora) a été financé par le ministère de l'Éducation de la Grèce et l'Union européenne et mis en œuvre entre 1997 et 2008 par le Laboratoire d'études migratoires et interculturelles (E.DIA.M.ME.). Université de Crète, en collaboration avec des scientifiques de l'étranger, pour la plupart d'origine grecque. Les études menées dans le cadre du programme sont affichées sur le site www.uoc.gr/diaspora

Education in Greece and in the Diaspora

Michael Damanakis*

The title of this issue suggests that Greek education, as an institution and primarily as content, is not limited to the borders of the Greek state.

This is not new. Even with the creation of the Greek state in 1930, and the establishment of the first Greek national education system, two parallel educational systems started to operate: one inside Greek borders and the other outside them, either in the 'unredeemed' homelands or in 'commercial' Communities of Hellenism.

The geographical integration of the Greek state, especially after the Balkan wars and World War I, the gradual decline of 'commercial' communities and especially the effects of the Asia Minor disaster resulted in a decline of Greek Education outside the state borders.

This development continues to go hand in hand with an ideological introspection and a search for identity within Greek Hellenism, as the Hellenism outside the Greek borders, ceased to exist, at least in the version that had existed and functioned until the first two decades of the 20th century. The Greek focus on education within its borders has led to the neglect of education in the diaspora, although educational needs remained in the "historic diaspora" and new needs arose in the emerging 'migration diaspora'.

Especially on the Caucasus and Transcaucasia, large populations of Greek origin continued to live and work. But the repressive policies of Stalin and later of his successors during the Cold War, led not only to the reduction of Greek language education in these areas, but also to the utter neglect of this piece of modern Greek diaspora.

However, the moderate policy of Gorbachev and especially the collapse of socialism brought to the forefront the Black Sea Greeks, whose roots and history come from Byzantium.

Before the re-emergence of this Black Sea historic Greek Diaspora, the emergence of the migration Greek diaspora could be explained using two main

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points: first, the older diaspora was reinforced through the mass immigration of Greeks to the USA, Canada, Australia and Western Europe, from 1950 to 1973; second, the migration diaspora opposed the junta dictatorship (1967-1974) and revealed political forces which played an active role in the fall of the dictatorship and in the first period after the establishment of democracy.

Only more recently, in the mid-seventies, and especially after the end of the Cold War, would Greek-speaking education in the diaspora reappear as the second Greek-language educational network.

The relationship of the two Greek-speaking education networks within their institutional and organizational framework, in their ideological orientations and their content, for their contribution in shaping supra- and transnational networks plus a global contemporary Greek culture, has not yet been adequately studied.

Studies prepared under the Program «Education for Greeks Abroad»¹ represent a first attempt in this direction. The rich empirical material that has been collected throughout the Education for Greeks Abroad project may serve as a basis for comparative-synthesis studies. Indeed, Damanakis' article herein, entitled «Transitions, flow and outflow of students in the Greek Education in the Diaspora» sets the pace.

Despite these efforts, a gap remains in the study of the relationship between the two educational systems. This issue of *Études helléniques/Hellenic Studies* does not aim to fill that gap, but rather seeks to stimulate further discussion and research through the study of selected items from Greece and the diaspora.

Athanasios Gotovos in his article presents a theoretical framework that can provide a basis for analyzing current events facing education in multicultural societies. The concept of multiculturalism is discussed in direct relation to social cohesion and shared values that must be transmitted to new generations (regardless of ethnocultural origin) so as to contribute to education by creating a common code and thus promoting social cohesion.

The articles of Theodosia Michelakaki and Michael Kassotakis-Despina Papageuli-Vouliouri refer to specific aspects of modern Greek primary and secondary schools and seek primarily to inform readers of Hellenic Studies.

Specifically, *Michelakaki's* article presents and discusses the evolution of the structure of the Greek educational system, its features and functions from 1974 until today. The focus of the analysis is the socialization function plus selective operations and functions to provide skills to students. The author also discusses the lack of an evaluation system in the Greek educational system and the subsequent effects.

This concept is linked to the articles of *Kassotakis and Papageuli-Vouliouri*, who treat the issue of evaluation in Greek education. One issue that has plagued the Greek educational system since the mid 1970's until today is the collapse of the authoritarian office of inspector and the corresponding evaluation system. This left a vacuum as yet not fully filled. In this respect, evaluation remains a problem in Greek education, including higher education.

Besides evaluation, another unresolved issue in Greek education is access to higher education for high school graduates. Access was analyzed by *Siphis Bouzakis*, who introduces a historical and sociological approach. Specifically, the author discusses the following four periods:

First Period: From the free entrance (admission) passed in 1837 to the introduction of entrance examinations in 1922.

Second Period: From the entrance examinations (1922) to the "numerous clauses" of the students accepted in institutions of higher learning (1930)

Third Period: From the "numerous clauses" (quotas) of the students accepted in such institutions (1930) to the academic diploma (1964).

Fourth Period: From the General Pan-Hellenic Examinations (1974) to the reform by Gerasimos Arsenis (1997/98).

As the titles and dates indicate, many systems and practices have been tried over time and remain in place today.

The article by *Nikos Andreadakis, Athanasios Gotovos* and *Michael Damanakis* highlights the progress of students in Greek universities. In particular, detailed parameters are analyzed such as success/failure in the examinations of various subjects; performance; delay in obtaining a degree, and interruption of studies. Through these tests the truths and myths of the Greek higher education emerge, e.g., the myth of the 'eternal students'.

Completely new issues in education appeared after 1990, when Greece which had long been a country sending immigrants abroad began to evolve into a country of entry, and in part to a host country for immigrants.

The massive entry and even permanent establishment of immigrants, initially from the Balkan countries and former Soviet Union and then from Asian and African countries led to significant changes in the student population in Greece. The presence of students with immigrant backgrounds places the Greek education before a set of unprecedented educational, teaching and methodological issues and raises new theoretical and ideological requests from the scientific community, policymakers and practitioners on the frontlines.

This exciting new situation is analyzed and examined by *Michael Damanakis*, in

his article "The Education of Students with a Migratory Background in Greece" and by *George Markou* in his own article. These articles may be considered in tandem. *Damanakis*' article focuses on the relationship between the educational policies of the Ministry of Education and the scientific pedagogical discourse and the impact of this relationship to the elaboration of the bill on "intercultural education" (Bill 2413/1996) and on its application. *Markou*'s article focuses instead on a specific approach (the ethnic-minority approach) of the multicultural situation which took shape in Greece and in applying this approach to the Muslim minority in Thrace.

In fact, *Damanakis*' article «Transitions, Flow and Outflow of Students in Greek Education Abroad» is connecting the Greek-speaking diaspora education with the educational policies of the Centre (Greece) for the diaspora. The author achieves this by examining the various forms of Greek language education within the diaspora and the success of their graduates in examinations for admission to Greek universities. He also analyzes briefly the success or failure of expatriate students at Greek universities. In this regard, the article relates well to the article co-written by *Andreadakis*, *Gotovos* and *Damanakis*.

Anastasios Tamis, analyzes the maintenance, shift and general situation of the Greek language in Australia, and the contact and interaction with the English language.

This issue closes with the article of *Stephanos Constantinides*, who presents the situation of the education in Cyprus.

NOTES

1. The Program «Paideia Omogenon» («Education for Greeks Abroad») was funded by the Ministry of Education of Greece and the European Union and implemented between 1997 and 2008 from the Centre of Intercultural and Migration Studies (E.DIA.M.ME.) of the University of Crete, in collaboration with scientists, mostly of Greek origin from abroad. The studies developed under the program are posted on the website www.uoc.gr/diaspora.

The limits of autonomy of cultural codes in modern European societies: ethnicity, education and culture

Athanasios Gotovos*

RÉSUMÉ

L'auteur de cet article aborde les dilemmes éducatifs de l'Europe contemporaine, et plus spécialement dans les pays avec des populations migrantes considérables. Il fait valoir que ce n'est pas seulement la culture, la langue ou la religion qui comptent, mais aussi et peut être davantage, l'origine ethnique. Dès lors l'association de la diversité culturelle avec la différence ethnique est d'une importance capitale pour comprendre la réalité éducative contemporaine des systèmes éducatifs européens, particulièrement ceux de la Grèce et Chypre. Le multiculturalisme en éducation est examiné de façon critique, comme une solution possible et viable face aux défis de la cohésion sociale et la stabilité économique auxquels sont confrontées les sociétés modernes dans un contexte influencé par la globalisation de l'économie, du politique et de la culture.

L'auteur conclut que le multiculturalisme tout comme la coexistence de sociétés parallèles au sein d'un Etat, sans codes culturels et politiques et sans projets sociaux communs est loin d'être un objectif éducatif souhaitable pour les sociétés modernes. En ce sens, le véritable dilemme n'est pas le multiculturalisme, mais la possibilité d'une diversité culturelle dans un cadre de codes communs à la fois culturels, politiques et économiques qui définissent l'espace public et privé d'une société.

ABSTRACT

In this article the author discusses the educational dilemmas in contemporary Europe, and especially in countries with considerable migrant populations. He argues that it is not only culture, language or religion that matters, but also and may be primarily, ethnicity. In this way the association of cultural diversity with ethnic difference is of paramount importance in order to understand educational reality in contemporary European educational systems, including Greece and Cyprus. Multiculturalism in education is critically examined in this article as a possible viable solution to the challenges of social cohesion and economic stability faced by modern societies in a context of global economic, political and cultural influence.

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He concludes that multiculturalism as coexistence of parallel societies within a state, without common cultural and political codes and social projects is far from being an educational goal for modern societies. In this sense the real dilemma is not multiculturalism, but the possibility of cultural variety within a frame of common cultural, political and economic codes defining the public and private sphere of a society.

Educational dilemmas in contemporary Europe, especially in countries with (indigenous or migrant) considerable minority populations, are in some sense very old: we have experienced them in the past, if we only look at the questions raised by minority policies of central European states on the one side and by minority educational demands toward these states before the first world war, as well as the interwar period on the other¹. The phenomenon of ethnic, linguistic, religious and cultural diversity within society - a feudal empire or a modern nation state - is not new. The terms to denote this reality have changed: we do not talk about multi-national states and we do not consider migrant populations as “national minorities” in the traditional sense. We rather prefer the term “multicultural society” to refer to diverse social groups constituting a modern society or state, although the consensus on the term does not necessarily - and as a rule does not - imply agreement about the content of this term. So it has become rather easy to agree that modern societies are “multicultural”, but the question of the multiple and partly contradictory meanings of this term still remains. There are indeed different views about what the term “multicultural” exactly denotes. The ideologies behind the different contents of the term may range from a version of multiculturalism, as it was practiced in past empires - roman, Byzantine, ottoman, German, or Russian - to multiculturalism as it is known from the North American, Australian or modern European experience.

In this paper I am arguing that it is not only - and not primarily - culture, language or religion that matters, when we are faced with problems of diversity within educational contexts in Europe. Instead, the form these problems are presented at school is closely linked to another variable: *ethnicity*. The association of cultural diversity with *ethnic difference* is of paramount importance, if we are to understand educational reality in contemporary European educational systems, including Greece and Cyprus. In a time of emergent aggressive minority nationalism in Europe, especially after 1989, it is not cultural difference that counts, rather than its dominant presentation and interpretation within a context of *ethnicity* and (state or minority) *nationalism*.

But how is it to explain that in an era of globalization, of weakening of national

state authority and national borders, an idea from the past, namely *ethnicity* – that is, the sense on the part of the individual of belonging to a distinct human group - experiences a come-back? The answer to this paradox may be sought in two directions: *identity formation* and *power strategies*.

In a context of globalization, with rapid and unexpected cultural change, individuals may resort to traditional concepts as a means for maintaining a coherent self-image in an extremely variable world. On the other hand, groups conscious about their possibility to exert – either themselves directly or through a “mother-country” - influence on the central state, may be tempted to question the status of the state’s official codes, either by following a program of cultural and administrative autonomy, or by direct secession. Such examples are known in Europe during the last forty years and some others are probably still to be seen in the future. Specific versions of the ideologies of *culture equality* and *minority recognition* on the one hand, power politics and appeasement strategies on the other², have accelerated these processes rendering comprehensive educational options extremely difficult in some European contexts.

Looking at the ways scholars have attempted to capture the meaning of ethnicity, one could agree with Fredrik Barth³ that there are at least two approaches, one - which has been dominating in past academic discourse - oriented toward the contents of ethnicity in terms of cultural traits of ethnically distinct individuals or groups, the other setting the emphasis on the social nature of the ethnic boundary. This second approach has been used not only in the disciplines of social and cultural anthropology, but also in that of sociology of education⁴ and it has proved to be relatively fruitful. It is within this tradition of defining ethnicity that I feel academically obliged and I will try to apply for the discussion of identity in contemporary societies, especially from the perspective of an educationist.

Ethnicity as a System of Shared Assumptions

From a social psychologist’s point of view *ethnicity* may be seen as a set of socially sanctioned assumptions⁵ for the construction of a type of social identity⁶. There are three basic types of assumptions ethnicity is related to: assumptions about *folk taxonomies*, or classificatory schemes about “*ἔθνη*” (i.e. peoples or nations), assumptions about the nature (or character) of a certain people or nation, and assumptions about who belongs to which people and why.

As to the first, there is usually a consensus among migrant, diaspora or minority communities and the dominant (indigenous) group as to which nations /peoples

(«έθνη») exist, at least inside the borders of a certain state, and as to who is legitimized to claim which ethnic identity⁷. Lack of consensus on the categories of the classificatory scheme has to do with revisions of the scheme appearing in times of revival of ethnic thinking and the resulting nationalism⁸.

The second type of assumptions refers to *cultural diversity* originating from ethnic diversity. In its crudest form, the assumption goes that there is a bunch of personality traits behind each ethnic group. According to this belief, an individual belonging to an ethnic group carries within himself the same "cultural luggage" with any other member of the same group. In the past some scholars and states have tried to legitimize this perceived or postulated similarity among members of the same ethnic group with biological arguments, the best known case being the race "theories" of Nazi scientists in Germany which had a strong influence on the education of German minorities in eastern European states, such as Poland and Chechoslovakia⁹. But if one takes away the diversity from the reasoning behind the postulated similarity, it remains that in the minds of ordinary people who share the basic assumptions on ethnicity, ethnicity and personality are tightly connected. Especially *this* assumption has important implications for education, as we will see later.

The last type of assumptions helps define the individual's and others' relationship to the folk taxonomy already mentioned, that is, it helps in resolving the issue of belonging to a human group defined by the ethnicity criterion through a matrix of "ethnicity signs". Learning and handling this code of signs, one is able to relate himself or herself and others, to certain categories of the folk taxonomy.

One last thing about ethnicity assumptions: as any other assumption about things and people, these assumptions are also a product of learning and education. The meanings of ethnic ascriptions are learned from a relatively tender age, that is, as soon as division lines can be drawn within the family discourse¹⁰. Peer groups, powerful communication networks such as television and radio, films and the market, and finally school, just build on what has been learned at home and turn these assumptions into institutionally sanctioned beliefs, into *common sense truths*.

Ethnicity and Diversity in Educational Contexts

Educational contexts might interest an educationist either as settings for specific interaction processes or as organizational settings for political decision making (educational policy). Ethnicity is not something inherent to educational contexts,

but when it appears there, it tends to influence the structure of social interaction or the process and content of educational decision making. Educational organizations may be inclined to accept the concept of ethnicity - mainly through the concept of *ethnic identity* - in order to legitimize variation in the curriculum, different approaches for the organizing of teaching, school performance, images of self and other etc.

But ethnicity as a social reality¹¹ is also present outside school, in everyday life, and shapes the ways people act toward one another, especially in multi-ethnic and multi-cultural societies, such as societies including traditional minorities or Diaspora groups, especially when ethnicity maintenance is defined as one of the goals of these groups¹². At the interactional level ethnicity appears in the form of relatively firm and socially sanctioned shared assumptions of the participants' ascriptions about self and "other". Ethnic ascriptions are structurally similar to normal ascriptions we are used to in our everyday life, such as gender, age, class, status etc., but the collectivities they refer to are more elusive compared to the more or less well defined groups of gender or age. The collectivity which *ethnicity* points at may be a state, but it may also be a cultural group. To some extent, as Anderson¹³ puts it, ethnicity points to imaginary communities. In this sense, ethnic identity is just another form of *social identity* - in the tradition of Erving Goffman¹⁴ - and as such it can be only understood under the condition that individuals tend to put themselves and others into social categories, that is socially accepted classificatory schemes. The sense of an individual's belonging to a category like this (*ethnos*) appears in his and the other's conscience as his ethnic identity. In everyday communication the term *ethnos* comes very close to the meaning of the word "people", the only main difference being its historical dimension. In this sense, from the point of view of an individual, *ethnos* is the imagination of a collectivity of individuals of similar origin and traits producing and reproducing itself through time, in other words a *people* seen in its historical dimension. The fact that ethnicity refers rather to *assumptions about reality* than to reality itself, has made some scholars take a critical stand toward this concept and question its analytical value and its political implications¹⁵. But even if ethnicity were a myth altogether - and this is not necessarily the case - the social scientist has no alternative than take it into account, if individuals and other social agents ascribe meaning to it or, even more, if they organize their action in reference to their beliefs about ethnicity. Following the thought of William Thomas we may argue that if ethnicity is defined by social subjects as *real*, it may have some real consequences.

On the political level - especially in minority contexts - *ethnicity* functions as a code for creating a community of interests and as an instrument of controlling

political action¹⁶. Especially in multiethnic and multicultural societies ethnicity might be used by several political agents, such as the mother-country state, the host-country state or institutions of *Diaspora* or minority groups, in order to exert some sort of influence toward ongoing political processes.

Ethnicity, Multiculturalism and Culture Maintenance through Education

The concept of multiculturalism, both in everyday language use and in academic discourse, indicates either the existence or the possibility of several (at least two) cultural systems within the same political entity. Looking at pre-modern societies, politically organized as multi-ethnic empires, one comes across a considerable variety of cultures in the broad sense (including language, religion, economy, art, lore, styles etc.). The social groups involved, co-existed within the same political environment. Empires neither tried nor could they have pursued integrationist or assimilationist policies on a large scale. They were dealing with subjects, not citizens. For a variety of reasons homogeneity would be counterproductive within such political systems. On the contrary, boundary maintenance as a rule was an expedient tool for the administration and a mechanism for the reproduction of the political system¹⁷. In such environments the development of a common cultural code could not be understood as a political demand. On the other hand, the educational systems of the empires had neither the range nor the function of modern educational systems of national states. Social mobility was not a legitimate idea for every subject and school could not be the pivotal factor for upward social mobility. Somehow groups co-existed as self-perpetuating cultural systems, without having the option to participate in a common contest¹⁸ in order to create access to higher social positions and higher social status.

Modern societies, as egalitarian societies constituted of citizens with formally equal access to social positions, favor the idea of legal and – to some extent - moral consensus. They are societies with a common legal system and a common moral code, at least concerning cultural ends¹⁹. Notwithstanding economic inequalities in modern free market states, access to social position and social status is not legally made dependent on one's economic class. Social origin, ethnic background, language identity, religious affiliation, gender etc. are formally considered as irrelevant factors for one's legal possibility to create access to social position. Education still plays an important role as a mechanism for status allocation and the rules of the contest for social position by default do not reflect cultural or ethnic diversity in a society. The rules for this more or less common contest are set by the politically dominant segment of the society and it is

important for all members interested in full participation - which of course includes institutional participation - to acquire and command the proper cultural capital or codes²⁰ in order to play the game successfully. Education is the main arena for this contest and therefore the school career of the child and adolescent is of considerable importance.

Judged by their degree of ethnicity awareness, societies form a continuum with highly *ethnicity-sensitive societies* to be placed at one end, and neutral societies towards ethnicity, at the other. For the first type of societies ethnicity constitutes an integral part of the social order. Institutions like friendship, marriage and family, neighborhood, market, leisure, education etc. may be strongly influenced by the high visibility of ethnic identity. On the contrary, societies characterized by a lack of interest into the other's ethnic background, let other principles guide social interaction. The emphasis here is on the members' sharing of a common cultural code, whereas citizenship becomes the basic principle in the organization of public life.

As already mentioned, pre-modern societies showed a high degree of ethnicity and religion awareness²¹. It is more than clear, though, that ethnicity survived modernity. More than that, one can see the social relevance of ethnicity at present for both typical national-state societies and officially multicultural ones.

The question, however, is what awakens the public interest about ethnicity in modern societies. Part of the answer should be sought in the utilization of the concept of *ethnic identity* in modern societies through the discourse on nationhood and multiculturalism.

The academic discourse on multiculturalism on a state level has often created an ideologically twisted and romantic picture of co-existence of many cultural systems within the same political entity without any reference to the compatibility of the systems involved. Beginning with a variety of languages or dialects, dressing and food habits, religions, life histories of predecessors etc., it fosters the illusion of the co-existence of a diversity of institutional cultural forms within society, such as the legal system, science, education, politics, economy and technology. Since this is not the case even in the countries proclaiming themselves as the bulwark of multiculturalism, one is obliged to seek for the *ideological function* of such concepts. That is the reason why one has to differentiate between the *reality* of multiculturalism and the *rhetoric* of multiculturalism.

Perhaps the central ideological function of the multiculturalism assumption is that the social discourse about cultural diversity, especially when it is officially sanctioned by the host societies, may develop into an expedient tool for *ethnic boundary maintenance*. As already mentioned, ethnicity could be looked upon as a

set of beliefs about the other's cultural difference, as opposed to the culture of the individual belonging to the dominant group. Ethnocentric societies or groups usually possess an ideology about the nation (ethnos) which has functioned as a tool for the reproduction of the beliefs concerning ethnicity. Even if the *other* has not got any visible remnant of his alleged different culture, he is still considered to be different. The areas of difference just shift from visible to invisible traits (such as loyalties, commitments, tastes, attitudes, feelings and thoughts), which are hard to falsify. That is the reason why some individuals are excluded from mainstream society and stamped different, even without their consent, in spite of empirical reality. States which are relatively new and do not possess an elaborate ideology about the "ethnos" may use other constructions in order to maintain social boundaries in the form of ethnic boundaries. The same is true for traditional national states, when the nationhood discourse is out of tune with recent political-ideological developments. Multiculturalism, as a belief about the legitimacy of ever-going cultural diversity, may in some contexts acquire the function ethnocentrism has in traditional societies as a mechanism for boundary maintenance, in that it reminds the minority individual of his being on the other side of the boundary. Under certain circumstances multicultural rhetoric is creating, validating and preserving symbolic divisions within the society.

If the perpetuation of such social division were only symbolic, one would not unnecessarily bother with this practice. But it is not always the case²². Ideas about the other's different nature may shape the believer's behavior toward the other, especially in educational environments, and create real results concerning achievement, that is they tend to exert negative influence on the educational career of children and adolescents and shape negatively their chances for acquiring social status and enabling full participation in society. That is why ethnicity may have political implications for all individuals involved.

Ethnicity and the "Mother-Country"

If assumptions about cultural diversity in a society were elements of a philosophical discussion without any real consequence in everyday life, engaging into the definition and management of ethnic identity would be an academic sport with only a few eccentric scholars willing to engage in it. On the contrary, assumptions about reality may shape one's reaction towards it and this is the reason why defining ethnicity has also a political dimension. Different agents expect different things from certain definitions of ethnicity, all these expectations having to do less with ethnicity itself and more with power, or politics of influence.

One could name three major agents of ethnicity definition - and thus cultural diversity definition - in countries with migrant or minority communities: the mother-country state, the host country state and the diaspora or minority institutions²³.

In ethnocentric discourses developed in the country of origin but also within migrant and minority communities, the home state of the first generation immigrant or minority group is depicted as "mother country". This imagery is pointing at the solidarity bonds between the migrant or minority groups and the state of origin, whereas at the same time it claims the legitimacy of this state to behave as a "protector" towards the minority community both on the material level (other financial forms of support), the ideological (culture continuity) and on the political level (loyalty of the minority community toward the mother state in cases of political conflict)²⁴.

The "home state" acting through its bureaucracies, especially cultural and educational institutions, may see it expedient for its political objectives to embark on (traditional) policies of cultural maintenance in migrant or minority communities, hoping that this is the best way to create a powerful pressure group within the host state which can be used in order to exert influence on the balance of power between the home state and the host state, especially, but not exclusively, in the field of foreign policy²⁵. If the home state acts in a traditional way, it provides migrant or minority communities with a national culture, which is usually different from the regional cultures the first generation is familiar with or has brought together to the host country. This incompatibility between what the mother state defines as "national culture" and the migrant or minority community perceives as "national culture", is one of the mechanisms of alienation of the second and of the subsequent generations from the migrant or minority community,²⁶ in some contexts.

Educational policies for migrant or minority communities has been the favored tool for the implementation of ethnic boundary maintenance through culture maintenance either on the part of the home country, on the part of the host country or on the part of both. The most politically conservative version of ethnic boundary maintenance through educational policies is the encouragement of separate (ethnic) schools, operated by teachers dispatched by home country authorities abroad for a certain time period. These schools are thought to be cultural alternatives to the educational system of the "host" country which is usually denounced and rejected as assimilationist²⁷. The logic of this model favors a total protection of ethnicity against alien influence, where "alien" influence is defined as the cultural influence of the society the children are born and

socialized. Apart from such educational policies, home states may favor policies of bicultural identity as strategies for ethnic boundary maintenance. The concept of bicultural identity includes the possibility - and desirability - of an individual activating two cultural systems, or codes, in his everyday life, according to the context the action is situated. One part of his cultural identity is enough for keeping the individual within the ethnic boundary, since it will differentiate it from the identity of the mainstream citizen in the society²⁸.

The Role of the Host State in Ethnic Boundary Maintenance

Depending on the context²⁹, policies of the host state toward migrant or minority communities may vary between preventing a marginalization of the first and consequent immigrant generations and the social tension following such a development on the one hand, and controlling an all-too-swift social mobility of the migrants on the other, especially if this trend produces a social tension of a different type: racism and nationalism against minorities on the part of the host community³⁰. The policy of controlled integration, if successful, results to a model of social coexistence of indigenous and minority groups, in which the ethnics are accepted without at the same time threatening the social position of the indigenous population. Powerful ideologies have been developed in order to legitimize the host state's attempts to keep minorities as a group at bay. Ethnicity ideology (i.e. the social discourse about the usefulness of cultural diversity in society, positive discrimination policies towards groups of citizens defined by ethnicity) developed and refined by host state bureaucracies seems to take a leading position among those ideologies. In propagating the isomorphism between cultural and ethnic identity, it officially proclaims and validates an allegedly fundamental difference between majority and minority citizen. The postulated essential diversity between minority identity and dominant identity is the core of the system of assumptions about "us" and "them" which we defined earlier as *ethnicity*. From the point of view of the host state, ethnic identity - as an ascription from outside - serves as an expedient concept for the legitimate anticipation of cultural difference, according to the doctrine, where there is ethnic differentiation there has to be cultural difference. The social relevance of postulated cultural difference may vary from a positive to a negative value. Educational programs aimed at the preservation of cultural variety and at fighting against cultural homogeneity are based on *a priori* positive definitions of cultural difference. At the same time they imply a certain obligation of the minority individual to be and publicly admit that he is culturally different from the dominant society as a member of an ethnic group. Being a member of a

minority and at the same time culturally similar to the typical individual of the dominant group is somehow impossible or incompatible in the minds of both the dominant and minority community, as long as the host state is successful in propagating ethnicity romanticism.³¹

Minority Institutions and Ethnicity

Second and third generation minority or migrant children may perceive *ethnicity* as a frame for special social expression, as an obligation to behave in a certain way. Depending on their parents' definitions of their role in the host state and their self-conception as mainstream citizens or minority members, they may be recipients of ethnicity as a divisive concept. Ethnicity serves here as an orientation for action, at least in certain types of social situations. It prepares the bearer to claim a certain status in a folk taxonomy, to accept in a natural way this status when awarded from a third party, and to express some form of cultural difference in interaction. Because such demands³² are from the child's point of view in fact unrealistic, culture maintenance romanticism may lead to stressful situations in the family and in full-blown conflict during adolescence.

Towards the other extreme, ethnicity is perceived as something which may jeopardize one's esteem or success in social performance, especially if the environment is not very friendly towards the specific ethnic category.³³ Although there may also be parents who convey to their children definitions of ethnicity as a "social handicap" in an attempt to obtain a fast integration into the host society,³⁴ it is usually the children who tend to dissociate themselves from *tokens* of minority identity, especially in public places, in order to pass as "normal".

Minority institutions (family, secondary organizations, cultural groups, church) may vary in their perception of ethnicity as a mechanism (strategy) for culture maintenance. Host country context, policies of the home state, historical situation, generational sequence etc. could be mentioned as some at least of the factors responsible for this variation. They may also be in congruence or in dissonance with the culture maintenance policies of the home state. As a fact, the home state will try to play a role within minority institutions in order to reach some degree of compatibility between its definitions of culture and ethnicity and the ones favored by minority institutions. On the other hand, minority institutions may develop in a rather antagonistic way, some allying with the home state and getting its support, whereas others allying with the host state, if their interests are - or are perceived to be - more compatible with their definitions of ethnicity³⁵. Depending on the type of the institution, it may set emphasis on different ethnicity markers.

Thus church may see it expedient to define religious belief as the *differentia specifica*, ignoring arguments about language as a *sine qua non* condition for someone claiming a certain ethnic identity. Institutions close to educational contexts may adopt just the opposite position. In some settings minority institutions may try to define ethnicity through ritualistic elements, allowing individuals to identify with a collectivity or a state without possessing linguistic or cultural “documents” of their ethnicity claims.

The dilemma for minority institutions is to keep a balance between functioning as a tool for political pressure toward the home state in order to secure support and recognition, allying with the host state in order to receive affirmative action, and trying to be an independent agent who negotiates with both the host and the home state in order to promote minority interests, whereas at the same time keeping the definition power as to what those interests are. This dilemma translates into the institution trying to promote the social conditions of a minority³⁶ through accepting its minority position, or trying to step away from the initial minority position and secure full integration into the mainstream society. Culture maintenance is something for the first strategy, culture independence is something for the second case.

Globalization and the Radicalization of Minorities

Globalization rhetoric in its version as an ideology about the prevalence of general human rights and universal models of state action - as they are defined by those who possess the definition power - over national state expediencies tends sometimes to destabilize delicate balances developed between dominant societies and minority or migrant communities not only in the Balkans, Middle Europe and the former Soviet Union, but eventually in countries like Australia, Canada and the United States. Current definitions of human rights by western leading states include issues long known in the discussions about ethnicity and culture. The global discourse about the obligation of the host state to deliver some type of cultural autonomy to minority groups may become responsible for a shift of power within minority communities to the benefit of community institutions or minority institutions favoring culture maintenance and of conservative definitions of the ethnic boundary.

In some contexts this tends to create conflict situations for both the host state and the minority community, and may trap the latter into an orbit of cultural and educational separatism with detrimental effects for the future generations. Ethnic radicalism in its ideological structure and social function is not different from nationalism proper, except for the fact that it is extremely difficult for

minority communities to imagine - let alone create and operate - a state of their own, even an autonomous province, without external intervention or support. But in a global environment ethnic radicalism may seem an expedient tool for some policy agents to exert pressure on national states through ethnic groups, when these states must be controlled or destabilized.³⁷ In this sense, the ideology of multiculturalism may become the modern descendant of the ideology of expansive nationalism as it is known from interwar Europe.

In other contexts, ethnic radicalization encouraged by the global discourse on human rights, may lead to a marginalization of minority communities, the loss of social status of its members being the price to be paid for the support of conflict politics and politics of culture maintenance. If the host state does not face considerable social tensions by such a marginalization, it has no strong motive to counteract the process of ethnic radicalization and may feel quite at ease with it.

Concluding Remarks

Ethnicity is a social reality and it transforms itself into a political reality when competing agents are attempting to define and include it in their strategies of power and influence maintenance and increase. The power configuration between the agents who define ethnicity is not always symmetrical, but the similarity of the definitions may be independent of that. Home state, host state, minority institutions, family, peer groups and the individual itself are trying to establish *markers of ethnicity* and thus to set the position and the nature of the ethnic boundary. Ideologies are helpful instruments in this process and they range from overtly nationalistic and ethnocentric to cultural ones. The sense of belonging is essential in modern, complex societies. But no individual belongs only to one group. We are all bearers of multiple collective identities. The problem with traditional definitions of ethnicity has two sides: (a) since dominant group members do not need an ethnic belonging, in the same society some have it (ethnicity) and some do not, and (b) the binary thinking according to which one is either a member of a dominant or of an ethnic group. This division is socially conservative. It implies that one looks at things either from the perspective of the dominant society or from that of a minority. But democracies do not recognize cultural or code dominance in terms of cultural substance, they accept only political dominance, that is relative majority rule under the condition of freedom of expression. Awareness of a group a citizen belongs to - even if this group is defined historically - does not imply a limited interest to participate in the institutions of the mainstream society. When it does, ethnicity starts to be a

mechanism for ideological manipulation of the social, economic and political structure of the society.

From a communicative point of view, ethnicity may be understood as an additional dimension for an individual's personality, either a facility or a motivation to participate in an additional network of communication. What counts is the chance of the individual to create and share meanings with others. These meanings or networks may not be the ones the mother or host state perceives as valuable or functional, but the choice is within the individual's range. In such an understanding of multiculturalism, there is no need to measure it by a list of typical "content" traits. If an individual in an ethnically diverse society starts to develop an interest towards history, language or culture of a certain people, region or state associated with his predecessors and starts participating in some form of communication with other individuals also interested in the same issues, an additional dimension in his personality is being created. From the educational point of view this interest is most welcome and creative under the condition of recognition of common values, loyalties, responsibilities and aspirations toward a free and democratic state and society on the part of the individual. Multiculturalism as co-existence of parallel societies within a state, without common cultural and political codes and social projects is far from being an educational goal for modern societies. In fact it could be a regression toward a traditional class or stand society. In this sense the real dilemma is not multiculturalism versus cultural homogeneity, but the possibility of cultural variety within a frame of common cultural, political and economic codes defining basic contents and procedures of the public and private sphere of a society. The development of this citizenship is a priority task for European educational systems of the present.

NOTES

1. See Lehmann 1931, Keil 1967, Horak/ Blanke 1985, Tomiak et al. 1991.
2. Gotovos 2007.
3. Barth 1969.
4. Gotovos/Merkens 1982.
5. Gotovos 1991.
6. The concept of *social identity* is used here in the sociological tradition of Erving Goffman.
7. Consensus on the last issue is not always present, the recent dispute on

(slav)macedonian ethnicity in Australia has shown this lack of consensus in a rather strange way. Cf. Danforth 1995.

8. The collapse of the Soviet Union gave way to the expression of such nationalism and is probably going to mark the future developments in some east and south European countries.
9. Nazi race theorists did not develop their educational plans *ex nihilo*. Concepts and action favoring irredentism through education, are not rare in minority contexts. Whether they become dominant or not, as in pre-war Chechoslovakia, depends on non-educational parameters. See Preissler 1967, Osterloh, 2006.
10. Cf. Gotovos 1979.
11. The term *social reality* should be understood in the tradition of social constructivism, i.e. as a socially constructed reality. Cf. P. Berger /T. Luckmann 1966.
12. Damanakis 2008.
13. Anderson 1991.
14. Goffman 1976.
15. Merckens 1991.
16. Culture may or may not be implied in this definition. In some Diaspora communities ethnicity is totally void of any cultural content different from or not included in the cultural system of the host society, but it is socially present as a principle for organizing the lives of individuals through a sense of belonging to a distinct group in order to promote legitimate goals (e.g. influence, power, social position) as a group. Others could promote the same goals using non-ethnic concepts.
17. This should not lead to the conclusion of a romantic picture of peaceful co-existence of culturally differentiated groups within an empire. As some scholars suggested, boundary shifts were sometimes in the agenda and they were centrally planned (either through encouragement or by using force) in order to preserve social order. Forced islamizations by the Ottoman Empire are such an example. Cf. Kazamias 1991.
18. The idea of *contest* as a legitimate procedure for acquiring social status is based on the ideology of modernism, that is, on the appearance of the political reality of citizen in the foreground. Cf. Turner 1974.
19. Merton based his theory of *anomie* on the very concept of commonly shared cultural ends and its opposition to the social disparity of means for their fulfillment. Cf. Merton 1968.
20. Bourdieu's theory of social and cultural capital points at some of the basic sources of social inequality in capitalist societies and the role of education in transforming cultural capital into educational career. Cf. Mörth/ Fröhlich 1991.
21. In pre-modern social order ethnicity was not necessarily based on language or

- descent, but could be based on other division lines such as religion or profession. Even in contemporary national states ethnicity's markers may vary considerably.
22. The social engineering of Turkish ethnic nationalism by the “mother country” in Cyprus and Western Thrace in the second half of the twentieth century are two typical examples of the implementation of the concept of multiculturalism in a process of fostering minority nationalism through education. See also Gotovos 2007.
 23. In a global world there are other agents expecting gains from the way some collectivities will finally handle ethnicity, for example whether they will connect it with segregationist or separatist projects or not. This has to be taken in account when processes of ethnicity definitions are discussed.
 24. It was this thinking which in the eyes of the Canadian public opinion legitimized the treatment of Japanese Canadians in Canada during the second world war. Cf. Sunahara 1981.
 25. One might think other fields of influence, such as the social or educational policy of the host state toward diaspora communities, the economic domain (commerce, tourism), etc.
 26. Given that the most common strategy in presenting Greek identity for diaspora populations has been the historicist approach (classical Hellenic Culture or 19th century struggle for independence as symbols for Greekness), the home state is usually fixing ethnic identity within a highly selective and not always realistic historical frame.
 27. The German context has been typical for the implementation of ethnocentric educational policies on the part of the Greek state over the last 40 years. A realistic analysis of the true motives of both the segment of the Greek diaspora there demanding an isolationist educational solution and the Greek state fulfilling this demand, shows that the true motives behind the identity maintenance rhetoric are of less noble quality, such as attracting migrants' capital and securing positive educational discrimination in Greek higher education for the children of Greek nationals in Germany. For a critique of this model cf. Gotovos 1997. Denouncing German schools as tools for assimilation of migrant populations, though, is not a typical “Greek” reaction. In a recent occasion (Cologne, February 2008) the present Turkish Prime Minister declared assimilation as “a crime against humanity” and demanded the establishment of Turkish schools – even universities - in Germany. See *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 14.2.2008.
 28. This explains why bilingualism as an educational objective is not enough for the supporters of bicultural education, since language is not to be considered as an equivalent for culture.
 29. Historical, demographic, economic, social and political factors could play a role in defining the context for the host state's policy toward Diaspora communities in a certain historical period.

30. Those who usually benefit from the newcomers' social placement in the lowest status ladder as unskilled labor, belong to the lower and lower middle class of the host society. It has been argued that migrant communities function as a "cushion" for the underprivileged of the host society, even as a mechanism for the elevation of their social status. See Damanakis 1987:23 ff.
31. In some receiving states which have long rejected a definition of themselves as migration countries, ethnicity has been a key legal concept in keeping segments of the population on the other side of the citizen boundary. Even in officially multicultural states, ethnicity has helped create a special status for migrants which one might call "annex status". Migrants, even if they are naturalized in the host societies, are considered - and sometimes consider themselves - as a segment of the population belonging to the whole, but not fully participating in societal institutions.
32. At the educational level ethnic romanticism results in demands to the host state concerning some form of culture maintenance within educational organizations. Theoretically speaking, the host state is confronted with a demand on the part of the parents that their children be culturally different from the mainstream children through state action, in order to be able to claim ethnic identity in a legitimate way. From the parents' point of view, a fully integrated into the mainstream society member of the Diaspora who claims ethnic identity does something absurd, since the individual mentioned claims ethnicity without being able to present any specific cultural content.
33. Aggressive anti-Hellenic sentiment fostered by concerted attacks against the "Greeks" in the German public discourse since the beginning of 2010 has created an unfavourable context for the public presentation of Greek ethnic identity in this country.
34. Second and third generation Diaspora children have to choose between social and economic marginalization - mainly due to the social position and cultural distance of their parents - through culture maintenance, and social mobility through cultural shift. Although it is finally the family's decision what to do, the result will depend on the pattern of interaction between the host state, the mother state and the Diaspora institutions. Families have to make their way through these communicative influences using their knowledge about educational institutions and their definitions about the costs and the gains of alternative decisions.
35. It is clear that this type of conflict has a structural dimension and can be seen in many Diaspora communities, even if these are usually thought of as united and solid. On the other hand one should not forget that tension among the Diaspora institutions itself functions as a mechanism for boundary maintenance, in that only Diaspora individuals could be involved in a struggle over the future course of the community toward the host society. Conflict helps create and perpetuate a discourse about "us" (Diaspora) and "them" (dominant society) and marks those participating in it as *ethnics*.

36. We are talking here about minorities in a sociological sense, not about the legal concept of a minority as a segment of the population having a special legal status as opposed to the rest of the citizens.
37. The Munich agreement of 1938 is a typical case of this strategy.

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Structure, Function and Functionality of the Greek Educational System

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RÉSUMÉ

Dans cet article, on décrit la structure et les fonctions du système éducatif grec. On se concentre sur les changements et les réformes, qui avaient l'objectif suivant:

- a) renforcer la fonction de socialisation de l'école
 - b) améliorer les compétences prévues des diplômés et
 - c) l'opération sélective à travers les examens d'entrée à l'enseignement supérieur.
- L'article montre comment l'absence de mesures d'efficacité affecte toute la planification et la programmation du système éducatif grec. Bien, qu'un système d'évaluation soit décrit par un certain nombre de lois, depuis 1985, nous discutons des raisons de l'absence d'application de tout système d'évaluation.

Enfin, nous discutons du cas du lycée, qui est devenu une étape préparatoire pour les examens universitaires, et la façon dont il affecte la fonctionnalité du système éducatif.

ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to describe the structure and functions of Greece's educational system. We focus on changes and reforms targeted at:

- a) reinforcing the socializing function of the school;
- b) upgrading the skills of graduates; and
- c) the selective process of entrance examinations to higher education.

The paper shows how the absence of effective measures affects the planning and programming of the Greek educational system. Although, an evaluation system is described by a number of laws since 1985, we discuss the reasons why no evaluation system has been applied.

Finally we discuss the case of the Lyceum, which has become a preparatory step for the university examinations, and the way that it affects the functionality of the educational system.

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Introduction

In order to study the functioning and the functionality of the Greek Educational System, one has to consider the challenges that education had to face after the political transition in 1974 until today.

These challenges have emerged from both the rapid changes in political, economic, social and technological structures in the world, at a global level, and the specificity of the adaptation of Greece in the above areas.

At a global level, all educational systems are affected by the following factors:

- Globalization, which imposed a restructuring of the whole production and economic fabric of the different countries.
- Development of new technologies and the direct transfer of the information, which created the need for flexible adaptation to the new realities.
- The mobility of people and goods between states.

With specific reference to Greece the following factors should be also added:

- The various changes were more intense, given the political and social transformations that occurred in Greece after 1974.
- The entry of Greece into the European Union redefined all the determinants of Greek society and highlighted education as a ratio to adapt to new circumstances.
- The influx of immigrants into the country has created new standards for society and education, adding the integration of migrants to the aims of education.

The Greek state, through a series of reforms and legislation, attempted to adapt the Greek educational system to the above data. The ultimate goal of these reforms were: to enhance the socialization of the school, providing graduates with skills and a clear selective operation through entrance examinations in Higher Education. The effectiveness of the reforms and the current recording operation and functionality of the educational system is the subject of this article.

1.1. Legislative Reforms and Legislative Changes Since the Political Transition in 1974 until today

The 1975 Constitution enshrined the Dimotiki (oral form of the language) at all levels of education and the nine-year compulsory education. In the first attempt to reform the post-Junta period (Law 309/1976), the High School (Gymnasium) attendance becomes mandatory and the second cycle of secondary education, the Lyceum and Technical Vocational Lyceum, non-compulsory. Only the first gives the opportunity to its graduates to follow the Tertiary Education.

The reforms adopted by the new government in 1981¹ modified the structure and the functioning of education, mainly in:

- Establishing a single multi- Lyceum (1984) aimed at bridging the gap between general and technical education
- The creation of Unified Multi-Disciplinary Lyceums (1984) aimed at bridging the gap between general and technical education
- Passing a framework law on the functioning of Higher Education (Law 1268/1982)
- The initiation of post-graduate studies in various university departments
- The establishment of Education Departments
- The Law of 1566/1985 clarifies the frame of functioning of Primary and Secondary Education, aiming to democratize the education system through participation in decision making of all stakeholders in education (students, teachers, parents and staff).

The next reform effort refers to the Law 2525/1997, which amended without necessarily changing substantially the character of upper secondary education, the Unified Lyceum. The examination entrance to Higher Education, at a bundle of subjects, was abolished and replaced by directives and the national exams were renamed Panhellenic. In addition the way recruitment of staff for primary and secondary education was made changed and the all-day primary school, with an expanded curriculum was introduced.

Table: Reforme Efforts in Chronological Order

Year	Number of Law	Title	Minister of Education	Basic points
1976	309/1976	General Education	Rallis G.	Establishment of dimotiki, 9 year obligatory education
1977	576/1977	-Technical- Professional Education	Rallis G.	
1978	815/1978		Rallis G.	Not applicable
1982	1268/1982	On the structure and functioning of the Higher Education	Kaklamanis A.	Mode settings of Higher Education

1983	1304/1983	Scientific and Pedagogical management of the General and Secondary Technical Education	Kaklamanis A.	Adoption of scientific guidance
1985	1566/1985	Primary and Secondary Education and other provisions	Kaklamanis A.	New curricula, textbooks, upgrade of the Pedagogical Academies to the University level, remedial teaching, post-lyceum preparatory centers, Pedagogical Institute
1992	2043/1992	Supervision and management of Primary and Secondary Education	Souflias G.	Selection of educational managers
1997-1998	2525/1997	The Unified Lyceum, access of graduates in Higher Education, evaluation of educational work	Arsenis G.	Establishment of the Unified Lyceum, Access to Higher Education, full-day kindergarten and elementary school, second-chance schools, a system of appointing teachers, evaluation of educational work
1998	2640/1998	Technical - Professional Education	Arsenis G.	
2004	3255/2004	Subjects of all educational levels		Establishment of Departments in Universities

2006	3467/2006	Select strains of primary and secondary education, issues of education management	Giannakou M.	Establishment of a method of selecting staff training
2006	3475/2006	Organization and functioning of secondary vocational education	Giannakou M.	Establishment of Professional High Schools, Vocational Schools, and access of graduates to Higher Education.
2007	3549/2007	Reform of the institutional framework for the structure and operation of the Universities	Giannakou M.	
2010	3848/2010	Upgrade the role of the teacher evaluation and establishment of rules of meritocracy in education	Diamantopoulou A.	Establishment of rules for teacher's recruitment, selection of management training, evaluating training activities, establishment of post-secondary centers, etc.

1.2. Education Structures

Compulsory education

The public education is free in Greece at all levels and all costs are borne by the state budget. The system is divided into three levels: primary, secondary and tertiary, while in recent years an interim post-secondary, but non-tertiary level of education, has operated as well.

The compulsory education covers 10 years and extends from 5 to 15 years of age (kindergarten and Primary School).

Kindergarten Education

From the age of 4 years children can optionally enroll in public or private kindergartens. The monitoring of the Kindergarten is compulsory for children of 5 years. The school year 2009 - 2010, the number of children who attended public kindergartens was 146,250 and 11,658 attended private ones.

The problems encountered with the implementation of compulsory education in kindergarten constitute a typical expression of dysfunctioning of the Greek educational system. While there was no change in the structure of the kindergarten, the personnel was limited and thus could not handle the large number of kids, at least during the first year of implementation. Therefore the private institutions covered the resulting mismatch and the malfunctioning.

Primary Schooling

Primary education constitutes the fundamental level and extends to 6 years. The only prerequisite for registration for a child who has a certificate of Kindergarten attendance is the adjacency of residence to the school.

Since 1997 (2525/1997) all day long school is adopted with extended schedule and enriched curriculum.

Although its initial target was to provide extra help for the next day's lessons and homework, combined with creative activities programs, it ended up taking care of the children of working parents.

The Pedagogical Institute² designs the Curricula which are approved by the Ministry of Education. The compulsory subjects include language, mathematics, religion, geography, history, environmental studies, science, social studies, music, two foreign languages and physical education. In addition, there is a Free Zone of interdisciplinary and creative activities.

In primary education all courses are taught by the class teacher, except physical education, music, computing, theater, education and foreign languages that require specialized teachers.

These teachers are under special work status (part-timers) and their restricted presence at school results to dysfunctions (restraints) as well, since this small presence prevents the development of a pedagogical relationship between teacher-student.

Secondary Education

Attendance at the first cycle of secondary education, the High School (Gymnasium), is mandatory. In high school taught courses, in addition to the

Primary Education subjects, ancient Greek, chemistry, biology, home economics, computer technology and Career Guidance are also added as compulsory courses. Pupils aged over 14 who work may attend Evening High Schools.

There are also some alternative forms of Gymnasium such as the religious, the minority, the intercultural, the experimental, the music schools, etc.

The quality of provided education for most pupils is defined by three disparate factors: the obligatoriness of education, the type of training and the evaluation. The kind of knowledge offered in High School is not in any case, the general knowledge that should be given to someone who will not continue his studies. Thus, much of the student population has no capacity to adapt to this kind of knowledge, and thus remains functionally illiterate.

Tightening of the tests, targeting the resumption of study in the same class, does not lead to any improvement, given the inability to adapt. So, the examinations become more and more elastic, and eliminate any evaluation system. Obviously, the lack of assessment spreads over the school's student population, creating the need for tuition for some students (*frontistirio*) and full depreciation of school for another portion of them.

Optional Secondary Education

Optional Secondary education comprises two types of High School: the General Lyceum with academic orientation and the Professional Lyceum that combines general education with specific technical-professional skills. In addition, the Professional Schools for students aged 16-18 years belong to the Secondary Education.

Both general and technical-professional Lyceums provide equivalent diplomas that enable graduates to enter the tertiary education. There are also Evening respective Lyceums (General and Professional) that cover 4 years of attendance. Alternative High Schools are the Religious, the Music, Fine Arts, Experimental, Minority, the Intercultural Lyceums etc. These alternative forms of High School were initiated by the law 3475/2006 which abolished the Unified Lyceum.

The Schools of Professional Education provide a two-year program that might be extended for another year devoted in training or apprenticeship. This type of school can be established and operated under the supervision of other Ministries. Their graduates obtain a 3rd level diploma integrated directly into the labor market.

Since 1985 (1566/85), the nature of the Lyceum is closely related to the entrance examination process to Higher Education. Initially four bundles of subjects were examined. The law 2525/1996 removed these bundles introducing courses' directions (theoretical, technological, math) connecting the graduation

from High School with the entrance general exams (panhellenic exams). This resulted in malfunctioning both in final and entrance exams. By adopting a series of presidential decrees, the next Minister of Education (2001), decoupling the graduation exam from nationwide entrance exams and simultaneously decreased the number of examined courses.

The technical - professional education worked and seems to continue to operate on the margins of the education system. The establishment of the multidisciplinary Lyceum (Law 1566/85), was perhaps the only approach to an equitable development of technical and professional education, along with general education. Their small number, only in large urban centers did not allow their overall development, highlighting the Technical Professional Lyceums which also functioned as the precursor form of the technical training that we have today. The significant change in the various forms taken by the technical-professional education, doesn't show any improvement in the educational functioning. The only essential element of change was the graduates' possibility to have access to tertiary education with or without examination.

Post-Secondary Education

A new structure in the Greek Educational System as a post-secondary level is the Vocational Training Institutes (IEK). The post-secondary Vocational Training Institutes (IEK) offer a wide range of specializations, tailored, largely to local business needs.

Post-secondary non-tertiary education is provided also by the Centers for Post-secondary Education as providers of non-formal education and training. The certificates or certificates of education or any other name certificate issued by the Centers for Post-secondary education do not constitute academic qualifications equivalent to those granted under the Greek system of formal post-secondary education, including Universities, Technical Education Institutes and the aforementioned Vocational Training Institutes (IEK).

The establishment and operation of Post-secondary Education Centres under state control is exercised by the Minister of Education.

Higher Education

Since 2001 (2916/2001), tertiary education consists of two parallel sectors:

- a) the academic (Universities, Polytechnics, School of Fine Arts, Greek Open University) and
- b) the technological (Technological Educational Institutes and the Highest School of Pedagogical and Technological Education).

The entrance mechanism to tertiary education is based on the available openings according to the scheduled planning (numerus clausus), on the candidates' preferences for specific schools/departments and their General Access Grade. Special exams are required for certain departments (e.g. drawing for the School of Architecture, or athletics for Physical Education). The student population of higher education (AEI and ATEI Students' whole number) is 16.3% of all students and during the eight years between 2001 and 2008 it has been increased by 14.4% (Paizis, 2010, 37).

The higher Education Institutes are dispersed throughout the country and cover a wide range of cognitive domains. The place, the structure and the connection of departments with the labour market is not always without problems. There are several institutions without enough active students.

The student population of higher education (AEI and TEI whole) is 16.3% of all learners and the eight years 2001-2008 have seen an increase of 14.4% (Paizis, 2010, 37).

Tertiary education in Greece is diachronically associated with social classes. Up to 1964, it partially relied on tuition and later it had austere exams that permitted to a restricted number of students to climb up the social strata, through education and ensured career. This is not the case anymore, because of the increase of the number of Universities and their graduates, coupled with the large number of graduates of foreign Universities.

2.1. The functionality of the Greek Educational System

The Notion of Reform in the Greek Educational System

A special feature of educational policy in Greece is the discontinuity from one government to the other and from one minister to the next.

Although everybody explicitly advocates facing obvious malfunctions and dead ends, this doesn't proceed through a gradual amelioration of the system, but through an abrupt reform which seems to reinstall all aspects of education on a new basis.

Most of the time the arguments put forward leads to a confrontation of the interested parties exhausting any innovative dynamic in itself rhetorical.

Every intended innovation carries the air of decisiveness and as such precludes conversing with the involved partners, who are certain that the novelty will be washed out in words.

Usually the whole thing goes on in a permanent conflict between the government who advocates the correctness of the proposed changes while the

partners argue that the eminent law will be invalidated in practice. The dialogue will be exhausted in rhetoric.

At the end, after a series of confrontations with various aspects, a law is passed which needs a number of presidential decrees and ministerial decisions clarifying its content side by side. The result is that after a series of conflicts taking on different forms, passes a law which to be implemented, requires a series of presidential decrees and ministerial decisions, interpreting the law as they see fit.

These clarifications dissolve the law as a whole, resulting in very little time to work on any improvement, thus leading to the next “reform” by the next minister.

A typical example that confirms such a course is the existence of threshold scores, the minimum grade (base) needed to enter the University. Law 2525/1997 provides for grade 10 to 20 and was also the prerequisite for the graduation from the Secondary Education.

The interconnection of graduation and University entrance resulted in a malfunction which appeared right when the law was firstly applied. Thus the next minister of education abolished it, and a lot of secondary education graduates entered the Universities with lower grades than the base 10. This regulation provided mainly provincial departments of Tertiary Education with students who didn't possess elementary literacy. The malfunction was rectified by the next minister who introduced the minimum base of 10.

The justification of the legal intervention was based on pedagogical and scientific criteria, but didn't consider two parameters: the future of the already existing departments that didn't receive enough students to continue and the local communities that had already invested in the students' presence, under the impulse of parliament members.³

The new solution to the impasse came again through the form of a new minister and a new deal, which abolished the minimum grade, the base of 10.

Control Mechanisms of Effectiveness

In what has already been analyzed - and which raises several problems -, one has to mention also some positive provisions. Any development process should go through an assessment mechanism of positive and negative effects, the effectiveness and functionality of each component of the educational system. In other words, any developmental effort needs assessment, a notion that has been defined properly by educational organization and administration.

For the Greek educational system, the evaluation is a concept with multiple

meanings, most of them negative. Some imply a rigorous monitoring mechanism within the ministry and leads to political influence, according to the unions of teachers.

Although evaluation has been a main demand by unions for years, its legislative launch, in whatever form, raises reactions. Thus as a consensus proposal, delivered by the ministry, the concept of self-evaluation, which is important and effective for education systems, with experience in established structures and functions, might well be vacuous for a system like the Greek one, with its difficulty identified in operating organizational and administrative structures. On the other side, the lack of evaluation affects the efficiency of the education system.

This reduced effectiveness is due to two reasons:

- To formulate any strategy planning the use of reliable data is required, something which results from measuring the effectiveness of past practices. This is the reason that every educational policy in Greece is always named a "new beginning" as a constantly improving system requires an assessment and correction.
- The effectiveness doesn't depend only on strategic planning, but relies crucially on human resources responsible for the implementation. On the other hand, the lack of evaluation deprives qualified material and moral incentive to take initiatives. It also deprives the political leadership of the necessary data to staff the administrative system, with the most talented.

In the usual practice, either the selection is based on partisan criteria, whether an ostensibly transparent process (points awarded), which in most cases, promotes executives who have brought more to the development / ultimately of bureaucracy, rather than efficiency. It should be noted that the lack of assessment is accompanied by a lack of planning, since it evaluates the effectiveness of a planned activity.

Functionality of specialized structures: the case of Lyceum

All the previous remarks might serve as a reliable tool to analyze the malfunctions mainly at the High School level (Lyceum) and more specifically in the domain of technical-professional education. The lack of an evaluation culture in the entire range of the educational process is reflected, in the final and crucial stage, on students' evaluation. With the introduction of compulsory schooling in High School (Gymnasium), in conjunction with the kind of knowledge provided, the students' evaluation is very loose.

In the second cycle of secondary school education (Lyceum), although not

mandatory, it is implicitly accepted that the evaluation might not be objective, since it will be corrected through the mechanism of entrance examinations for higher education which is very austere.

Therefore, the role of High School (Lyceum), has become a necessary transition to Higher Education. Stripped of its pedagogical role it leaves the space free for the development of a parallel educational system, the "tutoring", ("Frondistirio") which provides a unique knowledge in tertiary education. This knowledge is highly specialized, focused exclusively towards the entrance examination and is fairly evaluated by the entrance examination committees, but it doesn't have any further utility.

Technical-Professional education

The secondary education diploma became devoid of value, both in general and technical-professional education. Reform efforts in organizing technical and professional lyceums have failed, for two reasons:

- Technical and professional education used to be considered as a minor form of education and any suggestions for reform had no coherence and continuity. An organized, however, Technical-Professional Education requires long-term planning, since these structures need laboratory infrastructure in order to function, qualified teaching staff and direct connection to the productive sector.
- Instead of having this organization be the long-term target of all interventions, it seems that changes are either verbal in the renaming of structures for example, or accessing mechanisms of entrance examination to Higher Education of the graduates of the Technical-Professional Education, usually under special conditions.

Note that the Technical-Professional Education represent 3.9% of all primary and secondary schools and even there is a decrease during the eight years 2001-2008. The student population of the Technical - Professional Education represent 7.3% of the total of the student population. The decline for the same periode 2001-2008, was 30.6% (Paizis 2010, 31-32).⁴

Instead of an epilogue

The spectrum and depth of Greek education problems is such that the researcher finds it difficult to analyse and prioritize the issues, thus the scientific discourse is akin to the journalistic...

Current reforms and changes should cease to be purely referring to structures

or functions exclusively. They also should cease renaming the existing structures and focus on their functionality and address the obvious deficiencies and rigidities, which prevent feedback and self-improvement of a system dealing with humans and knowledge.

NOTES

1. In general, after 1981, reforms focused more on internal changes and less on the structures of the system Bouzakis, 1995 (In Greek).
2. The Pedagogical Institute is undergoing a reorganization of its functioning and structure.
3. At this time, according to the new reform which is in process, there is a plan to merge or eliminate some university departments. In this case the function of a lower limit in graduation will be affected.
4. Data of the Greek education system for the year 2008 (Paizis, 2010):
 - number of primary and secondary schools: 15.236
 - number of students: 1.476.606
 - number of teachers: 181.546
 - Cost per student: primary education: 2.711,89
secondary education: 3.780,78
 - cost per teacher: primary education: 26.269,38
secondary education: 25.989,96

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School Evaluation and Assessment of Teachers in Greek Primary and Secondary Education¹

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RÉSUMÉ

Dans cet article on examine les efforts successifs qui ont eu lieu en Grèce depuis la chute de la dictature (1974) jusqu' à maintenant (2011) visant à établir un système d'évaluation de l'école et des enseignants du primaire et du secondaire. L'ensemble de ces efforts a conduit à l'échec pour diverses raisons, la principale étant la forte réaction des enseignants contre les propositions officielles. Le manque d'évaluation, créé par cet échec, a des répercussions défavorables sur le fonctionnement du système éducatif grec, ainsi que sur son efficacité. Les inconvénients les plus graves sont mentionnés dans l'article. On a encore essayé de trouver les motifs majeurs des réactions des enseignants envers leur évaluation et d'expliquer l'échec des divers gouvernements dans la mise en œuvre d'un système d'évaluation des établissements scolaires et du personnel enseignant. On soutient le point de vue que les raisons qui ont provoqué ce résultat sont multiples. Elles se réfèrent à l'expérience négative provenant de l'autoritarisme des anciens inspecteurs, des conflits idéologiques et politiques autour de l'évaluation, de sa conception erronée, du manque de stabilité et de continuation dans la politique éducative grecque et du caractère fragmentaire des efforts entrepris. On formule, enfin, quelques propositions sommaires pour résoudre les problèmes examinés.

ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to briefly describe the successive efforts made in Greece from the fall of the dictatorship (1974) until now (2011), in order to establish a system of school evaluation and teachers' assessment in primary and secondary education. All the above efforts led to failure for different reasons, the most important of which was the strong reaction of the teachers against the official propositions. The absence of evaluation for a long period has had a negative impact on Greek Education and some of these aspects are mentioned in the article. An additional goal of this paper is to explain teachers' reactions and the failure of the Greek Government to administer a system for

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evaluating both teachers and the way schools function. The authors claim that the above situation is the result of many factors including the bad experience regarding the role of inspectors, the ideological and political conflict on the subject of evaluation, its misconception, the unstable and discontinuous educational policy in Greece and the fragmentary character of the evaluation reform projects. Finally, the authors make some suggestions in order to overcome the above problems.

Introduction

This paper refers to the issue of evaluating greek schools of primary and secondary education and emphasizes the assessment of in-service teachers. The first part of this paper presents the historical background of the evaluation practice in greek schools over the last decades (after 1974 until now), examining the various attempts made for the establishment of an evaluation system in schools. The second part analyzes the negative impact of the absence of evaluation in the greek educational system for a long period of time. The third part attempts to identify the reasons according to which these efforts ended up in failure. Finally, the last part discusses some measures which could be taken in order to change the existing situation.

1.1. School Evaluation and Teachers' Assessment until the end of the 1970s. The Authoritative Role of Inspectors

Since the end of the 19th century the assessment of the way greek schools operated had been assigned to inspectors. The first inspectors were appointed in 1889 and were charged with administrative, supervisory and guiding authorities. Though many inspectors worked hard for the benefit of education, their role was mainly administrative, while their advisory activities were limited. They wrote reports for every teacher including commentaries related to his/her scientific, didactic and pedagogical qualities and often referring to personality characteristics. The evaluation criteria used by inspectors often contained political and ideological elements and were sometimes connected to the private life of teachers. They were cases of arbitrary and authoritative behaviour, a fact that often brought dissatisfaction and complaints in the educational community (Andreou & Papakonstantinou, 1994, Athanasiou, 1990, 1999, 2000, Kassotakis, 2001).²

Generally speaking, we could say that, in the past, the system of inspectors failed to ensure a valid and objective school evaluation and teachers' assessment and also help the development of the educational system. The evaluation

imposed was negatively criticized by many educators and some researchers in Greece, because it mostly operated as a mechanism of state control and discipline than as a way of contributing to the improvement of the quality of education and the professional development of teachers.

By the end of the 1970s, the reaction against inspectors increased. This explains the impelling demands on the part of teachers' federations to abolish the inspectors' institution and change the educational system radically. The movement was strengthened after the overthrow of dictatorship (1974) and was considered as a part of general democratization of the greek state.

However, the educational reform of 1976-77 didn't bring the expected renewal in the evaluation system (Bouzakis, 1995). The Act 309/76 and the presidential decree 295/77, despite their progressive elements for the greek reality, kept almost the same framework for supervising education and assessing teachers. The first educational congress of the National Federation of Secondary School Teachers (OLME), which took place in 1981, supported the following view regarding the inspectors: "*an authoritative system needs an inspector, while a decentralized, democratic system needs a scientist, a pedagogue, a psychologist, a guide*" (OLME, 1982). Similar points of view were also expressed by the National Federation of Primary School Teachers (DOE).

1.2. Changes in the 1980s. School advisors replace inspectors

The abolition of the inspector's institution was adopted by the Panhellenic Socialist Party (PASOK), as shown in the announcement of its policy in 1981: "*The institution of inspectors is abolished and replaced by the institution of school advisors, who cooperate with the teachers' association and participate in the evaluation process of regional councils.*" (PASOK, 1981. p. 55). It was implemented when the aforementioned party came into power (autumn 1981). Via a circular of 5-2-1982, the Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs (MNERA)³ limited the inspectors' duties in writing reports only. The Act 1304/82 which followed abolished this institution and the educational responsibilities of inspectors fell into two new categories of educational cadre: a) the directors of regional administration (heads of division and heads of offices)⁴ and b) the school advisors (*sxolikai symvouloi*), whose principal mission was pedagogical supervision, application of didactic instructions and organization of seminars for the in-service teachers' training.

However, evaluation continued to be vague, even in the programme of the socialist government, according to which school advisors could participate in the assessment process undertaken by the regional councils. It is useful to state that

the secondary school teachers' federation was initially positive for the participation of school advisors in the evaluation process. Later, based on the argument of incompatibility between pedagogical guidance and assessment undertaken by the same persons, as well as a number of other objections, the Union was against evaluation. According to Doukas (1997), former President of Secondary Schools Teachers Union, this change reveals the contradiction in the federation's views, which had a major negative effect on applying evaluation for the upcoming years.

The presidential decree provided by law 1304/82 was not enhanced, although it could form a basis for defining the evaluation of teachers. One of its drafts, which was prepared by K. Harris (1995), was accepted by the Minister of Education Ap. Kaklamanis and it was presented in a seminar realized in January 1984. This decree suggested that each school should keep a special book of cooperation between teachers and school advisors and a book of reports. These reports would evaluate in-service efficiency for teachers aiming at tenure, salary promotion and professional development. Two kinds of evaluation reports were suggested: the short ones which were the responsibility of the headteacher and the analytical ones which were the responsibility of a committee composed of two school advisors and the director of the educational office the school belonged.

However, this plan failed due to the reaction of teachers towards every kind of evaluation. The proposal for a new presidential decree was repeated later without result, despite the fact that there had been cooperation with primary school teachers' union since 1982 (Doukas, 1997).

The prolonged weakness of the government to provide the necessary legislation formed the conditions which resulted in stabilizing the absence of evaluation. This situation favored negative attitudes towards teachers' assessment expressed not only by teachers' unions but also by some scholars (Mavrogiorgos, 1985, 1993) and other people. At about 1984, the view about the incompatibility of the role of school advisor as a guide and evaluator became more significant. It was demanded that school advisors should not participate in the councils for selecting head teachers. In the second scientific congress of OLME (1985), it was also suggested that school advisors would not participate in teachers' assessment. At that period of time, a distinction had started between the term "school evaluation" ⁵ and "individual evaluation of teachers" against which the most important objections were expressed.

The disagreement between the government and the teachers' representatives on one side and the will of the Ministry of Education not to be in conflict with the corps of the teaching staff, on the other side, were reflected in the Law 1566/1985.

This outstanding act on the structure and operation of primary and secondary education depicted the efforts of updating and democratizing education (Kassotakis & Lambraki-Paganou, 1994). However, specific regulations about schools' evaluation and teachers' assessment in particular, were absent. Law 1566 suggested that school advisors would participate in the evaluation of teachers. Details of this participation would be made precise by a future presidential decree⁶. It was also suggested that the Pedagogical Institute should submit to the Minister of Education a report of evaluating the results of educational procedures, so that relative needs and deficiencies would be faced. This attempt of national evaluation of educational performance would be based on the evaluation reports of school advisors. Unfortunately, this process didn't have the importance it should. Essential evaluation of education by school advisors was not possible, because the prerequisites for educational assessment were inadequate. School advisors were not accepted by teachers to enter their classroom and observe their way of teaching.

In short, while Act 1566/85 brought innovation to many educational subjects on the matter of evaluation this was not the case. Teachers and schools were not evaluated. On the contrary, professional development continued to be based on the criterion of seniority.

The effort of legislative regulations on evaluation was repeated in 1986 with the preparation of a new presidential decree, which mainly brought back previous arrangements of former plans. It was proposed that teachers would be assessed according to the following criteria: scientific knowledge, teaching ability, participation in the organization of school life, diligence, cooperation with agencies. This suggestion was rejected again and was also the reason for giving a more important political dimension on the subject of evaluation. In addition, evaluation of schools and teachers was gradually connected to other educational factors, such as financing, teachers' salaries, quality of school programmes, initial education and further education of the teaching staff etc. The whole situation was exploited politically by the parties of opposition and made things worse.

Teachers did not directly refuse evaluation but they disagreed with the details concerning the procedure of assessment proposed by different governments (criteria of evaluation, evaluators, use of results etc.) and expressed their doubts about the objectivity of the evaluative judgments. They also maintained the same attitude for a long period of time and confronted, in a similar way, evaluation measures proposed later. They usually found the proposals of the state anachronistic, old-fashioned, outdated, arbitrary and unable to contribute to their professional development and the improvement of the quality of education.

They even faced contemptuously political and educational authorities while promising to establish an evaluation system different from that of the past.

During the year 1988 the MNERA decided to make up two committees composed of university teachers, school advisors and other educators aiming at the preparation of presidential decrees related to the application of Law 1566/85, including the one concerning schools and teachers' evaluation. It was expected that prominent scientists would contribute to overcoming the conflict between teachers and state and resolve the political contradictions on such a crucial educational matter such as evaluation. In October of 1988, a plan of presidential decree included the following issues: a) the process of planning educational evaluation (article 1), b) the role of school advisors and the responsibilities of teachers (article 2), c) the evaluation of education at the school unit level (article 3), d) the evaluation of teachers' contribution to the educational process, taking into consideration the participation of teachers in further training (articles 4 and 5), e) the process of evaluating the efficiency of the teaching staff (articles 6, 7, 8, 9), f) the designers of the above plan tried to combine the content of previous similar suggestions with the views of teacher organizations on educational evaluation.

The role of school advisors was emphasized in the proposed plan of presidential decree, a fact which was criticized negatively. It was claimed that evaluation would limit the main responsibility of a school advisor, which was guidance. This argument was used to reinforce the teachers' view against the participation of school advisors in assessment processes. Although the effort of introducing a positive pedagogical climate was generally recognized, the plan of the 1988 committee was finally rejected again.

The educational problems of the period did not favor the consensus between the MNERA and the federations of teachers. The subject of evaluation remained a cause of great conflict between state authorities and teachers' representatives. As a result, by the end of the 1980s, no solution was given to the matter.

1.3. Efforts for Establishing School Evaluation and Teachers' Assessment During the 1990s

Political elections of 8/4/90 brought New Democracy in the government. The pre-election programme of this political party suggested that teachers would be evaluated by the regional in-service educational council based on objective, measurable criteria. The report of the school principal, would have included in a documented way "*the ability a teacher could respond to his duties*" which would be also assessed. Teachers' evaluation would be used mainly for their professional development and promotion (N.D. 1989, pp. 19-20).

The next period of New Democracy government was characterized by educational troubles due to the presidential decrees on the subject of organizing secondary schools and more specifically students' evaluation. As a result these decrees were withdrawn and a change of leadership in the MNERA followed. Minister G. Souflias announced the beginning of a national dialogue on education, which would include the subject of teacher evaluation. However, due to the prevailing negative climate, a significant part of teachers did not participate in the dialogue.

The MNERA set up a plan of a presidential decree on the evaluation of educational processes in primary and secondary education, which despite its title, was focused on teacher evaluation. The plan suggested the necessity of drawing up assessment reports for the following categories of educators: teachers, school headteachers and directors. In addition, evaluation criteria were determined. Although this plan was also rejected by the federation of teachers, it led to issuing a presidential decree (presidential decree 320/92). The emphasis on individual teacher evaluation by headteachers and school advisors was maintained.

The effort of the Minister G. Souflias was one of the few attempts to legislate teachers' evaluation in Greece, after 1974. However, the panhellenic socialist government (PASOK) which came into power from the elections of October 1993 suspended its application and finally in 1994 the decree was withdrawn.

In 1994, a committee was established by the Minister of Education the task of which was to submit proposals on student evaluation and evaluation of schools (D1/1666/1-3-94 ministerial decision). Two reports were made by this committee: one on the subject of updating students' evaluation, the second one on school evaluation and teachers' assessment. The presidential decrees 409/94 and 8/95 concerning evaluation of primary education and high schools were based on the first report. It was also proposed that in some cases⁷ the Pedagogical Institute and the MNERA would have the potential to apply examinations on the basis of specific criteria. Individual performances of students at school would not be mentioned in the final results. The purpose of this measure was to collect data for the monitoring and evaluation of education, expressed by students' performance, as well as measures for its improvement. This effort was not realized, although the decrees included some innovations such as descriptive evaluation of students and synthetic-creative tasks (*synthetikes dimiourgikes ergasies*). Teachers reacted, the Pedagogical Institute changed its leadership in 1995, while the regulations remained inactive. The committee also submitted proposals on the role and purpose of evaluating educational performance as a whole, in order to improve its quality. Since the general climate did not help⁸, this proposal also failed.

It is worth mentioning here that in the middle of the 90s' the greek government asked the OECD experts to evaluate the educational system of Greece and propose changes in education based on the results of their investigation. The evaluation study was completed in April 1996 and the report of evaluators was submitted to the government (OECD, 1997). Many proposals for changes concerning the whole educational system were included in this report some of which met the reactions of different progressive political parties and scholars. This attempt which would be considered as an effort for a global evaluation of the greek educational system did not continue in the coming years. Most of the proposed changes were not implemented, the real influence, therefore, exerted by this evaluation act was not very important.

A new proposal of the Pedagogical Institute appeared in 1996 which concerned a set of suggestions aiming to put into shape an assessment system of educational performance. International experience on assessment as well as the situation in Greece were taken into consideration. It was supposed that evaluation would play an important role to cope with problems in Greek Education. However, this proposal did not have any impact upon the educational reality of Greece.

Another attempt which took place on a pilot basis by the Pedagogical Institute (Department of evaluation) in the period 1997-1999 had as an objective "*The Internal Assessment and Planning of the Educational Performance*". The first results of the programme intended to contribute to the establishment of a form of internal evaluation in primary and secondary schools (M.N.E.R.A./P.I., 1999). A prominent element was the definition of quality indicators of educational performance. Though the school evaluation being proposed was not in contrast with the views of the educational organizations, there was no agreement. On the contrary, there were criticisms against this proposal.

A significant effort of applying educational evaluation took place in the context of the reform of 1997-98, under the ministry of G. Arsenis. In 1997, a booklet entitled "*Education 2000. For an Open Horizon Education*" (MNERA, 1997) summarized a set of measures, intending to bring about changes in the educational system as a whole. One of those measures dealt with the issue of evaluating teachers and educational performance. The text of the booklet was sent to all parties, however the response was negative because it included some educational changes which brought out strong reactions.⁹ In August of 1997, Law 2525 was voted. According to article 8, evaluation is viewed as a process of assessing the quality of education and the degree to which its aims are realized. This is carried out by headteachers, school advisors and a permanent body of evaluators (*soma monimon axiologiton*). The same law provided for the

establishment of 400 posts of permanent evaluators and determined their qualities and responsibilities. The establishment of this body of evaluators was the point which created the most important reactions. The members of this body would have the right to interfere in case teachers protested against the judgment of their initial evaluators, assess school units and control the application of the evaluation system in general.

The setting up of this body of permanent evaluators, which was considered as an innovative measure by the state authorities, was also attacked by teachers' federations. The presidential decree 140/98 followed, while through a ministerial decision (D2/1938/26-2-98) the details of evaluating teachers and educational performance as a whole were defined. Teacher disagreements and arguments, even among members of the government, led this reform to failure once again. The change of leadership in the MNERA, in 2000, put an end to that specific effort.

Despite the fact that in the 1990s different parties which were in the government agreed on the perception that "*there should be improvement of educational performance and meritocracy on education*", the period ended without giving solution to the problem of schools' evaluation and teachers' assessment in Greece.

1.4. School evaluation and teachers' assessment in the first decade of our century

At the beginning of the first decade of the 21st century the policy of the MNERA was to calm things down by changing the regulations of evaluation introduced into greek education by the G. Arsenis reform and in particular those concerning the body of permanent evaluators. On the 30th January 2002, the greek parliament voted the Law 2986/2002, in which regulations of Law 2525/97 concerning the evaluation of teachers were abolished. According to the new law this task would be realized by headteachers and school advisors, while a personal report of self-assessment would also be included¹⁰. The assessment of schools and teachers was assigned to two agencies of the MNERA: a) the Education Research Centre and b) the Pedagogical Institute.

The Education Research Centre's responsibility was the development and application of quality indicators and criteria for a dynamic quantitative evaluation. This would be realized by putting down facts and figures (apotyposi) of the educational situation, as well as the control of reliability of the system by monitoring educational performance at all levels. The Education Research Centre had to collect and work out a report suggested by the Regional Centers of Support and Educational Planning, a report of internal evaluation of school

units and then submit to the MNERA a proposal on evaluating educational performance.

In the Pedagogical Institute 70 new posts of experts in education were established to help with the work of assessment.

Taking advantage of new technologies, cooperation between these two agencies was anticipated. The ultimate goal was the improvement of the quality of educational performance (MNERA/P.I., 2008). However, the law was static, with the exception of a research programme of the Education Research Centre, in which data were collected concerning facts and figures of the educational situation (C.E.R., 2005).¹¹ Consequently, strong reactions were brought up by teachers, a fact which justifies that the application of the law has been delayed till today. After the elections of 2004, the attempts of educational evaluation were focused on tertiary education and the attention on the relative issues concerning primary and secondary education was diminished.

The Government which came into power in the Fall of 2009 has inserted in the context of its educational policy the creation of the so-called “*New School*”, in which school evaluation takes the form of voluntary self-evaluation. According to the governmental announcements, such a process constitutes the first stage for implementing evaluation of greek schools (Law 3848/2010). This specific initiative attempts to make use of the materials which had been produced earlier in the context of various programmes sponsored by EPEAEK I & II, such as: a) the programme “*Internal Evaluation and Planning of School Education*” (Pedagogical Institute 1997-1999), b) “*Guide for the Evaluation and Planning of School Education*” (Pedagogical Institute 1997-1999) and c) the development and “prototypization” of indices and criteria for the mapping of the educational system.

At the level of implementation, efforts were made to take advantage of new structures (e-survey, e-school, mapping of the educational system, data provided in the context of lifelong learning, administrative reform and digital convergence of the Ministry of Education), so that elements of special interest, such as digital platforms or educational materials related to teacher training, could be used.

The self-assessment programme is planned to have a duration of two years (2010-2012) and is expected to be carried out on a pilot basis in 600 school units of primary and secondary schools. School advisors throughout Greece and more than 7.000 teachers have been taking part in this project, which aims at providing educational material on evaluation. The educational outcomes of the survey will be used by an Observatory, which is supposed to offer scientific support for teachers and new methodological practices in the school units of the country.

According to our experience most teachers' attitudes concerning evaluation have changed during the last years. The hostility against any kind of schools' evaluation and teachers' assessment which characterizes the educational situation in Greece during the post-dictatorship period started to be diminishing. So, future appears to be more promising in this field than in the past. The pressure exerted by the European reality and the international tendencies concerning the enhancement of the quality of education as well as the consciousness of negative impact that the absence of evaluation has in greek education will probably lead to a solution. We hope that this "adventure of evaluation", called by one of us *«peripetia axiologisis»* (Kassotakis, 2001) will take an end.

2. Negative Consequences of Non-Systematic Efforts on Evaluation

There are not many empirical studies concerning the consequences of the absence of evaluation of teachers and school units. Consequently, the existing data do not lead us to certain conclusions. However, the dominant opinion expressed by a lot of articles and comments in the newspapers and adopted by many educators is that the lack of assessment is the principal cause of the malfunction of the educational system. In addition, it is the main reason of ineffective coordination and the most important cause of the continuous downgrading of educational quality.

According to a study made by Charakopoulos (1998), 60,6% of secondary education teachers are not satisfied with the quality of work done at schools. Among them, many consider that the main reasons of their dissatisfaction has its origin in the absence of evaluating school units and teachers themselves. A study of the Pedagogical Institute reveals that more than 60% of greek teachers believe that evaluation is necessary for upgrading the quality of education; only 57% of the teachers participating in the study were satisfied with the curriculum content and 45% with the objectives pursued by greek schools (M.N.E.R.A./P.I. 2008, p. 115). The low quality of greek education is reflected in the low performance of greek students in international research evaluating their knowledge and skills (for example PISA results, OECD 2001, 2004, 2006, 2010). The consequences of this low quality of greek education are reflected in many research projects which aimed to investigate the existing problems and the needs in our schools or to evaluate the satisfaction of teachers, pupils and parents with the offered education (Verdis, 2002, Maratou-Alimpranti et al. 2006, MNRA/P.I. 2008, Kassotakis, 2009). The low performance of greek education is attributed to a number of reasons among which the lack of evaluation is included.

According to an Inter-departmental Committee of the Pedagogical Institute (2009) the absence of evaluation in greek education¹² has had a negative impact on: a) monitoring the changes taking place at the european and international level b) the convergence of educational policies in the E.U. countries, c) the allocation of educational expenditure, d) the attempt for restricting educational bureaucracy, e) the reinforcement of the educational autonomy at different levels, f) the assessment of needs concerning in-service teachers' training, g) the increase of the inequalities among schools' units, h) the selection of educational leaders and i) the creation of a suitable educational atmosphere (MNERA/P.I, 2009).

There is also a point of view in which lack of evaluation for many years “*has formed a culture of resistance within the system, against any change, while it exerts negative influence upon any type of dialogue on specific issues*” (Salteris, 2006, p. 4).

It is a fact that, not evaluating teachers does not favor their professional development (Kosmidou-Hardy, 2005), since they are not encouraged to be improved and cope with their weaknesses. On the other hand, teachers who try to apply innovations at school or try to go beyond daily routine are discouraged, because none rewards their efforts and initiatives. Thus, they lose enthusiasm, creative motivation and are gradually adapted to indifference and inactiveness.

Some assert that teachers don't need to be evaluated by their superiors, since they are continually exposed to the eyes of their students and judged by them. We don't agree with this point of view. We think that total absence of every kind of control can lead to anarchy.

Additionally, the absence of teachers' systematic assessment favors the phenomenon of political “clientelism” from which Greece has suffered for a very long period. The lack of evaluation allowed the selection of educational cadre (school principals, educational counselors, heads of the departments of education) to be based on political criteria and seniority, rather than on the real competences of the candidates, in several cases.

3. The main reasons for the failure of applying school evaluation and teachers' assessment in Greece

With respect to the above, it is obvious that no essential kind of evaluation of school education and teachers has been applied in our country for about thirty years, despite the undesirable impact that it has had on the quality of education. There are some exceptions concerning the selection of heads of education,¹³ who represent a very small minority in the educational body, while the majority of teachers and schools remain without evaluation.

Trying to analyze the difficulties in applying educational evaluation during the period after the fall of dictatorship until now we wonder: What are the deeper reasons for this situation in Greece? How could the failure of successive attempts in applying an evaluation system be explained, considering the fact that these efforts were made by different governments at different periods of time? How can we justify the reactions of teachers on evaluation matters for a very long period?

We support the point of view that this situation is due to many factors, among which some are related to inadequacies and historical particularities of Greek Education, some others have a political or ideological dimension, the most important of which are presented below.

3.1. The Role of Educational Policy and Ideology

Educational policy in Greece was characterized by inconsistency and discontinuity which is due not only to frequent change of persons in high administrative posts (for example, in the MNERA, in the Pedagogical Institute, in the National Center for Educational Research etc.), but also to the inexistence of consensus regarding crucial subjects such as educational evaluation. It happens very often that one minister abolishes what has been decided by his predecessor. Several times the ministers try to implement their own educational policy, which is not linked with the one followed by the previous ministers. Some examples of that discontinuity could be found in the field of implementation of educational evaluation in Greece. Such a policy does not contribute to the establishment of a permanent system of evaluation. Additionally, it encourages reactions against it, because the opponents know that the next minister will change his predecessor's decisions if pressed by them.

Sometimes, this lack of consensus characterizes not only governments belonging to different political parties but also governments belonging to the same political party. This becomes more complex if we take into account the ideological dimension of the subject of evaluation. Over the last decades, educational evaluation was a politically and ideologically charged subject (Katsikas & Kavadias, 1999). Its support was identified with conservatism. Its doubt or resistance to application meant progressive ideology, despite the fact that it led to the "flattening of everything" and downgrading of education. Since every attempt against evaluation was identified with progress, it had been a hard task to support dynamically its necessity after the political changeover in 1974.

The ideological conflict on the evaluation was also carried inside the teachers' unions in which the political parties have their affiliates, adopting and supporting the ideas expressed by the corresponding party. Sometimes the controversy is

transferred to the committees set up in order to formulate proposals or to give solution to the existing problems. Usually, teachers' unions are represented in these committees.

The national dialogues which took place on the subject were led to failure, because of the above contradictions and lack of a sincere climate for genuine exchanges of opinions, which could result in social consensus.

3.2. The Negative Influence of the Past

As already mentioned, the extreme authority and authoritative behaviour of inspectors had caused objections and complaints among teachers. The experience of inspectors and the fear of repetition of the same authoritative models led to teachers' reaction, even against school advisors. There were cases in which teachers didn't accept school advisors in their classroom, which is a necessary condition for the monitoring of teaching and the improvement of the professional work of educators. Consequently, evaluation was not promoted¹⁴. The identification of assessment with administrative control generalized a fear to every kind of evaluation, which resulted in refusing even friendly forms of evaluation, such as self-assessment or internal evaluation of schools.

3.3. The "Misconception" of Evaluation

The reaction against evaluation was also favored by the ignorance of a great part of teachers and politicians about the modern theoretical and practical approaches of it. Till recently evaluation was not met as a self-existent subject of knowledge in the university curricula or in further training of teachers. So, for a long period future teachers were not systematically taught subjects concerning educational evaluation and acquired only some fragmentary elements on the matter of assessing students. As a result, the majority of the teaching staff identify evaluation with state administrative control followed by negative consequences and not as a means for the improvement of education and professional development. This conception of evaluation is linked with the fear of the personal consequences of a non satisfactory evaluation and as it is plausible it led to the refusal of any form of appraisal (Kassotakis, 2004a, 2004b).

Some recent changes made in the curricula of teachers' initial and in service training in the recent years, including the introduction of courses focused on evaluation, were not capable of changing radically the deep-rooted misconception of what the meaning of evaluation is.

3.4. Educational Centralization and the “Top Down” of the Efforts to Implement Evaluation

The educational system of Greece is undoubtedly characterized by centralization. Significant educational decisions are taken centrally and are applied in a similar and invariable way, a feature which is reflected in all efforts to introduce changes in the educational system. One of them is evaluation. All attempts to legalize evaluation have come from the central political authority, while there are few initiatives taken by teachers themselves. The educators have a limited pedagogical teaching autonomy and are bound to adapt their teaching to the evaluation criteria proposed by the state and the instructions of the MNERA. Unfortunately, the greek educational system has not been designed to give opportunities of feedback and make use of elements coming from action.

The drawback of this situation is that centralization limits the potentiality of planning evaluation processes at a school unit level. When schools just perform the orders of central administration, they meet difficulties in planning their work, taking initiatives and assigning creative tasks (Kassotakis, 1992).

Since the conditions of work and factors which determine the running of greek schools are not the same in all regions, and the performance of teachers differs, the process of evaluation should be adapted to the particularities of each region or school. It is obvious, one cannot apply everywhere the same criteria for the evaluation of schools and teachers' efficiency. However, reality is opposed to the need of this differentiation, since the educational system is characterized by centralization and uniformity.

This homogeneity of evaluation method and criteria reinforces the resistance of the teaching personnel against the state propositions. It also generates reservations related to the comparison of schools, which have dissimilarities.

3.5. The Absence of Global Educational Evaluation

Over the last years, there are few scientific efforts for evaluating some aspects of the educational system as well as a number of individual studies referring to the appraisal of partial factors such as curricula, teaching materials, training of teachers, educational policy, main agencies and services of the Ministry of Education, financing education, infrastructures etc. The lack of the so-called “spherical view” of evaluation in education legitimized the refusal of teachers to be assessed, since other parameters of the educational process remain out of evaluation.

3.6. Inadequacies of initial education and further education

Before being evaluated, teachers should have received appropriate initial and further education in order to obtain scientific knowledge, as well as pedagogical abilities for teaching and learning. Generally speaking, the greek system of initial education of teachers has not helped educators to achieve these goals. On the contrary, teacher education is traditionally characterized by a theoretical orientation of studies. Methodological weaknesses of the system prepare individuals mainly for a career in the public sector. Evidence from related studies has shown that teachers - of secondary education, in particular - are generally considered inefficient and incompetent concerning pedagogic knowledge and teaching skills (Kassotakis, 2005). In a way, reaction to evaluation can be justified. How are teachers asked to be evaluated on the basis of qualities that the educational system itself doesn't encourage them to acquire?

Undoubtedly, there is a need for an effective system of lifelong training for teachers which will help them cover their deficiencies and weaknesses, revealed by evaluation.

4. Closing Remarks

Considering the fact that for about thirty years no systematic process of assessment has been applied in our country and in order to change the existing situation, we are convinced that there is a great need to establish a contemporary, pedagogical, up-to-date, system of evaluation. This view seems to be recently shared by many representatives of political parties, specialized educators and most teachers.

The demand to raise quality is evident. International competition as well as current technological development call for new changes and interventions. Evaluation nowadays can be defined more as an approach of self-regulation and quality upgrading of the educational system, than as a controlling process which serves administrative and bureaucratic aims. Some innovative measures to be taken are the following:

There is a need to ensure a consensus between political parties in a general framework of principles concerning evaluation, aiming to establish a steady educational policy.

Decentralization of the system would help the implementation of assessment according to regional conditions.

Training on evaluation should be promoted. There should be an effort to

inform all interested parties about the meaning, the aims, the forms and the functions of evaluation. The effort should be supported by the state, educational agencies and scientific organizations as well. The subject of “evaluation” should be introduced in the curricula of initial training for teachers. Evaluation should also be a part of further education programmes and seminars organized by the Pedagogical Institute, school advisors and the Universities as well. All educators have to be trained, in order to become aware that evaluation is a supportive process for teachers and not a mechanism of administrative control.

Criteria of evaluation should be established in cooperation with teachers’ unions. Elaborate methods of evaluating, such as “grids” of self-assessment or diagnostic tests, could be added. Moreover, supporting material (questionnaires of self-assessment, forms of professional self-analysis etc.) has to be produced in order to help teachers in their daily didactic duties.

Priority should be given to the self-assessment of teachers so that the dynamics of evaluation rises – beginning from bottom up – and a culture on evaluation develops in the educational community. At the same time a self-analyzing operation of schools (internal evaluation) could create mechanisms, which would contribute to the improvement of education and professional development of teachers.

Application of evaluation in our country should start by “friendly forms” of evaluation, such as self-assessment and voluntary peer evaluation. Thus, there will be a gradual familiarization with the relative processes, while reservations and negative attitudes will be decreased¹⁵.

The role of the teachers’ association should be reinforced towards taking initiatives for the evaluation of school units, while headteachers and school advisors can have a coordinating or further educational role at the beginning.

Additionally, a unified coordinating agency of educational assessment and educational research could be established. A spherical view should include all contributors of evaluation without limiting the process to students and teachers.

To sum up, there is a great need for a global evaluation of educational performance, which will lead to a radical change of the content and function of greek schools in the future. Evaluation has to be seen as a challenge for improvement and progress.

NOTES

1. This paper is based upon a previous study by M. Kassotakis, which is under publication in greek in a volume dedicated to Professor J. Pyrgiotakis. Its adaptation in English and its updating with new data were made by D. Papagueli-Vouliouri.
2. This phenomenon was realized since the beginning of the inspectors' institution (Lefas, 1942).
3. After the elections of 2009, the MNERA was called "*Ministry of Education, Lifelong Learning and Religious Affairs*".
4. For example, some of their administrative responsibilities were: coordinating the operation of schools, caring for school buildings and school equipment.
5. We use the term "school evaluation" in greek instead of "evaluation of educational task" (*axiologisi ekpedeftikou ergou*).
6. Concerning the selection of educational heads, it was suggested to draw up evaluative lists of candidates, on the basis of their scientific and educational knowledge: in-service experience, knowledge of educational matters, ability of undertaking administrative tasks, social offer, studies, writing, personality (article 2, paragraph 2). However, except from the submission of a curriculum vitae, a specific process of evaluating these elements was not defined.
7. Examinations would be applied for research reasons, evaluating the effectiveness of school performance at national or regional level.
8. Teachers of that period were against the application of descriptive assessment and synthetic-creative tasks.
9. One of them was the abolishment of the waiting list for the appointment of teachers (epetirida), which was previously kept by the MNERA on a yearly basis, according to priority order of the date of submission of candidacy applications.
10. Individual evaluation of teachers concerned the following categories (in order of priority): a) newly appointed teachers who were not permanent b) those who wished to be assessed, who were usually those who wanted to be promoted, by getting a post of a head of education.
11. After the elections of 2004, the attempts of educational evaluation were focused on tertiary education. ESPA 2007-2013 has included Higher Education in a separate action.
12. Inter-departmental Committee of the Pedagogical Institute, 2009. (www.pi-schools.gr/paideia-dialogos/prot_axiologisis.pdf).
13. See the Law 3467/2006, concerning the selection of heads in primary and secondary education.
14. The fact that advisors were not allowed to enter the classroom led to the decreasing of their status and prestige.
15. For most Greek teachers evaluation is an unknown experience.

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Admission policies for Greek Universities A Historico-sociological View of the Period 1837-2010

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RÉSUMÉ

L'auteur de cet article, examine les points tournants importants des politiques d'entrée aux universités grecques. Dans une approche historico-sociologique, il analyse les facteurs qui mènent de la politique de libre entrée en 1837 à l'introduction de conditions d'admission depuis 1922. Au cours des décennies qui ont suivi, la relation entre le lycée et l'université est devenue très tendue. En outre, le nombre limité d'étudiants admis aux universités et aux instituts d'enseignement supérieur technologique ainsi que les examens d'entrée stricts, ont abouti à la promotion des droits de scolarité, de l'immigration des étudiants et à la perte du rôle éducatif du lycée.

Il y a peu d'espoir de trouver une solution afin d'améliorer le système éducatif grec dans un proche avenir, même si dernièrement une discussion concernant le système d'entrée aux universités et aux instituts d'enseignement supérieur technologique ai commencé.

ABSTRACT

The author of this article examines the significant turning points of the admission policies of Greek universities. In a historical-sociological approach he analyses the factors that lead from the free admission policy of 1837 to the admission requirements in force since 1922. Over the decades that followed, the relationship between the lyceum and the university has become very strained. Moreover, the limited number of students admitted to the universities and technological institutes of higher learning and the strict entrance exams have led to the promotion of tuition fees, student migration and the erosion of the educational mission of the lyceum.

There is not much hope for any solution and improvement of the Greece's educational system in the near future, although debate has started on the admission system of universities and technological institutes of higher learning.

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Introduction

In this article we try to answer a number of questions while taking into account the work of other researchers¹. What distinguishes our study is the historico-sociological approach adopted, as indicated in the title.:

- Which were the admission policies at the university during the period studied? When did they change and why?
- Were the admission policies influenced by the needs of the market?
- Which factors (sociopolitical, financial, ideological, cultural and pedagogical) influenced the adoption of these policies? Why especially these ones? How were they interpreted?

How did these entrance policies affect both education, especially the stages before higher education, and the students themselves? Did they also affect students' evaluation during those stages and particularly during the years spent in secondary education?

We extracted the historical material from both the institutional framework on the basis of which issues of entrance to higher education were regulated (bills, laws, speeches in the Parliament and the Senate, preambles, memos, commission reports, parliamentary proceedings, rectors' addresses, decrees), as well as secondary sources.²

The time limits of the period studied, namely 1837 and 2010, were not selected at random. In 1837, free admission to the first Greek university (called the Othonian University) was institutionalized within the framework of the Greek educational system newly formulated by the Bavarians during the period from 1834 to 1837. The other date, 2010, was selected because it was the year that the Ministry of Education announced that the issue of the university entrance policy would be the subject of a dialogue among the stakeholders.

Methodological and Theoretical Assumptions

We analyze the historical documents and attempt to give an answer to the questions by using the historical interpretative method. This means that we reconstitute the past in order to organize a number of events by means of the sources, to understand the past and interpret it in relation with the overall context (sociopolitical, financial, ideological and cultural). Again, this is achieved using as a theoretical framework reproduction theories, approaches of the School of Annals and neo-Marxist theories about the Greek state, according to which it is the political-ideological element that prevails.³

The Most Significant Institutional Milestones of the Admission Policies

The study of the documents relevant to the diachronic evolution of university entrance policies may be broken down into four periods highlighting the distinct features of each period:

First Period: From the free admission adopted in 1837 to the introduction of entrance examinations in 1922.

Second Period: From the entrance examinations (1922) to the *numerus clausus* (quota) of students accepted in Higher Education Institutions (1930).

Third Period: From the *numerus clausus* of the students accepted in Higher Education Institutions (1930) to the academic diploma (1964).

Fourth Period: From the General Pan-Hellenic Examinations (1974) to the reform by Gerasimos Arsenis (1997/98).

The Othonian University, founded in 1837, was free to all those who had a high school *baccalauréat*. The candidates were to be “introduced to the Rector either by a landowner or a permanent resident of Athens whom the University authorities might address in case they needed to send notification to the student...”⁴ The choice of both studies and courses was free and attendance was free of charge. The fact that university admission was free for the candidates and attendance was free of charge allowed K. Tsoukalas⁵ to speak of an “early democratic” school system. Furthermore, he characterized it as simplex/dimensional due to its vertical structure: primary school, Greek school, high school, university. In the subsequent decades, the above system developed into two conflicting and contradictory “educational products”: the over-education (very high attendance rates at secondary and higher education compared to other countries) and, at the same time, very high rates of illiteracy.

Obviously both the entrance and the attendance policies at the first Greek university sought to attract the number of students necessary to the newly created Greek state. That state started “out of nothing”⁶ in its effort to staff its basic institutions: justice (law school), education (school of philosophy), religion (school of theology) and health (medical school). As a result, the state mechanism began to increase and strong social classes earning their living exclusively from the state were created. Later on, the inflow of foreign capital provided support to those services that were essentially supported by education and which also served as a springboard for the social mobility of the middle classes. Those social strata contributed effectively to the urban transformation of the Greek society.

Despite the free admission and tuition, the number of students enrolled rose slowly. However, at the same period Greece was internationally ranked very high in terms of the number of university students,⁷ and despite the fact that Greece had a large number of university students, it maintained a high percentage of illiterate citizens.⁸

During the long first period of the free entrance to the University of Athens, many objections to that policy were raised. In 1889, Pantazidis⁹ wrote: “the spectacular increase of the university students stimulated neither the joy nor the admiration of the rectors...many of them were trying to get this policy withdrawn as being harmful both to the university and to the state”. At the beginning of the twentieth century, basic measures for the selection of the students were taken by the Departments of Philosophy and the Law Schools in which most of the students were enrolled. According to a decision made by the Senate, the number of students was limited in those Departments, although “many students were begging in tears for a chance to perform their studies in the above Departments”.

1st Period: From Free Admission (1837) to the Introduction of Entrance Examinations (1922)

No entrance examinations were included in the bills of 1899 “About the organization of the University”, while A. Eftaxias was the Minister of Education (see Table I). However, the role of secondary education as a “handmaid” of “higher education” was strengthened. Entrance examinations were not foreseen even by the Organization Act of 1911 by which, according to the will of Dobolis, the University of Athens was split into the “National” and the “Kapodistrian”. “For someone to get enrolled in the National University a baccalauréat from a public national high school or an equivalent public high school of foreign or another recognized high school or from the Practice High school of Athens is necessary” (art. 12). On the contrary, attendance in the Kapodistrian University was not allowed to students having graduated from the Practice High School of Athens. However, some class barriers were introduced by the Organization Act of 1911 regarding attendance at the University, since “every student has to pay a 180 drachmas tuition fee for each academic year”. One may assume that this measure would discourage some of the students. Entrance examinations at the University of Smyrna were foreseen in the memorandum of Karatheodori, in 1919: “It would be a privilege for many students to take entrance examinations appropriate with their direction in order for them to study in University”.

TABLE I

No	Document	Subject	Provision
1	Royal Decree, 1836	“About High Schools”	The High School as a “Handmaid” of the University
2	Royal Decree 221, 2/24/1837	“About the establishment of the University”	Free entrance Free selection of studies
3	Eftaxias’ Bills, 1899	“About the organization of the University”	Secondary education gets established as a “handmaid” of higher education
4	Organization Act, 1911	“About the National University” and “About the Kapodistrian University”	Free entrance
5	Memorandum by K. Karatheodori to El. Venizelos	“About the foundation of a new university in Greece” (University of Smyrna)	Proposal for the introduction of entrance examinations set on the basis of the different directions

The Case of Technical Education

During the first period, the entrance policies applied at the technical education were different from those applied at the Higher Military Academies (see Table II). More specifically, in 1887, attendance at the “School of Industrial Arts” required entrance examinations. Those examinations sought to both limit the number of the students and increase the prestige of the School. Furthermore, as of 1918 the Department of Rural and Surveying Engineering of the National Technical School introduced a *numerus clausus* of entrants who “afterwards were mandatorily appointed by the state as probationary rural surveyors engineers at the Ministry of Transportations and at the Ministry of Agriculture”.

TABLE II

No	Document	Subject	Provision
1	Legislative Decree (1834)	“The Polytechnic Collection” (School of Elementary Technical Education)	Free entrance (admission)
2	Legislative Decree 1836	Sunday Technical School (Precursor of the National Technical School)	Free entrance (admission)
3	Legislative Decree 1886	Operation of Practical Lyceum	Entrance examinations in the Departments of Civil Engineers and of Mechanists
4	Law AFA’ 5/27-6/20/1887	“About the organization of the “School of Industrial Arts” in Athens”	Introduction of entrance examinations
5	Law 1565 12/21-24/1918	“About supplementing the 972a Law “About amending the Laws for the operation of public works etc”, the 1466 Law “About the assimilation of the temporary staff in the Secretariat of Public Works” etc.”	Introduction of a closed number of students enrolling in the Department of Rural and Surveying Engineering of the National Technical School

2nd Period: From the Entrance Examinations (1922) to the Numerus Clausus of the Students Accepted in Higher Education Institutions (1930)

During the period of the “free (admission) entrance to higher education” the following problems were accumulated, which led or served as the legitimizing argument for the introduction of entrance examinations:

- Inability of the labor market to absorb the graduates
- Supersaturation of the universities
- Degradation of the prestige of studies in higher education.

In marketing terms, “selection filters” for attendance in higher education were introduced by the Organization Act of 1922 (see Table III): “Only those students who hold a baccalaureate from an educational institution and succeeded in a test have the right to get enrolled in the University, according to the article 139. The educational institutions the baccalauréat of which allows entrance to higher education, as mentioned in article 135, include the public national high schools, the Practice High school of Athens or equivalent public educational institutions as well as the Rizarios Church School”. The graduates of the Practice High school of Athens or of an equivalent educational institution could register at the Medical School or the School of Physics and Mathematics, whereas the graduates of the Rizarios Church School could register at the School of Theology. Examinations were conducted by the professors of the University of Athens. Entrance examinations were systematically applied two years later (1924/25) at the Chemistry Department and four years later (1926/27) at the other Departments. At the beginning of the 1930s, a limited number (*numerus clausus*) of students were accepted at the University after having taken entrance exams. The above change was provided by the Law 4620 of 1930 “About amending and supplementing the provisions of the Organization Act of the National and Kapodistrian University”. The introduction of this quota, as it shows in the explanatory statement of the Law, aimed to improve the scientific training of the University students, which carried the risk of degradation due to the large number of students. Not is random that a few months before the voting of the above Law, a dramatic reduction of the students from 6,040 to 2,850 (about 60%) was proposed in a memorandum (the Law was based on it) that Konstantinos Karatheori submitted to the Venizelos government. The Minister of Education, Georgios Papandreou, having adopted the proposal made by Karatheori, told Parliament: “The unlimited number of students would have been a disaster if we had not reduced the number of the entrants at the proper time”.

TABLE III

No	Document	Subject	Provision
1	Law 2905 7/23-27/1922	“About the organization of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens”	Introduction of examinations with responsibility of the University professors
2	Memorandum by K. Karatheodori (May 1930)	“About the University of Athens”	Proposal for a dramatic reduction of the students and for the introduction of strict entrance examinations
3	Law 4620 7/30-8/6/1930	“About amending and supplementing the provisions of the Organization Act of the National and Kapodistrian University”	Introduction of the <i>numerus clausus</i>

3rd Period: From the Numerus Clausus of the Students Accepted in Higher Education Institutions (1930) to the Academic Diploma (1964)

In 1954, while Gerokostopoulos was the minister of education, the entrance exams introduced in 1930 were replaced, through the 3011/54 Legislative Decree. Instead an examination was organized once a year by the departments. Those who introduced this measure sought the strict observance of the *numerus clausus* of the students accepted in the Higher Education Institutions and thus, both the improvement of the level of studies and enhanced prestige of the same institutions (see Table IV).

- In 1958, the Education Committee presented some significant proposals. The Committee, in order to decrease the number of those students who were inadequately prepared for Higher Education, proposed a) the creation of a separate branch of middle and lower technical education, and b) the division of the six-grade High School into two cycles. Moreover, the Committee suggested, on one hand, the establishment of a one-year preparatory cycle for those students who wanted to study in the institutions of higher education and, on the other hand, the establishment of special colleges. Both of the above

proposals were rejected. In 1959, a united body was formed for higher education, whereas, in April 1959, the Ministry of Education suggested the application of a mixed entrance system, on the basis of which those students graduating from the High School with high scores would cover, without taking any exams, the quote of the students to be accepted in each Department.

- The reform of 1964 aimed to change completely the educational system. The Lyceum acquired a double role: a) it offered a broader (compared to that of the previous grades) formal education to young people (those who would not attend Higher Education Institutions), and b) it prepared sufficiently those students who would attend Higher Education Institutions. The most important regulation concerned the new system of admission to the post-secondary institutions. The degree issued by the Lyceum certified graduation from secondary education but was not sufficient for attendance at institution of higher education for which obtaining a two-step (A and B) academic diploma, based on an examination, was required. One type of academic diploma qualified students for theoretical studies; the other, for science. In some departments of social sciences, attendance was allowed to the owners of either type of diploma. In addition to the exam performance, the students' grades during the two last years of the Lyceum (having a factor of 2) were also taken into account.

If this last regulation proved satisfactory, then the Lyceum certificate would allow all graduating students to enroll at the university. The complete exclusion of the University from the process of the students' selection as well as the fact that the exams were held locally, though with central planning, were the innovative elements of this reform.

TABLE IV

No	Document	Subject	Provision
1	Legislative Decree 3011/9/15/1954	“About the way of the students' registration at the Universities, the National Technical School...”	Conversion of the entrance examinations in competitions under the responsibility of the Departments
2	Education Committee 1957/58	Findings	Dichotomy of secondary education, establishment of one-year preparatory colleges

3	Legislative Decree 4379/1964	“About the” organization and the administration of the general education (elementary and middle)	Establishment of the A’ and B’ (theoretical and positive direction) type academic baccalauréat, decentralization of the examinations, the dual role lyceum
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4th period (1974-1997/98): From the General Pan-Hellenic Examinations to the Reform by Gerasimos Arsenis (1997/98)

The most significant turning points after the abolition of the 1964/65 reforms are listed below:

- Common examinations by groups of schools (1968-1979)
- The liberal transformational educational policy after the fall of the dictatorship and the Pan-Hellenic Examinations
- General examinations (1983-1997)
- The Arsenis’ reform 1997/98 (Comprehensive Lyceum certificate)

During this fourth period, the entrance system underwent many transformations. All of which tended to turn the Lyceum into a preparatory stage of the University and to prevent it from being a self-contained educational diploma. The relationship between the Lyceum and the University became tight and resulted in the expansion of tutoring.

Conclusions-Interpretation

The entrance policies at Greek universities have undergone several changes due to the following reasons:

1. ***Supernumerary of students:*** This prohibited students from getting an adequate education in the universities. The number of enrollments in the school network certified the above observation. In the preamble to the legislative decree of 30/11/1954, according to which examinations were changed into a competition, it is mentioned that free entrance to the University “would result in the crowding of a large number of young people in small classrooms and in poorly equipped laboratories...” and, consequently, in the “insufficient training and,

finally, in the offering to the society of half-taught owners of a university degree". The numbers indicating enrollments in the school network confirm this. For example, from 1878 to 1895, the number of elementary school students doubled, as did the number of high school students from 1875 to 1888. Enrollments in universities rose from 561 in 1880 to 957 in 1890; i.e., a 42% increase.

2. ***Changes in the workplace and intense social demand for studies.*** This strong demand for studies led to some violation of the strict entrance systems. In the first years after the creation of the Greek State, the unorganized capitalist mode of production was not yet reflected in the school system. Specialization was not necessary, control of the students' social origin was not necessary since it was performed through extracurricular factors. Nevertheless, from the beginning of the nineteenth century until the Second World War, work was characterized by rationalization, organization and specialization. The pressure to adapt education to the new data within a framework in which education should be functional was very strong. Consequently, the ideology of meritocracy in the higher degrees of education, particularly in higher education, would find a fertile ground. In short, universities needed those students who were capable, charismatic, excellent.
3. Inability of graduates to integrate the labor market which was often affected by economic crises (Crash of 1929). During the period 1928-32, unemployment increased vertically. School was no longer able to fulfil its distribution operation.
4. Strengthening the state's ideological-political control over education and consequently over the selective mechanisms of social reproduction (examinations). Those strict mechanisms resulted in a reduction in the number of students enrolling in higher education. In 1929, there existed 20 students per 10,000 people, whereas in 1937, after the introduction of the *numerus clausus*, there were 14 students per 10,000 people.
5. Attempt to reinforce the prestige of the university departments. The introduction of the quotas starting from the Department of Rural and Surveying Engineering of the National Technical School in 1918 provides a characteristic example of this attempt. The limited number of the students enrolled in the University after the introduction of the measure above would be appointed to the public sector after graduating. The public sector (and, consequently, the state) would be the future employer of the graduates, thus it could have control over the curricula. This was justified as follows: "Since

the public sector was the only solution for the graduates' vocational rehabilitation, each department should educate as many students as the public sector would need to absorb".¹⁰ If the state had treated the education departments in the same way, the instructors' pedagogical training would have been achieved. In 1877, Ioannis Pantazidis, Professor of Classical Philology at the University of Athens, realized that "the quality of the education in all our schools was low due to the teachers' incompetence". He decided then to teach on his own a course called "Gymnasium Pedagogics". In 1997, 100 years later, the 2525 Law by Gerasimos Arsenis made the acquisition of a certificate of pedagogical knowledge and teaching ability as a requirement for the appointment of teachers in Greek secondary education. Unfortunately, this institution remained locked in the 'time-closet of History'.

6. ***Worsening quality of the studies at high schools.*** With regard to the introduction of the academic diploma, it is mentioned in the preamble of 1964 that: "...The entrance examinations for the institutions of higher education were introduced for two reasons: first, the current situation required quotas for the students accepted and, second, the level of the studies at high schools declined dramatically over the past thirty years".
7. The last factor resulted in the change of the grading scale. Over the period studied, the grading scale in the secondary education changed twice: a) during the 1880 decade, the scale from 1 to 6 changed to a scale ranging from 1 to 10; b) during the 1930 decade, the grading scale from 1 to 10 changed into a scale from 1 to 10.¹¹ The entrance systems described impacted both the structure and operation of the preceding degree which turned out to be its "handmaid". The notion of the functioning of each educational grade as the "handmaid" of the one that followed first appeared in the Presidential Decree of 1836 with regard to the secondary schools (Greek school and high school). According to that Decree, high school aimed primarily "to prepare those students who want to study in higher education". The same perception dominated in the drafts by Theotokis in 1899: "the low level of the students in higher education is due to their incomplete preparation in secondary education". The term "handmaid" was first used in a rhetorical question by Athanasios Eftaxias in 1990: "Is there any other place in the civilized world where nowadays primary education has turned out to be a "handmaid" of secondary education having been exclusively adapted to its requirements?"¹²

Based on the above, the structure of the Greek educational system and particularly the relationship between secondary and higher education was formulated on the basis of the changes and interventions already mentioned.

More specifically, a progressive movement of the social production procedures into the school itself occurred which sought to match the social and educational pyramid (see Table V); i.e., to reproduce the social *status quo*. The above ideological-political and social intention was clear in the nineteenth century documents. In 1899, the Eftaxias bills mention that the educational system should be changed in order to provide “each social class with the knowledge that best suits it”.

TABLE V

Matching of the Social and Educational Pyramid (social reproduction)

	Stages	Text
A	1899 (A. Eftaxias' bills)	School “should provide each social class with the best education it needs”
B	1913 (I. Tsirimokos' bills)	“Studies last three years in the urban school whose students come from the urban class, whereas studies last four years in the high school whose students derive from the upper class.”. “Only students who belong to the administrative social class could graduate from the University”.
C	1930 (4620 Law by Georgios Papandreou)	Attendance at the University is allowed only to “gifted” students.

The same objective was expressed in the bills of 1913: “Studies last three years in the urban school whose students come from the urban class, whereas studies last four years in high school whose students derive from the upper class.”. Ioannis Tsirimokos, who drafted the bill of 1913, provided that “only students who belong to the administrative social class could graduate from the University”. Seventeen years later, in 1930, Georgios Papandreou, during the latter period of Venizelos' mandate (1928-1932), limited attendance at the University to “gifted” students. In the following decades, the relationship between the lyceum and the university became very close. Moreover, the limited number of candidates accepted to universities and to the higher educational technological institutes as

well as the strict entrance exams resulted in the promotion of tuition, in student immigration and in the loss of the educative role of the lyceum. Unfortunately, there is not much hope for a solution in the near future, although lately a conversation concerning the admissions system at the universities and higher educational technological institutes has begun. At the beginning of 2009, a committee under Georgios Babiniotis, former rector of the University of Athens, proposed, among other measures, the participation of the universities in the selection procedure by defining weighting factors by department or school, the inclusion of the lyceum grade point average (*G.P.A*) in the selection criteria, the modification of the lyceum curricula, etc. The financial crisis that struck Greece along with the rest of the world, and the change of government created other political and social priorities that resulted in the “freezing” of the proposals of this committee. Once again, reform is being suspended.

Extension to Today

Given the current financial crisis, there is continuous pressure for a change to the system allowing entrance to the institutions of higher education. Many of the changes in education that took place in the past are being applied again. Thus, the following time-tested formulas are being discussed:

- Establishment of the national degree as a prerequisite for entering university, as happens in many European countries (the *Abitur* in Germany, the *Baccalauréat* in France, etc.)
- Introduction of a preparatory year after graduation from Lyceum and then enrollment in a Department
- Enrollment in a Department or in a University and afterwards enrollment in a Division
- Free admission to Departments hardly selected
- Participation of the institutions of higher education in the selection procedure with weighting factors for the programs.

NOTES

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Fuites et Dispersions des Etudiants dans les Universités Helléniques

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RÉSUMÉ

En Grèce, malgré un nombre suffisant de recherches et d'enquêtes sur l'entrée des lycéens aux universités, on constate un manque flagrant d'enquêtes concernant leur cheminement universitaire. Le présent article qui fait partie d'une large étude qui s'est effectuée dans le cadre d'un programme de recherche sur la démarche éducative des étudiants grecs, ainsi que de ceux provenant de la diaspora, dans les universités grecques, se limite aux étudiants inscrits entre 1995/96 et 1998/99, bien que certains d'entre eux continuent à avoir de dossier actif. Les données viennent des 6.879 listes analytiques de notation, recueillies des Secrétariats de 41 départements de 6 universités helléniques.

Dans cette étude on tente de présenter les résultats obtenus par rapport a) aux fuites des étudiants (retard à l'acquisition du diplôme, notation finale, difficultés à être placés aux cours prévus par le programme d'études) et b) aux dispersions des étudiants (abandon des études, élimination). Les résultats sont également, examinés: a) par rapport à l'université d'où proviennent les étudiants (Université d'Athènes, Thessalonique ou une des Universités périphériques) et b): par rapport à la faculté (Faculté des Lettres, Faculté de Droit, École polytechnique, Faculté de Sciences de l'Éducation, Faculté de médecine etc). L'analyse des résultats met en lumière des sujets importants: a) le pourcentage d'étudiants appelés «éternels» est plus faible que celui auquel on se serait attendu, b) l'obtention en retard du diplôme est plus fréquente chez les étudiants inscrits dans les universités centrales plutôt qu'aux universités périphériques, c) la Faculté de Droit, ainsi que l'École Polytechnique présentent plus de retards à l'acquisition du diplôme que la Faculté des Sciences de l'Éducation ou celle de la Médecine et d) fait à souligner beaucoup de groupes de départements universitaires présentent une «culture d'évaluation» particulière.

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ABSTRACT

In Greece, despite a sufficient number of research and investigation on the admission of students to universities, there is a marked lack of investigation of their educational process after admission. This article is part of a wider study that was conducted as part of a research program on the educational advancement of Greek students, as well as those from abroad of Greek origin in Greek Universities. The article is limited to the study of the educational advancement of Greek students who are enrolled between 1995/96 and 1998/99, although some of them are still active so far. The data come from the 6 879 rating lists records collected from the Secretariats of 41 departments of six Hellenic Universities.

In this study we present the findings obtained from a) the leakage of students (delay in receiving the diploma, final grade, failed efforts to be considered for courses provided by the curriculum) and b) dispersions of students (drop out, elimination). The findings are examined in relation with a) the University attended (University of Athens, Thessaloniki or a University of the periphery) and b) the wider Faculty in which belongs the department (Faculty of Humanities, Law, Polytechnic, Sciences Education, Medicine etc).

The results analysis highlights key findings: a) the percentage of students called "eternal" is somewhat lower than that probably expected, b) the delay in obtaining the diploma is more common among students in Central Universities in relation to Universities of the periphery, c) the higher delays in obtaining diplomas are observed at the Faculty of Law and the Polytechnic School and the lower at the Faculty of Education, Science and Medicine, d) many groups of departments in certain universities (Medicine, Polytechnic, Law, etc.) have a particular "culture of evaluation".

1. Introduction

En Grèce, on constate qu'il y a un nombre suffisant de recherches, d'enquêtes et de discussions concernant, d'une part, l'admission des lycéens à l'Université (système des examens d'entrée, départements universitaires en demande, profil social des étudiants etc.) et, d'autre part, la démarche professionnelle des diplômés (Kassotakis & Papaggeli-Vouliouri, 1996 Katsikas & Kavadias, 1998 Cryssakis & Soulis, 2001 Fassoulis, 2005 Panagiotopoulos & Thanos 2008).

Par contre, des sujets relatifs au cheminement des étudiants dans les Universités semblent presque ignorés par la communauté académique. On constate un manque de recherches systématiques sur ce sujet. De plus, les rares enquêtes qui existent, abordent, principalement, le sujet des étudiants appelés «éternels» puisant leurs données auprès du Service National des Statistiques de la Grèce (Stamelos, 1994 Kyprianos & Koniordos, 2003). La discussion a été encore plus ardente et plus vive au cours des quatre dernières années et surtout

en raison de la Loi 3549/2007 et de récentes déclarations de la part du Ministère de l'Éducation pour le contrôle des étudiants dits «éternels» dans le cadre d'une stratégie nationale pour l'éducation supérieure. Cependant, cette discussion reste de niveau journalistique sans disposer de base scientifique. Par conséquent, des opinions falsifiées ou erronées se formulent et créent des confusions autour du sujet des étudiants «éternels». A titre d'exemple, on peut citer quelques remarques importantes: a) à l'exception du terme étudiants «éternels», on observe l'utilisation d'un nombre marquant de termes ou d'expressions alternatifs, comme: «en cours d'obtention du diplôme», «non-actifs», «étudiants qui ont dépassé la limite de durée permise pour l'obtention du diplôme, «passifs» etc. b) il n'y a pas de définition concrète du terme étudiants «éternels». De cette manière, les étudiants «éternels» pour certains sont ceux qui ont dépassé, même pour un seul semestre le nombre de k semestres prévus par le programme d'étude, c'est-à-dire $k+1$, pour d'autres c'est $k+k/2$ ou encore $2k$. On observe, d'ailleurs, des approches totalement abstraites comme «...*les étudiants «éternels» sont ceux qui n'ont pas eu accès au système électronique "Evdoxos", afin de se procurer du matériel distribué par le département...*», et c) en raison de la confusion constatée et des sources d'information douteuses les pourcentages des étudiants appelés «éternels» oscillent entre 10% et 60%! (Papastamou, 2006, Eleftheriadis, 2007, Andritsaki, 2007, Trigka, 2011, Kalimeri, 2011, Mastoras, 2011).

2. La Recherche

Cette recherche fait partie d'une large étude effectuée dans le cadre d'un programme de recherche sur la démarche éducative des étudiants grecs, ainsi que des étudiants venus de la diaspora grecque, dans les universités grecques. Les données statistiques de l'étude viennent d'environ 11.000 listes analytiques de notation des étudiants, entrés aux universités pendant les années 1995-96 & 2000-01. Les listes analytiques de notation ont été recueillies pendant l'année académique 2007 par les secrétariats de 41 départements de six universités du pays. Plus concrètement, il s'agit des universités d'Athènes, de Thessalonique, de Patras, d'Ioannina, de Crète, ainsi que de l'École Polytechnique (Metsoveio). La recherche se limite à l'étude de la démarche éducative des étudiants entrés pendant les années académiques 1995-1996 & 1998-1999, dont certains continuent à étudier jusqu'à présent. Au total, 6.879 listes analytiques de notation ont été examinées.

Au cours de la procédure de collation, classification et élaboration des données statistiques, un grand nombre de problèmes méthodologiques ont surgi et parallèlement on a été appelé à aborder et à résoudre une série de questions

méthodologiques. A titre d'exemple, on cite ci-dessous quelques-uns des problèmes les plus importants:

- a) La difficulté concernant la collation du matériel de la recherche a causé un retard inattendu à l'achèvement de l'étude.
- b) La différenciation parmi les programmes d'étude des différents départements universitaires a été un obstacle significatif à l'élaboration finale des résultats acquis (p.ex. il y a des départements qui exigent l'accumulation des unités de crédit pour l'obtention du diplôme).
- c) La division des cours universitaires (théorie et pratique) dans certains départements a empêché, également, l'élaboration rapide et efficace des données.
- d) Le manque de système d'élaboration des données statistiques aux secrétariats de certains départements a rendu, parfois, les éléments reçus illisibles.
- e) Dans certains départements les éliminations éventuelles des étudiants n'ont pas été signalées avec précision (la comparaison des cartes reçues des secrétariats a révélé des éléments incomplets).
- f) Dans plusieurs cas, les cours examinés et réussis ont été enregistrés au semestre courant prévu par le programme d'étude (au lieu d'être enregistrés au semestre d'examens).
- g) Dans le cadre de l'étude, on a jugé comme nécessaire l'élaboration des indicateurs spéciaux (comme p.ex. l'abandon éventuel des études, l'échec des efforts d'un étudiant etc.).

Par la suite, on présentera les résultats obtenus par rapport: a) aux fuites des étudiants (retard à l'acquisition du diplôme, notation finale, échec des efforts à passer les examens relatifs aux cours prévus par le programme d'études) et b) aux dispersions des étudiants (abandon éventuel des études, élimination). Les résultats seront, également, examinés par rapport a) à l'université de base (Athènes, Thessalonique ou Universités Périphériques) et b) à la faculté de base (classification selon le socle de huit groupes): département des Lettres, de Droit, des Sciences de l'Éducation, de Biologie, de Médecine, d'Économie, d'Éducation Physique et de l'École Polytechnique).

3. Les Résultats

3.1. Etat d'étude

Le tableau 1 présente la répartition des fréquences des étudiants de l'échantillon par rapport à leur état d'étude.

TABLEAU 1

Fréquences des étudiants par rapport à leur état d'étude

État D'étude	n	%
Diplômés	5.975	86,9
Actifs	413	6,0
Éliminés	491	7,1 (10,4)
Total	6.879	100,0

L'étude des éléments donnés dans le tableau ci-dessus nous permet de constater que sur les 6.879 étudiants de l'échantillon admis aux universités helléniques pendant les années académiques 1995-1996 & 1998-1999, 5.975 (86,9%) ont obtenu leur diplôme (jusqu'au semestre printanier de l'année académique 2006-2007), 413 (6,0%) étaient enregistrés comme étant toujours à l'université et il y avait 491 étudiants (7,1%) éliminés (en raison d'une inscription éventuelle à un autre département universitaire). À cause du fait que quelques secrétariats ne nous ont pas envoyé de listes précises contenant le nombre exact des étudiants éliminés, le pourcentage de 10,4% corrige le nombre initial de 7,1%, en tenant compte seulement des départements disposant des éléments concrets (soit au total 4.743 étudiants).

3.2. Retard à l'obtention du diplôme

Le tableau 2 montre la répartition des fréquences des étudiants diplômés de l'échantillon venus des universités d'Athènes, de Thessalonique et des universités périphériques par rapport au retard à l'acquisition de leur diplôme. L'étude des éléments présentés dans le tableau qui suit nous permet de constater que presque la moitié des étudiants (46,3%) ont achevé leurs études en ne dépassant pas le nombre prévu des semestres d'études (c'est-à-dire: 8 semestres pour le département des sciences de l'éducation, 10 semestres pour l'École Polytechnique, 12 semestres pour les études médicales etc.).

Le pourcentage (6,8%) des étudiants qui ont obtenu leur diplôme avec un retard significatif, c'est-à-dire, en achevant leurs études en plus de $k+k/2$ semestres a été très bas (p.ex. un étudiant du département des Sciences de l'Éducation a obtenu son diplôme dans un délai de plus de 12 semestres, un étudiant de l'École Polytechnique en plus de 15 semestres, un étudiant en médecine en plus de 18 semestres etc.). Le reste (46,9%) des étudiants diplômés a pu achever ses études relativement avec un petit retard (entre l'espace k ,

$k+k/2$). Cela veut dire que pour les départements des Sciences de l'Éducation ce délai oscille entre 9 et 12 semestres, pour l'École Polytechnique entre 11 et 15 semestres, pour les études médicales entre 13 et 18 semestres.

TABEAU 2

Fréquences **des étudiants diplômés**, des universités d'Athènes, de Thessalonique et des universités Périphériques, par rapport au retard à l'obtention de leur diplôme. Signification statistique des différences des fréquences

Universités	Retard à l'obtention du Diplôme			Signification Statistique	
	S=k (%)	$k < S \leq k + (k/2)$ (%)	$S > k + (k/2)$ (%)	χ^2	p
Athènes (1.994)	37,5	53,2	9,4		
Thessalonique (1.411)	37,2	54,8	8,0	271,51	.000
Périphériques (2.565)	58,3	37,7	4,1		
Total (5.970)	46,3	46,9	6,8		

En examinant les données à l'intérieur du tableau, on remarque qu'il y a une différence statistiquement significative entre les universités ($p=.000$). En fait, dans les universités appelées périphériques, le pourcentage des étudiants dont l'obtention du diplôme n'est pas retardée est beaucoup plus élevé par rapport aux universités centrales d'Athènes et de Thessalonique (58,3% contre 37,5% et 37,2%). De manière plus large, on constate que le pourcentage des étudiants licenciés qui obtiennent leur diplôme avec un retard significatif est pour les universités centrales (d'Athènes et de Thessalonique) le double de celui des universités périphériques (9,4%, 8,0% et 4,1% selon le cas).

Le tableau 3 montre la répartition des fréquences des étudiants diplômés d'un échantillon relatif au retard à l'obtention de la licence selon les groupes des départements universitaires.

TABLEAU 3

Fréquences **des étudiants diplômés** aux différents groupes de départements, par rapport au retard à l'obtention de leur diplôme. Signification statistique des différences des fréquences

Groupes de Départements	Retard à l'obtention du Diplôme			Signification Statistique	
	S=k (%)	k<S≤ k+(k/2) (%)	S>k+(k/2) (%)	x ²	p
Lettres (2.475)	48,7	45,8	5,5		
Droit (213)	15,5	67,6	16,9		
Sciences					
De L'Éducation (679)	76,1	20,3	3,5		
Biologie (148)	31,1	54,1	14,9	593,07	.000
Médecine (571)	60,8	38,5	0,7		
Économie (381)	31,5	55,6	12,9		
École Polytechnique (1.195)	32,7	59,2	8,0		
Éducation Physique (308)	35,1	53,2	11,7		
Total (5.970)	46,3	46,9	6,8		

Les éléments qui résultent du tableau précédent nous permettent de constater que les groupes similaires de départements ne «se comportent» pas d'une manière égale. Par conséquent, il y a une différence statistiquement significative parmi les groupes étudiés ($p=.000$). Les groupes de départements se classifient en quatre catégories bien distinctes: à la première catégorie appartiennent les départements des Sciences de l'éducation et de la médecine. Pour des raisons différentes, ces deux départements présentent un élément commun en ce qui concerne le pourcentage très élevé des étudiants qui obtiennent leur diplôme à temps (c'est-à-dire ne dépassant pas le nombre de semestres prévus par le programme d'études). Il s'agit de 76,1% pour les départements des Sciences de l'éducation et de 60,8% pour la médecine. Pour la deuxième catégorie, c'est le département des

Lettres, où la moitié des étudiants obtient son diplôme en 8 semestres (48,7%). La troisième catégorie, la plus nombreuse, a comme caractéristique commune le fait que presque le 1/3 des étudiants achève ses études à temps. Il s'agit: du département d'Éducation Physique (35,1%), de l'École Polytechnique (32,7%), du département de l'Économie (31,5%) et de la Biologie (31,1%). Enfin, la quatrième catégorie comprend seulement la Faculté de Droit, où le pourcentage des étudiants qui achève à temps ses études est particulièrement bas (15,5%). La Faculté de Droit présente, également, le pourcentage le plus élevé par rapport à un retard significatif à l'acquisition du diplôme.

3.3. Notation finale des étudiants diplômés

Le tableau 4, qui suit, met en lumière les moyennes et les écarts-types de la notation finale des étudiants diplômés de l'échantillon, des universités d'Athènes, de Thessalonique et celles de la périphérie.

TABEAU 4

Moyennes et écarts-types de la notation finale **des étudiants diplômés**, des Universités d'Athènes, de Thessalonique et de la Périphérie. Signification statistique des différences des moyennes obtenues

Universités	Notation		Signification Statistique	
	Moyennes	Écarts-types	F	p
Athènes (1.994)	7,42	0,81		
Thessalonique (1.411)	7,25	0,76	66,91	.000
Périphériques (2.565)	7,16	0,70		
Total (5.970)	7,27	0,76		

Un premier constat est que la moyenne obtenue par les étudiants diplômés est 7,27/10. Un second constat est qu'il y a une différence statistiquement significative des moyennes de la notation finale parmi les différents groupes universitaires, déjà cités ($p=.000$). Ainsi, à l'université d'Athènes, on enregistre la moyenne la plus élevée (7,42), puis suit l'Université de Thessalonique (7,25), malgré le fait, déjà signalé précédemment, que ces groupes universitaires (d'Athènes et de Thessalonique) présentent le retard le plus élevé par rapport au temps de l'obtention du diplôme. La moyenne la plus basse est constatée aux universités périphériques (7,16).

Le tableau 5 ci-après présente les moyennes de la notation finale des étudiants diplômés, selon les groupes de départements. Notons qu'il y a, même dans ce cas, une différence statistiquement significative parmi les groupes ($p=.000$). Des notations très élevées s'enregistrent aux départements des Sciences de l'éducation (7,73), ainsi qu'à l'École Polytechnique (7,42). Suivent, avec de petits écarts entre eux, quatre groupes de départements: la Médecine (7,26), les Lettres (7,22), l'Éducation Physique (7,17) et la Biologie (7,16). Finalement, des moyennes extrêmement basses sont constatées dans le groupe de Droit (6,86) et d'Économie (6,64).

TABLEAU 5

Moyennes et écarts-types de la notation **des étudiants diplômés** de l'échantillon, selon les groupes de départements. Signification statistique des différences des moyennes obtenues

Groupes de Départements	Notation		Signification Statistique	
	Moyennes	Écarts-Types	F	P
Lettres (2.475)	7,22	0,75		
Droit (213)	6,86	0,71		
Sciences de l'Éducation (679)	7,73	0,73		
Biologie (148)	7,16	0,65	99,62	.000
Médecine (571)	7,26	0,64		
Économie (381)	6,64	0,72		
École Polytechnique (1.195)	7,42	0,76		
Éducation Physique (308)	7,17	0,51		
Total (5.970)	7,27	0,75		

3.4. L'échec des efforts aux examens pour les cours prévus par le programme d'étude des étudiants diplômés

En raison du nombre différencié d'efforts réussis afin qu'un étudiant obtienne son diplôme de son département (ce nombre correspond, grosso modo, au

nombre de cours prévus par le programme d'études pour l'obtention du diplôme), on a créé un indicateur des échecs des efforts à l'examen juste pour qu'on puisse comparer les valeurs du nombre d'efforts échoués d'examen parmi les trois groupes d'universités (d'Athènes, de Thessalonique et de la périphérie). Cet indicateur standardise le nombre des échecs des efforts aux 100 réussites des efforts pour tous les étudiants diplômés. Par exemple, si un étudiant diplômé avait 22 échecs d'efforts pour subir un examen au même cours ou à des cours différents alors que le nombre de ses réussites d'efforts était de 50 pour qu'il obtienne son diplôme, l'indicateur des échecs d'efforts (aux mêmes cours ou à des différents) serait $(22 \times 100) / 50 = 44$. De la même façon, si un étudiant diplômé avait 32 échecs d'efforts pour subir un examen à des cours différents alors que le nombre de ses efforts réussites d'efforts était de 50 afin qu'il obtienne son diplôme, l'indicateur des échecs d'efforts d'examen à des cours différents serait $(32 \times 100) / 50 = 64$. On suit la même procédure pour le cas des groupes de départements.

Au tableau 6 apparaissent les moyennes et les écarts-types de l'indicateur des échec d'efforts d'examen à des cours différents des étudiants diplômés de l'échantillon des universités d'Athènes, de Thessalonique et de la périphérie. Au tableau 7 sont présentées les valeurs de chaque indicateur au cas des échecs d'efforts d'examen à des mêmes cours ou à des cours différents pour les trois groupes d'universités mentionnées. En examinant les éléments qui résultent du tableau 6, on constate qu'il n'y a pas de différence statistiquement significative parmi les trois groupes d'universités en ce qui concerne les valeurs de la moyenne de l'indicateur des échecs d'efforts d'examen à des cours différents ($p = .266 > .05$). Au fait, pour qu'un étudiant obtienne son diplôme (par conséquent, pour qu'il soit examiné avec succès à une centaine de cours prévus), il échouera, en moyenne, à 1/5^{ème} de ces cours-là (indicateur d'efforts échoués = 18,53). Cet indicateur semble présenter les mêmes valeurs pour les trois groupes d'universités (19,10 pour l'université d'Athènes, 19,79 pour l'université de Thessalonique et 18,53 pour les universités de Périphérie).

TABLEAU 6

Moyennes et écarts-types de l'indicateur des échecs d'efforts d'examen à des cours différents **des étudiants diplômés** des Universités d'Athènes, de Thessalonique et de la périphérie. Signification statistique des différences des moyennes obtenues

Universités	Indicateur des Echecs d' Efforts à des Cours Différents		Signification Statistique	
	Moyennes	Écarts-Types	F	P
Athènes (455)	19,10	17,26		
Thessalonique (218)	19,79	17,96	1,33	.266
Périphériques (2.183)	18,28	14,71		
Total (2.856)	18,53	15,41		

Le tableau 7 qui présente l'indicateur respectif des échecs d'efforts d'un étudiant aux mêmes cours ou à des cours différents nous révèle par conséquent une image plus précise du nombre des échecs d'efforts jusqu'à l'acquisition de son diplôme, modifie suffisamment l'impression créée par l'analyse des éléments du tableau précédent (tableau 6). Ce qui résulte est que, malgré le fait que les trois groupes d'universités «se comportent» presque de la même manière par rapport à l'examen des cours différents, il y a une différence remarquable concernant les échecs d'efforts efforts à des mêmes cours ou à des cours différents ($p=,000$). Dans ce cas-là, les universités périphériques semblent moins strictes par rapport à l'université d'Athènes (dans le même sens, l'université d'Athènes semble moins stricte que l'université de Thessalonique).

TABLEAU 7

Moyennes et écarts-types de l'indicateur des échecs d'efforts d'examen aux mêmes cours ou à des cours différents **des étudiants diplômés** des Universités d'Athènes, de Thessalonique et de la Périphérie. Signification statistique des différences des moyennes obtenues

Universités	Indicateur Des Echecs d' Efforts aux même Cours ou à des Cours Différents		Signification Statistique	
	Moyennes	Écarts-Types	F	P
Athènes (455)	27,95	31,13		
Thessalonique (218)	30,58	38,22	9,37	.000
Périphériques (2.090)	24,07	22,68		
Total (2.763)	25,22	25,84		

La moyenne des valeurs de l'indicateur des échecs d'efforts à des mêmes cours ou à des cours différents est de 24,07 pour les universités périphériques, de 27,95 pour l'université d'Athènes et de 30,58 pour l'université de Thessalonique. Cela veut dire que les étudiants des universités périphériques, pour obtenir leur diplôme, marquent au total 6,5 moins d'échecs d'efforts (sur les 100 réussis) que ceux de l'université de Thessalonique et 4 moins d'échecs d'efforts que ceux qui fréquentent l'université d'Athènes. Finalement, la valeur particulièrement très élevée de l'écart-type (38,22) par rapport aux valeurs correspondant à l'université d'Athènes (31,13) et surtout de la périphérie (22,68) montre qu'il y a des différenciations importantes en ce qui concerne le nombre des cours auxquels les étudiants échouent. Il s'agit d'un élément qui pourrait s'interpréter de façon différente (soit au niveau des différences individuelles parmi les étudiants, soit au niveau des différences parmi les départements de la même université).

Les tableaux 8 & 9 qui suivent présentent les moyennes et les écarts-types des indicateurs des échecs d'efforts d'examen par groupe de département. L'analyse des données du tableau 8 nous permet de constater que les groupes de départements se différencient à un niveau statistiquement significatif en ce qui concerne l'indicateur des échecs d'efforts d'examen à des matières différentes. Le prix le plus bas de la moyenne apparaît en médecine (12,01), ainsi qu'aux départements des Sciences de l'Éducation (14,19).

TABLEAU 8

Moyennes et écarts-types de l'indicateur des échecs des efforts d'examen à des cours différents **des étudiants diplômés** par groupe de département. Signification statistique des différences des moyennes obtenues

Groupes de Départements	Indicateur des Echecs d' Efforts à des Cours Différents		Signification Statistique	
	Moyennes	Écarts-Types	F	P
Lettres (1.930)	17,63	14,80		
Droit (104)	24,67	17,78		
Sciences de l'Éducation (259)	14,19	12,03		
Biologie (<15)	-	-	58,38	.000
Médecine (231)	12,01	10,93		
Economie (98)	20,63	13,31		
École Polytechnique (233)	33,65	16,91		
Éducation Physique (<15)	-	-		
Total (2.855)	18,53	15,41		

TABLEAU 9

Moyennes et écarts-types de l'indicateur des échecs d'efforts d'examen aux mêmes cours ou à des cours différents **des étudiants diplômés** par groupe de département. Signification statistique des différences des moyennes obtenues

Groupes de Départements	Indicateur des Echecs d' Efforts aux même Cours ou à des Cours Différents		Signification Statistique	
	Moyennes	Écarts-Types	F	P
Lettres (1.838)	22,80	22,40		
Droit (104)	39,71	40,79		
Sciences de l'éducation (258)	17,33	15,97	76,06	.000

Biologie (<15)	-	-		
Médecine (231)	17,43	18,72		
Économie (98)	25,20	17,67		
École Polytechnique (233)	54,42	36,74		
Education Physique (<15)	-	-		
Total (2.762)	25,22	25,84		

Ensuite il y a la Faculté des Lettres (17,63) et le département des Sciences Économiques (20,63). A la Faculté de Droit, les étudiants échouent, en moyenne une fois, à un des cours prévus par le programme d'études, tandis qu'à l'École Polytechnique cette image d'échec est encore plus forte, puisque les étudiants repassent l'examen pour un 1/3 des cours prévus (33,65).

En outre, si l'on compare l'École Polytechnique avec la Faculté de Médecine, on constate que les possibilités de réexamen à un cours précis se multiplient par trois à l'École Polytechnique par rapport à la Médecine. Il est à noter que pour les départements de Biologie et d'Éducation Physique, il n'y avait pas de données disponibles suffisantes pour les inclure dans le tableau. L'image, d'ailleurs, ne se modifie pas, si l'on compare les moyennes des valeurs de l'indicateur à des mêmes cours ou à des cours différents. Les moyennes les plus basses se rencontrent aux Départements des Sciences de l'Éducation (17,33) et à la Faculté de Médecine (17,43). Ensuite il y a la Faculté des Lettres (22,40) et le département de Sciences Économiques (25,20). Les moyennes de la Faculté de Droit (39,71) et de l'École Polytechnique (54,42) apparaissent très élevées avec, également, des valeurs élevées aux écarts-types (40,79 pour les Facultés de Droit et 36,74 pour l'École Polytechnique). Il s'agit d'un élément qui souligne l'hétérogénéité (soit interdépartementale, soit interuniversitaire, soit l'existence des différences individuelles parmi les étudiants). Il faudrait mentionner deux autres éléments importants: a) la proportion stable 3:1 qu'on observe aux moyennes de l'indicateur des échecs d'efforts d'examen à des mêmes cours ou à des cours différents entre l'École Polytechnique et la Faculté de médecine et b) un étudiant de l'École Polytechnique pour obtenir son diplôme échoue, en moyenne, à des mêmes cours ou à des cours différents presque 54 fois aux 100 matières prévues par le programme d'étude.

3.5. Abandon éventuel d'études par des étudiants actifs

Le tableau 10 présente la répartition des fréquences des étudiants actifs des universités d'Athènes, de Thessalonique et celles de la périphérie, par rapport à l'abandon éventuel de leurs études. Au tableau 11, il y a les pourcentages d'abandon éventuel par groupes de départements. Le terme «abandon éventuel» pour un étudiant exprime l'espace qui intervient entre le dernier semestre où il a subi un examen et le semestre printanier de l'année académique 2006-2007. Au cas où il y aurait plus de deux (2) années académiques successives sans participation aux examens universitaires, on parle d'abandon des études.

Les données du tableau 10 montrent que malgré les différenciations légères du pourcentage de l'abandon aléatoire des étudiants aux universités périphériques par rapport aux deux universités centrales (d'Athènes et de Thessalonique), les différences ne sont pas d'un niveau statistiquement significatif ($p = .056 > .05$). D'autre part l'image qui résulte de l'étude de l'abandon éventuel par groupes de départements (tableau 11) est assez différente selon les universités. Par conséquent, on constate des différences statistiquement significatives ($p = .000$).

TABLEAU 10

Fréquences **des étudiants actifs** des Universités d'Athènes, de Thessalonique et de la périphérie par rapport à l'abandon éventuel des études.
Signification statistique des différences des fréquences

Universités	Abandon Éventuel des Études des Étudiants Actifs		Signification Statistique	
	Oui (%)	Non (%)	X ²	P
Athènes (178)	55,6	44,4		
Thessalonique (65)	53,8	46,2	5,76	.056
Périphérie (103)	68,9	31,1		
Total (346)	59,2	40,8		

TABLEAU 11

Fréquences **des étudiants actifs** par groupes de départements universitaires par rapport à l'abandon éventuel des études. Signification statistique des différences des fréquences

Groupes de Départements	Abandon Éventuel des Études des Étudiants Actifs		Signification Statistique	
	Oui (%)	Non (%)	X ²	P
Lettres (89)	69,7	30,3		
Droit (30)	66,7	33,3		
Sciences				
De L'Éducation (38)	81,6	18,4		
Biologie (23)	60,9	39,1	52,86	.000
Médecine (15)	33,3	66,7		
Économie (41)	75,6	24,4		
École Poly-Technique (98)	32,7	67,3		
Éducation Physique (12)	83,3	16,7		
Total (346)	59,2	40,8		

Les éléments du tableau 11 nous montrent que les étudiants de l'École Polytechnique (67,3%), ainsi que ceux de la Faculté de Médecine (66,7%) accordent une importance particulière pour l'achèvement de leurs études. Cela, pourtant, ne concerne pas les étudiants du département de l'Éducation Physique (pourcentage d'abandon aléatoire de 83,3%) et ceux des départements des Sciences de l'Éducation (81,6%). Le pourcentage est aussi très élevé au département de Sciences Économiques (75,6%), à la Faculté des Lettres (69,7%), à la Faculté de droit (66,7%) et aux départements de Biologie (60,9%).

3.6. Élimination des étudiants

Pour repérer le pourcentage des étudiants éliminés (par rapport aux universités et aux départements universitaires), on a tenu compte des 4.743 cartes d'étudiants (parmi les 6.879 qu'on avait à notre disposition). On a exclu les départements qui ne nous ont pas envoyé le matériel demandé, ainsi que les

départements qui ont envoyé des listes illisibles et sans classification précise, et qui ne présentaient pas d'éléments clairs concernant le nombre exact d'étudiants éliminés, actifs ou diplômés. Pour ces raisons, il nous a donc été impossible d'avoir des éléments concrets pour le département de Droit; par conséquent, ce groupe manque d'éléments statistiques concernant les étudiants éliminés.

Le tableau 12 présente la répartition des étudiants éliminés des universités d'Athènes, de Thessalonique et de la périphérie.

TABLEAU 12

Fréquences **des étudiants éliminés** des universités d'Athènes, de Thessalonique et de la périphérie. Signification statistique des différences des fréquences

Universités	Étudiants Éliminés-Barrés		Signification Statistique	
	Oui (%)	Non (%)	X ²	P
Athènes (1.970)	7,3	92,7		
Thessalonique (1.321)	11,1	88,9	44,82	.000
Périphérie (1.452)	13,8	86,2		
Total (4.743)	10,4	89,6		

Les éléments statistiques du tableau 12 nous permettent de constater, en premier lieu, l'existence d'une différenciation significative concernant le nombre d'étudiants éliminés parmi les groupes universitaires ($p=.000$). Cette différenciation est due surtout à l'élimination presque du double aux universités périphériques par rapport à l'université d'Athènes. Le pourcentage des étudiants éliminés aux universités périphériques est de 13,8%, tandis que pour l'université d'Athènes atteint les 7,3% et pour l'université de Thessalonique le 11,1%.

Le tableau 13 présente les pourcentages d'élimination des étudiants pour les groupes de départements. Là, on constate une différence statistiquement significative parmi les groupes ($p=.000$).

TABLEAU 13

Fréquences **des étudiants éliminés** selon les groupes de départements.
 Signification statistique des différences des fréquences

Groupes de Départements	Étudiants Éliminés-Barrés		Signification Statistique	
	Oui (%)	Non (%)	X ²	P
Lettres (1866)	8,3	91,7		
Droit (-)	-	-		
Sciences de l'éducation (686)	11,2	88,8		
Biologie (343)	47,8	52,2	679,61	.000
Médecine (249)	3,6	96,4		
Économie (356)	8,4	91,6		
École Polytechnique (864)	2,0	98,0		
Éducation Physique (379)	10,6	89,4		
Total (4.743)	10,4	89,6		

Les pourcentages les plus élevés des étudiants éliminés se situent aux départements de Biologie (47,8%), aux départements des Sciences de l'Éducation (11,2%) et aux départements d'Éducation Physique (10,6%). Suivent le département de Sciences Économiques (8,4%) et la Faculté des Lettres (8,3%). Par contre, on observe des pourcentages très bas à l'École Polytechnique (2,0%) et à la faculté de médecine (3,6%). En essayant d'aborder plus minutieusement et d'interpréter la question des différenciations constatées (parmi les universités et parmi les départements universitaires), on a entrepris une analyse plus profonde des données reçues selon le semestre pendant lequel a eu lieu l'élimination de l'étudiant. On a pu constater que les éliminations remarquées aux semestres avancés (> du 3^{ème} semestre) ont été limitées. Ceci nous montre que les secrétariats des départements n'éliminent pas automatiquement les étudiants, si ceux-ci ont un retard excessif pour l'obtention du diplôme. L'élimination automatique peut intervenir aussi à la demande de l'étudiant. On a, encore, constaté que les éliminations des étudiants ont lieu, exclusivement, soit après leur inscription pendant la première année (1^{er} semestre d'étude), soit au début de la deuxième année académique (3^{ème} semestre

d'étude). Par conséquent, les pourcentages élevés d'élimination des étudiants aux universités périphériques ou aux départements de Biologie, aux départements des Sciences de l'Éducation et aux départements d'Éducation Physique sont en relation soit avec le droit d'inscription immédiate de l'étudiant d'une université périphérique dans une université centrale (1^{er} semestre), soit avec une nouvelle participation de l'étudiant aux examens panhelléniques pour réussir son entrée dans un autre département de sa préférence.

4. Conclusion

Le pourcentage des étudiants appelés «éternels» est beaucoup plus bas par rapport à celui qu'on pouvait attendre des articles publiés de temps en temps surtout dans la presse quotidienne. Les résultats de la recherche montrent que ce pourcentage atteint les 15%, en tenant compte du pourcentage des étudiants actifs, qui est de 6,0%, si l'on y ajoute un pourcentage de 6,8% correspondant à des étudiants ayant réussi à avoir leur diplôme, mais avec un retard de plus de $k+k/2$ semestres d'études.

Les universités centrales affichent un retard plus élevé à l'obtention du diplôme par rapport aux universités périphériques. Les retards les plus élevés ont été observés à la Faculté de Droit et à l'École Polytechnique, tandis que les plus bas l'ont été aux départements des Sciences de l'Éducation et à la Faculté de médecine.

Les moyennes de notation finale des diplômés se différencient seulement parmi les groupes de départements. Les départements des sciences de l'éducation, de l'École Polytechnique et de la Faculté de médecine présentent les notations les plus élevées; par contre, on remarque des moyennes particulièrement basses au département de Sciences Économiques et à la Faculté de Droit. Les échecs d'efforts à l'examen sont, remarquablement, plus élevés à l'École Polytechnique et au département de Droit. En médecine et aux départements des Sciences de l'Éducation le nombre d'échecs d'efforts à l'examen est très bas.

L'abandon aléatoire des études concerne surtout, au moins au cours de l'enquête, les départements des Sciences de l'Éducation et les départements d'Éducation Physique, par contre, à la Faculté de médecine et à l'École Polytechnique les étudiants insistent, particulièrement, sur l'obtention de leur diplôme. On repère aussi un abandon éventuel des études, relativement élevé dans les universités périphériques.

Le nombre d'étudiants éliminés - barrés est assez plus élevé aux universités périphériques par rapport aux universités centrales. Les pourcentages les plus

élevés d'élimination se situent aux départements de Biologie, tandis que ce pourcentage est particulièrement plus bas à l'École Polytechnique et à la Faculté de médecine.

De ce qui précède, on peut conclure, en entreprenant une lecture verticale des résultats de l'enquête, l'existence éventuelle d'une «culture d'évaluation» qui diffère selon les groupes départementaux et qui semble avoir des caractéristiques structurales bien distinctes. Ainsi, les étudiants des départements des Sciences de l'Éducation et de médecine obtiennent à temps leur diplôme, disposant d'une notation assez élevée et échouant rarement aux examens universitaires. Par contre, les étudiants de la Faculté de Droit sont en retard dans l'acquisition de leur diplôme, leur notation est basse et ils échouent systématiquement aux examens. L'École Polytechnique constitue un cas à part: ses étudiants obtiennent leur diplôme avec une notation élevée, pourtant ils ont du mal jusqu'à l'obtention de leur diplôme, puisqu'ils échouent successivement aux examens et obtiennent leur diplôme avec un retard significatif ou accusent un retard important dans l'acquisition de leur diplôme. Pour finir, les départements des Sciences Economiques présentent un «comportement» différencié par rapport aux autres groupes mentionnés: la notation finale est la plus basse de tous des départements, mais, leurs étudiants n'échouent pas systématiquement aux examens.

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The Education of Students with Migratory Background in Greece. Educational politics and pedagogical discourse (*logos*)

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RÉSUMÉ

L'auteur de cet article examine les problèmes résultant de l'incorporation des étudiants grecs rapatriés dans le système éducatif grec et dans la société grecque en général. Son analyse se réfère d'une part à la politique éducative de l'État grec et d'autre part au discours pédagogique. Il note que dans la période 1975-1990 la composition de la société grecque a radicalement changé en raison de la migration des Grecs rapatriés, principalement des États-Unis, du Canada, d'Australie et de l'Europe, ainsi que de régions autour de la mer Noire et du Caucase. Ces gens étant d'origine grecque, leur inclusion dans le système éducatif et à la société grecque dans son ensemble, a été accomplie généralement de façon positive. Au contraire, en 1989, la situation a changé et la Grèce fait face à un défi inconnu jusque là, la migration des Balkans, des pays asiatiques et africains. La Grèce est toujours en quête d'une proposition politique convaincante et fonctionnelle afin d'assurer leur intégration.

L'évaluation des politiques éducatives et migratoires de la Grèce, en général, et la poursuite, l'amélioration ou leur changement constituent actuellement des objectifs d'une importance capitale, étant donné que la Grèce va entrer dans une nouvelle période. Cette nouvelle période se caractérise principalement par deux évolutions: d'une part par les effets dynamiques des politiques de la loi 3838/2010 "concernant l'octroiement de la nationalité grecque aux immigrants et leurs enfants, et d'autre part, parce que la Grèce constitue pour les immigrants le pays «d'entrée» numéro un de l'Europe.

ABSTRACT

In this article the author examines the problems resulting from the inclusion of repatriated Greek and migrant students in the Greek educational system and Greek society in general. His analysis refers on the one hand to the educational policies of the Greek State and on the other hand to the pedagogical logos. He notes that in the period 1975-1990 the composition of Greek society changed dramatically as Greeks returned from the United States, Canada, Australia and Europe, as well as from the Black Sea and

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broader Caucasus region. Being of Greek origin, their inclusion in the educational system and the Greek society at large has generally been positive. In 1989, however, the situation changed as Greece faced an unprecedented migration challenge: migrants from Balkan, Asian and African countries, for whom Greece is still seeking a persuasive and functional inclusion proposal.

The assessment of educational and immigration policies of Greece, in general, and their continuation, improvement or change are now top priority objectives, as the country enters a new period. This new period can be characterized mainly by two developments: first, the dynamic effects of the policies of Act 3838/2010, regarding the naturalization of immigrants and their children, and two, Greece's perception as the primary "country of entry" for immigrants in Europe.

Introduction

Before we proceed to our main topic, it is necessary to analyze two introductory observations and make some conceptual clarifications.

The first observation concerns the relationship between political and scientific discourse (*logos*), which is connected directly to the aim of this study, in which, an attempt is made to analyze the relationship between educational politics (in terms of its legislation and application) and pedagogical theory using as a comparative example the education of students with a migratory background. The second observation concerns the Greek State and its governments with the immigration phenomenon in general, while specifically referring to the heterogeneity which has evolved through this phenomenon.

The conjunction of political and scientific perspective is a rather rare phenomenon in Greece, especially when referring to educational matters. This occurred once, in 1964, with Evangelos Papanoutsos, the instigator of the '64 reform, who was also the General Secretary for the Ministry of Education. This coupling, between political and pedagogical perspective, was so successful and remembered advantageously, despite the Junta interjection.

Since then the binding of these two matters, political and pedagogical perspective, are either not attempted or efforts are exhausted by "the Wisemen Council," but not necessarily the committee of experts. In Greece, what seems to be considered as an integral part of education in other developed countries is ignored. Educational politics for instance, should be supported by investigatory means which can be derived from either high quality educational investigatory services, for example The Educational Research Centre of Greece, one of which

has been established by the State, or by individual researchers or research groups (i.e. research projects).

Using this as our starting point therefore, that educational politics is nothing more than a bioproduct of this conjunction of political and pedagogical perspective, and is more so, if not entirely, a mere expression of political perspective, we are representing educational politics as such, in this current study and contradistinguishing them from a pedagogical perspective.

Looking at the second observation, concerning the relationship between the Greek society, the Greek state with its governments, and the affect it has from immigration and ethnocultural heterogeneity, let it be noted that Greek society is very familiar with this concept given the fact that Greece has bared witness to major waves of migration in the past, giving the country the big Hellenic Diaspora consciousness. The same thing goes for State's governments and policies, at least from the late 19th century where the first wave of immigration was spurred by the economic crisis of 1893 that followed. This familiarization however, concerns the migration and repatriation of native Greeks, and not the movement of non-native people into another country. The latter is a considerably new experience as a result of the deterioration of "real-existing socialism" and the Cold War's dramatic end. Whether it has actually reached its climax that is still unknown.¹ In light of this relatively new experience this current study has emerged, and as mentioned earlier, its main objective is to look at educational politics from a pedagogical perspective in relation to the education of students with a migratory background.

When we look at the term *students with migratory background*, let it be clarified that these people may be closely related to the term *foreign students* or *students-children of immigrants*, but they are not entirely the same. The term *students with migratory background* or *migratory origin* also concerns the repatriated Greeks of Diaspora, considering they too have a migratory background. In other words, the term *students with migratory background*, is an amalgamation of both, repatriated and foreign students.

According to the administrative terminology, the term *foreign students*, refers to people who come from countries outside of the European Union (EU). In highlight of this, they also have a migratory background since they have moved from one country to another.

Hence, on the basis of this clarification we can therefore, identify three categories of students with migratory background: Children of repatriated Greeks, children of working immigrants from the EU, and immigrant children from countries outside of EU.

This differentiation of classes has as much of legislative effect as it does social, economic and political, keeping in mind that the Greek State holds a different approach and man-handling towards families from either category. Take the children of repatriated Greeks for instance, if they did not acquire Greek citizenship they could be nationalized through quick and efficient procedures. Furthermore, the State instigated specific measures for their integration. In 1990, for instance, the National Institution of Reception and Re-establishment of Greeks of Diaspora (EIYAPOE)² was formed and its main objective was the inclusion of repatriated Greeks from countries of the Former Soviet Union to Greece, while with the Act 2790/2000 (FEK 24/16-02-2000) they attempted to ensure their nationalization, even if they returned permanently in countries of former Soviet Union. Furthermore, labour/working immigrants from EU were protected by the Community Right while their children's education was partially regulated by the PD 494/83, by which the Direction of the Council of Ministers 77/486/EOK was incorporated within the Greek legislation and was also ensured by Foreign Schools (French, German Schools, etc.) operating in Greece.

In contrast to the two above categories, the legal regime for immigrants from countries outside EU is determined by the Greek Government on the basis of the immigration policy they wish to follow. Specifically, in the last decade two laws were voted that sought to deal with the admission, residence and inclusion of immigrants from third countries in Greece,³ whilst in March 2010 the act 3838 was voted in regarding the issuing of Greek citizenship to legally residing immigrants and their children.

The categorisation of people with a migratory background alters depending on whether they class themselves using the *institutional-administrative criterion* or use their *ethnicity as a criterion*. On the basis of the *ethnic criterion* the members were divided into two main groups, immigrants of Greek decent (background) and the alien (of different nationalities). The first group is mainly - but not necessarily - native Greek language speakers, whereas, the second group, consists of speakers of other languages.

Through this bisecting categorization, the importance of the cultural parameter that circled the nation was of great importance. This parameter, as we will see further on, has irreversibly changed the face of education.

1. The Development of Both, Policies and Pedagogical Logos

What stands out in the evolved approaches is the dividing of the subject of our study into chronological periods and phases. However, the scientific question that

comes to surface, in these approaches relate primarily to the criteria by which attempted the periodisation. In this case using the *ethnocultural background criterion* we can identify two main periods:

The first period of integration, which was formally known as the *Repatriate Greek Students*, was defined as the arrangement of students who were either culturally related or similar to Greeks. It commenced in the 70's from the period of military Junta (fall of Junta) up until the end of 1980's, along with the consequences of the Berlin wall and end of the Cold War.

The second period of integration, which commenced in 1990 till the present day, arranged the integration and assimilation of students with a different cultural and ethnic background altogether.

It is obvious that the two methods of integration would differ. In the first case the Greek government and educational system had to deal with people of the same origin, even though, there were cases where, nevertheless, deviated from the general cultural norm, attitudes and values. However, either they themselves or the Greek state did not perceived them as Others. In the second case, on the contrary, the government and political organisations needed to handle the ethnic "others" and therefore, to be faced with the ethnocultural difference.

1.1. The First Period of 1975-1990: The Inclusion of Repatriated Greeks (of the same Ethnic Background) into the Greek Society

The first period may be divided into two sub-periods or phases. During the first phase (1975-1980) they experienced a few educational and political conflicts which in turn required them to take on different measures, and as a result taking on a more "philanthropic" approach when assessing these types of students, which also included giving them more time for their study requirements (Damanakis, 1997, 57). Some of the measures were, special consideration when being assessed, or undergo no assessment at all during the first two years of their studies in a Greek school, as well as special consideration during any introductory or entry exams. We do not have any related theoretical documentation that argues or rejects these practises, however, if one was to argue or question this, then, the obvious issues that would come to surface would have been regarding the credit of time and leniency given to this category of students.

The highly anticipated failure of these practises, in combination with two active developments, led the Ministry of Education to take on a series of compensative approach and measures that in turn, initiate the second phase of the first period (1980-1990).

The first development is related to the dramatic increase of the number of repatriated students of Greek origin during the first half of the 1980 decade. During the period 1980-1985 around 5.000 were enrolled in schools every year.

The second development is affected by Greece's inclusion to the European Union (then EOK). Greece was obliged to make amendments towards educational legislation and add to its policies the *Council's Guide of 25th July 1977* (77/486/EOK). This act was to ensure and overlook "the education of children of migrant workers."⁴

These measures are along the lines of a compensatory education and training and are materialized with the establishment and function of special Reception Classes and Private Tutoring Classes,⁵ in which these centres, aim at undertaking a comprehensive assessment and offer specialized classes, designed to facilitate transition to regular classrooms and smooth transition to the Greek language for these *Greek repatriated students*. (N.1404, article 45, par 1, FEK 173/24-11-1983). This aim is materialized, mainly, by intensive teaching and learning of the Greek language.

As mentioned earlier, around the same sub - period the policy *Council's Guide* 77/486/EOK merged with the Greek legislation PD 494 (FEK 186/27-12-1983). In conjunction with other reforms this aimed to ensure that "*the continuation and education of a repatriates' language and culture is integrated within the normal school curriculum, ensuring that students maintain their cultural identity as well as preparing their reinstatement at schools from their country of origin in the case of emigration.*" (PD 494/87, num 2 par. 2b). In this section it is noted that only students who originated from EU countries received this type of education, as opposed to students who originated from other countries.

The way these compensative measures were and are regulated for repatriated and foreign students were based on a silent hypothesis - acceptance, a common ground in the related European theoretical perspective as "the deficit hypothesis". According to this group it was believed that these types of students would be educationally disadvantaged due to the lack of knowledge and command of the Greek language, their migratory lifestyle and discontinuation of their schooling. This deficit must be compensated as soon as possible with educational measures.

Similar notions, attitudes and values regarding educational practices were pushed through to a degree regarding political and pedagogical logos as these were reported and publicised for instance the publication of the first interventional program which was financed by the Ministry of Education and UNESCO and was substantiated during the first half of the 1980's under the title

“The Reintegration of repatriated Students” (Gotovos, Marcou, 1984).

Unfortunately this assimilatory education of these students had as a consequence, among other things, the loss of the language that they carried with them from the country of origin, something that provoked a disagreement by their parents. After a series of pressures and demands, the Ministry of Education established two schools. The first school was established in Athens, in 1984⁶ a school specifically for students from English speaking countries and the second school was established in 1985⁷ in Thessaloniki for students from German speaking countries (Kondoyianni, 1997 & 2002, and Damanakis, 1997).

The schools’ curriculum had a bilingual character. These programs were designed to help non-native Greek speakers become bilingual and bicultural and slowly make their transition into the Greek educational system and society a smooth one. As lucrative and effective this bilingual system may have seemed, it also posed a few problems and complexities later down the track, and, mainly, for the following reasons.

Initially, the Ministry of Education had adhered to listen and act upon the needs and demands of migrant parents, which were met. These parents however, felt the need to push for additional initiatives and practises that would initiate their children’s opportunities for higher education by being assessed through special examinations. The Ministry of Education did not respond to their second demand and in conjunction to the increase of numbers of students during the 1990’s this resulted in the re-establishment and re-naming of the schools to *Schools of Intercultural Education*.

From a theoretical point of view, especially during the 80’s it was criticized and argued that these schools had the tendency to juxtapose, marginalize and isolate students by freezing them into ethnocentric identities, a major set back in helping them become successful and confident members of the Greek society.

However, the real underlying issue behind all these developing matters and disputes between the Parent’s Council and Ministry of Education is how these opposing issues on the *difference* were going to be *calculated, engrossed and handled*. This amounted to a series of discussions amongst Greek social scientists specifically during the 1990’s, when in fact this *special consideration and handling* did not apply solely to repatriated Greek students, but also to groups and people from different countries.

After a close evaluation of the period (1975-1990) one can easily see that Greece’s main political educational focus around that time was to structure and organise effective integrated - educational programs for Greek repatriated students. These measures, as mentioned earlier had a compensatory character.

According to special scientists they were, beyond a shadow of a doubt, perceived as imperative, crucial and effective for the needs of these students and were identified with the country's educational trend at the time. Having said this we all know that the main educational trend in Europe and America during the 60's and 70's embraced the whole notion of rights *and equality in opportunities*, which is what the educational system in Greece tried to achieve when the trend finally reached Greece.

This trend along many political matters, were put on a stand still during the Junta occupation. This educational trend influenced the Greek education system overall as well as the developments and re-structuring of programs implemented in 1975 and 1985 such as the language reform(establishing of Demotiki), abolishing entry exams from Primary school to High school and later on from High School to Upper secondary education (Lyceum). The main goals and objectives of these adjustments was to provide a more democratic education for everyone with a particular focus on social cohesion, social inclusion and respect for human rights, and, in this context, pay special attention to the democratic governance of educational institutions, especially the schools for repatriated Greek students, which sought out to amalgamate these students educationally and socially into the Greek society. There compensatory/special measures included in-class support and intensive Greek language lessons. The schools' focus was to establish a positive learning environment where the unification amongst these *special* students was acknowledged and celebrated, thus allowing students to demonstrate their knowledge in a variety of ways and easing their transition into Greek culture and society.

The national identity of these *diverse* students is not perceived as different from educational factors and also from special scientists' point of view and consequently it is not legislated nor is it discussed on a theoretical level. The Greek government and the education system have no reason whatsoever to question or doubt the homogeneity and national identity of these students because these repatriated students are of Greek origin and want to be integrated into the Greek society. The issue regarding the handling and categorisation of these students however, changed drastically upon the mass entry of foreign immigrants and their families in Greece.

1.2. Second Period, 1990 and Hereafter: Perception and Management of Ethno-Cultural Difference

Let us clarify the term ethno-culturalism. Conversely, ethno-culturalism might be portrayed as the collection of people with identities towards communities which are naturally expressed in language, race or religion and socially

constructed by the very individuals that belong to a given nation as opposed to members of a society whom despite sharing the same country of origin, seem to have different cultural differences i.e. Cretans, Pontians, Epirotans.

When we are looking at areas with a high level of immigration, people with ethno-cultural identities are already a part of the community and understand the social systems and therefore do not demand special consideration or bisection claims.⁸ In a case however, where ethno-cultural identity is considered a sovereign and unique element of cultural identity for an immigrant who lives in the frame of a multi-cultural society in an organized national state, then the dangers of socio-cultural intensities and conflicts between the majority and immigrants are high.

The mass entry of immigrants in Greece after 1990 had as a consequence a large number of multi-national students enrolling into various schools around the country, a fact that changed the country's national, social and educational needs. The educational measures that were mentioned earlier applied to foreign students, at least up till 1996, where the bill 2413/96 (FEK 124, vol. A'17-6-1996) was voted in, pertaining to Greek education abroad and intercultural education in Greece. In chapter I of this bill and under the title *Intercultural Education* it is attempted the enactment of the frame regarding the education of young persons *with educational, social, cultural and learning particularities* (article 34, par. 1).

1.2.1. How are Drafts of Laws Voted?

Keeping in mind that the main focus of this study lays between the relationship of political and scientific perspective/logos, it is important that we therefore take as an example Law 2413/96 and attempt to describe how political and scientific approach is incorporated within the framework of a committee experts.

The adjudication and legislation of the Law 2413/96 has a long and interesting history itself and would require a whole research study just on this topic alone. Records indicate that the first government attempts towards this bill began under the New Democracy government and were finally completed in 1996 under the PASOK government.

In this study we will closely look at the chapter 10 (I) of this Law, which aims towards "Intercultural Education." Chapter 10 was inserted in the bill for Greek education abroad, because during the period 1990-95 the Greek education scene transfigured mainly within the Greek Primary school sector. Statistics show that the number of repatriated students in primary and secondary education, in the school year 1995-96 numbered to a total of 27.161 persons and the number of foreign students totalled to a number of 14.015 persons. The increasing number

of foreign students was even more evident and confirmed, especially towards the year 2000. Statistics show that in the year 2006/2007 the number of foreign students enrolled in both levels of education was 94.458 and just 16.782 were repatriated students. Furthermore, in 2007 the number of foreign students (foreign as in administrative term), that were enrolled in the Primary sector were 54.415 students and 40.043 in the Secondary sector (30.607 in Gymnasium, and 9.436 in Lyceum). These numbers correspond to 9.3 % of the total student population that completed the 9 year obligatory education (www.ipode.gr, entry date 11-3-2009). During the mid 90's therefore, on the basis of these developments, a second Committee of Experts emerged alongside the Committee that had already overlooked the bill for *Greek education abroad*, and their main objective was to focus on the framework of "Intercultural Education" in Greece.

The terms "*intercultural education*," "*intercultural training*" and "*curricula interculturalisation*" had been used and implemented for the first time in Greece during the mid 80's (Damanakis 1987). Following on in the 1990's, these terms are used in a more topical manner and the term intercultural education is generalized without having its real meaning clarified. And even today, the term *intercultural education* is used to describe the educational situation and as synonym of intercultural theory. In addition, the term *intercultural* seems to be confused with the term *multicultural education*. This ambiguity between the two terms is mainly due to the fact that intercultural education is not a term commonly used in Anglo-Saxon countries as opposed to multicultural education and despite their similar connotations for they both have different educational approaches. Therefore, in the 1990's, this complexity demanded for changes. Members of the Committee had to make adjustments within the legislative framework regarding *intercultural education* in Greece.

The key term in Chapter 10 is documented as *cultural particularity* or otherwise known as *cultural difference*, a theoretical issue the Committee had to face regarding this educational intervention. Questions posed were, for example, about the perception and management of *the cultural diversity* amongst foreign students or otherwise students from migrant families, whose presence in society led to the bill preparation. In this bill however, there was no specific classification for the minority group of students but rather a more general classification was used, *the students with educational, social, and cultural or learning particularities* (bill. 2413/96, article 34, par 1). Under the law 2413/96 anyone from a different cultural background could be integrated within the education system and as we will see further on, alongside these repatriated students and foreign students from migrant families, Muslim and Roma people were added into the equation.

The two theoretical approaches that were discussed and underlined regarding this framework amongst the members of the Committee were as follows:

There is a cultural diversity which deserves to be developed and enhanced. School programs and aides need to be implemented and integrated in schools, either in the public or private sector, to ensure that this preservation of cultural attitudes and values is successfully confronted. School establishments and other organizations such as bodies of local government, church institutions and philanthropic associations of non profitable character may also contribute to this (Law 2413/96, article 35 par. 4).

The second approach relates to the awareness of this cultural diversity which need to be addressed amongst the minority groups themselves if they wish so. The offer of this option by the state actually means more democracy in education. Due to this aim the state provides opportunities within the main stream education, not in separate schools.

As we can see above, these two approaches have some common aspects between them, however, a few philosophical differences are also highlighted.

According to the first approach we can say that cultural distinctiveness is both a starting point and a goal so the bearer may rely on that clue, or may instrumentalize this distinctiveness, in order to seek and organize a separate education for their children. It is exactly the same point of view which was discussed at the same time by the Parent Committee of the Schools for repatriated students and it was pretty much known to the members of the Committee of Experts.

Hence, since these students, of repatriated parents, had separated schools, then what says foreign immigrant students couldn't have effective separated education also.⁹

In the second theory, despite the recognition of the *difference* there are no means or advances around this concept, therefore, separate schools for foreign immigrants are not established, but their integration into mainstream schooling is promoted. Their reasoning was that rather than separating these students into special schools it would be best to promote this social integration in hope that it would increase social cohesion and acknowledge the contributions migrants can make towards society. And what better way to promote this than through education. By doing this, mainstream schooling would be enhanced and through this approach the problems of ethnic divisions and separatisms amongst people in a community would be diminished.

Therefore the Chapter 10 of the Law 2413/96, which refers to the first

approach was drawn up, considering its objectives and targets were politically, theoretically parallel to the Ministry of Educations' ethos.

2. The Law 2413/96: its philosophy and implementation¹⁰

The key term of the Law 2413/96 was defined as *cultural particularities*. Its framework underlined its legal obligations to establish and operate special public or private schools known as *Intercultural Schools*. The overall co-ordination and solidarity of these schools were to be overlooked by the newly developed organization, the *Institute of Education for the Greeks of Diaspora and Intercultural Education* (Law 2413/96 article 5). During the same period a new position is established within the Ministry of Education, the *Special Secretariat for Intercultural Education* (Y.A ST5/11/6-3-1995, FEK171/18-3-1996). Alongside the already grounded and operating organizations such as the Pedagogical Institute, and Special Secretariat of Primary and Secondary Education, a few other organizations emerged which aimed at initiating these cultural differences and particularities through policies and practices.

It is obvious that this concept of individual differences is pluralized within the social and educational perimeter, as we have on the one hand, migrants with their cultural differences, and on the other hand Greek citizens Roma, as well as Thracian Greek Muslim minority for example, with their own particularities. So the question that generated a great deal of discussion was how the bill was going to be successfully implemented to meet the particularities of these culturally different groups. The transubstantiation of the bill into the implementation of educational policies was incarnated via the so called Programs of Intercultural Education. The Ministry of Education in its implementation of Law 2413/96 included as part of the mission for Intercultural Education, along the B' Supportive Community Based Framework, four new programs under the title "*Programs for Intercultural Education*." The first program aimed at the education of repatriated and foreign students, the second for the education of Muslim children, the third programs' intention was the integration of gypsies (Roma) and the fourth, the education of Greek students in the Diaspora.

The categorization of these diverse Groups in Greece as well as the organization of these relative interventional and supported programs were not made exclusively with the criteria of their cultural particularities but other considerations were taken into account as well. Among Muslim children it was important that their specific religious particularities and the fact that they belonged to a minority group of people (minority status), had to be taken into consideration.¹¹ In the case of foreigners (meaning children from migrant families), their legal and social rights

prevailed, given the fact that they make up the majority group of people, whereas for gypsy children, their social integration was taken into consideration. Everyone however is legally represented under the umbrella of *Intercultural Education* because Law 2413/196, article 34, par. 1 states the right of their inclusion. The way cultural, or more precisely intercultural particularities, are assessed under certain political criteria is evident in the case for Muslim minorities of Thrace. Pomaks and Roma are not considered as people with linguistic and intercultural particularities and therefore are “equalized” with the Turkish decent group.

The situation, from a political perspective, regarding the education of Muslim students is a delicate one considering it brushes upon the relative conventions between Greece and Turkey (Treaty of Lausanne and educational protocol 1968) and is enhanced through the existing political framework of education and practice where the issues regarding education are referred to between the Greek government, an elite of Turkish decent within the minority in Thrace and Turkey. According to Gotovo’s analysis (2007), this situation is referred to as “*minority nationalism*” and as a response to this the Greek government adopts a policy of “*educational appeasement*”. Within this conflicting framework came upon the establishment of a new program called Program for the Education of Muslim Students (PEMS) and may it be pointed that this program was designed only to assist the Greek linguistic component of their education, for it was noted from the administrators themselves, who were well informed of the conflicts and frictions regarding this issue, (Dragona, Fragoudaki, 2007, 21), that the Turkish linguistic component was to be administrated by Turkey with the collaboration the elite of the minority in Thrace.

An interesting observation to make here, from a pedagogical point of view, is that despite the initial subtlety of the issue regarding the minority group and the provisions’ language intervention regarding the teaching of the Greek language only, it was still nevertheless, regarded as part of the Intercultural Teaching Framework. And the question raised was for example, could this segregated education of the Muslim minority of Thrace be considered as an Intercultural one. The same question was raised regarding the “Polish Intercultural School” in Athens, as well as most of the Intercultural schools in Athens and Thessaloniki (former Schools for Repatriates). Interesting to note that the majority of students are no longer students of repatriated families but that of foreign migrants from different nations.¹²

The answer to the above question is given from two perspectives, a superficial or communicative one and a theoretical one.

From a communicative perspective the term *Intercultural* embodies the inter-

relationships between the diversity of communities, the education of migrants and the comprehension of the cultural diversity in current society, as well as the notions of the need for communication between persons from different cultures, to be seen as move, at least rhetorically, towards understanding globalisation and with this full conception what would be promoted is the democracy of education amongst people where wealth, race or gender is not a factor of division. It is a term which is perceived as an impressive one, one that synthesizes important pedagogical and social principles, avoids social prejudices, recognises and promotes equality of rights and equity, giving it a more politically correct impression. The historical roots of human rights in education and the equality of education in Europe were conceptualized and became a reality in the late 1980's with the ideal of Intercultural Education and Training.¹³ Therefore, the integration of this pedagogical framework from a political perspective and its application towards the education of other multicultural minorities and cultural groups was highly anticipated.

From a pedagogical perspective, however, the above question is a bit more complex since Interculturalism does not revolve around pedagogical theory only, but is expanded across the general social spectrum of education and amongst other social sciences.

3. The Intercultural Pedagogical Logos and its Relationship with Educational Politics

3.1. The Outsets and the First Implementations in Europe

Whether disaggregated educational approaches could be considered as intercultural education one needs to reflect on its origins and its development in Europe, particularly around central Europe and Northern countries where these countries were mainly affected by the major migratory waves after World War, II.

It is fair to say then, that this intercultural approach to education was a response to the major challenges these countries faced with, such as ethnic diversity and the integration of migrants, and not limited only in the field of education, the students of foreign migrants from different nationalities, which needed to be organised. Particularly during the 60's and 70's, so much was the focus on the integration of these students, that it became a rather controversial topic from an educational and political point of view and as a result, a new educational policy was developed especially for these students, known as *The Pedagogy of Foreigners* (Ausländerpädagogik). This educational approach with regard to intercultural education had a clear compensatory character for these

particular students, who were placed in the *special consideration (deficit hypothesis)* group category, which we mentioned earlier on in this study.

What followed, in response to this educational, political and pedagogical policy, were a few inherent tensions. However, with the dynamic interchange of a few programs funded by UNESCO, the Council of Europe and the Committee of European Union (then EEC)¹⁴ in the mid 70's, and in conjunction to the already existing policy, they initiated the policy's name change from *Pedagogy of Foreigners* to *Intercultural Education*, and the grouping of migrant students from the *hypothesis of deficit* to the *hypothesis of differences*. Therefore, according to the new idea students, who lacked knowledge of the language for example, were not considered as students with a deficit but rather students with special differences. The new hypothesis is not altogether immune of the deficit logic, nor is the difference accepted automatically, as an advantage. With these changes to the educational curriculum and classification of groups of students this still raised a few concerns, not in a negative way but becomes a topic of conversation on many levels, socially, politically and epistemologically.

So, the term *different* and other words with common element such as, otherness, particularity and diversity, were key terms used for this new educational approach that challenged the field of education and continued to grow, especially in the 80's, due to the flow of migration, which according to Frenchman Louis Porcher (1981,1984), German Manfred Hohmann (1983, 1989), profoundly affected education¹⁵ (Porcher 1981, 37 and Hohmann 1989, 15 ch.3). Both believed that this educational approach (intercultural pedagogical perspective - Porcher, intercultural education - Hohmann) was a bridge towards this multicultural pool that was circling European societies and shifted the term from Multicultural to Intercultural education, as it precisely defined this intertwining of cultures and the recognition of differences. Hohmann's (1989, 16) theoretical beliefs were defined in three categories: a) meeting of cultures (cultural encounters) b) the solving of conflicts around the integration of cultures c) cultural exchanges and enrichment.

Conflicts such as prejudices and stereotypes can be, on a social level, reasons for the conflicts amongst people when new cultures emerge due to mass migration. Hohmann (1989, 15), underlines two educational trends around this theoretical belief which could help in assisting these conflicts. The first one was named *Begegnungspädagogik* (Education of Cultural Encounters) and the second *Konfliktpädagogik* (Education of Conflicts). The second ideology is not fully developed in most parts of Europe except in England where planning and implementation of school-based anti-racism education projects is of high priority

and with the exception of a few Central-Northern European countries.

This *cultural enrichment*, which stems from the interaction and inter-twining of cultures, known as “the hypothesis of cultural enrichment”, is what opened the doors towards Intercultural Education which is identified as coeducation. This fusion of cultures within a school environment needs to be “*authentically represented*” and can be done so by the implementation of a carefully planned intercultural program where students can understand and acknowledge these differences (Boos-Nünning et al. 1983, 362).

Intercultural education is identified as coeducation which means, *equal education for all*. This was clearly mentioned in the Swann Report, which was put together and published in England in the early 1980’s. Lord Swann, the president of the Committee, stated, in his updated version of the report, that “Awareness is the most integral part of any change and the question as to, how is the education system going to educate students from ethnic minorities, was that needed speculation, however, the real challenge was how was the education system going to address the needs of *all students*.” (Swann Report 1985, 10).

3.2. Applications in Greece

We mentioned earlier, the *separate education* program was the program practised in minority schools of Thrace, the Polish school, and the former Schools for Repatriates, where students with a migratory background were enrolled. The answer to the question as to whether this type of educational approach was Intercultural, was a negative one, and the only reason why it was included under the umbrella of Interculturalism, was due to two main developments that were emerging at the time which left Greece open to examine this relevant issue regarding education.

During the mid 80’s and especially during the early 90’s, the term *difference*, the core element behind intercultural education did not only refer to the difference among migrants but also the ethno-cultural diverse people and other groups which resulted to the provisional name change from Intercultural Education to *Education of Diversity* (Pädagogik der Vielfalt).¹⁶

The concrete attempts in addressing the *recognition of differences* and the *equal opportunity with recognition of difference* subsequently affected the social and political movements of the time thus, becoming a major critical topic that was expanded by social scientists and philosophers.¹⁷ This resulted to the development of the theoretically and epistemologically based analytical programs and tools that were used towards the understanding and the cultivation of a positive attitude towards the values of a diverse communal life with its dissimilarities and differences.

Programs and initiatives through such an educational system, where these differences and particularities were on a social and communicative level rightfully acknowledged and owned. Based on this principle and logic Intercultural Education, its content and its organizational structure, was adjusted accordingly because there were many different approaches towards Intercultural Education. Any new approach was closely analysed in Greece and was connected to some type of political activism.¹⁸

Another reason that makes the education of the immigrants a goal of intercultural pedagogical approach is that this approach emerged, through migration environments and multicultural conditions. Therefore immigrants can not be outside the scope of this approach whether they co-existed and co-educated with the dominant group or they are in a ghetto.

Therefore, the Intercultural Schools where students of immigrant or Roma only families graduated from, they actually do not provide intercultural education and training as such, but they are themselves a case study for Intercultural Education

The education of the Muslim minority in Thrace was also a different case. The education of this minority group in regards to intercultural education was to be speculated because this wider audience of people, each with their own religious, cultural, language and socio-economic dispositions needed to be educated. However, this intercultural approach was not the best solution at the time because politically the education of the Muslim minority or anything pertaining to them was, to a degree, a very controversial matter and therefore programs to function towards this minority were not developed as such to deal with these frictions. In other words, initiatives towards intercultural education had its limits and boundaries.¹⁹ This Intercultural approach has, to a degree, an element of weakness as it presupposes what it aims to achieve. It aims at peaceful coexistence, interaction and mutual enhancement within a multicultural society. However, good will is required for coexistence and interaction from both sides as well as a minimum of consent and peace in order to safeguard cultural coexistence. The actualization of such an aim is very difficult, if not impossible.

All the intercultural programs and activities mentioned aim to develop, through education and meetings, an understanding of other cultural traditions and ways of life, to extend knowledge of fundamental human and civil rights and to make the addressees capable of developing humanitarian and democratic values. Intercultural and democratic skills, peace and understanding are mutually dependent in this respect and can only be successfully accomplished if the parties involved contribute and political efforts are reciprocated.

What is important to remember here is that this particular minority in Thrace was not assimilated because of migration, but due to the pressing political and historical circumstances that revolved around the birth of the two states. So, up until today Intercultural Education had not formed models of training that could be implemented into schools that operate within a national state (state of subordination, according to Gotovos, 2007) for these recognized minorities, which are under the influence of another national state (state of reference) or would rather use an elite which functions as an “extended hand” of a national state of reference. Hence, the political decision to incorporate the education of Muslim students under the umbrella of Intercultural Education was not an issue that was theoretically, educationally and politically emancipated from confabulation.

The incorporation of minority education under the umbrella of Intercultural Education was favored by the Law 2413/96, which according to one of its policies the establishment of separate schools by “non profitable philanthropic organizations” were permitted (B.2413/96, art 35, par 4). In other words, amidst this invocation of cultural “diferences,” what was being legalized was the operation of parallel school networks for culturally different people.

The particular engagement towards *difference* (see chapter 1.2.1), it’s institutional consolidation and by law implementation allowed for the development of educational means to support ethnic or/and national, cultural and religious minorities whilst weakening the coeducation within the mainstream schooling frameworks.

In light of this, what were financed by the 2nd and 3rd Social Support Services (1997-2008) were the three programs mentioned earlier. The integration of repatriated, migrants and Roma students and the education of Muslim students. These actions would in time, transubstantiate the law into a formal educational practice. The funding of these interventional programs for either group took a conscious effort in the 90’s, mainly because of the lack of resources, knowledge and experience at the time. However, the funding of these novel programs and the promotion of scientific researches in the field, aimed towards domestic epistemological research and knowledge.

3. Assessment and Prospects

What should have happened after the funding of these programs, in August 2008, and from what it seems, still remains incomplete, is the assessment of these programs which would have resulted to a more increasing schematic awareness of this approach, which can be driven through the results of these assessments.

On that note we will end this study and sum up everything that has been mentioned so that we are clear and have understood the timing within which we find ourselves.

During the period 1975-1990 the composition of Greek society had changed drastically due to the migration of repatriated Greeks, mainly from the United States, Canada, Australia and Europe, as well as from areas around the Black Sea and broader Caucasus area to Greece. With the understanding that the majority of these people had children who did not acquire Greek language skills and were therefore disadvantaged socially and linguistically and needed a smooth transition into the Greek system, compensatory measures were required, such as the Reception Classes, Tutorial Courses for the teaching and learning of the Greek language. It was a way to successfully assist these students in achieving this transition, educationally and socially. Because the said population consisted of conationals, willing to join the national mainstream, their cultural distinctiveness was not considered by them as an ethnic or national difference. And as we previously pointed out the national state and its educational system didn't have any reason to worry about their homogeneity and identity.

In 1989 however the situation changed as Greece faced a never known before migration challenge. Migrants from Balkan, African and Asian countries sought refuge, for the inclusion which Greece is still seeking a persuasive and a functional proposal.

Faced with this increasing and changing diversity, Greek society and state along with previous experience with the integration of repatriated Greeks and the law already in legislation 2413/96, they were able to quickly respond to this pressing matter and expressing the need of intercultural approach to education. The most important advancement made by the Ministry of Education made after the enactment of the Law 2413/96, was the funding of the previous mentioned programs, the three intercultural educational programs that would in time, make the term *intercultural education* materialize into an actual formal educational practice. These programs, which in fact required a great deal of organization and the input of copious amounts of time only known to the developers themselves, operated for 10 years. There were, unfortunately, no holistic picture and supervision concerning their effectiveness, since no assessments have been made that would have been indicative towards the effectiveness. This practice is theoretically inconsistent with the ethos of international practice. According to the results of these novel programs, which would have been assessed by external evaluators, and in turn the results would be utilized in the consolidation of Greece's political approach towards education.

Following the next twelve years, what contributed to this problematic relationship between politics and scientific considerations in Greece, was lack or no evaluation and overall assessment of these programs, as well as programs that were funded in within the framework of the Operational Program of Education and Initial Occupational Training (known as ΕΠΕΑΕΚ). The difficulty here from a pedagogical perspective is that Greece has not developed a political culture that supports the amalgamation of political and pedagogical perspective and therefore comes as no surprise that politicians seem blase and unmoved by the results of the educational and researching programs they initially funded in the first place.

All the same, this non evaluation and lack of assessment of the Intercultural Educational Programs along with the application of the Law 2413/96, is what contributed to the structural organization and implementation of the three programs mentioned earlier, in 2010. This development on the one hand, supported the ad hoc political view which was the categorization of each group individually, and on the other, opened doors of opportunities for mainstream schooling to progress and advance and find its rightful place in education and not left around the outskirts of this complex yet fascinating spectrum.

The assessment of educational and immigratory policies of Greece, in general, and the continuation, improvement or change in politics constitute currently objectives of paramount importance, given that Greece is going to enter in a new period. This new period can be characterized mainly by two developments: firstly from the dynamic effects of the Law 3838/2010's policies regarding the issuing of Greek citizenship to immigrants and their children, and secondly, from the fact that Greece is perceived as the number one "country of entry" for immigrants.

NOTES

1. Regarding the latest developments we have indicatively provided studies which have been uploaded on the IMEPO website on www.imepo.gr in the studies by Fakiolas 1994 and Fakiolas, King 1996 as well as in EKE's 2003 special bibliographical edition.
2. The constitution of the beneficiary to the public institution EYIAPPOE was formed with PD 13/90 (FEK 782/1990) but it was settled under the Act 3072/2002.
3. See acts a) 2910/01 (FEK 91/02.05.2001) Entry and residence of foreigners in Greek society. The establishment of Greek Citizenship and other provisions b) 338/05 (FEK 212/23.08.2005), Entry, residence and social integration of Third Country (non - EU) citizens in Greek society.

4. The Guide act refers to three main topics a) the obtainment of free education and placement, addressing students' induction into the education system, b) the initial and the on going training of the teachers of those students and c) the teaching of the native language and the culture of their country.
5. The most integral part of these learning centers was to design and facilitate the right aides and classes to establish a positive learning environment. They were therefore divided into two levels, Reception Class (RC) I and II. Students in RC I need to follow this special program for one year whilst simultaneously following a few of the mainstream subjects that are taught in regular classrooms without too much emphasis given on the native language (Greek). Students in RC. II, are students who are placed into normal/mainstream classes, depending on their age and level and remain there up to three years. The main objective of RC I is to provide comprehensive and effective programs for migrant children/families. In order for an RC I class to operate the minimum requirement is nine students. If there are over 17 students, then a second IC I class is organized. Tutoring Classes operate "out of school" hours and three students are required to attend in order for a group to emerge. Any more than eight students qualify for the generation of a second group/class.
6. Presidential Decree 435/84, FEK 154, vol. A' 10-10-1984.
7. Presidential Decree 369/85, FEK. Let it be noted that these types of schools had already occurred since 1974, with the establishment of "Gymnasium for migrant Greeks" a high school, which aimed at ensuring Greek attitudes and values and its Christian culture is embedded to for the Greeks of Diaspora through their education. (N.D 339/74, FEK61/11.3.1974 and P. D. 339/74).
8. In regards to this complex issue you may see our reports analytically regarding the ethno-cultural identity/Greek identity in the Greek Diaspora. (Damanakis, 2007, esp. chapter 7).
9. This awareness played a critical role even for the Polish community in Athens, who had established and still maintain their own ethnic school since 1997.
10. When we are referring to the implementation of bills, we mean the measures Ministry of Education has to make in order for the educational legislations to be transubstantiated and applied in educational policy. This means the analysis of the particular procedures that happen between legislation and its application to educational policy and it does not, at any given point, involve the actual educational practice. Furthermore, we would like to point out that here we are attempting to intra-connect the perspective politics of education (legislation and application) with pedagogical theory.
11. As we will see further on, the *minority* status affects the politics of education and may in fact become an "obstacle", preventing a cultural encounter.
12. The same *question* can be raised regarding the unmixed Greek Schools in Germany

which despite their non affiliation with Intercultural education are included in the bill 2413/96. May it be reminded that with the bill 2413/96 former Schools for Repatriated students were re-named to Intercultural Schools. In addition to this many other intercultural government schools were established. According to IPODE. (www.ipode.gr, date of entry 30.3.09) 24 government schools of intercultural education operated during the school years 2008/09, 12 Primary schools, 8 Gymnasiums and 4 Lyceums.

13. This intercultural pedagogical idea was finally acquired within the space of 15 years, something fairly logical, considering that the majority of migrants who entered Greece did so in the beginning of the 1990's.
14. Documents regarding these programs can be viewed in Boos Nünning et al. 1983, Council of Europe 1983, Porcher 1981 and Jones, Kimberly 1986.
15. We make reference to these two social scientists, or more specifically pedagogues /educators, because they influenced the programs drawn by the Greek Committee and the Committee of EOK. Along with some co-workers they revolutionized this trend called Intercultural Education. As for our choices in bibliography we have limited them to older sources as we are trying to reflect on the history and first implementation of Intercultural Education, its foundation and reasons for its development and its connection to the education of students with immigrant background, the key focus of our study.
16. The term is a title of one of the most important monographies in the German language field. In this monography and under the title *Pädagogik der Vielfalt*, three pedagogical trends are analyzed: the Intercultural Education, Feministic Education and Special Education. The last term refers to Special education of children with disabilities in normal schools (Prengel 1995).
17. Let it be reminded that in 1992 the monography of Charles Taylor with the title *Multiculturalism and the "The politics of Recognition"* was published in Canada. It referred to the *recognition* of the French Canadians' differences and their ethnic identities and indirectly granting them the right to secession from the Canadian Federal Government.
18. The assessment and overall development of the intercultural approach in Greece is itself a very complex and special issue, which we are not able to even indicatively cover, which is the reason as to why we have not referred to its Greek bibliography in this study. Doing so could have resorted to erroneous misconceptions regarding various writers/authors.
19. More examples regarding the limits and the boundaries that revolve around situations of conflict have been discussed, as for example the situation with Cyprus (Damanakis, 2002).

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Intercultural Education: A Vehicle for the Ethnicization of Educational Policy in Greece?

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RÉSUMÉ

Dans cet article l'auteur discute et évalue la situation de l'éducation interculturelle en Grèce. Il mentionne que l'émergence de cet interculturelisme est apparu dans les années 1980, en premier lieu au niveau de l'analyse théorique et en deuxième lieu dans les années 1990 au niveau de la politique éducative, qui coïncidait avec l'arrivée d'une grande vague d'immigrants de l'ex-Union soviétique et des Balkans. L'auteur conclut que si les dirigeants politiques en Grèce, ont sincèrement l'intention d'aborder la question de la cohésion sociale et la diversité culturelle de ses citoyens, alors il doivent chercher à le faire par le renforcement des valeurs démocratiques d'égalité, de justice et de solidarité, car ces valeurs garantissent le droit de tous les citoyens, mais aussi le droit des groupes culturels à sauvegarder des éléments importants de leur culture tout en participant à la culture commune.

ABSTRACT

In this article the author discusses and evaluates the situation of intercultural education in Greece. He mentions that the emergence of this interculturelism appears at first in the 1980s at the level of theoretical analysis and later in the 1990s at the level of educational policy, coinciding with the arrival of a large wave of immigrants from the former Soviet Union and from the Balkans. The author concludes that if the political leadership in Greece, sincerely intends to address the issue of social cohesion and diversity of its citizens, then it should seek to do so by strengthening democratic values of equality, justice and solidarity, since these will assure the right of all citizens, but also the right of cultural groups to preserve important elements of their culture while participating in the common culture.

1. Introduction

The challenge facing Greece in the 21st century is the development of a democratic framework of social and cultural values that meets the needs and

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aspirations of all citizens and one equivalent to a European and global level.¹ The accession of Greece to the European Union, constantly reminds us that we are all "ethnic" and that world heritage is not solely the work of a single people. The opportunities for intercultural dialogue among ethnocultural groups and the growing need for cultural tolerance, based on the understanding and recognition of cultural differences, constitute major challenges to education and society. The inclusion and the participation of 'others' in the economic, social, political and cultural life of modern societies raises the issue of citizen participation in general and the possibilities arising from it, at a time when abstinence and indifference characterise increasingly larger sections of society in modern representative democracies.²

The last thirty years, at least, have been marked by the beyond the boundaries phenomenon³ in the areas of economy, society and politics, hence, undermining peace and democracy. With reference to the beyond the boundaries global capital which is only interested in its own immediate profit, K. Tsoukalas states that: "*As modern Attilas, the venture capitalists-investors can now move freely within a boundary less and non-border restrictions 'desolate country', attacking, invading for profit, 'laundering', abstracting and seizing wealth, destroying, plundering, liquidating and then departing... while simply gazing indifferently at the carnage accumulated in their path*".⁴ In a similar way, Stephane Hessel,⁵ in his latest book titled "Indignez Vous!", underlines that the power of money has never been so limitless, insolent and selfish, reaching even the upper echelons of the state. The disparity between the rich and the poor has never been so deep and the pursuit of money has never been so hallowed. He comes to the conclusion that we live in an era of global dictatorship of financial markets, undermining peace and democracy.

It seems that increasingly, more and more people are beginning to realise that globalization, which is based on the neoliberal model of growth, has increased inequality, has shattered social cohesion, abolished social achievements, created insecurity and uncertainty without ensuring stability. The recent riots in the Arab world are further confirmation of the instability and uncertainty.⁶

The interest of intellectuals has always focused on democratic education. Truly convinced of the potential of education to contribute significantly to intercultural dialogue and to the development of democratic citizenship, they supported the development of culturally enriched schools, which could offer a democratic intercultural program where all children can learn from the wealth of societal diversity and where trends of balkanization and separation in modern societies can be ceased or even reversed. Schools can and should contribute substantially to the societal eradication of hubris (ὕβρις), from an arrogant past which continues to

affect us negatively, and restore social cohesion and solidarity through the reconfiguration of democratic values, of political and social equality and justice. Equality, a fundamental value of democracy, delineates a relationship in which man as a social being must be with others. It is not easy to discern the meaning and value of equality from the meaning and value of justice. Equality, as a means of identifying a particular type of relationship that exists between members of a whole is valued and pursued when it is just. A relationship of equality is pursued to the extent that it is deemed just, that is to say to the extent that it establishes or restores order and harmony between the parts of a whole. Equality has value to the extent that it constitutes a necessary condition for orderliness, for harmony between parts of a whole and for internal balance of a system characterized as just.⁷ In democracy, justice is depended on tolerance and tolerance is depended on the education of children who can understand and evaluate different forms of diversity without fearing them. The diversity which exists in schools is an excellent pedagogical teaching tool for cultivating the skills of understanding and assessing those cultural differences which are creative in nature for life in a multicultural society. Therefore, the discussion for interculturalism and intercultural education can not be limited to a discussion on cultural differences, but should include, in particular, discussions on democracy and citizenship in modern culturally heterogeneous capitalist societies.⁸

2. The Particularity of Interculturalism in Greece

The emergence of interculturalism in Greece is noted in the 1980's at the level of theoretical analysis and later in the 1990's at the level of educational policy, coinciding with the arrival of a large wave of immigrants from the former Soviet Union and from the Balkans.

At the level of pedagogical discourse,⁹ there is an attempt to identify the principles and the conceptual content of the intercultural approach and to stress the need for its adoption in Greek schools. Despite differences in the conceptualization of intercultural education, there is a consensus regarding its fundamental principle, namely that its scope extends to all students within a school unit, according to the belief that a good school is good for all its students, while a bad school, is bad for all students.

At the level of educational policy, the Law 2413/1996 acknowledges that multicultural Greek society and intercultural education is adopted into the Greek educational system. Under the Law, the aim of intercultural education is the "organisation and operation of primary and secondary schools for the provision of education to young people with educational, social, cultural and learning

needs differences".¹⁰ In these schools, especially designed curricula with additional or alternative courses can be implemented. By Ministerial approval and following joint consultations between local and regional educational authorities and the IPODE (The Institute for the Education of Greeks Abroad and Intercultural Education), it is possible for schools to be able to:

1. convert state schools to schools for intercultural education
2. establish classes for intercultural education in state schools
3. establish intercultural schools under the auspices of local government authorities, the church and charitable non-profit organisations, and which may be funded from the Private Education Fund.¹¹

However, it is noted that the Law 2413/1996, although introduces intercultural education to Greece, contains inconsistencies and ambiguities and confusing directives referring to separate schools, classes or sections and addressing activities to students from linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds and not to all children within the school. Activities addressed *to all students* constitute the basic premise of the intercultural approach. According to the law, operators of any ethno-cultural, migration or other group can set up a charitable organisation or body and in turn demand the establishment and operation of a separate school for 'their' children.

The contradictions and the risk of a prevailing separatist logic and practice is noted by M. Damanakis when he stipulates that: "*The Law 2413/1996 also poses an imminent danger, namely the establishment of minority schools disguised behind the façade of intercultural education.*"¹² Damanakis further suggests that "*the contradictions in the law may be overcome during the process of its implementation, through the activation or non activation of the provisions that pose the risk of a 'separatist' education. In this way, the accentuation of the positive aspects of the law will solely depend on those who will implement it.*"¹³ Indeed, during the implementation of three programmes, enacted by the Ministry of Education to promote the new policy and the implementation of intercultural education in Greek schools, there was clearly a different approach adopted by the scientific leaders of the programmes.¹⁴ For a decade, from 1997 when the intercultural education programmes commenced, till 2007, the programmes for the 'Education of Returning Greek and Foreign Migrant Students' and the 'Education of Roma Children' implemented the intercultural education approach, while in the programme for the 'Education of Muslim Children' in Thrace, the ethnic - minority approach was applied. Given that the proponents for the ethnic - minority in education were the instigators of this legal provision favouring the establishment of ethnic minority schools, it is quite

difficult to find any support of the view expressed by M. Damanakis that "*the contradictions of the law reflect the theoretical deficit of the time.*"¹⁵ The ambiguity and the contradictions reflect a clear ideological stance of the instigators for this provision in the law for ethnic - minority schools and for obvious reasons covered it under the guise of intercultural education.¹⁶ Intercultural education can only exist in a democratic school that addresses all students, irrespective of ethnicity, race, gender and religion, as political and social equals. And as aptly noted by A. Gotovos, intercultural education can not exist in a political vacuum, "It requires a model citizen and a model relationship of the citizen to the state in which the person is a citizen of. A school program in which a citizen of the State - in this case the minority citizen - is presented as an extension of a people of another country, with specific mental, emotional and cultural commitments towards a third state, then, this is a pedagogical implementation of the ideology of minority ethnicism, and in no way can it be considered as intercultural education."¹⁷ The intercultural approach can be understood as a complex and essentially continuous negotiation between social groups for freedom, equality and justice. This can not occur by replacing one mono-cultural nation state with many others, as evinced in the case of separatist educational logic and practice. A democratic polity assumes the responsibility to foster in all its youth the necessary skills and competencies so that they may function successfully in a democratic society, and whose core values - political and social equality and justice - can be shared and identified with. Tolerance and recognition of cultural diversity, as basic principles of intercultural education can make a substantial contribution to the establishment of common cultural values, of mutual trust and solidarity between social groups and to the preservation of the unity of the nation state.

3. The Implementation of Differentiated Approaches to Interculturalism in Greece

From this point on, we will endeavour to present and analyse as much as it is possible in the present paper, the particular case of interculturalism in Greece through the description of the different approaches adopted by the leaders of the three previously mentioned programmes, with the purpose and expectation of shedding some light on what seems to be a rather unclear field regarding the intercultural approach, which, in terms of legislation, still constitutes the official educational policy of the Ministry of Education. The position advocated here is that in multicultural societies, intercultural education and democracy are complementary concepts, since one requires the other, hence the use of the word "democratic multicultural education" in this paper.

3.1. *The Intercultural Approach in the Programmes: "Education of Returning Greek and Foreign Migrant Students" and "Education of Roma Children"*

The understanding shared by the first leaders of the programmes for the 'Education of Returning Greek and Foreign Migrant Students' and the 'Education of Roma Children', G. Markou and A. Gotovos respectively,¹⁸ is that interculturalism can provide a framework of shared values within which different cultures coexist and interact. They do not however share the belief that the cultural groups that compose a society are homogeneous nor are they "sealed" so as to repel influences from other cultures, particularly from the national culture. Their main premise is that people are confronted with strong influences from the common national culture throughout the entire process of socialisation even if they retain strong ties to their group. This means that despite the existence of particular characteristics of different ethnocultural groups, all citizens of a distinct society share many common characteristics and values. The various ethnocultural groups can preserve their own cultural values, provided that they are congruent to the framework of common values such as political and social equality and justice, the Constitution and the laws of the State, providing evidence daily that it is a just state.

It is noted here, that the common cultural framework is considered dynamic and flexible having the capacity to adapt to existing and future multiculturalities of the population. This understanding of interculturalism, which treats cultural diversity as an asset, was adopted by the political leadership of the Ministry of Education and by the education community and was supported by a particular educational practice nationally in schools except for, notably, in the region of Western Thrace. For the leaders of the above mentioned programmes, the ethnic - minority education model is not democratically legitimised, that is, it can not be advocated on the basis of democratic principles, especially when the state finances or subsidises the operation of such schools. In multicultural settings, a democratic state has the responsibility to ensure that all citizens have access to intercultural education and take measures so as to avoid succumbing to pressures or becoming depended upon the generosity of any particular ethnic group agents and parents. Democratic education responds to cultural challenges of the various ethnocultural groups that make up society *by supporting intercultural dialogue* as a means of addressing differences, and *by providing a state education that can best educate all children as political and social equals*.¹⁹

In short, the educational challenge is for an education that assists all students to acquire knowledge and develop attitudes and skills necessary to function in

multicultural societies in both national and supranational settings. The development of students' ability to function in all environments and to identify all the common cultural expressions, requires an intercultural school curriculum that contributes to the shaping of a cultural identity and reflects the aspirations, hopes and opportunities for all citizens while at the same time promoting public interest. A curriculum that fosters social unity and reflects the cultural diversity within a just state and integrates all its citizens, from whom the state derives its legitimacy from. An emphasis on difference and the enhancement of the particular identity of various ethnic cultural groups within a society without activating the tools that promote social cohesion and unity, leads to the "balkanization" of the nation state. Social cohesion and unity is inextricably linked to the transformation and reproduction of society and has been addressed in the past through the acquisition of 'national collective identities' as unifying elements.²⁰ For the sake of general public interest, which is often accompanied by the promise or expectation of assured basic survival and prosperity, it is possible for individuals to identify with the wider group and to conform to the specific legal and social commitments. A contributing factor to this was the establishment and development of the welfare state that fostered, at least, for the majority citizens, a conviction that their 'best interests' are aligned with the promotion of social cohesion and solidarity and that the specific society can go on eternally without themselves having to be constantly vigilant and resistant to those forces which conspire against them.²¹ The dismantling of the welfare state once again raises the crucial issue of social cohesion and solidarity in neo-liberal democracies.

3.2. The Ethnic-Minority Approach in the Programme: "The Education of Muslim Children"

At the level of a theoretical pedagogical discourse, advocates of the ethnic-minority approach, hold the view that the nation state is made up of various ethnocultural groups (minorities-majority) who compete against each other for the promotion of their individual economic and political self interests and that, the inclusion of members of these ethnocultural groups into general society can be fully realised through the strengthening of the capacity of ethnocultural groups to negotiate their interests with the dominant group from a position of power.

Proponents of this perception invest in the 'difference' and over-emphasise what separates rather than what unites the various cultural groups within a society. According to K. Tsoukalas,²² the excessive accentuation and the unconditional and limitless projection of cultural difference pose a serious threat

by steering the discussions about diversity away from the issue of class and of the domination of the neo-liberal, self regulated market economy, which has resulted in a rapid growth of poverty and unemployment.

With reference to school education, proponents of the ethnic - minority education model argue that there are no common principles guiding state education for children and for this reason each ethnocultural group must decide for itself how to educate 'their' children. In other words, each group should have the right to choose the education that the children of this group will receive. They hold the belief that the state must maintain a neutral stance regarding the content of education and the teaching methodologies adopted in the education of the various ethnocultural communities and that the state must allocate resources equitably to the various models of education.

In the absence of the possibility of establishing a separate ethnic - minority school, then, extensive emphasis should be given to support programs for the development of the ethnic-minority identity and for mother tongue maintenance and bilingualism. The school curriculum, they argue, should take into serious consideration the diversity of the groups by accommodating within its framework, the learning styles, the history, the religion and the experiences of students from the various ethnocultural groups. The curriculum should also foster the development of the competencies and skills required for an individual to be able to function successfully in the context of the ethno-cultural group and to actively participate in its social activities, which in turn strengthen and highlight the group. Those who consider that the strengthening and the preservation of the identity of the ethnocultural groups is the primary purpose of education, in essence support an ethnic - minority model of education. While denouncing the monocultural nation state, proponents of the policies for identities use the term to support multi-separatism and ultimately the plethora of monocultural groups. Hence, policies for the recognition of identities adopt an approach of empowering each ethnocultural community to sustain linguistic and cultural particularities through the generations. The approach that perceives inequalities due to cultural differences and interprets them on the basis of ethnic - minority origins, is not only problematic from a scientific point of view but also complicates an existing difficult situation, as it further fuels conflict, chauvinism and hostility between ethnocultural groups and by propagating separatist practices.²³

Those responsible for the programme for the education of Muslim children, consistent with their ideological position of a separatist ethnic-minority education, align themselves with the leaders of the Muslim minority in Western Thrace who, in turn, claim to have the sole responsibility for the education of "their" own

children in regions with a predominate Muslim population (in the districts of Organi, Echinós, Gláfi, Thermi and Smithis, etc.).

The leaders of the programme for the education of Muslim children consider *“the request by the minority group leaders for a substantial increase in the number of minority secondary schools as both appropriate and equitable,”*²⁴ despite the fact that they themselves characterise these schools to be ghettos, and despite the considerable sums spent and that continue to be spent without substantial programme results.

However, they don't endorse the parallel request by the minority group leaders for the cessation of state schools in the previously mentioned regions in which they seemingly have sole responsibility of, arguing that this would be a violation of the democratic right of parental choice between public and minority school education. That is, the choice between two types of schooling, imposed on them without being able to have a say regarding the type of school and the content of the school curricula. Most notably, though, Muslim families from mixed settlements are recipients of various forms of pressure, ranging from informal social control and criticism, to the threat of enforcement or actual economic and other forms of sanctions, particularly towards 'non conforming' families- that is, towards those families that insist on enrolling their children in state schools. As A. Gotovos states *“...the fact remains that there exists systematically a strategic alignment of Muslim citizens towards the politically correct choice of the minority elite, a choice which not only omits to include any solutions to strategies of integration, but also, diachronically, is denounced as ‘assimilative’ or ‘of betrayal’ ”.*²⁵

Parental choice for minority schools is not solely due to the pressure exercised by the minority elite, but also as a consequence of the ideology of the Greek identity based on narrow religious criterion²⁶ and hence, noting, the inability of the Greek state school system to ensure political and social equality to all students and to include in the school curriculum the teaching of minority languages and aspects of culture and contributions from the various minority groups in the economic and cultural life of Western Thrace.

This shortcoming leads to question the legitimacy of the claim by state school education for the education of minority groups, especially when it is a conscious choice.²⁷ At this point, we need to stress the fact that the invocation of the right of parents to select for their children a school of their choice (parental choice) was the convincing factor on which the proponents of neoliberalism based their arguments on, so that neo-liberal educational policies such as those seen during the Thatcher Government in the UK and the Reagan administration in United States, could be accepted; policies which unfortunately, are still instigated today, in many countries.²⁸

It is difficult to comprehend any endorsement for the request of extending the provision of minority schools, despite the persistence of the minority leaders that these schools must "remain unchanged", when taking into consideration the concluding statements by the programme scientific leaders, that the minority school - ghetto "*confines the minority children... and increases their overall (geographic and social) segregation and alienation. Additionally, social fusing between minority and majority children is restricted, the encounter with the 'other' by both groups of children from an early age is obstructed, dual linguistic osmosis is thwarted, and the bridging of the gap between the two groups as a means of avoiding isolation, is averted.*"²⁹ It is acknowledged that the implementation of the principles of democratic isonomy by the state "*has cleared the pathway for minority communities to function as communities through the confrontation of ideas, the negotiation of specific social interests and through dialogue amongst its members on all issues.*"³⁰ It is also acknowledged that minority children need to be distanced from minority ghettos, who are often netted by the segregation of the local community and by its marginalisation and that harmonious integration and social advancement can only be achieved through social fusing and osmosis.³¹ Despite all acknowledgments, their only educational proposal is the creation of Support Centres (KESPEM), "*an alternative road to schooling that revokes the minority ghetto by teaching and socialising children in truly bilingual and bicultural environments*"³²

It is of particular interest to note that, this 'side road', the KESPEMs (Support Centres) is presented as the most important innovation of the programme while at the same time proclaiming that its success is solely due to the strengthening of the minority identity in the minority schools. As a solution to the general problems, they invest extensively in a 'long and difficult, open citizen participation and control' dialogue, replacing the two authoritarian monologues "the singular voice of their respective leaderships and the enforcement of silence to all civil social groups..."³³ However no persuasive answer is given to the crucial question: how is it possible to foster in young people, dialogue, tolerance, respect and recognition of diversity, when the right of parental choice regarding school selection, is placed over and above the right of the state to provide its citizens with an education for political and social equality which ensures both the interests of minority students and the unity of the wider community. If the provision of an education that promotes political and social equality can be realised in state schools, it can not however be assured in ghetto schools, as these minority schools stand today. Irrespective of the curriculum content of minority schools, this educational model is designed to prevent any state school from offering 'something extra', even if its citizens have requested it, after intercultural dialogue.³⁴ It also hinders the democratic right to public debate on the value and

limitations of tolerance and recognition, and generally restrains the content of the criteria for a common education.

The request for the right of parents to expand minority schools can not be legitimized on the basis of democratic principles of political and social equality and justice for intercultural tolerance, respect and recognition of the cultural 'other'. However, no reference is made to the interests of the children who should be taken into account when considering these segregating concepts and practices for specific groups, particularly, when they use the criterion of the basic democratic principles which aim at addressing all children as political and social equals for the purpose of achieving segregational outcomes. It has become evident that, the priority given to the right of parental choice over the interests of the children, constitutes a fundamental problem. In short, despite the efforts by the scientific leaders to present a picture of a differentiated educational 'policy' to that of the minority leaders, in essence, they do not differ, since they endorse and support the existence and expansion of 'minority school-ghettos', as they themselves characterise them, and continue to spend program funding on the operation of these 'detour' (KESPEMs) rather than promoting mainstream democratic intercultural schools.³⁵

4. The Ethnic - Minority Model and its Deficit Democratic Legitimacy

For the majority of Greeks, the presence of migrants does not constitute a threat to the Greek culture, Greek identity and to the wider community. The same applies to the large Roma population, which for centuries forms an integral part of Greek society. At no time in Greek history, have the Gypsies been noted as representing a threat to the rest of the community, or exhibiting any form of violence. The vast majority of them have been integrated or even assimilated, whereas the rest have adopted a way of communal life distant from the political processes which underpin wider society, and conceded with the view that there was no reason to insist or even demand, at least in the area of education, the implementation of the principle of political and social equality and justice. This exception, however, has ultimate consequences when the actual state begins to place the value of preserving a particular way of communal life over the value of democratic education. Undoubtedly, the consequences are serious when the state succumbs to the demands of the various minority groups, which, by various means, even by force, pursue, and in some cases, succeed in taking responsibility of the education of 'their' children, as noted in the case of the Muslim minority of Western Thrace. In the case of the gypsies, we are dealing with a communal group

that operates on the logic of 'withdrawal' (independent of the reasons that dictates such an action) from the social and political processes, while the second communal group (the Muslim minority of Western Thrace) seeks secession, segregation.

The issues posed with the concept of segregation are particularly serious as it jeopardises the unity of the wider community and it infringes on basic democratic - intercultural principles, such as political and social equality, justice, tolerance, respect and recognition of diversity.³⁶ The transfer of exclusive jurisdiction and responsibility for the education of muslim children to representative bodies within the minority community, simply because they represent a different culture and on the legal premise of an agreement during the dictatorial regime of period 1967 - 1974 (the Greek-Turkish Agreement of 1968), cannot be legitimated through the democratic principles. It is important to note here that the demands raised by the minority groups and the pressure placed for segregated education for 'their' children, is usually done so in the name of political and social equality and justice. With regard to the 'educational position' of the Muslim minority, A. Gotovos³⁷ notes that this is constituted within a framework of cooperation with the various instruments of the Turkish State (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkish Consulate), and legitimated by the invocation of the principle of respect for difference and by the principle of respect for human rights. The legitimate democratic state has the sole responsibility of defending effectively its obligations and legal obligation. It must ensure the highest political and social equality for all and avoid succumbing to pressure for the creation of alternative segregating educational institutions. A democratic public intercultural school is what will ensure, in the best possible way, the political and social equality for all and foster in *all* children, tolerance, respect and intercultural dialogue.

According to Charles Taylor³⁸ a democratic education supports the intercultural principles of tolerance and recognition based on respect for individuals and political and social equality, rather than those based on different traditions, the proportionate representation of various groups or the rights of perpetuating cultures. This means that democracy can not accept any kind of cultural practice for the sole reason that some groups or individuals seek to enforce it, claiming cultural reasons. Nor can it tolerate programmes that mandate segregational logic that reinforce 'ghettoisation' and marginalisation. The value of a cultural practice or belief can not simply remain on the level of discussion of subject matter, but its value should arise through the understanding and evaluation of its contribution to the processes of supporting and consolidating political and social equality and justice. Different beliefs and practices are therefore subject to understanding and evaluation. As aptly stated

by K. Tsoukalas,³⁹ the recognition of cultural diversity and the promotion of the right to difference should be targeted at extending democracy and implementing the basic principles of equality and justice, beyond aspects of nationalism and racism, particularly those embedded in ideological, racial fictions. The effective exercise of a just state and cohesive law-abiding society, set the terms and the limits of the salience of cultural differences.

5. For a Democratic - Intercultural Education for all Children Without Exclusion

With great difficulty would any democratic citizen disagree with the principle that all children, irrespective of nationality, race, gender or religion, be educated as political and social equals and that tolerance and recognition form the basic premises of intercultural education. One of the main goals of democratic education is to foster in young people, the ability and commitment to create a society characterised by its isopolity and isonomy.⁴⁰ The education of political and social equity is particularly essential in societies that exhibit linguistic and cultural diversity, as it provides the opportunity of developing a common framework of democratic values that can be supported from the perspective of the various cultures. It is precisely these values that arouse nations and ignite revolt by people demanding political liberties and social justice. From the time of Solon and Kleisthenes to the present date, this is the constant lesson from history. The recent riots in Tunisia and Egypt and the likelihood that these could spread to other Arab countries, the Palestinian Prime Minister Salam Fayyad said that *"the lesson that emerges is that the Arab world should not be treated as something different. We are not different. We want to live free and with dignity, with our fundamental rights and with governments that take nurture our needs."*⁴¹ This phenomenon, that could be labeled as cross - cultural values, should not be confused with culturally neutral values as advocated by supporters of the neo-liberalism. Values are not and can never be culturally neutral. An intercultural democratic citizen is one who respects and treats equally others, is tolerant of cultural differences and is able to recognise their role in shaping society. The shaping of citizens within the institutions of education requires a process of not only cognitive and cultural learning but also of democratic socialisation of people who are neither 'tabula rasa' in terms of cognitive and moral development, nor prepared to exercise their democratic rights and obligations. This applies more so for people who come from environments with a serious democracy deficit.⁴² The purpose of such an education is to foster in all children the ability to undertake the responsibilities and to assert their rights that emanate from the principles of isopolity and isonomy

which must form the foundation upon which the relationship between state and citizen, regardless of ethnicity, race, religion, sex, etc, is constructed in any country. The disagreements, which are anticipated in relation to the content of political and social equality and its practices which need to be implemented, are discussed between the different citizens, hence, constituting an essential element of state education in multicultural democracies. In democracy, citizens are deemed capable of disagreeing and discussing what differences broaden democracy and what limit it. We are, however, obliged to identify those cultural differences - practices which we must acknowledge and be tolerant towards, since not all differences and practices form part of the democratic culture. Even if we accept that all cultural variants - practices are of equal value, they don't however have the same impact on democracy, that is to say, that not all constitute the same beneficial significance for democracy. The issue of social cohesion requires any democratically structured society to develop a framework of common cultural codes and values, but also criteria for distinguishing between permissible and impermissible cultural differences and practices. An unrestricted cultural tolerance in the sense of recognition and protection of all cultural differences and practices, is not consistent with the development of a cohesive society that controls and if necessary suppresses those cultural differences and practices deemed 'harmful' for democracy. The right to cultural self-determination, writes K. Tsoukalas "*is nothing more than a limited historical scope of rhetoric construction, a scope embedded by the systematic concealing that this right is intrinsically selective, and therefore in reality, controlled.*"⁴³ Amy Gutmann⁴⁴ distinguishes between those differences that are simply tolerated from those that are respected. Tolerance covers a wide range of views on the condition that they don't pose any threat or harm others. Respect covers those instances where we disagree, yet acknowledge that they express a particular moral stance. The debate surrounding these 'respectable moral disagreements' gives us the opportunity to learn from our differences.

Contradistinctively, discussions of tolerance and respect are redundant in situations where racist or anti-Semitic attitudes and behaviours are prevalent, simply because the exponents of these attitudes and behaviours deny the equal treatment of others, while at the same time, are unable to explain their perception of inferiority / superiority of certain individuals or groups, over others. In general, we can say that political and social education should nurture in students tolerance and recognition of those cultural differences that contribute to the formation of equal citizens, thus being in a position to defend political and social equality. When for example, the dominant group hampers the basic objective of the education for all children as equal citizens for the purpose of preserving its prerogatives, it places in serious jeopardy the actual democratic education for

social and political equality. The same applies in instances where members of ethnocultural - minority groups engage in applying various forms of pressure on parents to enroll their children in ethnic - minority schools rather than in regular state schools. In the absence of ethnic - minority schools, special emphasis is given to the preservation of the language code of the mother tongue and neglect the code of the official language of the school. The language policy in linguistic multicultural environments is an exceptionally complicated issue and there is no singular solution which applies to all instances. The functioning of a democratic intercultural school and the fulfilment of its objectives for political and social equality and justice, prerequisites that all students speak the same language. And this can not be other than the official language of the state.

It is no less than naive to support the view that the development of skills and competencies in all children so as to be able to strive for a just and well-governed state, can be achieved by a minority language taught curriculum in a minority school environment.

6. Concluding Remarks

In times of global instability and uncertainty, as we witness today, social cohesion and unity constitute the highest priority for contemporary Greek society, offering serious challenges which can best be addressed through the expansion of democratic institutions, and principally, through the process of application.

The contribution of education in the shaping of intercultural democratic citizenship is significant when the process is not restricted to cultural education teaching but rather when it embraces democratic socialization. That is to say, equipping students with the essential knowledge and understanding necessary for the participation in the democratic process and the knowledge of the limits (moral values) so as to not bring about hubris both at an individual and collective level. The democratic socialization of the intercultural citizen should not be confined to the theoretical analysis of democratic principles and to the affirmation of the gap between democratic ideals and social realities, but rather, focus on the process of implementation, that is to say on the content of democracy.

This should be reflected in the goals and objectives of the curriculum in its entirety, so as to accommodate conditions for cooperation and hence equipping all students with basic skills for life and with essential intercultural competencies and skills, if they are to function adequately in national and supranational environments and be in a position to defend basic democratic principles for a more humane society.

In a democratic society, citizens strive for the improvement of the entire society and not just for the rights of their own ethnocultural communal group. This is or rather should be, the intended objective by the Greek state in their provision of the right to immigrants and their children to acquire Greek citizenship, that is to say, the right to become Greek citizens.

The emphasis, therefore, can not merely focus on the maintenance of their mother tongue language and the strengthening of their ethnic identity, but on the establishment of a common field, a common democratic framework with fundamental principles which all Greek citizens regardless of ethnicity, religion, sex and race can identify with. These changes have the capacity of transforming the nation state and ensuring social cohesion and national unity, a prerequisite in addressing successfully the major challenges of a new era characterised by global instability and of economic, political, social and cultural unrest, the consequences of which can not yet be predicted.

In short, if the political leadership in Greece, sincerely intends to address the issue of social cohesion and diversity of its citizens, then it should seek to do so by strengthening democratic values of equality, justice and solidarity, since this will ensure the rights of *all* citizens, but also the right of cultural groups to preserve important elements of their culture while participating in the common culture.⁴⁵ This also constitutes the basic goal in education policies of other Member-States of the European Union where all social groups and all citizens are able to participate and contribute in joint efforts for structural changes; thus, being able to challenge the factors of discrimination, poverty and other obstacles that individuals usually encounter in their role as democratic citizens, in modern multicultural societies. In these countries, during the 1970's until the mid 1980's the teaching of the mother tongue to migrant students had many supporters and it was always associated with the repatriation of migrants, which at the time appeared as the sequential scenario to migration. When it became apparent in the mid 1980's that "nothing more permanent than the temporary" was true in the case of immigrants, they proceeded with measures to fast track integration, spearheading the provision of citizenship (nationality). As was expected, the interest in the teaching of the mother tongue diminished and was sustained only in cases where the countries of origin were able to take on the responsibility of implementing and financing it.⁴⁶ The integration of migrant cultures into the school curriculum, which was mainly useful for psychological support purposes, did not significantly alter the educational outcomes for the 'different' students. Additionally, the downgrading of intercultural education to the level of 'folkloric multiculturalism', that is interpreting educational inequality and social differences

exclusively as cultural differences, traps migrant students in a cultural identity devised by the dominant citizens, whereby, reproducing ethnic divisions and ethnocultural differences.⁴⁷ It seems that better results are attainable through the implementation of strategies which promote the respect and the recognition of the contributions of various ethnocultural groups to the economic and cultural life of a country, as this also indicates respect and determination by the state to address equitably the people who identify with these cultures.

At a time when the neoliberal model of development, with its core values of competition, consumerism and individualism, has global predominance, and when, at a European level, the very existence of the European Union⁴⁸ is under threat, *education* has the responsibility to place as its highest order priority, the development of democratic intercultural citizens. This constitutes the best possible way to deal constructively with both cultural diversity and social cohesion and unity.

NOTES

1. The context is determined by the basic democratic values of political and social equality and justice. The term 'political equality' refers to the equation of all citizens of a society in terms of civil rights and obligations, while the term 'social equity' refers to the equation in terms of social rights and obligations. We consider that both the social and political dimensions of these values constitute the fundamental pillars of citizenship. The political dimension of values refers to the sense of solidarity that unites people on common goals, which on a first level refers to the means of co existence and survival in modern multicultural societies, and on a second level to the methods of developing a common culture from the wealth of cultural diversity which in turn strengthens the unity.
2. The right for migrants to acquire Greek citizenship as set by the Law 3838 / 2010 (current provisions with reference to Greek citizenship and the political participation of Greeks living abroad and legally resident immigrants and other regulations. Government Gazette 49 / 24.03.2010) and hence the opportunity to participate in the political and social life of the country, raises the fundamental question about the possibilities of citizens to significantly influence the political, economic and social life in modern representative democracies. In this context, discussions and analysis by scholars dealing with the issue of democracy not only as a system of political representation, but primarily as an implementation process helps us to better understand the type of democracy we have today. See Castoriadis, K. (2007). *The Greek Particularity*. Athens: Kritiki, Volume II.

3. The issue of exceeding the boundaries, constitutes, in the ancient Greek sense, a hubris, an insult, which leads to a nemesis, a punishment, and is applicable to all human activities. The issue of self-restraint (knowing that for everything there are limits) appears only in free democratic societies, which set out their own internal limits. The hubris features in all of the ancient Greek tragedies.
4. Tsoukalas, K. (2010). The Invention of Diversity. "Identities" and "differences" in the Age of Globalization. Athens: Kastaniotis, p. 75. Referring to the new austerity budget of the United States, the far from radical Nobel Prize winner Paul Krugman spoke of cutbacks that "steal the food from the mouths of poor babies" To Vima, 27/2/2011, p. B17 41.
5. Hessel, Stephane. (2010). Indignez vous!. Athens: Patakis (In Greek). The book of just 32 pages amazed the publishers when the French bought 500,000 copies within the first two weeks! For Hessel, the worst of all sins, is indifference, when someone says that he can not do anything to change a policy which uproots all social achievements simply because the 'holder-the possessor' decides it should be so. He stresses emphatically the words of Jean-Paul Sartre "The indifferent man is no man". Much earlier, of course, before Sartre, Pericles in the Funeral Oration, addressing the Athenians said: "... μόνοι γαρ τον τε μηδέν των δε μετέχοντα ουκ απράγμονα, αλλ' αχρείον νομίζομεν " (..only we can believe that those that do not interest themselves in politics are not only indifferent but also worthless). Thucydides, History B (40), Pericles Funeral Oration. Whoever does not participate in the process of decision making and power is considered worthless, since his non-participation abolishes politics, the citizen and democracy.
6. For the new challenges posed by globalization, the proliferation of which will result in instability and uncertainty, doubt, and the limitation of the possibilities of the nation state, see Cotzias, N. (2004). The Active Democratic State. National State and Globalization. Athens: Kastaniotis. Cotzias, N. (2003). Globalization. The Historic Position, the Future and the Political Importance. Athens: Kastaniotis (In Greek)
7. See Bombio Norberto (1995). RIGHT AND LEFT. Significance and causes of a political discrimination. Athens: POLIS, p. 161 (In Greek).
8. Justice, as a supreme asset of a constituting whole, is primarily a social asset, a concept Aristotle refers to as "social virtue". That is why, in antiquity, the virtue of citizens is considered as the foundation of a good state more so than the laws. Aristotle distinguishes between justice as a "corrective justice" and justice as a "distributive justice". "The first concerns the relationship between the parties, while the second takes place between the whole and its parts and vice versa". See Economou, G. (2007). *Direct Democracy and the Critique of Aristotle*. Athens: Papazisi.
9. See Gotovos, A. (1997). "National Identity and Intercultural Education". In: The Teachers Journal, pp. 23 -28. Gotovos, A. (1996). Racism: Social, Psychological and Educational Aspects of an ideology and a practice. Athens: General Secretariat of Lifelong Education (GSLE). Gotovos, A. and Markou, G. (1984). (ed.) School

Reintegration of Repatriating Greek Students: Problems and Prospects. Ministry of Education - UNESCO. Damanakis, M. (1997). *The Education of Returning Greek and Foreign Migrant Students in Greece. An Intercultural Approach*. Athens, Gutenberg. Damanakis, M. (1997). "Intercultural Education in Greece". In: Pedagogical Association of Greece, pp 78 to 91. Markou, G. (1995). *Introduction to Intercultural Education. Greek and International Experience*. University of Athens. Markou, G. (1996). *The 'Multiculturalism' of Greek society, the process of globalization and the Need for Intercultural Education*. Athens: GSLE. Markou G. (1996). *Approaches of Multiculturalism and Intercultural Education - Professional Training of Teachers*. Athens: GSLE.

10. Law 2313/1996 "Greek Education Abroad, Intercultural Education and Other Provisions". Government Gazette 124 / 14.06.1996, article 34.
11. Op. cit. article 35, para.4. The following year the Polish ethnic school was founded and following that the Armenian community school was also founded.
12. Damanakis, M. (2000). "The Conceptualisation of the Intercultural Approach in Greece". In: *The Science of Education*, vol 1 - 3, pp. 3 -23. p. 4. See also in this Issue of *Études helléniques/Hellenic Studies*: Damanakis M. "The Education of Students with Migratory Background in Greece. Educational Politics and Pedagogical Logos".
13. Ibid., pp. 4-5.
14. The three Programmes referred to: a) "The Education of Returning Greek and Foreign Migrant Students", Scientific Director: Professor G. Markou, b) "The Education of Muslim Children", Scientific Director: Professor A. Frangoudaki and Relieving Director Assistant Professor: I. Dragona and c) "The Education of Roma Children ", Scientific Director: Professor A. Gotovos.
15. Damanakis, M. (2000). op. cit., p.6.
16. It is worth noting that the proposal by the supporters of intercultural education for a horizontal development of the three programmes of the Ministry of Education and their implementation under the umbrella of intercultural education and their coordination by IPODE (Institute for the Education of Greeks abroad and Intercultural Education), did not succeed. On the contrary, the proposal which prevailed was that of the supporters of the ethnic - minority perception who saw the programmes as vertically autonomous and distinctly separate in their implementation. When in 2007 in a second attempt for a uniform proposal of the programmes, ie the education of returning Greek and foreign students and the education of Muslim children, in partnership with all the major universities in Greece, the process is again cancelled by the supporters of the ethnic - minority approach, who, as it became obvious, maintained over time, distinctive access to relevant instruments of political and administrative power, and once again, proclaiming the programmes as separate projects. The awarding of the programme for the 'Education

of returning Greek and foreign migrant students' to implementers who also co incidentally, share the same ideological concepts, raises serious questions and suppositions for the adoption of the ethnic-minority approach in the case for immigrant support programmes.

17. Gotovos, A. (2007). "Minority Education and the European Framework. Review of the Programme for Ethnic Minority Education and Educational Appeasement". In: *International and Comparative Education Review*, vol 9, pp 13 - 56. Page 19.
18. See Gotovos, A. (2002). *Education and Diversity. Issues of Intercultural Pedagogy*. Athens: Metaixmio. Markou, G. (1997) *Introduction to Intercultural Education: Greek and International Experience*. University of Athens. and Markou, G. (2010). *Introduction to Intercultural Education: Issues of Intercultural Education and Educational Policy*. Athens: Self Publication.
19. See Torres, C. (1998). *Democracy, Education, and Multiculturalism. Dilemmas of Citizenship in a Global World*. Lanham, Maryland, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. Torres points out that democracy implies a participatory process where all are considered equal, but education involves a process where the "immature" come to identify with the principles and forms of life of the 'mature' members of society. That is why he emphasises the importance of the democratic socialization, the preparation of young people to exercise their democratic rights and responsibilities.
20. This is true for liberal representative democracies and 'societies of free citizens'. In contrast, as mentioned by Cornelius Castoriadis, in the case of direct Athenian democracy, 'free and equal citizens' were able to create mechanisms that were necessary for the reproduction or transformation of the existing "status quo" in the Athenian Polity. See Castoriadis, C. (2007). "The Greek Particularity". Athens: Kritiki, Volume V.
21. Bauman, Zygmunt (2004). *Work, consumerism and the new poor*. (In Greek) Athens: Metaixmio, p131 and Bauman, Zygmunt. (2008). *Liquid Times: Living in an Age of Uncertainty*. (In Greek) Athens: Metaixmio, p. 97. According to Bauman, the establishment of the welfare state led many to believe that as a 'vested right' no political party would dare diminish. So without thought, neoliberal political forces who had as their main objective the 'lesser state' with core values of competition, individualism and consumerism, were brought to Government. Solidarity is no longer a collective need safeguarded by the state, since the individual is solely responsible and accountable for his survival, but also culpable for whatever 'bad' happens to him. It seems that history repeats itself. In his address to the Athenians, Pericles advises the Athenians to be vigilant and to maintain their sovereignty, their freedom and the glory of the city. He characteristically says, that they must choose whether they will be indifferent or free. Thucydides, Book II, 60 - 64.
22. Tsoukalas, K. (2010). *op. cit.*, p. 138.

23. According to this view, a member of a minority is not employed on the rationale of equality and justice, but on the grounds of culture.
24. Frangoudaki A. (2008). "Thrace is changing: Concluding comments on the prospects and obstacles". In: Dragona, T. and Frangoudaki, A. (ed.) *Addition not Subtraction, Multiplication not Division. The transformational intervention in the education of the minority in Thrace*. Athens, Metaixmio, pp 483 -499. p. 487
25. Gotovos A. (2007). *op. cit.*, p. 28.
26. Stathopoulos, M. (1999). "Constitutional entitlements for religious freedom and the relationship between State - Church". In: Christopoulos, D. (ed.) *Legal issues of religious diversity in Greece*. Athens Review, pp 198 - 224. p. 210.
27. Choosing a policy of an "appeasement education" to use the apt term by A. Gotovos, the Greek state does not take responsibility for the development of an appropriate democratic intercultural school environment for all children. The invocation for unity without a state education for political and social equality and justice, has no democratic legitimacy. The deficit of political and social justice renders particularly difficult the acceptance of diversity by all groups.
28. It seems that the advocates of this argument ignore the particularly negative results obtained from the application of this policy for children from low social economic classes and from ethnic - migrant groups. For the failure of these policies see the fierce criticism of a former ardent supporter, D. Ravitch: "When the minister makes a turn of 180 degrees". In *Le Monde diplomatique*, No. 664, 14.11.2010.
29. Frangoudaki, A. (2008). *op. cit.*, p. 488.
30. Dragona, T. and Frangoudaki, A. (2008) "Introduction. Addition not Subtraction, Multiplication not Division". In Dragona, T. and Frangoudaki, A. (ed.) *Addition not Subtraction, Multiplication not Division. The Transformational Intervention in the Education of the Minority in Thrace*. Athens, Metaixmio, pp17-56. p 52.
31. Frangoudaki, A. (2008). *op. cit.*, p. 488.
32. Dragona, T. and Frangoudaki, A. (2008). *op. cit.*, p. 48. The activities offered by the Support Centers (KESPEMs) within the programme "The Education of Muslim Children" provide the opportunity for primary and junior secondary school students to participate in out of school hours support classes, for students and teachers to borrow books, for parents and teachers to acquire information and seek advice and for the organisation of cultural events and creative activities.
33. Frangoudaki, A. (2008). *op. cit.*, p. 488.
34. Given the persistence of the minority leaders to maintain the minority status of the schools and additionally extend minority education towards pre-school education (kindergarten) and towards secondary education, and the insistence by the programme managers to intervene qualitatively only in the Greek language program

- of the minority schools in the hope of a probable overall improvement, indicates at best, a scientific mistarget.
35. This proposal is also consistent with the ethnic - minority approach adopted by the programme leaders since the 1990's and was hence expressed in the Law 2313 / 1996 under the pretext of purporting intercultural education!
 36. What usually is observed in conditions of segregated education on the basis of ethnocultural differentiation, is that children do not show tolerance and respect for members from other ethnocultural groups and are not drawn to and unable to participate in intercultural dialogue.
 37. Gotovos A. (2007). *op. cit.*, p. 18.
 38. Taylor, Charles. (1997). *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*. (In Greek). Athens Polis, p. 71. In the introduction of the book, Amy Gutmann says that "What strengthens multiculturalism are the outcomes of the democratic consultations which respect to basic individual rights (freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of assembly, religious freedom, etc.) and not the survival of each regional cultural unity ". Page 51.
 39. Tsoukalas, K. (2010). *op. cit.*, p. 140.
 40. Isonomy (equal treatment by the state, before the law, of all citizens as equal) and isonomy (equality of rights and obligations of all citizens before the law). Isonomy is probably the original name of democracy. It means political equality secured by law. Isonomy is not simply equality before the law but the system whereby citizens, have equal power in governance, can participate equally in the state and in the authority. See G. Economou (2007). *op. cit.* p. 265.
 41. *Eleftherotypia*, 14/2/2011, p. 49.
 42. This is particularly true for ethnocultural groups migrating to Greece from the former Soviet Union, Asia and Africa.
 43. Tsoukalas K. (2010). *op. cit.* p. 110.
 44. Amy Gutmann, "Introduction". In Charles Taylor (1997). *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*. (In Greek). Athens, Polis, pp. 37-69, pp. 66-67.
 45. Only in democracy can there exist laws which ensure public interest, because only in democracy can people participate for the adoption and implementation of the laws. The argument is, that democracy ensures equal rights, political equality for all, hence the equal enforcement of the law for all.
 46. Greece is one of those (few) countries which spend significant amounts of money on the teaching of the Greek language and culture for Greeks living abroad, exporting typically Greece-centred education models both in terms of organisation and content, and with doubtful learning outcomes.
 47. See, Govaris, C., (2002) "Culture, cultural differences, multicultural society.

References to the pathology of the prevailing direction of Intercultural Education". In: Polemikos, N., Kaila, M., Kalavasis, F. (eds). Educational, family and political psychopathology. Athens: Atrapos, p. 348-362.

48. The conditions and the new realities which are taking form throughout Europe are exceptionally difficult. The latest developments in the forefront of multiculturalism marked by the renunciation of multiculturalism by Chancellor Merkel was not "something out of the blue". With the reunification of Germany, postwar European Union history turned a new chapter. The EU, as a supranational entity, constituted for Germany a critical issue of survival. Today, this entity has become for Germany nothing more than one of many possible options. The national interests of Germany receive priority over the interests of the European Union, whose future, without the political integration of the European Federation of States, seems rather bleak. At the turn of the century, Habermas expressed his anguish and emphasised the imperative nature of proceeding, without delay, on Europe's political establishment. See Habermas Jurgen (2004). *The Division of the West*. (In Greek) Athens: Kastaniotis.

Transitions, flow and outflow of students in the Greek Education in the Diaspora

Michael Damanakis*

RÉSUMÉ

L'auteur de cet article examine l'état de deux types d'écoles dans la diaspora grecque: les écoles intégrées dans le système éducatif du pays de résidence, à savoir l'école Socrate à Chicago, l'école Socrate à Montréal, l'école Alphington de la Communauté grecque de Melbourne et les écoles purement grecques en Allemagne, qui sont restées en dehors du système et opèrent parallèlement avec celui-ci. Dans le premier cas la conclusion de l'auteur est positive, en raison de la transition faite par ces trois écoles de la diaspora et aussi par les études ultérieures des étudiants.

Au contraire l'auteur conclut que les divergences et le manque de correspondance des écoles purement grecques en Allemagne avec la société, les institutions du pays d'accueil et de leur pays d'origine, ont conduit à l'échec. Même lorsque les élèves de ces écoles réussissent à être admis à l'université grecque, l'obtention de leur diplôme et leur cheminement ultérieur sur le marché du travail demeurent incertains.

L'analyse des deux cas permet à l'auteur de formuler la position suivante sur le sujet : le système éducatif fonctionne de façon efficace seulement quand il est en correspondance avec les besoins et les fonctions de l'ensemble du système social et conforme aux autres systèmes de la société.

ABSTRACT

In this article the author examines the situation of two kinds of schools in the Greek diaspora: those incorporated into the educational system of the host country, namely the Socrates school in Chicago, the Socrates school in Montreal and the Alphington Grammar school of the Greek Community in Melbourne, and the purely Greek schools of Germany which have stayed outside the system and operate alongside with it. His assessment of the first is quite positive, regarding the transition made by these three schools, as well as the transition and progress of the students.

On the other hand, the author regards the discrepancies and lack of correspondence of the purely Greek schools of Germany with the society and institutions of the host country and of Greece itself, as a failure. Even when the students of these schools are

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admitted to Greece's universities, their graduation and subsequent move into the labour force remain uncertain.

His analyses of the two cases allow him to form a position on the subject, namely, that the educational system functions effectively only when it is in correspondence with the needs and functions of the wider social system and it conforms to the other systems of the society.

Introduction

In education, transition relates, as a rule, to the choices made and the subsequent success or failure of the students.

These dimensions that constitute the *choices* made as well as the student *success/failure* are discussed in the present work. As the cases discussed here come from the Greek communities abroad, that is, from settings where cultures meet and interact, the *cultural dimension* is subsequently present. Furthermore, as the students to whom we refer come largely from immigrant and working-class background the *social dimension* is also present.

The *political* and *institutional dimensions* should be considered as a fact, with a twofold meaning: On one hand, as an educational policy and institutional framework of the country of residence, and, on the other, as a Greek educational policy and a Greek educational system to the degree that it can be transported and transplanted in the host countries.

Based on the above mentioned dimensions, I will attempt to approach my topic using specific examples of schools from the Greek communities in Germany, U.S.A., Canada and Australia in order to illustrate my points.

My analysis moves on two levels. On the one level, reference is made to the transition made by the schools themselves - moving from one state to another, from one phase to the next - and, on the other level, the transition and educational progress of the students.

1. Cases of the Greek Community Schools Abroad

Socrates School in Chicago

I will start with the oldest Greek school in the United States, Socrates school in Chicago. The school was founded in 1908 as “a community school” by the parish of Holy Trinity and operated as such until 1917, caring for the educational needs of the children of the first Greek immigrants, as far as their education in Greek was concerned.

In 1917, the community school moved to a new state and operated as a *Greek-American School*.

At this point it is worth to stop and reflect on the question why this particular school changed from a Greek Community School to a Greek American Day-school.

The answer can be found in the *social conditions* of the time, which can be schematized and summarized as follows:

- By 1917 Greeks had been immigrating to U.S.A. for three decades and consequently it was the third generation Greeks that attended schools.
- The second and third decade of the 20th century in U.S.A. were characterized by racist movements led by the Ku Klux Klan organization.

Under the circumstances, the Greek immigrants reacted and in 1922 founded the AHEPA (American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association) with the aim “to promote the pure and unadulterated American ideals among the Greeks in the USA”, who aspired to become American citizens (Kitroef 2002β, 375). A second association GAPA (Greek American Progressive Association) founded in 1923 emphasized the need for the preservation of the Greek identity, while at the same time promoted the American way of life.

In short, the time between the end of the second and the beginning of the third decades of the 20th century was for the Greek immigrants in America a *transitional* period, where they had to change from *one identity and culture which was only Greek to a double one which was Greek American*. This can be clearly inferred from the names of the associations and the Socrates school: “American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association”, “Greek American Progressive Association”, “Greek American Day-school”.

I will skip the changes that the Socrates school went through over the years, as I wish to come to the last great attempt of the school to move to a new phase or state.

In 2000 the Community Committee of the Holy Trinity attempted to form a new basis for the Greek education, by founding the *Greek-American Academy* to which the Socrates school was incorporated. Taking into account the demographic changes and the *social and geographic* movement of the Greeks in Chicago, a new site was bought in an upcoming area (suburb) of Chicago, where the new school building was constructed and has housed the school since 2006/07. The school in its present form is part of the educational system of the State of Illinois and operates according to its legislation. The Greek Ministry of education has approved the school, and the students who graduate from the eighth grade can continue their studies in the public or private American schools.

According to the Principal of the school, in elementary school the emphasis is on the classical Greek studies, which is not coincidental considering that what characterizes and links the multiple manifestations of the Greekness in U.S.A. is the ancient Greek civilization which has been incorporated in one way or another into the American culture.

It is obvious that the attempt of the Socrates School to move to a new phase stems from the social conditions (the demographic changes, the geographic and social movement of the population of Greek descent and from the cultural conditions, namely the change in the concept of what Greek is. It is also due to political educational conditions, as the American education policy allows and fosters the operation of such schools, provided that they implement the American Curricula.

The final factor, which is probably the most important, is the successful transition of the students from the eighth grade to the American schools (high schools). This transition seems to be smooth and successful not only because the school is part of the educational system of the State of Illinois but also because the education offered by this particular school is highly prestigious.

Socrates School in Montreal

As we move from Chicago in U.S.A. to Montreal in Canada we find another day school there, which was founded in 1925. A predecessor of the Socrates school was the *Plato school* which was founded in 1910 by the Greek Orthodox Community of Montreal, in order to care for the educational needs of the children of Greek immigrants, concerning the Greek language aspect of their education.

The conflict between the supporters of the King and Venizelos led in the mid 1920's to the split up of the Greek Community into two communities. The new community comprised mainly by the Venizelos supporters and in 1925 the bilingual Greek-English *Socrates school* came into existence. In 1931, the unity of the community was again achieved and the two separate schools merged into one under the name Socrates.

The Greeks of Canada from the establishment of the school to this day have been directed towards the Anglo Canadian community and for this reason the school became part of the Protestant Board of Education of Montreal in 1930.

The educational policy of the Government of Quebec during the 1970's resulted in the change of the school from bilingual, with English being the dominant language, to trilingual with French being the dominant language.

More specifically, the provincial Government of Quebec in its attempt to foster the French language funded by 80% several schools, such as the Socrates school, with the intention that after sixth grade students will go to a secondary French language school.

The Greek community of Montreal used this new policy and Socrates school changed character. “The Anglo-Greek School Socrates” became “Ecole Primaire Socrate”, radically changing its orientation and its Curricula. Since that time it has been in operation as a trilingual school that provides Kindergarten and the six grades of primary school. It is a transition that is in direct correspondence with the educational policy of Quebec but in opposition to the socio-cultural orientation of the Greeks in Quebec, who continue to have as a sociocultural model the Anglo Canadian community. This fact can probably explain why recently many parents prefer to send their children directly to English schools.

Since 1972, the year when the Quebec government considered Socrates school as “a school of public interest”, the socio cultural and political conditions have considerably changed. According to a recent study conducted by Stephanos Costantinides (2010), there has been in Canada a considerable decline of the education run or influenced by the church and a more “secular” education system has been promoted.¹

The question posed by Constantinides is whether the community leaders will realize the changing times and take the necessary steps so that the school will be able to adapt to a new viable way of function.

It is a question demanding an answer and, vital for the subject under discussion here, is why the school doesn’t expand its operation in the secondary level and why many parents favor it regardless of their social class background.

To answer the first question, we should note that besides the demands that a secondary school places, the community and the parents fear the possibility of their children becoming isolated in a kind of ghetto: and thus they do not wish the expansion of the school into the secondary education.

The answer to the second question is educationally more interesting. Parents prefer a bilingual/trilingual education because they believe that it forms a solid base for the further development of their children. This is because first through the Greek language study program and the overall operation of the school, children become aware of their ethno-cultural background and construct this side of their identity at a very young age (self-consciousness). Second a bilingual or trilingual education widens the children’s horizons and empowers their diligence. Both of these aspects ensure and contribute towards school success.

It should be noted that a study conducted by Theophano Georgiou (2008), confirmed the above mentioned concepts and expectations of the parents and the school. Successful professionals, graduates of the school, support the position that the Socrates school taught them two things: who they were and how to work systematically. For the Socrates school graduates the secondary Canadian education seemed easy as they had learned to operate with three languages since grade one, or even Kindergarten (Georgiou 2008).

From the above mentioned facts the cultural aspect of the transition from the home setting to the Socrates school and from there to the Canadian Secondary schools is evident especially if we consider the fact that Socrates schools in Montreal and Chicago operate in a context where cultures meet and languages come in contact.

The overall conclusion from the two cases is that the educational changes of the time and the consequent changes from one state to another or from one phase to the next, are directly connected, if not brought about by general social, political, financial and cultural changes.

The Alphington Grammar School of the Greek Community in Melbourne

This conclusion is highlighted by the case of the *Alphington Grammar school of the Greek Community in Melbourne*. The Community offered, until the 1980's, afternoon and Saturday Greek language classes. However, during the 1980's, due to the multicultural educational policy of the Federal and local governments, a bilingual day school was founded. The *Alphington Grammar School* is secular and multinational. It is in line with the communal and political changes and has had a successful course so far.

The case is not the same, however, with “the Greek Orthodox College” of Saint John which operates in the same city as a church school. The school was set up in 1978 and for many years was a successful bilingual school. In the last decade though, it seems that it can not follow the demographic changes of the Greek community, its social and geographic movement and the social, political and cultural developments of the society in general and as a result the number of students attending the school has declined. The number of students was 565 in 2000 and in 2010 went down to 230 (Tamis, 2010, see also Tamis 2001).

The case of the Saint John College shows not only how a school can be threatened but also a whole educational system, when they fail to follow the wider social changes and it is not corresponding with them.

The possible consequences of the correspondence between the social, economic, legal, political and cultural systems on the one hand and the

educational system on the other are best emphasized through the study of the schools in Germany which are purely Greek and to which we will focus our attention below.

2. The in-the-System and out-of-the-System Schools

Before we begin, we should make clear that all the above mentioned schools, as well as all the similar schools of the Greek communities abroad are incorporated into the educational system of the country of residence and constitute a part of it, something that – as we will later see – is not the case with the Greek Schools in Germany.

The fact that the above mentioned Day Schools are part of the educational system, involves two essential perspectives, not only for the schools themselves but also for the system as well. The schools are entitled to make use of the chances the whole system offers and to revise their targets, their content and their operation depending on the developments of the system, so that they are in accordance with it. The system on the other hand has the ability and the obligation to check and care for the schools which form part of it.

The incorporation of the community education into the educational system of the country of residence is directly relating to the incorporation of the members of the community into the financial, social, political and cultural system of the country. Such incorporation, besides its social, economic and political aspects, connects directly with the transition from one cultural and linguistic system to another, something that is not easy, but nevertheless important.

In other words, the educational inclusion of the children from a different ethnic and social origin should be considered in the context of the general socio-cultural inclusion of the ethnic group.

With the theoretical background of the above position we will proceed to the case of the Greek Schools in Germany in order to outline and compare them with the other cases of schools from communities of Greeks living abroad.

2.1. The out-of-the-System Greek Schools in Germany

The Greek Schools in Germany were founded in the 1970's and the first half of the 1980's in order to care for the educational needs of the children whose families were planning to return to Greece and thus they didn't wish their children to attend a German school.

Even though the intention behind the foundation of such schools is somewhat doubtful, we accept that they were set up to cover the educational needs and

subsequently they performed a mission and had a reason for their existence. However, today their meaning, purpose and mission are in question.

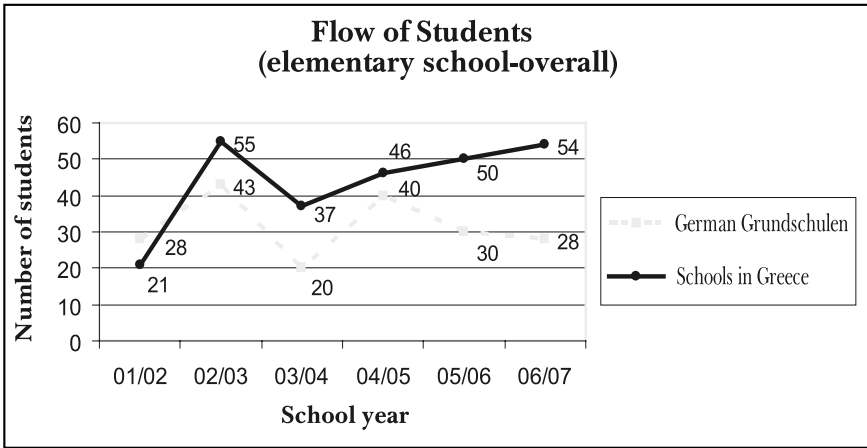
The considerations mentioned above, as well as other relative questions are answered by the extensive empirical study (Damanakis 2011) from which I will present some indicative results, commencing with the transition/flow of the students to these schools.

The Greek schools in Germany operate as a parallel network in which students move from level to level. At the same time, there is a student movement from the German schools to the Greek ones and more specifically from the 4th grade of the German schools to the 5th grade of the Greek schools and from the 9th to the 10th respectively. In the second case the Greek Language Courses (Τμήματα Ελληνικής Γλώσσας) carry the load of preparing students who attend German schools, for their transition to the first year of Senior high school.² The following statement of the Greek Educational Coordinator in Berlin (Συντονιστής Εκπαίδευσης), taken from his annual report for the year 2006-07, characterizes the existing situation. “The Courses take place in the same school building and during the same school hours with the Senior high school of Berlin. Besides the language and literature studies, they follow the courses of the Greek high school study program, taught by high school teachers, so that they fill in their schedule and **are better prepared for their studies in Senior high schools**” (the bold wording is his).

The transition from the 4th grade of the German school to the 5th grade of the Greek school is related to the structure and selective operation of the German educational system in which after the completion of the fourth grade the students continue, depending on their performance, to the Junior high school (Gymnasium) or to the Technical school (Realshule) or to the Main school (Hauptschule).

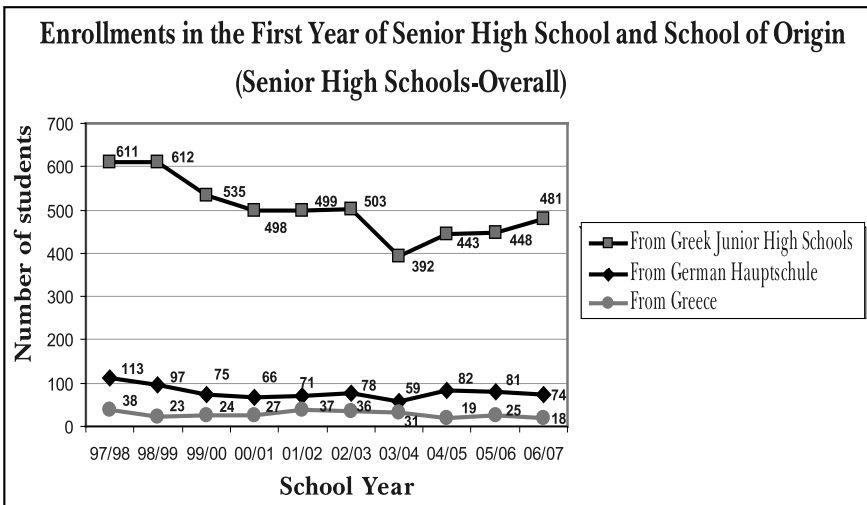
The Greek parents, whose children do not succeed in attending junior high school or Realshule, prefer to send them to Greek schools rather than to Hauptschule, and consequently there is a mobility of students from the 4th grade of German schools to the 5th grade of Greek schools, which is markedly higher in the areas where there are Greek schools. Graph 1 gives a picture of the way students moved/flowed from Greece and from German schools to purely Greek elementary schools during the years 2001-2007.

Graph 1: Student flow and schools of origin



The flow of students from the German schools to the Greek schools (Gymnasium) is minimal. On the contrary, the case is completely different in the first year of Senior high School (Lykeion) as graph 2 shows.

Graph 2: Enrollments in the First Year of Senior High School and School of Origin



There is a provision for the students who attend German schools in the first year of Senior High School, similar to the one for the Greeks who returned to their homeland in the 1980's. More specifically, the students are exempt from examinations in the language and literature courses during the first two years of their attendance and the lowest passing grade is considered to be 08 instead of the grade 10. Obviously, these provisional measures are no remedy for the problem, and for this reason the Principal of a Senior High School has proposed that there should be reception classes and provision of remedial teaching. (Damanakis 2011, 162).

It becomes clear, through the given examples that there is a relationship between the transitions, the selective procedures and the compensatory measures. We will look at this relationship closely at a later point. For now we should limit ourselves to the fact that in one way, the transitions shown can be characterized as intermediary and are present prior to the "great" transition, from the Greek Senior High Schools abroad to the Greek Universities by participating in the entrance examinations for the Greek University.

For the admission of the Greek school graduates from abroad and especially from Germany, to the Greek Universities and their performance, our study has shown the following facts:

3. The Greek Schools as an "Offset" Answer to the "Selective" and "Class Discriminatory" German Educational System: Admission of the Greek Students Living Abroad in the Greek Universities

As a measure of "positive discrimination" the Greek legislation enacted the 1351/83 law which gives the opportunity to Greeks living abroad to enter Greek Universities through a specific entrance exams. This measure gave an outlet to the graduates of the Greek Senior High Schools in Germany and for this reason was considered at the time – mostly by the supporters of the purely Greek schools – as an offset answer to the selective and class discriminatory German educational system.

The problems of the model of the purely Greek schools and the academic effect of the law 1351/83 were evident in a preliminary study conducted by the University of Ioannina in 1989-90 which examined the performance of the Greek students from abroad in the University of Ioannina (Damanakis, 1993). It was documented and enriched by a follow-up study conducted in 2006/07, from which the following results are taken.

As far as the admission of the Greek students from abroad to the Greek Universities is concerned, we can see from table 2 that the students who are benefited by the special University entrance exams are not the children of Greek immigrants (category 1) but the children of the Greeks who work in the public sector abroad (category 2) (mostly teachers). It is also evident from table 2 that the children of Greek immigrants or employees who graduate from a German high school (Category 3) perform much better in the University entrance exam than the graduates of the Greek High Schools. Moreover, the graduates of the Greek Schools in Germany score the lowest in the entrance exams than the graduates from other countries (see Gotovos, in: Damanakis 2011).

Table 1: Greek Candidates from Abroad in 2007 per Country and their Overall Success Rate

Country	Results				Total	
	Success		Failure			
Germany	346	47,3%	385	52,7%	731	100%
U.S.A.	34	69,4%	15	30,6%	49	100%
Belgium	57	80,3%	14	19,7%	71	100%
Russia	63	51,6%	59	48,4%	122	100%
Cyprus	278	69,0%	125	31,0%	403	100%
England	70	92,1%	6	7,9%	76	100%
Albania	74	49,7%	75	50,3%	149	100%

Table 2: Results of Special University Entrance Exams per Category of Students from Abroad 2001-2007 (Germany)

	Category 1		Category 2		Category 3		
	success	failure	success	failure	success	failure	
2001	403	211	65	10	25	2	716
	65,6%	34,4%	86,7%	13,3%	92,6%	7,4%	
2002	351	252	52	18	19	4	696
	58,2%	41,8%	74,3%	25,7%	82,6%	17,4%	

2003	375	239	61	12	37	13	737
	61,1%	38,9%	83,6%	16,4%	74,0%	26,0%	
2004	296	257	45	14	45	14	671
	53,5%	46,5%	76,3%	23,7%	76,3%	23,7%	
2005	346	288	44	8	45	16	747
	54,6%	45,4%	84,6%	15,4%	73,8%	26,2%	
2006	157	418	46	25	24	33	703
	27,3%	72,7%	64,8%	35,2%	42,1%	57,9%	
2007	255	348	60	19	31	18	731
	42,3%	57,7%	75,9%	24,1%	63,3%	36,7%	
Total	2183	2013	373	106	226	100	5001
	52,0%	48,0%	77,9%	22,1%	69,3%	30,7%	

Category 1: Children of Greek immigrants.

Category 2: Children of Geeks working in the public sector.

Category 3: Students who graduated from Senior High Schools in the European Union.

If we take into consideration the data presented, we can say that the measure of “positive discrimination” which seemed to pay off at first, has failed. By that we mean that it is no longer beneficial to the target-group, than it is to the children of Greek immigrants (category 1).

4. The Offset Benefits of the (Purely) Greek Schools: Their Student’s Performance in the Greek Universities

The assessment of the performance of the students from abroad in the Greek Universities has shown to be lower than that of the Greek students. Moreover, it seems that they experience many more failures in their studies than their Greek counterparts (see table 3).

Table 3: Mean Scores and Typical Deviations in the Success and Failure Rate in Examinations of the Graduate Greeks and Greek Students from Abroad

Successful-unsuccessful examinations for enrolled students	Greeks			Greeks from abroad		
	n	x	SD	n	x	SD
Number of courses which were successfully completed	2042	54,01	10,70	173	50,92	11,75
Number of unsuccessful completion of various courses	778	10,34	9,30	49	17,49	11,33
Total number of unsuccessful completion of the same or other courses	737	14,88	16,83	49	33,33	28,41

The delay in the completion of their studies and graduation is 6 times higher for the students from abroad than that of the Greek students, a fact that leads the students from abroad to abandon their studies by 30% while the respective percentage of the Greek Students is around 5%.

Table 4: Year of University Enrollment 1995: Classification of the Frequencies of Greek Students and the Students from Abroad Concerning their Student Status

Kind of Enrollment	STUDENT STATUS 12 years later						Statistical Significance		
	Active* (stagnant)		Graduates		Dropouts		x ²	df	p
	f	%	f	%	f	%			
Greeks	131	5,5	2042	86,4	190	8,0	171,80	2	.000
Greeks from abroad	75	28,4	173	65,5	16	6,1			
TOTAL	206	7,8	2215	84,3	206	7,8			

* Every student who has enrolled in a department is considered active. After the completion of the time $n+n/2$ (where n is the time of the duration of studies) the student is considered stagnant.

Table 5: Classification of the Frequencies of All the Students from Abroad per Year of Enrollment Relative to their Student Status. Statistical Significance of the SD

YEAR OF ENROLLMENT	STATUS OF THE GREEK STUDENTS FROM ABROAD					
	Active		Graduates		Dropouts	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
1995 (296)	91	30,7	187	63,2	18	6,1
1996 (272)	65	23,9	191	70,2	16	5,9
1997 (300)	93	31,0	188	62,7	19	6,3
1998 (316)	117	37,0	174	55,1	25	7,9
1999 (291)	113	38,8	168	57,7	10	3,4
2000 (290)	168	57,9	103	35,5	19	6,6

In general, as for the graduates of the Greek Senior High Schools in Germany, our study reached the following rough conclusions:

- *From the 100 graduates of one school year from the Greek Senior High Schools in Germany, who participated in the special university exams, only 55 of them on average succeeded in entering the Greek Universities.*
- *From those 55 the 18 (33%) dropped out.*
- *Consequently, from the 100 graduates of one year only 37 succeeded in completing their studies.*
- *What happened with the rest of the graduates is unknown. Possibly they entered the work market as unskilled workers.*

The above conclusions are true for the children of Greek immigrants in Germany. On the contrary, they are not true for the children of employees nor the Greeks who have graduated from German schools or from other countries.

5. Correspondence and Discrepancy Between Education and Society

The failure of the institution of the Greek Schools in Germany and the special University entrance exams as well, whose aim is to offer access to the children of Greek immigrants to the Higher Greek Education, can be attributed to many

financial, social and cultural factors, which have been extensively examined in our relative study (Damanakis 2011).

Here, we will try to examine the failure of the model of purely Greek schools by comparing them to the other school models in other countries, as they have been presented in Chapter 1 (Damanakis 2011). Such a comparison is methodologically valid and practically possible as we possess the empirical data for the success/failure of the Greek students from many countries abroad.

If we compare, for example, the results of the University entrance exams of the students coming from Germany and other European countries where there are not Greek schools, as for instance Sweden, and the U.S.A., we discover that the students from Germany lag behind their counterparts (see table 1).

The above mentioned differences result from the various factors we have already mentioned. At the same time they can be explained in a general educational and political context. Contrary to the Day Schools in the U.S.A., Canada and Australia which have been incorporated into the educational system of these countries, the purely Greek Schools in Germany have stayed outside the system and operate alongside with it.

There has been a correspondence between the Greek Schools in Germany and the desire of the parents to lead, through these schools, their children towards the Higher Greek Education. This is, though, the point where the correspondence of the schools with reality and their compatibility with socialization and education institutions in both Germany and Greece, is running out.

The operation, targets and academic contents of the purely Greek schools are not in correspondence with the wider socio-cultural environment and orientation of the host society and the whole Greek community as well. Moreover, they are not compatible with the structure, operation and the academic contents of the schools of the particular country.

The concept of non-conformity becomes evident if we compare the so-called Greek High-Schools in Germany and the German High Schools, while at the same time attempt to analyze and comprehend the request that the Greek parents have that the diploma of the Greek High School be approved as “Qualifizierter Schulabschluss” (a prestigious diploma) and the Senior High School diploma as the German Abitur.

On the other hand, the preferential measures inside the schools and above all those relating to University admission are not in accordance with the way the Greek University functions, mostly because it doesn't recognize special treatment and doesn't implement any measures for “positive discrimination”.

To sum up, the discrepancies and lack of correspondence of the above mentioned schools with the society and the institutions of the host country and of the homeland have led to failure. Even when the students have successfully been admitted to the Greek Universities, their graduation and subsequent movement into the work market are uncertain.

Contrary to the purely Greek Schools in Germany which have stayed outside the system, the community Day Schools and regular schools of other countries, correspond with and conform to the general social system, mainly because they are a part of it. As a result this aspect seems to empower the educational process.

The above analyses allow us to form a position on the subject, namely, that the educational system functions effectively, only when it is in correspondence with the needs and functions of the wider social system and conforms to the other systems of the society.

If we accept the above position to be general and be applicable in the contemporary Greek educational system, then the question arises: Does Greek education corresponds with the needs and orientation of the Greek society and to what extent does it conform to the other systems of the Greek society?

NOTES

1. We should note that both schools in Chicago and Montreal are under church's influence, which means that they accept only Greek Orthodox Students to enroll in them.
2. For the present study a) there was a record of the existing situation in the purely Greek schools in Germany (elementary school, junior high school, Senior high school) during the school year 2006-07, b) the success and failure of the graduates in the entrance exams for the Greek Universities was examined and c) the performance of those who entered Greek Universities was investigated.
3. This phenomenon is mostly prominent in areas where there is a Greek senior high school, but not a junior high school or elementary school.

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Greek in Contact with English in Australia

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article présente une étude sociolinguistique sur l'état de la langue grecque en Australie telle qu'elle est parlée par les immigrants Grecs et leurs enfants. L'emphase est mise sur l'analyse du comportement linguistique des Grecs Australiens attribué au contact avec l'anglais et à d'autres influences liées à l'environnement social et linguistique. L'article examine les phénomènes non-standards des différents types des transferts inter-langues en fonction de leur incidence et leurs causes et, en corrélation avec des facteurs sociaux, linguistiques et psychologiques afin de déterminer le degré de l'assimilation linguistique. L'article examine également les transferts de l'anglais au grec et vice-versa d'un point de vue qualitatif et quantitatif, ainsi que les déviations phonémiques, lexicales, morphologiques, syntaxiques, sémantiques, pragmatiques et prosodiques. Durant les dernières 170 années de leur établissement les Australiens Grecs connaissent et utilisent une nouvelle norme de communication avec un certain degré de stabilité, l'Ethnolect (une variété de langue non-standard utilisée par un groupe ethnique dans une situation de bilinguisme statique ou dynamique) qui sert leurs besoins linguistiques.

ABSTRACT

This paper reports a sociolinguistic study of the state of Greek language in Australia as spoken by native-speaking Greek immigrants and their children. Emphasis is given to the analysis of the linguistic behaviour of these Greek Australians which are attributed to contact with English and to other environmental, social and linguistic influences. The paper discusses the non-standard phenomena in various types of inter-lingual transferences in terms of their incidence and causes and, in correlation with social, linguistic and psychological factors in order to determine the extent of language assimilation, attrition, and the content and context and medium of the language-event. The paper also discusses the transferences from English to Greek and vice-versa from a qualitative and quantitative perspective, of the phonemic, lexical, morphological, syntactic, semantic, pragmatic and prosodic deviations. During the last 170 years of settlement, Greek Australians know and use a new communicative norm with some degree of stability, the Ethnolect, (a non-standard variety of language used by an ethnic group in a static or dynamic bilingual situation) which serves their linguistic needs.

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1.0 Greek in Language Contact with English

In the field of research into language contact, increasing prominence is being given to the study of immigrant languages in North America and Australia¹ under the constant pressure of unstable bilingual contact in which the language of the country of settlement tends to replace the mother tongue. The Greek language in Australia, functioning in a bilingual environment without diglossia under the influence of the dominant English language, is never homogenous and hardly ever self contained as it experiences serious functional limitations, restricted to a few language domains. During the last 170 years of Greek settlement in Australia,² Greek migrants are undergoing language shift as a result of a number of socio-economic variables, including the new concepts that they meet in their new environment and naturally their language contact³ with the dominant language. Through contact with the dominant language, Greek is expected to undergo, at inter-generational level, reduction in function and in form, hybridization and creolization and arguably even language death.

Since Bloomfield (1936:56) presented his definition of *bilingualism* as the “native-like control of two languages”, the terms *bilingualism* and *bilingual* have been defined differently by a number of authors.⁴ In this study the term is adopted to involve the persons who know and use Greek and English irrespective of the degree of competence, range of skills and social use. The two languages are in contact in Australia because they are known and are used alternatively by the same person. Any linguistic variation from the norm of either language, which occurs in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with the other language, will be called *transference* and *transfer*. It is assumed here that there is a mutual exchange of linguistic influence not only because Greek has created in Australia its own areas of prestige (family, community organization, Greek Orthodox Church, Greek media, national and ethnic functions and gastronomy), but also because it is impossible to keep the two languages completely apart beyond a certain period after migration. The inter-lingual influences resulting from language contact will not be called *interference* since we examine not only the process but also the result of the phenomenon, or *borrowing* and *loanword* since the transferred words are not on loan and will not be returned to the other language.⁵

Greek Australians and their children are subjected daily to the influence of the dominant language⁶ in their process of choosing the right lexeme when they switch languages and continue to talk about the same things. The degree to which they resist changes either to the function or to the structure, phonology and vocabulary of Greek depends among other things on the following phenomena: the institutionalised Greek community forces which might halt or reverse the

trend away from Greek, the rate and the extent of intermarriages, the psychological factors (permissiveness in attitudes towards Greek, desire to assimilate), the Australian educational system, the degree of cultural similarity or differences to the Australian environment and the socio-economic variables, including age on arrival, level of education attained, place of residence, proximity to community networks and low/high density of Greek settlement. Naturally, certain domains of language behaviour (family, church, Greek media, community functions) create social pressures which tend to work in favour of maintaining Greek, whereas others (workplace, education, institutional areas) create a favourable context for the host language.

The study reported in this paper comprises data that was collected, documented and analysed from 1982 to 2008 utilizing self-administered, structured and open-ended linguistic and socio-cultural questionnaires, an open-ended and structured interviewed schedule, a set of pictures for description and a set of words. Part of the sample was selected balancing for age (8 to 65 years), generations (1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th), gender, education, occupation on the basis of the distribution of these characteristics amongst Greeks to the 1981, 1986, 1996 and 2006 Census of the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).⁷ The sample comprising the children of Greek migrants was randomly selected. In 2010, from a total of approximately 500,000 Greek and Cypriot Australians there are almost 300,000 Greek-speaking of whom almost 92,000 were born in Greece or Cyprus. Second generation Greek Australians, where both parents were born in Greece or Cyprus number 146,000, and a further 30,000 second generation Greek Australians could be assumed to be Greek speaking, since one of their parents was born in Greece or in Cyprus. The remaining Hellenophone Australians belong to the 3rd and 4th generation.

1.1. Adult Bilingualism in a Language Contact Situation

Until the end of WWII Greek settlers were segregated socially and occupationally because of a strong attitude of xenophobia displayed by the dominant Anglo-Celtic majority. The places where they were accepted were businesses with ethnic proprietors, the food industry and the vast countryside (Tamis, 1997, 2002, 2005; Tsounis, 1975:21ff). This hostile treatment resulted in the creation of self-reliant communes where usually two or more families shared a relatively small house with its facilities. Hardships such as this led to the development of a strong ethnic conscience and the need for security and mutual support amongst the Greek migrants. Furthermore, the problems encountered because of the great differences in culture and language, concentrated them in certain areas and were instrumental in establishing their own communities.

Massive Greek immigration took place during the period 1952-1974, generating the establishment of numerous community organizations within the inner suburbs of the state capital cities (Tamis, 1997 and 2005). The multiplicity of Greek institutions and their diversity can be explained in terms of their numbers, the social, political and religious divisions related to the difficult background of the home country and to conditions in Australia. Upon their settlement most Greek settlers emerging from the rural regions of Greece have been forced to adjust to living in an industrial urban environment. This ecological change generated the need for cultural and linguistic maintenance, insisting that ethnic life must continue without compromise as far as the retention of the ethnic tradition and the home language was concerned.

The situation resolved itself with the creation of concentrated Greek speaking areas, the *sprachinseln* until 1990, when the exodus of the 2nd generation Greek Australian began towards the outer suburban areas. During the last thirty years Greek remained numerically the strongest language of ethnic origin spoken in Australia after Italian.⁸ Socio-linguistic studies also argued that the Greece and Cyprus-born claimants showed the strongest language maintenance in Australia if compared with the users of any other language in Australia other than English. According to Tamis (1986:65ff; 1993:34ff) 99% of overseas born Greek Australians use Greek regularly, while they maintain the highest percentage of speakers of languages of ethnic origins who do not use English regularly (20%).⁹ In 1993, among the 2nd generation Greek Australians the language shift rate from Greek has been 9% and in 2010 12%, whilst among 3rd generation claimants the shift rate has been 24% in 2010. It is worth noticing that Greek maintains the strongest language loyalty among its users at intergenerational level in Australia, if compared with any other languages of ethnic origin.¹⁰

There are many factors conducive to the retention of Greek language and culture in Australia:

1. Greek being more different from English than Romance and Germanic languages makes it more difficult for Greek immigrants to learn English;
2. The characteristically different Greek culture also insulates Greek migrants and their children, at least until their children start to bridge the communication gap between the two cultures. Over the last fifty years, a large percentage of overseas born Greek Australians continue not to mix socially with the mainstream society.¹¹
3. Historical evidence (Price, 1963:67ff; Tsounis, 1975:19ff, 1983:8) strongly supports the notion that Greeks have developed a high ethnic awareness since antiquity. More than 40% of the Greek population has constantly been living

in the Diaspora where they have formed and maintained a substantial network for language and culture loyalty. This tendency of the Greek immigrants to retain their identity and via the strong family ties to transmit it to their children is one of the main factors for their language maintenance.

4. For Greeks, their language is not a medium of communication, but a social symbol which is inseparable from ethnicity (Tsounis, 1975; Tamis, 1985, 2005, 2009).
5. Greek Australians have an easy access to their community network and institutions as in 2006 almost 97% resided within the metropolitan areas of the state capital cities.¹²
6. According to the 2006 ABS the male-female ratio amongst Greek Australians was almost evenly balanced (100:99.2). This ratio, in theory at least, is an important factor encouraging intra-community marriages.
7. The prevailing permissive attitudes of the Australian society during the last 30 years, allowed for the realization of the efforts of the Greek community and family to organize better and improve their social and educational institutions.¹³

There are also certain factors, however, conducive to the shift from Greek. These include the termination of the Greek migration to Australia, the high rate of inter-ethnic marriages (in 2006, this was estimated to be more than 45%), the multicultural environment, the global economy, global politics and global technology, all four encouraging the prevalence of one common medium of communication.

1.2. Childhood Bilingualism in a Language Contact situation

It would be expected that as Greek children proceeded through adolescence, the influence of family on the acquisition of Greek would progressively diminish, resulting in the prevalence of English. However, despite the substantial rates of language shift among the 2nd and 3rd generation Greek Australians, the number of students continuing their education in Greek through primary and secondary levels remains strong. In 2011, approximately 39,000 students were enrolled in the Greek language classes provided by the public sector as well as by the Greek community organizations and the Greek Orthodox Church.¹⁴ With the state governments and the Commonwealth of Australia subsidising the teaching of Greek in public schools, with the enrollment of approximately 31% of non Greek-background students in Greek language classes across the country, with the establishment of the Community Language Secretariat, a public body to ensure the financial support and the accreditation of the teaching of Greek in schools

organised by the Greek community, intra-family conflict regarding the acquisition and maintenance of the Greek language at inter-generational level was moderated or even eliminated. Naturally, there has been and still is present a somewhat noteworthy discouragement of attending Greek language classes by a number of teachers who profess that its acquisition is not academically and vocationally profitable for the students.¹⁵

The previously prevailing trends among 2nd generation Greek Australians whereby older children mastered the Greek language more proficiently and used it more frequently (Tamis, 1985:71ff) could not be ascertained by contemporary research data. In 2010, differences in the linguistic mode of behaviour regarding the usage of Greek between older and younger siblings of the 2nd and 3rd generations were relatively small or even negligible. While only 52% of the older Greek Australian children were found to speak better Greek than their younger siblings, the literacy skills of writing and reading and the oral skill of understanding were evenly distributed among the children under the same family situation.¹⁶ As a general assessment it could be argued that, despite the substantial deterioration of the literacy skills, particularly the writing, in 2010, most of the Greek language claimants among the 2nd and 3rd generations (55%) appeared to be not only receivers (passive bilinguals) but also transmitters (active bilinguals).¹⁷ As a particular assessment, it could be pointed out that bilingualism among Greek Australians depends on language learning opportunities given to their children and the individual's "linguistic versability" (Fishman 1970:83) in the existing functions of language use.

2.0 Socio-economic Factors Affecting Language behaviour

In a language contact situation, the language and cultural maintenance efforts and outcomes affecting the language of immigrants depend on a number of socio-economic factors. For a language to survive at intergenerational level and beyond the 3rd generation, and in our case the Greek language, it is necessary to ensure the prevalence of at least four important features: A strong numerical base of Greek language claimants, a robust acceptance of the Greek language within the broader Australian society, a vigorous function of Greek in a number of domains of language use and a stability in the form of the Greek norm used.

Until 1972 Australian politicians were reluctant to commit themselves openly regarding the integration or acculturation of immigrants. The official policy of 'national unity' defined by successive Australian Governments until 1971, with emphasis on cultural and linguistic assimilation, was replaced in 1972 by the

Labor Whitlam Government with the era of multiculturalism that prevailed in the Australian social spectrum at least until the last years of the Liberal Howard Government in 2007. Under these prevailing government-controlled socio-cultural initiatives, the loyalty attitudes towards their language and culture of Greek Australians was manifested and/or moulded by a number of networks and institutions.

The establishment of over 250 Greek language newspapers in Australia since the circulation of *Afstralis* in 1912 was instrumental in the maintenance of the Greek language and culture. In 2007, it was found that 21% of Greek Australians continue to read a Greek language newspaper on a 'regular' basis and 19% 'often'. According to the data reported in Tamis (2009 and 2010) the readership of Greek magazines is less than half of that of newspapers. Greek language radio was fully implemented in 1994 with the establishment of the Greek language station 3XY in Melbourne with segments attracting both 1st generation Greek settlers and the consecutive generations. According to available data (Tamis, 2009) almost 40% of Greek Australians stated that they listen to radio programs 'regularly', 32% 'often' and 20% 'rarely'. The listening shift of the Australian-born Greek Australians is not significant. The introduction of multicultural television SBS in 1980 and the commencement of the Greek language Hellas TV on Channel 31 in Melbourne in 1995, transmitting more than eight hours in Greek language weekly, were significant factors for language maintenance. More importantly, the free introduction and easily accessible Greek state Channel ERT in Australia in 2002 and the cable television channel ANTENA played a decisive role in the language loyalty efforts of the Greek community and became a strong leverage of encouragement for the Australian born claimants to watch it. In 2010, available data confirms that over 80% of Greek Australians are viewing those channels either 'regularly' or 'often'.

The Greek Orthodox Church constitutes the primary institution in Australia which provides Greek Australians with a substantial reason for the use of Greek. Over the last thirty years the Greek Orthodox Church underwent significant administrative and organizational changes, maintaining the status of Greek in ceremonial and liturgical levels, whilst it promoted the Greek language classes via parish schools and a number of daily schools under its control. However, isolationism and segregation as well as inconclusive policies on cultural and communal matters employed by its leadership failed to absorb the younger generations into the congregation. Church authorities progressively resort to a larger quantity of English use in liturgical functions as the Australian born clergymen from the late 1980s began succeeding with increasing pace the aging

Hellenophone priests who were ordained during the first thirty years of post-war Greek migration. Furthermore, during the first decade of the 21st century the local Greek Orthodox Church, in an attempt to gain inter-ethnic faithfuls, increasingly adopted de-Hellenizing approaches in most of its functions. Hence, the Greek Orthodox Church, arguably the second most important domain of Greek language use, after the family, was progressively squandered.

3.0 Language Transference and Language Shift

The phonological tendencies of Greek under the influence of its contact with the English phonic system, and the phonic integration of English words in Greek substantially vary according to the generational level of the users. Certain lexical items transferred from English can either be fully or partly integrated into the sound system of Greek or else may remain unchanged.¹⁸ The phonological tendencies are being influenced as a result of the quantitative and qualitative differences between the phonological systems of the two languages. For example, there are five monophthongal vowel phonemes in Greek [i, e, a, u, o] in contrast to the eleven or twelve of English¹⁹ [i, I, e, ε, ae, a, o, v, u]. Furthermore, Greek vowels appear economical, symmetrical and isochronic in contrast to the English vowels which are allophonic, unsymmetrical and allochronic. In contrast to the English isochronic and symmetrical consonantal phonemes, Greek consonants, which occur initially and medially (only /n/ and /s/ occur in an absolute final position in Modern Greek), are unsymmetrical and allochronic.

Although minor phonological transferences among 1st generation Greek settlers are limited to those who arrived as children in Australia, a large number of 2nd and 3rd generation Australians transfer from the English phonic system a number of phonemes, including the following:

- a) Pronounce with an increased positional aspiration the Greek voiceless stops (/p,t,k/) > [pː, tː, kː/], occurring in all positions: "...o p:at:eras mu irthe ap:o t:in Elada...".
- b) Palatalize the Greek clear lateral alveolar /l/ with English dark /lː/: "...itane p:ol:i k:al:i ginek:a ...p:ol:i me voithise...".
- c) Replace the Greek lateral alveolar /l/ with the English allophone /lː/, especially the Greek Cypriot users of Greek: "...to spiti mu ine poll:i evrihoro konta stin poll:i...".
- d) Transfer the English fricative sound /rː/ in the position of the Greek lateral alveolar /r/, thus changing both the place and the manner of articulation and aspiration: "...mu arese o isihos tr:opos zois...".

- e) Replace the Greek fricative velar /x/ with the English fricative glottal /h/: “...ih:ame diko mas ergostasio...”.
- f) Replace less frequently the Greek fricative inter-dental /ð/ with the English alveolar plosive /d/: “...ed:o pou imaste...”.
- g) Have the tendency to “center” unstressed vowels and thus they transfer the English /æ:/ in the position of the Greek phoneme /a/: “...mu aresi i zoi tis Afstrae:lias...”.

Greek Australians upon their arrival in Australia faced with defining the concepts and names for the new environment utilized words from their own vocabulary or adopted the necessary lexemes from English. The latter occurred either through complete transference of the English words together with their meaning or partial, that is with some degree and/or manner of integration into Greek. Words morphosemantically transferred from English to Greek include nouns, verbs, adjectives, pronouns, conjunctions, interjections and phrases (Tamis, 1985:104ff). Available data (Tamis, 1985 and 1993) confirm that nouns comprise the largest amount of lexical transfers (73%) from English to Greek. These transferred words are mostly related to their place of work, occupation-related concepts, home environment (house environment, furniture and equipment), shopping (food, clothes, tools, type of shops, transport, general terms), institutional life (education, proper names of departments, politics and political life, general terms and titles), the Australian natural environment (flora and fauna, countryside) and political geography, sporting activities, recreational, measurement and technical terms.

Greek shares the same grammatical categories (form classes) and the same function characteristics, e.g. gender, number, case, person, tense, mode and aspect with English, thus a number of lexical transfers from English (mainly nouns, verbs and adjectives), over the last 170 years of settlement, were adapted to Greek by adding Greek morphemes which define the grammatical relationship. These are derivational and inflectional suffixes which operate in Greek as function markers. Integration of the approximately 200 English transfers into the corresponding grammatical categories of Greek is a frequent practice of the linguistic behaviour of Greek Australians, as most (35%) are words referring to occupational concepts (siftjia, basis, yuentza, bizna, yunio, kombania, bonus, protaksjio, kastomes, tzombi, kontrato, stokos, seksjo, stori), or trade and type of work (yuealdas, entzinias, importas, kitsomanos, klinas, kontraktadoros, baristas, bildas, masinistria, draivas) or place of work (delikatesja, yrosaries, milkabarja, xotelia, karpetadika, teksesjia), or concepts referring to the home environment (stofa, friza, yrila, karpeto, kapi, flatja, televizjo, xita, flori, kula, karo, piktses, pusa, plastes, tzares,

tostjera, rufi), or concepts related to shopping (marketa, basketa>basketoula>basketes>basketakja, bilja, oksja, tiketa, tsekja), or food (semutza, sositzes, tsipja, tsojpa, xemi>xemja) or the Australian environment (busi>busja, reses, kuanthrenes). There are only a few integrated verbs from English into Greek used by Greek Australians, e.g. bokserno, fiksaro, baliazo and filetarizo.

In many instances the meaning of an English word can be transferred to Greek without its actual word-form (cf. Clyne, 1967:55). These semantic transferences appear either as a replacement of the Greek construction or as a grammatical distinction by English. The former involves the reconstruction and the rearrangement of existing Greek words in a way which is close to the grammatical distinction of English, e.g. "...meta katorthosa na to *pliroso piso*..."[afterwards, though I was able to *pay them back*...]. The latter involves the redefinition of existing Greek words with an English frame of reference, without affecting the formal construction of Greek, e.g. "...tha pari to psari pu ide *sto parathiro*..."[He will take the fish that he saw in *the window*] (In Greek *prothiki* or *vitrina*=shop window).

Inter-lingual identification on the level of syntax between English and Greek dictates similar grammatical relationship of the segmental morphemes, such as word order and inflexional endings on articles and nominals. Yet, it seems that on more frequent occasions, among Greek Australians of 2nd and 3rd generations, English influence violates word order, encourages the omission of the definite article in Greek speech and the unnecessary use of the indefinite article. Other syntactic deviations include the incorrect use of inflexional endings on articles, the irregular use of the cases and the numbers in nouns, the erratic use of the 1st and 3rd persons of the weak form of the personal pronouns, the number confusion in verbs. However, some of these deviations from the norm cannot be attributed to language contact with English but to the weakening of the *sprachgefühl* (linguistic feeling).

Multiple transference or code-switching, that is the use of distinct successive stretches of both Greek and English or the transference of more than a single word at a time, characterize mainly 2nd generation Greek Australians. This type of transference is normally triggered as a result of linguistic confusion on the part of the user, due to an overlapping area between the two languages. It was found that topics referring to the work place and institutional life trigger greater proportions of multiple transferences.

At the pragmatic level 2nd and 3rd generations Greek Australians fail to understand the differences in communicative competence rules emerging from different rules for the comprehension of a speech act. For example, they are unfamiliar with the use of the 2nd person plural, which is used even when he/she

is addressing a single interlocutor, simply to express respect, formality or deference. The second involves the use of first names, something common in the Australian setting but rare in Greece, where the use of the surname and titles are required. A third one involves certain words of addressing in a role-relationship form, for instance 'love', 'thio' [=uncle], which would be almost certainly be construed differently in Greece. Pragmatic transferences creating confusion mainly to 1st generation Greek Australians involve stereotyped-invitation-formulae used with reference to various calls for dinner, tea, coffee. For example, a recent arrival from Greece was complaining that she had invited her neighbours at 6.00 p.m. for tea and they came prepared for dinner, saying that "in Greece when we invite somebody for tea we mean tea not dinner...".

Weinreich (1954:47) had correctly pointed out that a foreigner who has spent a few years in an Anglophone environment, can be spotted by his monolingual countrymen even if he does not transfer a single lexical, grammatical or segment-phonemic Anglicism: "It is the elusive impact of English prosody, which apparently gives him away". Most of 2nd and 3rd generations Greek Australians demonstrate a raised-falling intonation in the construction not only of the non-final items, such as phrases and clauses, but also of sentences. This kind of prosody, transferred from English, functions as a form of 'persuasive' intonation, that is, it aims to convince the interlocutor about his/her argument. In almost all cases the rhythm of English is also transferred because of the differences in the variety of pitch between Greek and English. This results in most cases in the relatively lengthier stress of the vocalic phonemes, in accordance with the English prosody.

Other forms of transferences as a result of the language contact situation, characterizing the linguistic behaviour of 2nd and 3rd generation Greek Australians include the *discourse segments*, i.e. the linguistic routines used by a speaker to formulate or to preformulate his discourse. Greek Australians use those linguistic routines as narrative devices to describe a story in an effort to establish a better rapport between the speaker and the listener. Most of them also use *couplets*, a lexical item in English or in Greek followed by the equivalent word in the other language.

In conclusion, it can be argued that transference from English resulting in non-standard Greek varies both quantitatively and qualitatively amongst 1st and 2nd generation Greek Australians although in the case of 3rd generation these deviations from the norm cannot be attributed to language contact with English but rather to the weakening of the *sprachgefühl* (linguistic feeling). At the phonological level, the transference, qualitatively at least, is not so much phonemic among 1st and 2nd generations users, but allophonic; that is there is a

confusion of certain consonantal and vocalic phonemes which are in close proximity in the two languages. Phonemic transferences are evidenced mainly during the process of integration when modification even by mutation of consonants occurs. Lexicon is the most common type of inter-lingual transference. High proficiency in Greek accounts for either partial or complete elimination of lexical transference. Non-integrated lexical transfers are restricted to informants with poor knowledge of English. Integrated lexical transfers, numbered to approximately 200 are only marginally affected by length of residence and occupation.

The disposition of older generations of Greek Australian immigrants not to adopt the non-standard norm, the *Ethnolect*, and the effort that he/she devotes to keeping the two languages apart, lead to semantic transferences while reducing lexical transferences. The grammatical structure of Greek appears not to be affected by its contact with English, at least among 1st generation Greek Australians. Grammatical deviations from the norm are only apparent within the 2nd and 3rd generation users of Greek. Syntactical transferences from English occur only in the speech of the latter, too. Semantic transference is employed by users who are reluctant to resort to lexical transfers but do not have sufficient knowledge of Greek grammatical and syntactical structures.

Non-standard transference from English into Greek in the speech of Greek Australian bilinguals depends in general on socio-cultural conditions, psychological attitudes, degree of proficiency in one or both languages, and not on personal factors of social background or duration of residence in Australia. Further to their partial social isolation from other ethnic groups, including the mainstream dominant Anglo-Australians, Greek Australians experience an adequate contact with the home countries, Greece and Cyprus, because of their frequent return visits, the recurrent visits of their relatives to Australia and the strong base of 135,000 Australian citizens of Greek descent currently residing in Greece.²⁰ In addition, the systematic campaign on Greek language education in Australia implemented by the Greek Ministry of Education via the program entitled *Paideia Omogenon*, the presence of the Greek language cable television and the formidable efforts of the organised Greek community for language maintenance will most certainly restrict the decaying effects of the dominant language on Greek Australians.

Although the total impact of English on Greek could probably not be measured, it can be argued that the linguistic feeling of Greek Australians remains relatively strong at intergenerational level. Length of residence in Australia does not determine either the amount or the type of transference. The approximately 200

integrated transfers from English into the Greek daily norm are stabilised and are used by almost all of them to the exclusion of the standard Greek equivalent words. This Greek communicative norm which is used by Greek Australians was formulated in the early stages of Greek migration to Australia, arguably during the period 1924-1950 and was maintained unchanged thereafter. Certain English words integrated into Greek, which were in use in the 1920s and are not currently used in English, remain and are being used in the Greek communicative norm. This is grounds for arguing that Greek Australians do not transfer directly from English and the broader environment but rather from within the Greek community. For example, the widely used word “botzis > botzides” and “botzaria” a transfer from the widely used English verb ‘to bodge’ which was used during the pre-war period by the mainstream society, is currently used in the *Ethnolect* of Greek Australians. The *Ethnolect*, although it remains stabilized amongst the 1st generation Greek immigrants is more flexible amongst 2nd generation speakers, reflecting the process of language shift in the direction of English, as lexical transfers and code-switching have a higher incidence.

The stability of Greek in Australia in the present bilingual situation and under the influence of the dominant English language should be viewed with respect to factors such as level of literacy obtained in Greek, the socio-economic and political organization of the Greek community, strategies of resistance and reaction against cultural assimilation, the geographic and social mobility and the social integration of the Greek Australians with the mainstream Anglo-Australian community, the engagement between the Australian Greeks and Cypriots and their home countries and the degree and level of systematic implementation of educational and cultural programs oriented for Greek Australians.

4.0 The Significance of Greek in the Diaspora

For any non-dominant language to be maintained in a bilingual environment without diglossia at inter-generational level requires (a) the existence of a populous base of speakers; (b) adequate function of language use; (c) acceptability within the broader society; and (d) stability of form.

In 2011, Greek in Australia fulfills the aforementioned four criteria and hence remains a language of wider usage; a significant language for teaching and learning for the reasons that will be explained below. The vitality of Greek constitutes an important challenge for the members of the Greek community and depends on their disposition towards its learning and use and their desire for continuing their distinctiveness as a socio-cultural group and displaying its ethno-

linguistic and cultural loyalty to Greek as a norm, native tongue or ancestral language. The vitality of Greek is also an allegiance by the state and commonwealth governments in Australia for Greek learning processes at the state school systems at all three levels of education. Greek has been the only language world wide which moved from a local dialect, to a national language, an ethno-language, a world language going beyond its national and ethnic borders and an official language used by other ethnicities around the globe. Several Greek speaking language and culture country-islands remained vivid and productive in various parts of the world for many centuries, including those in northern Africa, Middle East all the way to Bactria. The significance of Modern Greek, a diachronically developed form of one and the same language over the last 4,000 years, derives its significance for teaching and learning from the following:

- 4.1. Greek is one of the five official languages of the European Union and the official language of two European Union countries.
- 4.2. Greek is the official language of the Greek and the Cypriot shipping industries, which are responsible for almost 35% of the total transport of global products.
- 4.3. Greek is the oldest and sole survival of ancient European language bearing a linguistic tradition of 4,000 years;
- 4.4. Greek is the language in which fundamental texts of western civilization and Christian scripture were written and transmitted through the ages.
- 4.5. Greek remains the strong (re)source language for all other world languages, i.e. 28,000 English words have been originated from Greek.
- 4.6. The concepts and notions born from the Greek language, pervaded the languages of Europe and the civilizations of the world, leaving eternal mark on what is known today as “European civilization”.
- 4.7. Greek came to be not the exclusive property of the Greeks only, but remains the ancestral language for all Europeans.

5.0 The Vitality and Importance of Greek in Australia

Greek language and culture remain particularly vital for Australia and New Zealand for a number of important demographical, socio-economic, religious and political reasons. Previous studies (Tamis and Gauntlett, 1993; Tamis, 2001, 2008, 2009a, 2009c, and 2010) have found the hallmark of provision for Greek teaching and learning is its diversity, diffusion and incoherence with competing

systems, problems of continuity within and linkage between levels and several other serious impediments to commencement or continuance of formal learning and to its efficacy. A major disincentive at all levels is the erroneous perception in the broader society that serious learning of Greek is the preserve of the Greek Australian community; and even within the latter community, that successful study and certification is the preserve of the elite. Sociolinguistic research (Tamis and Gauntlett, 1993; Clyne, 1982; Bianco, 1987; Tamis 2008, 2009c and 2010) also demonstrated that to learn Greek you need at least 2,600 contact hours of teaching, that is, almost six contact hours per week. Currently the policy requirement for quality teaching in Victoria is a minimum of 150 minutes per week of instruction taught by qualified language teacher. However, according to research the actual average period of instructions for Greek does not exceed even 80 minutes per week. This is a gross inadequacy given the almost zero frequency of teaching in most Victorian government schools.

Greek teaching and learning in Australian government schools is influenced by problems of under-resourcing, unfavourable timetabling, poor linkage between primary and post-primary schools and limited possibility for mounting low-enrollment classes at senior level. The government controlled Schools of Languages operating in major States which have served as a back-stop for Greek in the public sector for many years, is characterized by problems arising out of the format of its contact hours and of staff morale, in view of the conditions of appointment and status offered to fully qualified teachers. The major “grey” areas of Greek language teaching and learning at government schools could be summarized as follows:

- The provision of Greek language teaching and learning is primarily based on obsolete demographical patterns characterising the Greek community settlement in the state capitals forty years ago. The socio-demographic mobility of the Greek community members into new suburbs since the 1980s was not met with relevant provision of Greek language courses in government school within the new suburbs of settlement.
- The Greek and Cypriot Australian communities remain exceedingly generous in their support of Greek language teaching at all three levels of education, endowing schools and tertiary institutions with bequests and financially priming for the establishment of Greek teaching and lectureships in Western Australia (Notre Dame), Northern Territory (University of Darwin), Victoria (La Trobe University), South Australia (Flinders University) and New South Wales (Macquarie University).
- Surveying the range of state policies towards Greek across the Commonwealth,

it is well attested a variety of degrees of divergence from the National Policy on Languages designation of Greek as a “language of wider learning” and use. Victoria, South Australia, Northern Territory and, to a lesser extent, New South Wales appear the most favorably disposed to Greek language planning, teaching and learning and to have the most systematic program of implementation. These states offer their unequivocal commitment to upgrading the teaching from primary to senior secondary level and designate Greek a priority language. In the remaining States there is a marked discrepancy between a generally supportive policy and limited provision for implementation. Yet, in keeping with these policies or in spite of them, Greek is represented to differing extents in most systems and levels of education across Australia. Currently, the hallmark of provision for Greek is its diversity, diffusion and incoherence with competing systems, linkage between levels and problems of continuity within.

- In Australia, as a result of the *National Policy of Languages* (1987), Greek was categorized as a “Language of Wider Teaching” and was protected as a second language by the Commonwealth and State Governments among eight other languages for teaching purposes. In September 1991, the Commonwealth of Australia identified 14 “priority languages” including Greek. Under *the Commonwealth’s Priority Languages Incentives Scheme* education systems, the State and Territories selected eight languages each as the basis of funding support they received from the Commonwealth. Again Greek was defined “Priority Language” in South Australia, Victoria, New South Wales and Northern Territory, as well as a *Tertiary Entrance Language* subject in all states and Territories, attracting approximately 41,000 students, of whom 32% were of non-Greek-background (Tamis, 2001 and 2008, 2010).
- Australia is lacking a language map targeting potential students of Greek in certain suburbs of concentration within state capitals and outlining provision of Greek language courses as a matter of continuity of learning between primary and post-primary education.
- Australia is lacking Greek language pre-school centres and Greek-language kindergartens where bilingual immersion classes could be introduced;
- Greek suffers from an image problem as a “community” language in the narrowest sense, despite the fact that most of its students are 3rd and 4th generations English speaking monolinguals.
- Greek is under-resourced at every level of education.

- There are serious problems of linkage between, and continuity within, levels of learning Greek.
- Inflexible curricula and assessment mechanisms, and inability to cope with mixed ability groups using appropriate materials, methods, are inimical to the survival of Greek in Australia.

Nevertheless, a codifying approach to the causes and incentives for vital Greek language teaching and learning could be summed up as follows:

5.1. In 2011, there are currently 38,450 students attending Greek language classes in Australia provided by the following sectors:

Ethnic Schools:	19,000
Government Schools:	12,200
Saturday Schools of Languages:	1,950
Greek Daily Schools:	3,800
Independent Schools:	450
Tertiary Institutions:	1,050

- 5.2. Greek language and culture is the most popular language within the Ethnic Schools sector in Australia.
- 5.3. Greek is the fourth most popular taught language within the Saturday School of Languages.
- 5.4. Greek is the sixth most widely taught language in Government schools.
- 5.5. In 2010, almost 33% of the students in government and Greek Daily schools are of non-Greek language background.
- 5.6. Greek language possesses the strongest retention rate amongst students in government schools from Preps to Grade Six (92%) and from Year Seven to Year 10 (72%), compared with any other language.
- 5.7. Greek is the third most popular home language in Australia at inter-generational level.
- 5.8. Greek has the strongest language maintenance rate in Australia at an inter-generational level. The language shift from Greek to English among 1st generation speakers is almost zero; the language shift for second generation is 8.6% and for 3rd generation Greek Australians 24%.

- 5.9. Greek is known and used by approximately 500,000 Australians of Greek and non-Greek ancestry and descent.
- 5.10. Greek is also the language of an additional 135,000 Australian citizens who live permanently in Greece. Greece is the second most popular destination country for Australian citizens after United Kingdom with 240,000 Australian citizens.
- 5.11. Greek is the official language of the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia, the *prime in parity* Church among the estimated 800,000 homodox Christians in Oceania, including Macedoslavs, Serbs, Bulgarian, Russian and Syro-Lebanese adherents.²¹
- 5.12. Greek has a utilitarian role in Australia because of an established presence of 600,000 Greek speaking Australian citizens and of many more thousands of Australian with ancestral, sentimental, professional, cultural and intellectual ties with Greece and *Cyprus*.
- 5.13. Greece is arguably the only home country of Australian citizens that contributes so generously and supports multifaceted types and schemes of language learning and teaching. Greece's sound and unparalleled contribution is estimated to approximately AU\$10,000,000.00 annually. This generosity deserves the reciprocal attitudes of the Australian Commonwealth Government by including Greek as one of the languages in the national curriculum policy.
- 5.14. Australia's interest in enhanced trade and investment arrangements with the European Union and the sensitive Eastern Mediterranean region and its burgeoning economy, as well as its potential links with Europe could be better implemented via a role of the Greek language in establishing and maintaining Greek speaking experts in European capitals including Athens and Nicosia.

6.0. The Significance of Greek as a World Heritage Language

- 6.1. Further to the reasons outlined above, Greek does not simply derive its significance only as a community language or as the norm of the Greek-speaking sector of the Australian community, which is vigorously organized, politically robust and strongly committed to maintenance of its Hellenic Australian identity.

6.2. The significance of Greek for Australia derives principally from *heritage, moral, intellectual, academic, linguistic and utilitarian* reasons.

6.2.1. Moral and intellectual, because Greek is the only extant Heritage Language of the Western World known and used in Australia;

6.2.2. Academic because Greek language (in its Ancient, medieval and modern variants) is being taught together with Classical studies and the Greek history and culture at over 2,000 universities around the globe attracting more than 300,000 students.

6.2.3. Linguistic because by learning Greek language students and indeed world citizens have the opportunity to learn about and understand better their own language as a very significant percentage of their mother tongue, etymologically is derived from Greek words.

6.2.4. Utilitarian, because of an established presence of a vast number of Greek-speaking residents (currently estimated to over 500,000) and of many more thousands of Australians with ancestral, sentimental, professional, cultural and intellectual ties with Greece, Cyprus and the millions of Hellenes in the Diaspora.

6.3. Whence, the linguistic World Heritage status of Greek is illustrated by a number of aspects outlined below, which inevitably propagate its importance to be promoted internationally:

(a) Greek is the oldest and sole survival of ancient European languages bearing a linguistic tradition of 4,000 years. It has been the basis of the European civilization and naturally has fundamentally affected other languages and cultures.

(b) Greek remained the language of global civilization from 480 BC to A.D. 1500 in both oral and written forms and was the official vernacular of the entire Hellenized world from Western Europe to India. Hence, the general use of Greek was of enormous importance to the spread of Christianity.

(c) Greek is the sole modern descendant of the Indo-European family of languages, in which fundamental texts of Western Civilization and Christian scripture were formulated and transmitted through the ages. Even in 21st century Greek-speaking Patriarchates in Constantinople (Istanbul), Jerusalem, Alexandria, Cyprus and Greece commemorate the thousand years of Greek presence in Europe, Asia and Africa.

(d) **Roman** Catholicism and **Greek** Orthodox were the two Christian worlds in Europe and Asia. The entire world of Greek Christians, incorporating the Russians, Rumanians, Ukrainians, Bulgarians, Serbs, Macedoslavs, and Syro-Lebanese used Greek as their official language of liturgy and sermons.

(e) Greek is designated as one of the five official languages of the European Union and is rated as a major world-language in spite of the comparatively modest number of its current native speakers.

(f) Greek composed by reputed individuals of intellect such as Plato, Aristotle, Homer, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plutarch, Hippocrates, the Great fathers of the Christian Church, the great hymnographers, philologists, mathematicians, physicians, anthropologists, ethnologists. Naturally, the notions born herein, expressed through the words of the Greek language, pervaded the languages and the civilizations of the world and left eternal mark on what is known as the European Civilization. Studying the Greek language is not a product of fashion or of utilitarian motives. It has its origins in man's desire to study the great texts about great issues.

(g) Approximately, 28,000 English words including key words such as *idea, theory, system, analysis, synthesis, category, hierarchy, method, hypothesis, myth, poetry, drama, music, harmony, politics, democracy, thence, machine, episteme, psyche, Eros, ecclesia, Christ, Europe, theology* etc are all words of the Greek language, this great little language to paraphrase the Noble laureate Greek poet Odysseus Elytis.

(h) It would be a cultural deficit if Greek is to be confined within its current spectrum and not be accessible nationally, in terms of universal education and culture. Especially, as the Greek language came to be not the exclusive property of the Greeks only, but of the entire humanity. This is also true for other languages of the human civilization like Latin which, in the progress of the time, receded from the schools and universities in the name of utilitarianism and linguistic internationalism. This is one more violation of the "moral" aspect of language and, at the same time, an inestimable loss for humanity and civilization. Defending the right for the "unnecessary" - which is usually the most essential part of life-, is the only way for a man to fight against the ideology of utilitarianism.

(i) Every national language constitutes the identity and the physiognomy of that nation. In the case of Greek the language transmits and creatively enriches all modern western languages as it remains the robust source for

new words and concepts for these national languages. To fully understand the meaning and culture of 28,000 English words of Greek origin, it is necessary to know and study the Greek language and culture; otherwise it would be a Herculean task to understand the meaning of polis, police, politics, democracy, tyranny, tyrant, oligarchy, aristocracy just to mention some words from the field of politics. Hence, the acquisition of Greek is further enhancing the better understanding of English.

(j) Greek as a Heritage Language, besides of aspects of use and utility, possesses another aspect, the *moral* one. Hence, the learning of Greek, apart from professional improvement in terms of income or social prestige etc., can provide a better, more direct, profound and essential understanding of the people who speak it, who exist immersed in it.

(k) The significance of Greek for the host country's external trade resides both in the actual and potential links with the European Union via Greece and Cyprus and via connections between Greece, Cyprus and the Greek communities residing in the host countries and in the fact that, among others, the Greek merchant marine transports large quantity of the host country's exports across the globe.

(l) Greece is arguably one of the few home countries that contribute hundreds of million of dollars generously and supports multifaceted types and schemes of language learning and teaching.

NOTES

1. Reference is made here to the work of Leo Pap (1949) about Portuguese, Haugen (1953 and 1973) about Norwegian, Weireich (1953) and Hasselmo (1961) about Swedish, Lyra (1962) about Polish, Hoffman (1966), Fishman and Mahirny (1966), Lieberon (1972) and Gilbert (1970) about Spanish, French, German, Czech, Polish, Serbian and Norwegian, Perkowski (1970) about Czech, Morgan (1970) about French, Nash (1971) (Spanish), Correa-Zoli (1974), Di Pietro (1960) about Italian, Blanco (1980) about Portuguese, Dweik (1980) about Arabic, Cefola (1981) about Thai in the USA and Canada; and in Australia: Clyne (1967 and 1982) about German, Tamis (1985, 1993 and 2001) about Greek, Bettoni (1981) about Italian; see also *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (Spring, 2010) edited by A. M. Tamis.

2. For a substantial analysis of the history of the Greek settlement in Australia see Price (1963 and 1975), Gilchrist (1997, 1999 and 2002) and Tamis (1997, 2000, 2002 and 2005).
3. Language contact situation is created when a single item is plucked out of one language and used in the context of another and that this kind of linguistic borrowing presupposes a bilingual situation.
4. Diebold (1961:97-112) claimed that the terms should be applied in cases where proficiency in one of the languages is minimal; Haugen (1953:6) argued the bilingualism refers to any degree of an accomplishment in the two languages; Weirich (1953:1) defined bilingualism as “alternatively using two languages”, whilst Christophersen (1958:4) claimed that the term presupposes “some degree of competence in both”.
5. Haugen (1956:40) used a third term integration to denote the use of linguistically assimilated elements from another language.
6. Multiculturalism supports the maintenance of cultural diversity, however seriously constrains the maintenance of the immigrant languages as the various cultures need one common linguistic norm to communicate amongst them.
7. The analysed data of the 1981 ABS led to the PhD dissertation on the *State of Modern Greek as Spoken in Victoria* (1986) by A.M. Tamis; two other publications were based on the 1986 and 1996 ABS: Tamis (1993 and 2001).
8. See Clyne, 1982, Tamis, 1986, 1993 and 2001.
9. See also Clyne, 1982:56ff; also Smolicz and Harris 1976.
10. For example, in the 1990s the language shift rate from Dutch has been 28% for its 1st generation users, 88% for its 2nd, while there were no claimants of Dutch among its 3rd generation. Bettoni (1981) surveying Italian in North Queensland showed that the language shift rate among Italian users was 7%, 38% and 80% respectively.
11. Tamis in 1986:66 suggested that 30% of 1st generation Greek-Australians did not mix with any other ethnic group in Victoria, whilst in 2001 the percentage was reduced to 19%.
12. This represents the highest percentage if compared with any other ethnic group in Australia.
13. The introduction of Greek in government schools, the establishment of the Greek daily schools, the operation of Greek language pre-school centres, the accommodation of Greek language televisions at home, are some of the achieved goals. See in particular Tamis 2001 and 2008.
14. See A. M. Tamis (2009a), a study entitled *Greek Language in Australia* submitted for publication to the Program “Paideia Omogenon”, EDIAMME, University of Crete. See also relevant contribution in this edition of the JHS.

15. In the 1980's it was found (Tamis, 1985:71) that almost 17% of Greek students in the northern suburbs of Melbourne experienced some form of discouragement from attending Greek language classes even when Greek was not offered as a subject in school by teachers at registered day-schools.
16. These data are in agreement with the language mode of behaviour of the Greek Australians of 2nd generation in early 1980s, see Tamis (1985:72ff).
17. Certain aspects about the popularity of Greek among 2nd and 3rd generations Greek Australians, the language that they are using at home and other language environments, parental assessment of their proficiency in Greek, the overall Greek language classes organised in Australia, the providers of Greek language education and the prevailing characteristics of those students on issues of acquisition and identity are portrayed in the study to be published by EDIAMME, University of Crete in 2009a.
18. An analysis of the phenomenon is given by Tamis (1985:89ff); See also, for example, about the German lexemes in Clyne (1967:53ff) and Italian in Bettoni (1981:55ff).
19. The articulatory quantitative and qualitative description of the English vowels differs amongst phoneticians, some (Wells and Colson, 1971:7ff) claim that they are twelve, however some distinguish eleven (Delbridge, 1965:12ff).
20. See the article by A. M. Tamis on the state of Greek language at intergenerational level in the Spring 2011 edition of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.
21. See A. M. Tamis (2009), "The Greek Orthodox Church in Australia" in James Jupp (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religions in Australia*, pp. 467-498, Cambridge University Press, London.

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L'Éducation à Chypre

De la colonisation à l'indépendance:

Un bref aperçu

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ABSTRACT

The author of this article presents a brief overview of the evolution of education in Cyprus since the Ottoman era until today. It shows the importance that the Cypriots have always given to education, which constitutes a an essential instrument of their cultural and national survival. This explains, the challenging debate on necessary changes facing the educational system of Cyprus.

RÉSUMÉ

L'auteur de cet article présente un bref aperçu de l'évolution de l'éducation à Chypre depuis l'ère ottomane jusqu' à nos jours. Il montre l'importance que les Chypriotes ont toujours accordé à l'éducation en tant qu' instrument essentiel pour leur survie culturelle et nationale. Cela explique le debat difficile qui a lieu actuellement sur les changements nécessaires à apporter au système éducatif chypriote.

Rappel historique

L'éducation à Chypre pendant la période ottomane (1571-1878) était très limitée et le pourcentage d'analphabétisme très élevé. A la fin de l'ère ottomane il y avait seulement 83 écoles élémentaires dans l'ensemble de l'île et 4 écoles secondaires a Nicosie, Limassol, Larnaca et Paphos. Ces écoles fonctionnaient avec des moyens très limités, le personnel enseignant n'était pas toujours qualifié et le nombre d'élèves ne dépassait pas les quelques centaines. Il n'y avait pas de système scolaire à proprement parler et généralement l'Eglise avait la responsabilité des différentes écoles. Certaines d'ailleurs d'entre elles opéraient

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à l'intérieur des monastères. Il ne fait pas de doute que les enfants des riches et des notables étaient privilégiés dans la fréquentation de ces écoles.

Avec l'occupation britannique en 1878 on assiste à un progrès rapide dans le domaine de l'enseignement, en particulier celui du primaire. Ainsi par exemple en 1885 les écoles élémentaires passent à 176, en 1890 à 223, en 1900 à 264 et en 1910 à 322. Même si cela paraît un progrès considérable il ne faut pas croire que tous les enfants allaient à l'école. Ainsi au début du 20^e siècle, selon les statistiques britanniques, seulement 38% des enfants fréquentaient l'école primaire. La situation était encore plus désastreuse dans l'éducation secondaire. Les chiffres suivants de 1901 sont une indication de cette situation. Ainsi à Nicosie 200 élèves fréquentaient le Lycée Pancypriote (Pagkyprio Gymnasio), 90 élèves fréquentaient l'École hellénique de Larnaca, 85 élèves l'École hellénique de Limassol, 24 élèves l'École hellénique de Paphos et 20 élèves l'École hellénique de Famagusta.

Le type le plus connu d'école secondaire était celui qu'on appelait École hellénique (Elliniki Sholi), d'habitude d'une durée de quatre ans. La première véritable école secondaire fut le Lycée Pancypriote (Pagkyprio Gymnasio), qui a succédé à l'École hellénique, fondée à l'ère ottomane, au début du 19^e siècle. Beaucoup plus tard, au début du 20^e siècle, les autres écoles helléniques furent graduellement transformées en lycées.

Dans les écoles élémentaires enseignaient d'habitude les diplômés des écoles secondaires. En 1897 a été fondé un Collège pour la formation des instituteurs comprenant deux ans d'études. Pour ce qui est du secondaire les professeurs étaient d'habitude diplômés de l'Université d'Athènes, ou venaient de Grèce.

Le programme d'enseignement tant à l'élémentaire qu'au secondaire était identique à celui de la Grèce. Signalons que l'éducation des Chypriotes Turcs suivait le programme parallèle de Turquie. Des enseignants venaient aussi de Turquie pour ces écoles.

Les Britanniques ont voulu, au début de la colonisation, introduire comme langue d'enseignement l'anglais, à l'école primaire. C'était la proposition du Gouverneur de l'île Robert Biddulph et Josiah Spencer, le directeur pour l'Éducation de l'île. Cette proposition, selon laquelle, apprendre l'anglais était la seule façon pour les Chypriotes d'avoir accès à toutes les branches du savoir humain, a été rejetée par le ministre des colonies Lord Kimberley (1881), un libéral imbu du classicisme grec. Néanmoins les Britanniques ont voulu contrôler l'éducation et limiter l'enseignement d'orientation hellénocentrique. Ils ont réussi à le faire avec l'enseignement primaire, dont ils ont pris le contrôle progressivement, à partir de 1923. Ils n'ont pas réussi à le faire avec l'éducation

secondaire qui est restée aux mains de l'Eglise et des notables Grecs. Quoiqu'il en soit, durant toute la période de la colonisation britannique il y a eu une lutte permanente entre les colonisateurs et la population grecque de l'île pour sauvegarder le caractère hellénique de l'éducation et la garder liée aux programmes et aux orientations de l'enseignement de l'Etat grec.

Dans une colonie comme Chypre, où le nombre d'intellectuels était limité, le rôle des instituteurs a été important. Il ont été, dans une certaine mesure les intellectuels d'une société qui a été délaissée par des siècles d'occupation ottomane. Ce sont des gens avec des études secondaires solides et une instruction de deux ans au Collège des Instituteurs de Morphou. Avec leurs regards tournés vers l'avenir et des nouvelles idées, ils ont joué non seulement un rôle capital dans l'éducation, mais aussi un rôle politique. Il n'est donc pas surprenant que certains d'entre eux se soient convertis très tôt aux idées socialistes et innovantes et ont joué un rôle dans la fondation du Parti communiste de Chypre - K.K.K. D'autres ont joué un rôle primordial au sein du mouvement national anticolonial tout au long de l'occupation britannique.

La période de l'indépendance²

Avec l'indépendance l'éducation à Chypre, tant élémentaire que secondaire, suit un chemin parallèle avec celle de la Grèce. Des liens étroits avec le système d'éducation grec ont été établis. On a continué d'utiliser les mêmes manuels et d'appliquer les mêmes programmes. Néanmoins une certaine indépendance se manifeste par rapport au système éducatif grec, en particulier dans le domaine de l'éducation élémentaire. La philosophie centrale du système éducatif chypriote est toujours hellénocentrique. Cette orientation hellénocentrique entre souvent en conflit avec des intérêts opposés des groupes sociaux qui prônent d'autres valeurs et voudraient voir une éducation moins dépendante de la Grèce. Cette tendance se manifeste particulièrement ces dernières années. Le fait que l'anglais est largement utilisé par l'appareil gouvernemental, les organismes publics, les banques et le secteur privé, le fait que le système éducatif grec est vu dans certains milieux comme étant d'un niveau inférieur, crée un certain malaise entre l'orientation de l'éducation chypriote et les réalités sociales et économiques. On se réfère évidemment ici davantage aux réalités qui prévalent dans les milieux de certaines élites que dans l'ensemble de la société. Les misères du système éducatif grec renforcent une certaine tendance qui se manifeste de temps en temps en faveur d'un système éducatif chypriote indépendant. Malgré ces difficultés, l'éducation à Chypre a gardé le cap sur le système d'éducation de la Métropole.

Organisation générale des études à Chypre

La responsabilité globale, dans le domaine de l'éducation, appartient au ministère de l'Éducation et de la Culture. Le ministère de l'Éducation et de la Culture, créé en 1964, est en charge de la formation générale et professionnelle. Les instituts publics et privés (relativement nombreux), qui attribuent le 'school leaving certificate' ou d'autres diplômes sont contrôlés par ce ministère. Le ministère du Travail et de l'Assurance Sociale gère des instituts professionnels, tels que l'Institut supérieur technique, le Centre chypriote de productivité, etc. Les attributions du ministère du Travail et de l'Assurance Sociale sont fondées sur deux lois:

- la loi sur l'apprentissage de 1966, qui attribue la responsabilité du système d'apprentissage au ministère du Travail et de l'Assurance sociale.
- la loi sur le développement des ressources humaines de 1999, qui réglemente le fonctionnement de l'Autorité du développement des ressources humaines (HRDA).

Les lois en question réglementent le système de formation initiale et continue de Chypre.

Les deux langues d'enseignement sont le grec et le turc. Elles ne sont pas utilisées dans les mêmes établissements. La scolarité est obligatoire, de 4 ans à 15 ans, ou de 4 ans 8 mois à la fin de l'enseignement secondaire général de premier cycle. Elle est gratuite pour tous les élèves (ressortissants chypriotes, des pays de l'UE ou de pays tiers).

Pendant la première période de l'indépendance la responsabilité de l'éducation appartenait à la Chambre communautaire hellénique. Cette Chambre a été abolie après la crise politique de 1964 et ses responsabilités ont été attribuées au ministère de l'Éducation et de la Culture.

Le système éducatif chypriote comprend:

- L'éducation pré-scolaire, qui concerne les enfants de 3 ans à 5 ans 8 mois. Elle est dispensée dans des établissements aussi bien publics que privés.
- L'éducation obligatoire est divisée en deux cycles : l'éducation primaire (de 6 à 12 ans) et le secondaire du premier cycle, « Gymnasio », de 12 à 15 ans.
- L'éducation secondaire du deuxième cycle d'une durée de trois ans qui comprend une filière générale (Lykeio) et une filière technique et professionnelle.

L'Éducation pré-scolaire

L'éducation pré-scolaire, qui concerne, comme on l'a déjà mentionné, les enfants de 3 ans à 5 ans 8 mois et est devenue, depuis peu, obligatoire pour la dernière année. Jusqu' à 1975 l'éducation pré-scolaire n'était pratiquement pas du domaine public.

L'Éducation élémentaire

L'éducation obligatoire est divisée en deux cycles : l'éducation primaire (de 6 à 12 ans) et le «Gymnasio», secondaire, de 12 à 15 ans.

Les matières principales au primaire sont le grec moderne, les mathématiques et le cours de religion.

L'Éducation secondaire

L'éducation secondaire comprend deux cycles : Le premier cycle de 12 à 15 ans, le «Gymnasio», est obligatoire. Le second cycle comprend l'enseignement général dans un lycée et l'enseignement technique et professionnel, d'une durée de 3 ans.

L'Éducation supérieure

L'obtention du 'school leaving certificate' est une condition préalable pour entrer dans l'enseignement supérieur. Compte tenu du nombre limité des places, les élèves doivent passer un examen de sélection, organisé par le ministère de l'Éducation et de la Culture.

La moitié des étudiants part étudier à l'étranger et une proportion non négligeable d'entre eux reste expatriée deux ans après la fin de leurs études (de 15% à 25 % selon les diplômés).

L'enseignement supérieur est dispensé par:

- Trois universités publiques
- Quatre universités privées
- Quelques Collèges spécialisés privés

L'apprentissage

L'apprentissage dure deux ans et est proposé aux jeunes, âgés de 14 et 18 ans, qui n'ont pas réussi le 1er cycle du secondaire. Il est organisé sous la double responsabilité des ministères chargés de l'Éducation et du Travail, dans le cadre d'un contrat de travail signé entre l'entreprise, le jeune et ses parents. Les jeunes

passent 3 jours par semaine en entreprise et 2 jours à l'école technique. L'Autorité du développement des ressources humaines (HRDA) rembourse aux entreprises la part des salaires correspondant aux heures de cours dispensés par les écoles techniques.

Le système attire de moins en moins de jeunes, malgré une réforme conduite en 2001. Un des objectifs du gouvernement est la revalorisation de cette filière.

La formation continue

Le système de formation continue, bien établi, concernait en 2003, 7.9 % de la population âgée de 25 à 65 ans, contre 10 % pour la moyenne des 25, qui est l'objectif pour 2006.

Le HRDA, en est l'acteur principal. Il subventionne 50% des dépenses de formation dans les entreprises de plus de 250 salariés et 70 % de ces dépenses, pour celles qui en comptent au plus 249. Une participation financière modeste reste à la charge des stagiaires pour certaines formations.

Selon la position officielle du gouvernement de Chypre, telle qu'exprimée à l'occasion de 25 ans de la République de Chypre, mais valable jusqu'à tout dernièrement, l'orientation politico-idéologique de l'éducation élémentaire se résume ainsi: «Aux premières années de l'indépendance l'objectif essentiel de l'éducation primaire était de donner aux enfants une formation en vue de renforcer une identité ethnique et religieuse nécessaire pour la survie de l'hellénisme de l'île et son épanouissement. Après le coup d'Etat et l'invasion turque on a voulu orienter aussi l'éducation vers des valeurs de liberté et de démocratie comme règles de vie. C'est ainsi qu'après 1974 on met l'accent sur les valeurs essentielles de la tradition grecque, telles l'humanisme, la démocratie et la liberté, en parallèle avec l'édification d'une identité nationale ainsi que la sauvegarde de l'existence étatique de Chypre». (2) Il est clair qu'au niveau de l'éducation primaire on veut développer d'un côté une identité ethnoculturelle et de l'autre côté former les futurs citoyens en leur permettant de s'imprégner des valeurs humanistes et démocratiques. Cette orientation a été incorporée au sein du programme de l'enseignement.

Pour ce qui est de l'éducation secondaire elle a été aussi calquée sur le système hellénique avec quelques adaptations aux particularités locales. L'éducation secondaire a suivi plus ou moins les mêmes aventures que celle de la Grèce : création d'un premier cycle de 3 ans et d'un deuxième cycle de lycée. Le cycle du lycée a suivi tous les changements imposés à diverses époques par les réformes implantées en Grèce.

Les orientations politico-idéologiques de l'éducation secondaire ne diffèrent pas essentiellement de celles de l'éducatin élémentaire. L'objectif est de développer une identité ethnoculturelle et former le futur homme libre dans une société démocratique.

L'éducation secondaire fait face aux mêmes problèmes, aux mêmes défis et aux mêmes difficultés que ce même degré d'éducation fait face en Grèce et dans d'autres pays. Essentiellement il y a un certain relâchement de l'effort nécessaire au niveau de l'école et en même temps l'augmentation du rôle d'un certain nombre de facteurs extérieurs à l'école qui agissent sur la formation de l'élève. En même temps il faut trouver le juste équilibre entre une éducation utilitaire mais qui ne sacrifie pas son caractère humaniste qui forme l'homme libre doté d'un esprit critique.

La formation des maîtres

Pour ce qui est de la formation des maîtres l'ancien Collège Pédagogique de l'époque coloniale a été transformé en Académie pédagogique selon le modèle grec. Plus tard cette formation a été confiée comme en Grèce aux départements d'enseignement primaire des Universités grecques et chypriotes. Pour les enseignants du secondaire on a suivi et on suit toujours le système grec de nomination des diplômés universitaires de diverses disciplines selon une liste des priorités. Ce système a été très critiqué dernièrement mais il est toujours en fonction contrairement à ce qui s'est passé en Grèce où la liste des priorités a été supprimée.

Institut pédagogique

Un Institut pédagogique a été créé à Chypre calqué en principe sur celui qui fonctionne à Athènes. Cependant comme la plupart des livres utilisés à Chypre viennent de Grèce, l'Institut pédagogique de Chypre est plus approprié pour donner une aide aux enseignants avec des séminaires de formation et l'orientation vers le développement de nouvelles méthodes d'enseignement.

La situation actuelle

Depuis maintenant quelques années un débat a lieu à Chypre sur la réforme de l'éducation tant élémentaire que secondaire. Des comités de sages ont été formés et ont fait des propositions. D'autres comités des spécialistes ont proposé des réformes des programmes, mais cet effort provoque une animosité certaine

au sein de la société chypriote. En effet les orientations pédagogiques couvrent toujours un aspect idéologique sur lequel les partis politiques, l'Église et les divers autres intervenants ne sont pas toujours d'accord. En particulier l'enseignement de l'histoire provoque des débats acrimonieux, comme en Grèce d'ailleurs, puisqu'on tente de changer l'orientation hellénocentrique longtemps retenue en cette matière. En plus à Chypre se pose le problème des relations avec les Chypriotes Turcs. Comment cultiver l'esprit de coexistence sans sacrifier la vérité du récit historique ou l'adapter aux nécessités politiques.

De façon plus générale on assiste à une dévalorisation de l'éducation, à un relâchement de la discipline scolaire et à une chute de son niveau. Il est évident que l'éducation à Chypre fait face aux mêmes problèmes, aux mêmes difficultés et aux mêmes défis que l'éducation dans d'autres pays. Néanmoins ces problèmes s'aggravent à Chypre en raison du problème politique auquel le pays fait face, dû à l'occupation d'une partie de son territoire par la Turquie. En plus le lien étroit avec le système d'éducation grec a des repercussions sur l'éducation chypriote. Comme la Grèce n'a pas réussi à stabiliser son système d'éducation et procède à des réformes sans cesse, Chypre subit les contre coups de cette situation.

Un autre problème majeur auquel fait face la société chypriote est le changement démographique. Chypre a reçu ces dernières années des milliers d'immigrants et des réfugiés politiques. Ces flux d'immigration combinés à un taux de natalité très bas provoque un changement de la composition de la population scolaire. Dans plusieurs écoles la majorité des élèves est maintenant issue d'origines ethniques diverses. Le système scolaire chypriote n'était pas préparé à accueillir un si grand nombre d'élèves issus de l'immigration. L'intégration devient ainsi difficile et des tensions se manifestent quelques fois au sein des écoles devenues pluriethniques.

Des concepts jusqu'à tout récemment inconnus, tels le multiculturalisme ou l'interculturalisme ont fait irruption dans les débats sur l'avenir de l'éducation chypriote. Il est évident que ni la société chypriote ni les milieux de l'éducation ne sont préparés pour de tels débats. Les discussions sur de tels sujets se compliquent encore plus à cause du problème politique auquel Chypre fait face. L'occupation d'une partie du territoire de Chypre par la Turquie, la pression démographique que l'île reçoit à cause de l'implantation des dizaines de milliers de colons venus de Turquie, augmente les inquiétudes des Grecs pour leur survie. Il est aussi à noter que des milliers d'immigrants clandestins des pays musulmans entrent à Chypre via la partie occupée par la Turquie. On suppose même Ankara d'avoir un plan pour submerger l'île avec les immigrants clandestins.

Chypre est par ailleurs soumise aux critères européens pour ce qui est des réfugiés politiques et des immigrants clandestins. En même temps à cause de l'occupation turque elle ne contrôle pas l'ensemble de ses frontières. Et comme les immigrants clandestins arrivent via la Turquie avec laquelle la République de Chypre n'a pas de relations diplomatiques, il est impossible de les retourner à ce pays.

Si l'on a fait référence à ces problèmes d'immigration c'est parce qu'ils sont reliés aussi à l'éducation. Il y a d'un côté les coûts pour accueillir les enfants des immigrants à l'école, mais il y a surtout des problèmes d'accueil sur le plan culturel et social.

Selon les statistiques officielles les élèves issus de l'immigration constituent, pour l'année scolaire 2010-2011, le 13,41 % de la population au primaire et 14,06 % à l'école maternelle. Les cinq premiers pays d'où viennent ces élèves au primaire sont la Georgie, la Bulgarie, la Roumanie, et le Royaume Uni. A la maternelle les cinq premiers pays d'où viennent ces élèves sont la Georgie, la Grèce, la Roumanie, la Bulgarie et le Royaume Uni.

Selon les statistiques du ministère de l'Éducation au cours de l'année scolaire 2010-2011, le nombre d'élèves immigrants dans les écoles primaires à Chypre était de 6047 sur un total de 50292 élèves, un nombre qui représente un taux d'environ 12% du total de la population étudiante dans les écoles primaires. Par contre, le nombre à la maternelle était de 1356 sur un total de 11095 élèves, un nombre qui représente un taux d'environ 12,2% de tous les élèves. Le tableau suivant montre le pourcentage des élèves immigrants dans les cinq dernières années dans les écoles élémentaires:

Année scolaire	Élèves immigrants	Taux
2006-2007	3951	7,3
2007-2008	4040	7,7
2008-2009	4605	9,0
2009-2010	5281	10,5
2010-2011	6047	12,0

Le Conseil des ministres de la République de Chypre a adopté en Juillet 2008, le "Document de politique du ministère de l'Éducation et de la Culture pour l'éducation interculturelle." Le ministère de l'Éducation et de la Culture, en

suivant les recommandations pertinentes du Comité de la réforme de l'éducation pour la création d'une école démocratique qui intègre et n'exclue pas, a introduit une série de mesures pour accélérer la normalisation et l'intégration des élèves immigrants dans le système scolaire et dans la société chypriote.

Le ministère de l'Éducation et de la Culture a introduit les principes d'une éducation interculturelle au programme du primaire en insistant sur le respect de la différence. Ce programme a été généralement bien accueilli tant par les enseignants que par les parents, mais il y a eu aussi de fortes réserves sur certains de ses aspects. En particulier des craintes ont été exprimées sur la façon d'enseigner l'histoire et l'Église a eu des réserves sur l'enseignement du cours de la religion. Dans un pays dont 37% du territoire est occupé, avec un effort systématique de la Turquie pour changer sa structure démographique - par l'installation dans le nord de l'île des dizaines de milliers de colons Turcs, avec en plus la présence de dizaines de milliers d'immigrants, en partie clandestins - il est naturel que les Chypriotes grecs s'inquiètent de leur survie. Cela explique sans doute leur méfiance aux changements des orientations de l'éducation qui pourraient avoir des conséquences sur leur identité. Ils s'inquiètent particulièrement de tout changement qui pourrait les éloigner de la Grèce et porter atteinte à leur identité hellénique. En même temps ils manifestent une volonté certaine de vivre avec les Chypriotes turcs au sein d'un État chypriote qui garantirait les droits de tous indépendamment de leur origine ethnique. Cela pourrait conduire, en particulier dans le cadre européen, à la construction d'une identité politique commune sans porter atteinte aux identités ethniques tant des Grecs que des Turcs de Chypre.

En guise de conclusion

Il est clair que l'éducation est un sujet très sensible à Chypre en raison du parcours historique de l'île. De l'occupation ottomane à la colonisation britannique, les Chypriotes ont mené des luttes acharnées pour avoir une éducation hellénique afin de sauvegarder leur langue, leur culture et leur identité. Même avec l'indépendance, la question de l'éducation est restée très sensible à Chypre à cause des événements politiques graves tels (particulièrement) l'invasion turque de 1974, la présence militaire turque et les efforts acharnés d'Ankara de changer la structure démographique de l'île. C'est la raison pour laquelle les Chypriotes insistent toujours afin d'avoir une éducation ouverte sur le monde, mais qui assure en même temps leur survie ethnoculturelle.

NOTES

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Pour la période ottomane, en partie, mais surtout pour la période de la colonisation britannique et celle de l'indépendance, voir Panayiotis Persianis, *Histoire comparative de l'éducation à Chypre*, 1800-2004, Athènes, Gutenberg, 2006 (en grec).
2. Pour la période de l'indépendance les données utilisées dans cet article proviennent essentiellement du ministère de l'Education et de la Culture de la République de Chypre. <http://www.moec.gov.cy> et de la publication *25 ans de République de Chypre 1960-1985*, Nicosie, Bureau de Presse et d'Information, (en grec).
3. *Ibid*, p.105.

A Greek Poet in England: Assorted References on Andreas Kalvos in the English Press (1818-1821)

Research by Lefkios Zafeiriou*

1. The Times, Saturday, June 6, 1818

[GREEK LECTURE. - We are requested to notice, that the Lecture proposed to be given by Mr. Calbo, a native of Greece, on the Ancient Greek Language compared with the Modern, will commence precisely at three o'clock on Monday next, at the Argyle Rooms.]

2. The Morning Chronicle (London, England), Monday, June 8, 1818

[GREEK LECTURE - We are requested to notice, that the Lecture proposed to be given by Mr. Calbo, a native of Greece, on the Ancient Greek Language compared with the Modern, will commence precisely at three o'clock This Day, at the Argyle Rooms.]

3. Caledonian Mercury (Edinburgh, Scotland), Monday, June 15, 1818, issue 15096

[We were exceedingly gratified on Monday by what we believe may be considered a very novel exhibition in this country - a lecture delivered in English by a modern Greek, on the true pronunciation of the language of Homer and Thucydides. The lecturer was a young man of interesting appearance, named Calbo; he is a native of Zante, but has left that island for five years, during which time he has travelled over Europe, and has, in addition to other tongues, acquired such a knowledge of English, that his lecture would not have disgraced one of our best writers either in style or argument. His object was to show, that though the purity of the Greek tongue has been considerably debased, yet that the pronunciation remains the same as in the earliest and most classic times; and among other arguments he showed, with considerable spirit and truth of reasoning, that neither the conquest of Greece by the Romans, nor by the Turks, were at all calculated to effect a change in the Grecian habits of speaking; because the Romans had so great an admiration of those they conquered, that they

* Poet and Philologist

themselves became imitators, rather than models for imitation, and that the brutal ignorance and ferocious arrogance of the Turks precluded all possibility of any voluntary adoption of their models of speech by their indignant slaves. He refuted the theory of Erasmus with great success, and read a passage from Homer, and another from Thucydides, as specimens of the genuine pronunciation. It would lead us far beyond our limits to enter upon this interesting controversy; but we certainly think that Mr C.'s remarks, for their logic no less than their eloquence, deserve much as at the Argyle Rooms, was respectable, though not numerous.]

4. *New Monthly Magazine and Universal Register, (1818: July) pg. 548*

[A Lecture has been lately delivered in the metropolis, in the English language, by a modern Greek, on the true pronunciation of his language. The Lecturer is a young man, named Calbo, a native of Zante. His object was to show that though the purity of the tongue has been debased, the pronunciation remains the same as in the most classic times; an opinion which he enforced with considerable truth of reasoning.]

5. *New Monthly Magazine and Universal Register, July 1818, p. 548*

[A Lecture has been lately delivered in the metropolis, in the English language, by a modern Greek, on the true pronunciation of his language. The Lecturer is a young man, named Calbo, a native of Zante. His object was to show that though the purity of the tongue has been debased, the pronunciation remains the same as in the most classic times; an opinion which he enforced with considerable truth of reasoning.]

6. *The British Critic, 10 (1818: August) pg. 224*

[LITERARY INTELLIGENCE. WORKS IN THE PRESS.

A Grammatical Apparatus to Mr. Bagster's Polyglott Bible; containing an Analysis of the French, Italian, Spanish, German, Greek (ancient and modern), Latin, Hebrew, and Syriac Languages. By the Rev. F. Nolan. The modern Greek part will be supplied by M. Calbo.]

7. *The Times, Thursday, February 11, 1819*

[This day is published, Nos. 1 and 2. price 2s. 6d. each, to be completed in eight or ten numbers, each number to contain one or more complete grammars.]

A POLYGLOTT GRAMMAR of the principal ANCIENT and MODERN LANGUAGES, upon a uniform plan, and by a new simple principle of analysis applied to the improvements of the latest and most approved grammarians. By

the Rev. FREDERICK NOLAN. The modern Greek will be supplied by Mr. Calbo. Printed for Samuel Bagster, No. 15, Paternoster-row; where is now publishing, a Polyglott Bible and Common Prayer, to which the above work is a Grammatical Apparatus.]

8. *The Times, Wednesday, June 23, 1819; pg. 1*

[LECTURES on the Greek Language.---A.CALBO, a native of Greece, respectfully acquaints the nobility and gentry, that he purposes giving, by subscription, three LECTURES on the Greek Language, at the Argyll-rooms, on Monday 28th inst., Wednesday 30th, and Saturday, July 3d; to commence at 3 o'clock; subscription, one guinea. Tickets to be had of Mr. Bagster, 15, Paternosterrow, and at the Argyll-rooms.]

9. *The Times, Friday, June 25, 1819, pg. 1*

[LECTURES on the Greek Language.---A. CALBO, a native of Greece, respectfully acquaints the nobility and gentry, that he purposes giving, by subscription, three LECTURES on the Greek Language, at the Argyll-rooms, on Monday 28th inst., Wednesday 30th, and Saturday, July 3d; to commence at 3 o'clock; subscription, one guinea. Tickets to be had of Mr. Bagster, 15, Paternosterrow, and at the Argyll-rooms.]

10. *The Times, Saturday, June 26 1819*

[LECTURES on the Greek Language.---A. CALBO, a native of Greece, respectfully acquaints the nobility and gentry, that he purposes giving, by subscription, three LECTURES on the Greek Language, at the Argyll-rooms, on Monday 28th inst., Wednesday 30th, and Saturday, July 3d; to commence at 3 o'clock; subscription, one guinea. Tickets to be had of Mr. Bagster, 15, Paternosterrow, and at the Argyll-rooms.]

11. *The Times, Monday, June 28 1819, pg. 3*

[(Advertisement). - We are desired to state the following particulars, respecting the Rev. Mr. NOLAN'S Polyglott Grammar, published by Mr. Bagster, of Paternoster-row, and forming an apparatus to his Polyglott Bibles, Common Prayers, &c. The work consists of two parts, ancient and modern; and two grammars of each (viz. the Latin and Greek, the French and Italian) are published, price 2s 6d each. The Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac; the Spanish and German will follow in succession; the modern Greek to be supplied by M. Calbo. These grammars are on an uniform plan, and contain concise rules for

pronunciation, for the inflection of nouns and verbs, embracing the exceptions generally classed as irregular, and ascertaining the genders of nouns, &c; with a compendious syntax, containing necessary rules for composition, speaking each language; with a full exemplification, explaining the genius of the principal ancient and modern languages, by a new and simple principle of analysis.]

12. *The Times*, December 17, 1819, pg. 4

[This day is published, in four parts, price 7s.

CALBO'S ITALIAN LESSONS; containing, 1. a Synopsis of the Italian Grammar; 2. a Translation of the First Book of Robertson's Charles 5th; 3. Saul di Alfieri et La Danaïdi di Calbo; 4. Extracts from Tasso, Ariosto, Petrarca, and Dante: each part may be had separately. Printed for Alexander Black, 27, Pall-mall.]

13. *The Times*, February 26, 1821

[{Advertisement. }-The BOOK of COMMON PRAYER, in eight languages, dedicated to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, in one volume 4to, price 2l. 10s.-This volume is elegantly and curiously printed, having the eight languages at one view; the English, French, Modern Greek, and Italian, on one side; and the German, Spanish, Greek, and Latin, on the opposite, The intrinsic worth equals the unparalleled beauty of appearance. The Editors and Translators are the Rev. Dr. Kuper, the Rev. Blanco White, Mr. A. Calbo, Dr.

J. Carey, LL. D., &c &c.-The Grammatical Apparatus is by the Rev. F. Nolan, and is sold separately. The list of subscribers will soon be arranged for publication; it is honoured already with the names of His Most Gracious Majesty, His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, of Durham, of Oxford, of Worcester, &c &c; Earl Spencer, Lord Aston, &c &c. Whether this publication be considered as rendering the acquisition of language more easy and pleasurable, or giving a new impulse and value to our Church Service by uniting literature and devotion, or exciting the attention of other nations to the purity of the doctrines of our national formulary, it may surely be considered of extensive utility. - The names of subscribers may be sent to Mr. Bagster, No. 15. Paternosterrow, or to Messrs. Rivington, Waterloo-place, from whom, and of the most respectable booksellers, copies may be had.]

Chronologies

Chypre: 1^{er} novembre 2010 - 31 mars 2011

25 - 28 novembre: 21^{ème} Congrès du parti AKEL (communiste), qui réélit Andros Kyprianou au poste de Secrétaire général.

14 décembre: Résolution 1953 du Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU prolongeant le mandat des Forces de maintien de la paix à Chypre jusqu'au 15 juin 2011 (adoption par 14 voix, et une voix contre, celle de la Turquie).

17 décembre: un accord de délimitation des zones économiques exclusives a été conclu entre Chypre et Israël. Cet accord doit permettre la poursuite des recherches sous-marines d'hydrocarbures sans crainte de conflit d'exploitation. Protestation de la Turquie contre cet accord.

25 décembre: Pour la première fois depuis 1974 la célébration de la messe de Noël a été interdite en zone occupée.

1^{er} janvier: Le président Christofias déclare dans un entretien au journal *Haragvi* qu'en raison des élections législatives de Turquie de juin prochain aucune solution du problème de Chypre n'aura lieu avant cette date.

11 janvier: Visite à Chypre de la Chancelière Angela Merkel, qui apporte son soutien au président Christofias.

26 janvier: Réunion à Genève des chefs des communautés chypriotes grecque et turque en présence de Ban Ki-moon, le Secrétaire général de l'ONU.

28 janvier et 2 mars: Manifestation en zone occupée de plusieurs dizaines de milliers de Chypriotes turcs contre le plan d'austérité imposé par Ankara et la présence de l'armée turque.

16 mars: Visite officielle en Israël du président Christofias, marquée par la conclusion de 5 accords de coopération.

28 mars: Rencontre au Vatican de l'Archevêque de Chypre Chrysostomos II avec le Pape Benoît XVI, qui s'engage à demander à l'Union européenne de faire pression sur la Turquie afin d'éviter la poursuite de destruction d'édifices religieux en zone occupée.

GRECE: 1^{er} novembre 2010- 31 mars 2011

2 novembre: Explosion de colis piégés à l'Ambassade de Suisse et à l'Ambassade de Russie à Athènes. Au total la police grecque découvre 9 colis visant des Ambassades. Revendication par le mouvement anarchiste la *Conspiration des cellules de feu*.

7 et 14 novembre: Elections locales et régionales. Il y a plus de 50% d'abstention. Le Pasok remporte 8 régions sur 13. Georges Kaminis, soutenu par le Pasok est élu maire d'Athènes contre Nikitas Kaklamanis, le maire sortant, (*Nouvelle démocratie*). Yannis Boutaris, proche de Georges Papandréou est élu maire de Thessalonique.

21 novembre: Mme Dora Bakoyannis, députée d'Athènes, exclue de la *Nouvelle démocratie*, présente son nouveau parti: *l'Alliance démocratique*.

22 décembre: Vote du budget par 156 voix contre 142. Ce budget prévoit des économies de 14 milliards d'euros contre 9,1 en 2010. Le déficit public de 15,4% du PIB en 2009 puis de 9,4% en 2010 sera ramené à 7,4% en 2011. Ce budget table sur une contraction de 3% du PIB contre 4% en 2010.

7 janvier: Le Haut Commissaire des Nations Unies pour les réfugiés s'inquiète du projet grec de construction d'un mur anti-immigrés de 12,5 km de large dans la région de l'Évros.

8 janvier: Le Premier ministre Georges Papandréou s'exprime - à la demande du Premier ministre turc Erdogan - à Erzeroum à la session annuelle des Ambassadeurs de Turquie en soulignant la violation de la souveraineté grecque par l'aviation de chasse turque.

17 janvier: Début du procès de 13 membres de la *Conspiration des cellules de feu*.

26 janvier: Avis défavorable de la Commission européenne à la demande de fusion de *Olympic Air* avec *Aegean Airlines* jugée contraire aux règles de concurrence loyale.

9 février: Décès de Miltiade Evert, ancien maire d'Athènes (1986-1989) et ancien président de la *Nouvelle Démocratie* (1993-1997).

11 février: Les représentants de la «troïka» (FMI, BCE, Commission européenne) en visite à Athènes donnent leur feu vert au versement de la 4^{ème} tranche - d'un montant de 15 milliards d'euros - de l'aide de 110 milliards accordée à Athènes. Mais ils demandent pour accélérer la réduction de la dette grecque l'application

d'un programme de privatisation d'un montant de 50 milliards d'euros sur la période 2011-2015. Cette exigence entraîne de très vives réactions de l'ensemble des partis politiques.

17 février: Le Conseil des ministres adopte un projet de loi réprimant la fraude fiscale et prévoyant des peines sévères jusqu'à 20 ans de prison.

8 mars: L'agence de notation *Moody's* abaisse de 3 crans la note souveraine de la Grèce à B1 contre Ba1 auparavant. Cette nouvelle note signifie que la Grèce ne présente qu'une faible sécurité de remboursement sur le long terme.

11 mars: Sommet de la zone euro à Bruxelles. Le taux d'intérêt appliqué aux prêts à la Grèce sera abaissé de 100 points de base et l'échéance de tous les prêts à ce pays est repoussée de 7 ans et demi.

24-25 mars: Conseil européen à Bruxelles, qui adopte un Pacte de compétitivité n'impliquant pas de nouvelles mesures d'austérité pour la Grèce.

25 mars: Dans un entretien au quotidien français, *les Echos*, Georges Papaconstantinou, le ministre grec des finances indique que le PIB en récession en 2011 devrait croître de 1 à 2% en 2012. Il estime aussi que le plan d'aide de 110 milliards ne suffira pas à satisfaire tous les besoins financiers d'Athènes.

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Les manuscrits doivent être originaux et ne pas avoir été proposés à d'autres revues. La longueur recommandée est d'environ 7000 mots. Les auteurs doivent envoyer (par courrier postal ou électronique) trois copies dactylographiées en double interligne de leurs articles. La présentation doit être en anglais ou en français, mais les citations ainsi que les références dans d'autres langues (en particulier le grec) sont encouragées, en particulier si celles-ci favorisent l'argumentation de l'auteur. Dans de tels cas, leur traduction anglaise ou française doit les accompagner. Les manuscrits doivent également inclure un résumé de 150 mots et de notes; publiés ou non ceux-ci ne sont pas restitués.

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