

A Study of the Notion of the Democratization of Education
with Special Reference to PASOK's Policies
for Educational Reform in Greece

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ABSTRACT

A STUDY OF THE NOTION OF THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF EDUCATION
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This study is a theoretical examination of the notion of the democratization of education, followed by a review of modern Greek education and a study of PASOK's (Panhellenic Socialist Movement) proposals and policy for educational reform in Greece. The notion of the democratization of education is clarified through the attempt to examine and identify its two important dimensions, quantitative and qualitative democratization. Further, the components of each dimension are examined and factors which work for or against the democratization of education are discussed in the process. In addition, one particular aspect of democratization, the movement from selective to comprehensive schooling, is studied within the context of three countries--Sweden, France, and England--in order to demonstrate the influence that other factors, specific only to a particular national context, have on the democratization process. Last but not least, in the study of Greece it is demonstrated that the policies and proposals for education of the present government (PASOK) do embody the principles of democratization in them and do indeed attack the elitist nature which characterized modern Greek education ever since its inception.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

It has been pointed out by Kazamias and Massialas (1965) that "one of the persistent goals of educational policy in contemporary societies has been the so-called democratization of education" (p. 145). Some probable reasons for this are as follows:

1. The democratization of education, and particularly quantitative democratization (see chapter 2), is an attempt to combat the differentiations found in individuals and in educational systems and thus limit the barriers which hinder access to schooling. Individual differentiations are those which are normally a result of the socio-economic background of the individual, while differentiations of educational systems are those in the structural organization of the school, in the regional variations of educational provision, and in the differences of value and prestige accorded to educational institutions and areas of study. Further, there are differentiations pertaining to the inequality of educational opportunity between the sexes, and differentiations involving some not so obvious factors such as negative labeling, language and curriculum. Lastly, there are differentiations arising from an unevenness of educational provision for certain groups and age types, such as the adults and the working population.

It is clear then, that educational democratization is often aimed at reducing differentiations of one kind or another, and thus extending educational opportunity to all groups of the population, particularly those previously weakly represented. This is one major reason why it has been considered an important and worthwhile goal of educational policy. Further, the fact that the democratization of education, even when only its quantitative aspects are referred to, involves factors both complex and numerous, is bound to make it a persistent, not a quickly accomplished, goal of educational policy. Complete solutions are difficult and, moreover, what might have been considered at one time as sufficient for the democratization of education might not be considered as such today. For example, as discussed in chapter 2 (p. 9), the free primary school and the free secondary school might once have been regarded as sufficient for democratization, but today are regarded as important steps towards, but not the full realization of, democratization.

2. Historically, there is a pattern that, as societies become more industrialized, they exhibit a movement from elitist to more democratic forms of schooling or to more comprehensive and less selective systems. As industrialization progresses, societies reach a point where they can no longer function on the basis of their very elitist traditions and thus turn to democratization. For example, in the case of France (see chapter 3), its very elitist educational system was incapable of improving the educational level of the majority,

a factor which was considered important by the planning authorities if there was to be economic expansion. Therefore, France is at present moving towards a more democratic form of schooling.

3. As long as societies aim to become more democratic the democratization of education will be a matter of enduring concern. Qualitative democratization (see chapter 2), in particular, will be an important aim for it is mainly this type of democratization that contributes to the development of the individual in preparing him or her for an active and significant role in a democratic society.

Qualitative democratization offers the individual the chance to gain experience of the democratic process while in school through participation in certain educative experiences such as classroom discussions and in the decision-making process in general. This type of participation together with the cultivation of critical thinking, an important objective in a curriculum designed to promote democratization (see pp. 31-32), allows the individual to acquire the virtues essential to a democratic society.

It is important to note here that "democratic society", as referred to in this section and in the thesis as a whole, implies the Western type of democracy in which it is a central tenet that the people are the best judges of their own best interest and must therefore have the freedom to express their views and opinions. This is in opposition to the Communist position which holds that only a small minority, the ruling

Party, should have the right to decide what is best for all.

Therefore, as long as societies are, or aim to be democracies of the Western type, the democratization of education, and particularly qualitative democratization, will persistently be pursued, implying as it does that school is there not only for its own sake but also to fulfill the social function of preparing the individual for a society where his opinion will count and where his role will not be one of subservience.

The three points which have been given to explain the reasons why the democratization of education has been a persistent goal of educational policy, show that one reason for the persistency is the sheer complexity of what is involved in democratization. Its complete realization is a long and difficult process. In fact, no country in the world today has achieved complete democratization of its educational system. Further, the concept becomes even more complex, as will be seen in this thesis, when it is noticed that what counts as democratic varies from one country to another.

Thus, when it comes to defining the concept of the democratization of education, a few paragraphs will not do full justice to it, nor a few hundred pages. Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis are an attempt to clarify the concept.

The different dimensions of the concept are identified and examined, as are the components of each dimension. Factors working for or against democratization will be discussed, and examples will be given of countries which have promoted

democratization in one form or another. Chapter 3 supplements the theoretical analysis, and, by concentrating on one particular aspect of democratization--the movement towards comprehensive schooling--reveals the further complexity of the concept which must be recognised and which is attributable to the specific conditions and movements of change existing in a particular country at a particular time.

The democratization of education will also be extensively studied in chapter 4, this time with specific reference to Greece. That country presents an interesting case, because until recently it was characterized by a very elitist educational system but is at this time undergoing radical changes in its educational system with the objective of democratization. PASOK (Panhellenic Socialist Movement) after winning the elections of 1981, is currently in power and has proposed many changes. Among these changes is the democratization of the Greek educational system. The purpose of the examination in chapter 4 is to discover to what extent each dimension and component of democratization, as studied in chapter 2, is embodied in PASOK's proposals for educational reform.

One of the conclusions to emerge is that even though the democratization of education is a complex notion and even though the full democratization of an educational system is difficult to achieve, this does not mean that one should cease trying to make progress towards this end. Through the changes made in that direction, some aspects of

it might be attained, and much that is worthwhile might be achieved.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL EXAMINATION OF THE NOTION OF DEMOCRATIZATION
AS FAR AS IT CONCERNS EDUCATION

The democratization of education is a complicated notion that demands extensive elucidation. It has more than one definition or dimension, and each dimension consists of many components. This thesis will concentrate on two dimensions of democratization, those which Kazamias and Massialas (1965, p. 154) have characterized as quantitative and qualitative: Quantitative democratization refers to the extension of educational provisions and increased educational opportunity, while qualitative democratization refers to such notions as equality of participation in the decision making process, and freedom of inquiry.

Quantitative Democratization

In a dictionary of education the following definition has been given of the democratization of education which expresses its quantitative character:

The extension of educational opportunity to all persons irrespective of class status or ethnic and racial identification; this would include broadening the scope of the curriculum and school program so that the needs of people of all types and ages would be met, including equality of educational opportunity regardless of variable regional financial ability. (Good, 1959, p. 170)

In general terms then, this type of democratization implies the widening of access to the different levels of education, of students belonging to groups of the population previously weakly represented. For the most part, democra-

tization discussions revolve around the socio-economic class factor, and in these cases the socio-economic classes under-represented in proportion to their numbers within the total population are those of the lower socio-economic groups.

As an example, Bourdieu's (1974) following quote on the inequality of access in France, expresses this notion of under-representation:

The son of a manager is eighty times as likely to get to university as the son of an agricultural worker, forty times as likely as the son of a factory worker, and twice as likely as even the son of a man employed in a lower-salaried staff grade. It is striking that the higher the level of the institution of learning, the more aristocratic its intake. The sons of members of managerial grades and the liberal professions account for 57 percent of students at the Polytechnique, 54 percent of those at the Ecole Normale Supérieure (noted for its "democratic" intake) 47 percent of those of the Ecole Normale and 44 percent of those at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques. (p. 32)

Another example indicating this inequality of representation is Raynor's (1969, pp. 37-38) discussion of the findings of various studies about schooling in England. He mentions Swift's finding which said that children of middle class parents had six times as good a chance of selection at the eleven plus than the working class child. The Crowther Report (1959), he continues, found that children of professional and managerial parents had 25 times as many chances of continuing their education to 17, or beyond, as children of unskilled workers. Finally, Raynor indicates, the Robbins Report (1963) found that 16.8% of boys from non-manual classes entered university as against 2.6% from the manual classes.

With this general definition of quantitative democrati-

zation in mind, let us now turn to an examination of the components which make up this type of democratization.

Democratization in the Area of Economic Assistance

The most obvious factor, but not necessarily the most efficient, which can be used as a corrective measure towards quantitative democratization is economic aid.

If we look at the history of education we can see that the provision of free schooling was a necessary first step towards democratization. But as Le Gall (1973) points out, the progress made by the educational sciences can be judged from the distance which separates the illusions of the educational legislators of the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries from the realities which these sciences demonstrate today:

The free primary school, followed half a century later by the free secondary school, were the necessary steps toward democratization. We now realize that they are far from being sufficient. (p. 27)

But nevertheless, even though free education is far from being a sufficient factor of democratization, as another author has indicated,

provision of free education at all levels is one of the most cherished political goals in modern society. In practically every country in the world, education, even when not absolutely free, is heavily subsidized by the State on grounds of equality of access for all citizens to this merit good. (Psacharopoulos, 1977, p. 69)

"Free" schooling does not always imply an absence of tuition, fee at the educational institutions, but it often refers to various provisions which are connected with eco-

conomic assistance. These provisions as categorized by Le Gall (1973, p. 28) can be as follows:

1. To ensure that pupils are adequately fed, international co-operation has, where necessary linked efforts with those national governments, and both the World Food Programme and the Food for Peace Programme have given considerable support to the efforts of a certain number of States to provide all children in the primary schools with a free daily hot meal, either below, or strictly at, cost price.
2. School books and stationery are provided free to the students.
3. Economic aid is provided to cover travel costs for the students.
4. Economic assistance is given directly to poor families that have school age children so as to cover most of their school expenses, and at the same time to reduce the need for children to work for wages.

An example of a country which offers economic assistance of the above kinds is England. Lauwerys, Holmes, and Dryland (1973, p. 176) note that in England all primary and secondary education is free, as are textbooks, exercise books and almost all school material. All schools have facilities for serving meals, or ready access to shared dining rooms. There is a small charge for meals but it is waived in cases of need. Free milk is provided at the primary level. Transport is provided or paid by the local authorities for pupils who reside at a distance of three miles or more from school, while pupils at the age of 14 are granted half-fare passes.

Other forms of economic assistance exist, especially

in the tertiary sector where education in many countries is no longer free. Their aim is to increase access and provide opportunities to those who are qualified but who might not be able to attend owing to financial reasons. Economic assistance in this case might take the form of scholarships, grants, or loans.

A point to consider when dealing with the democratization of education, is how democratic are the criteria used to decide who is qualified for financial assistance and who is not. The British system, offering grants to all the students, is definitely a step towards democratization. In systems such as those of the U.S.S.R. where higher education is subject to planning, the choice of studies with reference to the national economic interest is often an important factor denoting how much aid is to be offered. It appears that the aim of the U.S.S.R. practice is to guide indirectly the students, through the incentives of grants, into areas of study that economic plans stipulate to be pertinent to the needs of the country. This also coincides with a direct approach that the U.S.S.R. uses by limiting numbers into the various fields of study according to need (see p. 68). These types of criteria used by the U.S.S.R. can be considered as undemocratic, particularly by the U.S. Liberal Arts College ideology which views the Russian approach as a direct or indirect limitation of the individual's right to freedom in choice of studies (this point will be discussed at a later section).

Another point of interest concerning the question as to how democratic are the criteria used for financial assistance, is that at times certain groups of the population are left out. As Le Gall (1973) relates:

Between those situations which call for the award of a grant and the well-off families there is a whole border-line area not covered by the scales, to the great detriment of democratization and of access to secondary and higher education. The families in this border-line area simply remove their children from school once they have completed their lower secondary stage. (p. 49)

Another form which economic assistance could take is the modernization of education, such as the provision of better schools, more and better teachers, modern school equipment, etc. More specifically, the extra assistance would often be given to school districts located in areas represented by the lower socio-economic classes.

In England the publication of the Plowden Report in 1967, referred to this same notion:

The basic concept which we owe to Plowden is that of the Educational Priority Area (EPA), an area in which the co-existence of deprivations, slum housing, widespread poverty, unskilled employment or actual unemployment is sufficiently marked to justify remedial expenditure on the school network in order, in part, to compensate for the manifest deficiencies of social life in its raw state. (Coates and Silburn, 1970, p. 72)

Economic assistance in this case would take the form of a compensatory educational expenditure. Coates and Silburn (1970) indicate that according to recommendations from the Plowden Council, schools could be physically improved or replaced, more and better staff could be recruited and encouraged to remain in such districts, etc.

More the schools themselves could become, to a degree, centres of social regeneration: growth points of a new social consciousness among the poor, which might at last bring poverty under attack from its sufferers, no less than from the all-too-small battalions of liberal welfare workers and social administrators. (p. 73)

In sum, as already indicated, economic assistance is the most obvious but not necessarily a fully efficient factor which can be used as a corrective measure for quantitative democratization. The reasons for this being, that while the aim of economic assistance might be honorable in its intent to aim at democratization, in reality it alone provides no comprehensive realization of it, and at times as indicated by Psacharopoulos (1977) it might even aggravate rather than alleviate social disparities:

The main reason for this perversity is that although education (say, at the university level) is free of charge to those who eventually enroll, enrollments have to be rationed by non-price means (like competitive examinations) because the number of university places is limited (especially in less advanced countries). The non-price allocative mechanism is inequitable because it favors students from well-to-do families who can afford the substantial direct cost of private preparation for the university entrance examinations and the indirect cost of foregone earnings while the student is at school. Furthermore, the absence of tuition charges increases the ratio of aspirants to entrants and thus boosts the gap between the demand and the nearly fixed supply of university places. This creates the need for further non-price restrictions to entry, increases the number of unemployed secondary school graduates and inevitably contributes to social unrest. (p. 69)

Figures such as those noted on page 8 indicate that children who eventually reach higher education, even in developed countries such as France and England, are, for the most part, those whose parents belong to the higher socio-economic classes. Thus Psacharopoulos' argument would sug-

gest, as in fact he does, that

the fact that education is in addition provided free of charge, means that those who go over the selection hurdle are further subsidised. For example, 35 percent of students at the University of Nairobi in Kenya come from families of high and middle level manpower, whereas these families represent only 3 percent of the population. (1977, p. 73)

Further, the situation becomes even more inequitable in the less developed countries where free higher education and few university places create other, very strict, and selective procedures, again favoring the rich. As Psacharopoulos (1977) puts it:

Governments, acting in the name of equality of opportunity, actually generate extra demand for university places when pledging free education. This relationship is found in its most extreme form in less advanced countries, where higher effective subsidies coincide with very steep educational pyramids. Because the supply of places cannot increase or, at least, not as fast as the free education law might require, a non-price restriction mechanism has to operate. This usual mechanism is that of selection via competitive examinations, not only at the university entrance stage, but also well down the educational ladder. This selection clearly favors students from well-to-do families. (p. 84)

The solution suggested by Psacharopoulos for this type of problem is to link the educational subsidy to the ability of the student's family to pay. In other words, students from rich families will pay the full cost of their education, while students from poor families will not pay. Even further, Psacharopoulos (1977) suggests, "true equality of opportunity would not only be the provision of 'free' education (i.e. not direct fees) but also finance the indirect cost of education for students who deserve it" (p. 86). But one could easily argue again, how is this type of solution going to reduce

the demand for higher education and all the ills associated with it (strict selection procedures, etc.) since the poor will know that education for them will be free, and when the rich might not really care for having to pay since they can afford it?

The solution then must lie elsewhere. Economic assistance by itself does not seem to bring us much closer to the democratization of education, and while economic assistance is often a cherished political aim, it is not one of the best corrective measures when it comes to the democratization of education. This is not to suggest that it should completely be eliminated as a corrective measure, but that it must be accompanied by a number of other correctives, such as those suggested in the rest of this chapter.

Le Gall (1973) sums this section very well when he says:

An extensive and efficient system of scholarships with the State assuming responsibility for all incidental expenses such as transport, books, educational equipment, etc., make or would make it possible for children from modest backgrounds to go to secondary school and university. This is still only the first step toward democratization, however. Various obvious or hidden factors, the most powerful of which are not always the most conspicuous, work to increase or restrict this theoretical possibility and these, both by their numbers and because of their interlocking nature, could seriously reduce, if care were not taken, the practical effectiveness of the democratization of education. (p. 23)

Democratization of the Internal Factors of Schooling

Labeling. There are social and psychological factors involved in the process of schooling which can have a stronger influence than economic aid on the student's educational choices and career, and in turn on quantitative democratization.

One of these factors is the labeling process which often

occurs in schools. It is a direct result of certain school practices such as streaming between and within classes as well as the direct or indirect labels teachers and other educators place on students. Labeling has an enormous effect of the self-concept of the individual, which in a nutshell is the way one conceives oneself to be. A positive self-concept is directly related to high motivation, high educational and occupational aspirations, the capacity for deferred gratification, as well as to high achievement. Purkey (1970) gives an excellent review of all the studies which indicate a significant relationship between self-concept and academic achievement: Students with positive self-concepts perform better than students with negative self-concepts. He also notes studies which show that minority or lower-class children, on the whole, have negative self-concepts.

Another significant point is that the self-concept is very much an aspect of socialization shaped by experiences and by interactions with significant others such as the family, the peer group, and teachers.

Given this information about the self-concept, and given that the main concern of this thesis is the democratization of education, then what can be done to change negative attitudes in children, especially lower class children, to positive ones, in the hope of bringing along with this higher achievement and aspirations, and thus higher representation of these groups in those levels of the education system previously having low proportions of lower-class children? Also

we must look at what kind of effect labeling has on the self-concept, and on steps that have to be taken to improve the situation if it needs improvement.

First of all, educators or the community can try to reach the parents through counseling since they are major socializing agents and play an important role in shaping the child's self-concept, as well as influencing his attitudes towards schooling, achievement, deferred gratification, etc. Cicourel and Kitsuse (1977) discuss the studies of Parsons, and Kahl, which have found the importance of social class membership as a major determinant of the occupational aspirations and achievement of youth.

They have emphasized class related differentials in the socialization of children and the consequences of such differences for the attitudes of youth toward academic achievement, occupational aspirations and plans for college education. (p. 238)

Some statistical studies (Crowther, 1959; Robbins, 1963; Douglas, 1964) as indicated by Witkin (1974) give support to the theory that social class is a major determinant of a child's success in school, and that middle class influence has a positive effect on the child, while lower class influence has a negative effect.

These reports have given a clear and unequivocal picture of wastage of working class talent in terms of early leaving and poorer academic performance. Crowther found that 87 percent of children with above average IQs have left school by the age of sixteen; and that of grammar school boys whose fathers were professional or managerial workers, 38 percent had left school by the age of sixteen, whereas for the sons of skilled and less skilled manual workers the figure was as high as 72 percent. Robbins found that a working class boy in the top quartile of the ability group selected for grammar school at eleven would not do as well in the GCE as a

middle class boy in the bottom quartile of the group. It can hardly be denied that class related factors are at the root of this very considerable wastage of ability within our educational system. (p. 303)

But, trying to counsel the parents as suggested, in the hope of teaching them ways to foster in their children positive self-concepts, high aspirations, the capacity for future orientation, etc., is not an easy task. It demands from the parents changes in the ways they have been bringing up their children, particularly changes of values. While it is not to suggest that this approach is an impossible task, it nevertheless appears a difficult task for the poor families in particular who might have other immediate priorities to be concerned with such as food, shelter, and employment, and who might thus consider the demand of the counselors or educators as less significant, or who might even, simply, refuse to change their values and beliefs.

What means is there, if not the changing of parents' attitudes, to shaping positive self-concepts in children, motivating them, and encouraging them to look forward and work towards a future where their expectations will be met? The school seems to be a more powerful factor than the home in solving certain problems related to the self-concept and in turn to success in school. When certain school practices are eliminated which work against the democratization process then one can look towards a brighter future for the poor.

One of the common practices in school which tends to work against the democratization process is the practice of labeling students through tracking or streaming between and

within classes. There is usually very little mobility between streams and a tendency for lower class children, who come to school with low aspirations and negative self-concepts, to find themselves in the lower streams or ability groups. Some studies indicating this point are those by Douglas (1964), Persell (1977), and Schaefer, Olexa, and Polk (1975). Studies dealing with grouping practices in the elementary school, such as those by Leiter (1976), and by Rist (1970), indicate that labeling starts as far back as the kindergarten and that it is related to social class criteria.

Husen (1962, p. 55) points out studies which show that differentiated classes have less good effect on the less able students than undifferentiated classes where the less able student makes greater gains and exhibits a lower degree of inferiority feelings. In other words, labeling has an effect on the self-concept of the individual and in turn on school achievement. Why might this be so?

Labeling has an effect on the self-concept of the individual because as argued by Mead (1934) and Purkey (1970) the self has a dynamic quality. New interactions and experiences in the life of the individual can change the way the individual conceives himself to be, or his self-concept, and especially in the child, who is developing, trying to create a stable and organized image of himself. Others, and particularly, "significant others" in the child's life become of the utmost importance in the development of the self. It is

through them that the child creates a certain self image or concept of himself. Mead has called it the "looking-glass self" for one sees one's self in the eyes of another through the interpretation of the other's response while in interaction and through taking that meaning as representative of one's self image or self-concept.

Teachers and other educators are often the "significant others" of children; in other words they are the ones whose opinion counts in shaping the self-concept of a particular individual. If care is not taken, what often happens is that these "significant others" tend to view children in stereotypical ways. In their minds they categorize children and often make dangerous inferences like the one that Gross (1962) has pointed out: "Johnny comes from the middle class or lower class; therefore he possesses certain beliefs, values and behavior patterns", (p. 216). The mind's categorization becomes grave when it turns into an expectation. For example, if school results in the past have shown that children from the lower class are less successful in school than middle class children then teachers often expect low performance from the lower class child. What happens is that the self-fulfilling prophecy is made. It is the notion of how one person's expectation for another person's behavior can quite unwittingly become a more accurate prediction simply for its having been made (Rist, 1970, p. 209).

A study done by Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) verifies an occurrence of a self-fulfilling prophecy. On one of their

major studies the following was reported:

20% of the children in a certain elementary school were reported to their teachers as showing unusual potential for intellectual growth. The names of these 20% of the children were drawn by means of a table of random numbers, which is to say that the names were drawn out of a hat. Eight months later these unusual or "magic" children showed significantly greater gains in IQ than did the remaining children who had not been singled out for the teacher's attention. The change in the teacher's expectations regarding the intellectual performance of these allegedly "special" children had led to an actual change in the intellectual performance of these randomly selected children. (pp. vii-viii)

Care must be taken, if democratization of education is to be accomplished, that streaming practices between and within classes come to an end, and that the children are attended by competent teachers and other educators who do not make dangerous categorizations about their students. Instead, educators should try to foster positive self-images in their students by treating them with warmth and respect and by viewing them as individuals with worth. As Hawk (1967) suggests,

probably the key word in improving one's concept of self is acceptance. An individual learns that he is adequate by being treated as if he were adequate. An individual learns that he is competent by performing successfully on tasks that are appropriate to his level of competence. Combs suggests that to "produce a positive self, it is necessary to provide experiences that teach individuals they are positive people." (p. 212)

Ways have to be found of making classes completely undifferentiated, and that no groupings or negative labeling exist within these undifferentiated classes. As Nash (1974) indicates the Plowden committee saw that,

clear-cut streaming within a class can be more damaging to children than streaming within a school. Even from the infant-school there still come too many stories of

children streamed by the table they sit at, of "top tables" and "backward reader" tables. (p. 245)

But then, Nash goes on to prove that even if there is no clear cut streaming within the classroom but a camouflaged one, such as groups called by color or number, or even if more careful grouping arrangements exist, the students still know what their position in the class is. This is probably due to the fact that teachers' expectations have an enormous influence, even if there are no groupings at all within the class, and they shape an individual's self-concept, particularly that of children, who are constantly striving to find a consistency of their self image through the interpretation of the other's view of them while in interaction.

Pedagogical criticisms of undifferentiated classes insist that the work load of the teacher will increase for having to provide for more individualization. The argument is valid, but since the benefits of heterogeneous classes far outweigh the benefits of homogeneous classes as far as democratization is concerned, then it is worthwhile to look for solutions correcting these pedagogical difficulties.

In-service training could be provided, as Smith (1979, p. 185) suggests, to help teachers cope with the challenges of heterogeneous and undifferentiated classes as well as with the challenges of individualized instruction. Especially in the case of individualized instruction, which demands a great deal of time from the teacher, care must be taken that it does not result in a constant flow of worksheets concentrating on just factual knowledge. Perhaps a suggestion would

be to concentrate on individualized learning (demands less time from the teacher) rather than individualized instruction, especially in the primary school where its custodial functions make this type of instruction difficult. Another suggestion is to have very small classes resulting in low student/teacher ratios, but of course, this is something that depends on the economy of the country in question, and on its expenditure on education, as well as on the availability of teachers.

Others, such as Husen (1962) and Chitty (1979), suggest that a solution to facilitate teaching in heterogeneous classes is grouping within the class but with a high degree of flexibility. Simon (1979, p. 147), also suggests that one can not rely largely on individualization because the social aspects of education, where children learn from each other, are also very important. He also notes that perfect solutions are yet to be found as to the correct balance between individual, group, and class work.

In sum, in this attempt to examine one particular internal factor of schooling--labeling--and its relation to the democratization process, the following has been noted:

The lower class child who as we have seen is under-represented in the various levels of education, often comes to school with a negative self-concept which is further reinforced by certain school practices which tend to label the child in negative ways.

These practices come by many names such as streaming, tracking, homogeneous grouping, differentiated classes,

or even the labeling occurring at interaction, but they all have similar outcomes. They affect the child's self-concept and in turn his or her achievement and success in school as well as aspirations and capacity for future orientation. This in turn might affect the democratization process since the child with a negative self-concept, low aspirations, low academic achievement, will want to drop out of school early or might even be forced by educators to move in non-academic directions. Thus access in this case is not widened, as quantitative democratization would aim for, but restricted.

The home, a major socializing agent, is difficult to reach in the hope of educating parents to bring their children up with positive self-concepts. The school, another major socializing agent, is a more likely vehicle for our aims. All negative labeling practices should be eliminated, and teachers as well as other educators should view the child positively by accepting the child and treating him or her with respect. Further, educators should recognize the emotional and depressive influence of social and family environments, and they should try to foster positive self-images in those children who need it, by motivating and encouraging them to realize more fully the potentialities within them.

More research is definitely needed in this area of study, particularly in the search for a perfect grouping situation that is democratic in nature, involving no negative labeling, and exhibiting no pedagogical problems.

Language. Language is another internal factor of schooling which can affect the democratization process through its relationship to socio-economic class and to achievement in school.

Basil Bernstein's work is very relevant to the "connection between social structure, language and 'educability' " as indicated by Lawton (1978, p. 44). As discussed by Halsey and Karabel (1977), language according to Bernstein can be characterized as elaborated or restricted:

Family class position is the fundamental determinant of linguistic code; the characteristic expressions of membership in working-class and middle-class families are, respectively 'restricted' and 'elaborated' codes. Participation in working-class family and community life, in which social relations are based upon shared, identifications, expectations, and assumptions, tends to generate a 'restricted code', for the speaker who is sure that the listener can take his intentions for granted, has little incentive to elaborate his meanings and make them explicit and specific. Middle-class culture, in contrast, tends to place the "I" over the "we" and the resultant uncertainty that meanings will be intelligible to the listener forces the speaker to select among syntactic alternatives and to differentiate his vocabulary. The result is the development of an 'elaborated code' oriented to the communication of highly individualized meanings. (p. 63)

However, as pointed out by Lawton (1978), Bernstein's theory has been greatly misunderstood and misinterpreted.

He was not suggesting that working-class language is inferior to middle-class language and that therefore working-class children are less educable; he was demonstrating that if middle-class children acquire the kind of oral expression classified as elaborated code this will give them an advantage in formal educational contexts, given the way that education is at present organized. (p. 44)

The misinterpretation of Bernstein's early work has in turn involved connecting it with "deficit theory". His restricted and elaborated codes, as discussed by Lawton (1978,

p. 46), have been associated with the notion of "linguistic deprivation" and the need for compensatory education based on overgeneralizations about working-class children. Bernstein never meant his work to be associated with deficit theories, nor was he a proponent of compensatory education. On the contrary, Bernstein (1970, p. 113) criticizes the notion of compensatory education and notes that it distracts attention from the deficiencies in the school itself, and focuses upon deficiencies within the community, family and child.

One might at this point ask how is this discussion related to the democratization of education? The answer is as follows: Differences in language do exist, but this is not to imply that those groups who use the restricted code do not have the potential to learn in an educational context. Therefore, labels such as "linguistically deprived", "culturally disadvantaged", "culturally deprived", etc., should not be used.

Following this line of thought, compensatory educational programs are in line with the principles of democratization when they are based on the view that there is a distinction between a limited competence and a limited potential. Remedial classes can then be understood as an attempt to remedy the former in order to increase the likelihood that potential is not unrealized. But compensatory educational programs can also be seen to work against the principles of democratization. Bernstein believes that the deficiencies are properly located in the school, not in the child, and

that is where our attention should focus. For example, Labov, W. (cited in Silver, 1980), in agreement with this, says that the Head Start program was "designed to repair the child, rather than the school; to the extent that it is based upon this inverted logic, it is bound to fail" (p. 40).

There has emerged the firmly held view that the whole stress on linguistic or cultural deficit and deprivation, and the related 'compensation' schemes, have been an assault on the working class and its culture, on the working-class family and its values, in the teachers' values, in school structures and curriculum patterns which cause working-class children to fail. (Silver, 1980, p. 40)

Views such as those of Bernstein and Labov are in agreement with the view that the school is a middle class institution, and that is where its deficiencies lie. The school's values as well as the language of transmission are largely middle class. Therefore, students coming from middle class homes, equipped with the appropriate type of language and values that the school uses, find themselves at home in school, while the opposite is true of the lower class child. This is against the principles of democratization, for the lower class child is at a disadvantage in school through not being in an environment that can be easily exploited and accepted by him. Certain school practices label the child as linguistically and culturally deprived, place him or her in streams of low ability, and the consequences this might in turn bring to the self-concept, to success, to aspirations, etc., as already discussed are negative.

Some possible corrections which aim towards democrati-

zation and which are related to the question of language are as follows:

1. All children should be viewed by educators and accepted as competent beings, irrespective of the language code they use. They should not be labeled in any negative terms.

2. The school could try to adapt itself to the child by drawing content of learning much more from the child's experiences in his family and community. As suggested by Bernstein (1970), a restricted code does not mean that children have nothing to offer the school and that their imaginings are not significant. There is nothing in their dialect which prevents them from learning everything that a middle class child is capable of learning:

But if the contexts of learning--the examples, the reading books--are not contexts which are triggers for the children's imaginings, are not triggers on the children's curiosity and explorations in his family and community, then the child is not at home in the educational world.... Many of the contexts of our schools are unwittingly drawn from aspects of the symbolic world, of the middle class and so when the child steps into school he is stepping into a symbolic system which does not provide for him a linkage with his life outside. (pp. 119-120)

3. Compensatory educational programs are questionable, since they focus solely on the deficiencies of the child and not those of the school.

In sum, both restricted and elaborated codes should be respected and accepted, and the contexts of learning should draw examples from all walks of life so that all children will feel at home and at the same time learn about the

world that is outside their own local environment.

Curriculum content. The definition of quantitative democratization at the beginning of this chapter indicates that extension of educational opportunity should include "broadening the scope of the curriculum and school program so that the needs of people of all types and ages would be met". From the definition it is quite ambiguous as to what exactly this means and entails, but considering that the aim is democratization, the curriculum content would most likely be of the following nature:

1. As will be seen in the next section which concerns the democratization of the external factors of schooling, the type of organization most closely associated with democratization would be a comprehensive system as opposed to a selective system of schooling. Only comprehensive schools provide a common curriculum for all types of students irrespective of socio-economic background, origin or sex.

This type of view would exclude right away theories such as G.H. Bantock's which suggest that there is an appropriate curriculum for the working class which should be distinct from curriculum meant for the middle and high class. Further, it is suggested that lower class children should be taught in separate schools and only that which is appropriate to their culture or way of life. Theories which tend to divide individuals as such, are not in line with democratization principles which demand a com-

mon curriculum for all, and under the same roof.

Further, views which suggest that the curriculum should be relevant only to the life of the child and not transcend his community would be in opposition to a curriculum based on democratization. Entwistle (1977) argues against the views of people such as Midwinter who believe that there is a curriculum appropriate only for working class children such as those living in the Educational Priority Areas of England, and that this curriculum should not consist of knowledge that transcends their local environment. Entwistle adds that the extra-local environment or the "remote middle class world" as called by Halsey, should be of concern to all individuals:

Indeed, the "remote middle-class world" is the likely source of a good many local problems, and to deny the relevance of knowledge of this wider environment is to frustrate the possibility of radical social change. (p. 91)

A relevant point to this discussion argued by John White (1979) suggests that having a distinct curriculum content for the working class, taught in separate schools is unreasonable:

Now such content may well have a place in a total package; but what claim has it got to be exclusive? At its most extreme, inspired by the dottier forms of sociological relativism, this policy would only succeed in imprisoning working-class children in their own working-class world, depriving them of the wider horizons, and hence capacity for reflection on their present way of life, which a more liberally conceived education could provide. (p. 165)

In a sense, the extension of educational opportunity to all irrespective of socio-economic background, origin,

or sex, implies that knowledge which is transmitted by the school curricula should be made more accessible too, to people of all types and ages. In other words, the broadening of the curriculum, when democratization is considered, implies making the same range of curriculum options available to all. It would thus be undemocratic to have only certain groups of the population or even to limit the curriculum to include only concerns of the local environment or community and not concerns of the extra-local world. Further, the curriculum should offer many options and a wide range of choices so that the individual will have a large selection to choose from that which fits his interests and abilities.

2. Further, broadening the scope of the curriculum, when seen from the point of view of democratization, implies that education prepares the individual for a democratic society. This view will become more clear in the discussion of qualitative democratization.

Thus curriculum content must include subjects which emphasize democratic processes and principles as well as subjects which cultivate critical thinking in the individual so that he can eventually play an active role in the shaping of a democratic society, using habits of critical reflection instead of mere obedience to the status quo. A diversity of ideological views should be taught in school and as objectively as possible. The student should be able to examine all views critically and decide for himself

what is best for him. In addition, education should not be directing its goals solely to the needs of the economy or industrial efficiency, serving them instead of examining and investigating them. As Arblaster (1970) suggests,

education, rightly understood, is not indoctrination of any kind, but an essential critical activity. Its function is to encourage people to think independently, to doubt, to question, to investigate, to be sceptical and inquisitive....Education should provide a permanent opposition to orthodoxies, both political and intellectual. Thus education does have a social function, but it is not a subservient one. It is essentially an independent and democratic function. Its task is not to serve business, government and the economy, but to examine, investigate and analyse them. (p. 54)

Considering the previous thoughts, some subjects that would be of importance to an education that aims for the democratization of its curriculum content are, political science, economics, philosophy, literature, art, music, theatre, etc. These subjects would be added to the traditional subjects such as math, reading, writing, science and foreign languages.

3. Care must be taken that what is formally transmitted through the actual curriculum offerings and what is informally transmitted through the "hidden" curriculum has to be such that it nurtures positive self-concepts and high aspirations in all children, especially in those of the low socio-economic class who need it the most.

4. Schools should make curriculum provisions for all ages of the population. Education should not be restricted

to the initial age of one's life. Adult education and recurrent education should be an important factor of democratization (see section on recurrent education pp. 49-53). Provision should also be made for the illiterate groups of the population.

In short, a curriculum content that aims towards democratization should be a common curriculum, one that provides a wide range of options to all, irrespective of socio-economic background, origin or sex. Its content should not be limited to local concerns, but it should provide information about the extra-local environment as well. In addition, there should not be a distinct curriculum for distinct groups of the population because this sets a limit as to what an individual can study by allowing access only to that which is considered to be appropriate.

Further, curriculum content should provide the individual with the type of knowledge which is necessary for functioning in a democratic society. Curriculum should be made available to all types and ages, no matter what its nature might be. Last but not least, that which is transmitted through the curriculum should not involve any negative labeling, instead it should try to foster positive self-concepts in all individuals.

In conclusion to this section, three major internal factors of schooling have been discussed: labeling, language, and curriculum. We have seen how they might obstruct or

aid the democratization process. These factors are not obvious components of quantitative democratization, as are the factors involved with economic aid, but they have a positive influence too. In other words, even when education is made completely free to the individual, the internal factors of schooling could still limit the extension of educational opportunity to all, or quantitative democratization.

Democratization of the External Factors of Schooling (Structural or Organizational Democratization)

Before one attempts to correct the internal factors of schooling so that they aim towards democratization, the organization of the school or its structure has to be such that it too aims towards the extension of educational opportunity, and that it provides an environment conducive to the required change needed for its internal and less obvious factors.

The type of organization aiming more towards the needs of democratization can become apparent after comparing the various educational systems that exist. But this is an enormous task since there are many factors involved in schooling making categorization difficult. On the whole, as I gathered from Le Gall's et al. (1973) study, classifications of educational systems seem to be based on the degree of differentiation that an educational system has. Earl Hopper's (1977, p. 154) typology for the classification of educational systems is more specific in saying that educational systems can be classified according to their

selection process. My intent is not to discuss the various classifications of educational systems, but to generalize and examine two large categories of opposites: the selective and the comprehensive organization. Table 1 gives a general summary of the basic characteristics of the two systems.

The following discussion is intended to examine the merits and drawbacks of both selective and comprehensive systems and to prove that comprehensive systems serve the needs of democratization.

Selective systems, characterized by a high degree of differentiation, can be said to be based on an elitist ideology which Earl Hopper (1977) describes to be as follows:

The maximum amount of education for each citizen should depend on his future ability to contribute to economic productivity; that "intelligence" and "educability" are determined primarily by hereditary factors such that some people could not possibly benefit from education above a given minimum; and that those who appear to be bound for elite positions should be separated at an early age from those who appear to be bound for lower positions so that the former gain in their confidence to lead and the latter in their willingness to follow. This ideology supports the view that initial selection should occur as early as possible, and that a relatively large number of routes should exist. (p. 157)

A comprehensive educational system on the other hand, the one which aims towards democratization, can be characterized by an egalitarian ideology, which, again, according to Hopper (1977) specifies the following:

That the maximum amount of education is the right of every citizen regardless of his future ability

Table 1

General Characteristics of Comprehensive and Selective
Educational Systems

Comprehensive Systems	Selective Systems
"Open" non selective.	"Closed, highly selective and competitive.
Examinations, non competitive. Movement towards the use of continuous assessment to define the progress of the student.	Competitive entrance examination. Progress of student based on competitive exams and intelligence testing.
Common schooling for all, in the case of secondary education usually lasting for nine years. Late selection and late specialization.	Differentiated schools, providing alternative forms of education. In the case of secondary schooling, selection and specialization occurs early, usually after six years of schooling (at the beginning of the first level of secondary education).
The program is broad, and the curriculum standardized. There is minimum--or no--differentiation through streaming or curriculum specialization.	Tracking or streaming are very common features of a selective system. There is always a track providing academic studies and geared towards higher education. Then there are the vocational tracks geared towards the world of work and early leaving from school. At an early stage, grouping practices are employed aiming at spotting those who are supposed to be particularly academically oriented.
Freedom of choice and flexibility in the choice of subjects or areas of study.	Little freedom of choice. Although transfer from one area of study or track to another is theoretically possible it does not often occur.
The aim is for the areas of study to be of an equal value and prestige.	The areas of study are placed in a hierarchy of values.
Characterized by a high retention rate.	Characterized by a high attrition rate in terms of grade repeating and drop out.

to contribute to economic productivity; that intelligence" and "educability" are determined primarily by environmental factors such that with proper instruction all people could benefit from a maximum of education; and that those who appear to be bound for elite positions should work and play as long as possible with those who appear to be bound for lower positions so that the former will not lose touch with the "common man" and the latter will not become overly subordinate and lacking in initiative. This ideology supports the view that selection should occur as late as possible, and that a relatively small number of routes should exist. (pp. 157-158)

In the debate on the relative merits and drawbacks of the two systems, Husen (1977) indicates,

It has been maintained, on the one hand, that the top pupils in a comprehensive system will suffer by having to be taught together with their more slow-learning peers. This will impair their standard of achievement in comparison with pupils of equal intellectual standing in systems where an organizational differentiation in terms of selection for separate academically oriented schools takes place at an early age or where strict homogeneous grouping within the school is employed.

The adherents of comprehensive education, on the other hand, maintain that the top pupils will not suffer as much in their system as the great mass of the less academically-oriented students in a selective system, particularly those who rather early are left in the elementary school after the "book-oriented" have been selected for the university-preparing secondary schools.

The elitists maintain that a system of selection based on fair and equally employed criteria of excellence will open the avenues to high-status occupations to those from all walks of life who deserve it by possessing the necessary (mainly inherited) talent. The comprehensivists counter by claiming that a selective system is beset with a greater social bias than the comprehensive one. As one moves up the ladder of the formal educational system the proportion of lower class pupils is much lower in a selective than in a comprehensive system, which is interpreted as evidence for bias. (p. 276)

Following the description on the debate of the merits

and drawbacks of selective and comprehensive systems, Husen (1977) provides us with his point of view which is derived mainly from the evidence as shown in table 2.

Table 2

Percentage of Pupils Within Each Population from Selected Categories of Parental Occupation

	Population I (10-year-olds)		Population II (14-year-olds)		Population IV (17-19 year-olds)	
	P ^a & M ^b	U ^c & S ^d	P & M	U & S	P & M	U & S
England	16	21	14	14	38	5
W. Germany	13	7	14	8	49	1
Finland	9	35	10	34	20	15
Hungary	15	43	20	36	38	18
Netherlands	26	12	20	12	55	5
Sweden	23	31	26	27	35	15
U.S.A.	24	18	31	16	34	14

^aP is used for the word Professional

^bM is used for the word Managerial

^cU is used for the word Unskilled

^dS is used for the word Semi-Skilled

Note. From Academic performance in selective and comprehensive schools, by Husen. In A.H. Halsey & J. Karabel (Eds.), Power and Ideology in Education. N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1977, 281.

Husen brings to our attention that as the student population moves to the pre-university age (17-19), the percentage of pupils coming from unskilled and semi-skilled parental oc-

cupations decreases enormously, especially in England and West Germany where both systems are selective. On the other hand, in countries such as Sweden and the U.S.A., characterized by comprehensive systems, the decrease of students coming from unskilled and semi-skilled parental occupations is not so drastic. Husen's (1977) conclusion from this comparison is as follows:

The comprehensive system, by its openness, lack of selective examinations during the primary and initial secondary school period and its high retention rate, is a more effective strategy in taking care of all the talent of a nation. By casting a net as widely as possible an attempt is made to "catch" an optimum number of fish. A selective system with early separation of pupils who are rated to have academic potential is destined to produce good end products. But this advantage is bought at the high price of excluding a sizeable number of pupils from lower class homes from further education and of limiting the opportunities of the great mass of pupils to get access to quality education. (p.282)

Arguments such as Husen's, or even simply the notion that comprehensive systems are based on egalitarian principles, while selective systems are based on elitist ideology, are elements which suggest that comprehensive systems serve the needs of democratization much more than selective systems. While comprehensive systems aim to extend educational opportunity to all, selective systems aim to extend it only to some.

Another point of interest which implies that selective systems do not serve the needs of democratization, is that early selection or specialization, one of their major characteristics, might be too premature and too decisive an operation for most students. At the age when selection is made

"the abilities and motivations of children and young people are still too closely bound up with their social background to a full appreciation to be made of all their future possibilities" (Le Gall, 1973, p. 85). The aim of the first level of secondary education (when specialization takes place in most selective systems) as Le Gall (1973, p. 44) argues is to reveal the hidden potential of the child obscured up to that point by the pupil's background, and not to decide for the student at the age of 10 or 11, the stream or area of specialization which will often stay with him for the rest of his life.

Early selection, as Bockstael and Feinstein (1970, p. 40) indicate, tends to favor the students coming from the higher social classes. Thus, deciding the future of the child at the age of 10 or 11 is undemocratic, works against the principle of full self-realization, and against the free development of the student's intellectual interests and powers.

Specialization should begin at a later age, perhaps after the first level of secondary education when the child is about 15-16 years of age. It should occur voluntarily, in the light of each pupil's maturity interests, for only then, as Lauwerys et al. (1973, p. 156) indicate, "it may be regarded as appropriate to the democratization process".

The use of counseling may function positively in the process of helping to democratize education. Students at the pre-selection stage could be given information on the various fields of specialization offered and guided as

objectively as possible to the field of study where their talent can best be developed.

An additional point which suggests that selective systems do not serve the needs of democratization is a consequence of their elitist ideology which views educability and intelligence as inherited and not as something influenced by environmental factors. This type of view, in turn, sees the need for selective education, for labeling practices such as grouping by ability, and for IQ and intelligence testing, so as to pick out and separate the intelligent, destined for elite positions, from the rest. Obviously, comprehensive education, according to elitist ideology would be of no use since intelligence is considered by elitist ideology to be inherited and thus democratic schooling practices, according to their view, will have no great influence on the poor performer.

But the view that intelligence is inherited and that social differences can be explained as having purely biological origins (supported by Arthur Jensen and H.J. Eysenck) is a very controversial one and has resulted in a strong case on the other side. Most of the empirical data to prove this scientific racism comes from the resemblance of IQ scores of more or less closely related individuals, especially a small number of cases of identical twins reared apart (and thereby sharing the same set of genes but having different environments) has been re-examined and shown to be fraudulent, as Rose (1979) has indicated. Further, Rose adds,

although the twin studies until recently made up the centre-piece of the hereditarian claims that 80 percent of the differences between individuals in IQ (and hence intelligence) was inherited, it is now clear that they are virtually worthless for this purpose. The most celebrated series of twins, that of Burt, has been re-examined, first by the American psychologist Leon Kamin, and later by the Sunday Times writer Oliver Gillie, and has been shown to be fraudulent: much of the data and the correlations were clearly invented by Burt himself in order to "prove" a viewpoint he was fanatically attached to. (p. 87)

As already mentioned, selective systems place a great emphasis on examinations. In fact, they are legitimized by examinations which are used to measure intelligence and identify the talented and the non-talented. At times, selection through the use of examinations is considered democratic, for example, by the higher socio-economic classes of England, as Whitbread (1977) indicates, who consider such a system as a democracy based on merit. But according to Whitbread, there is no such thing as a democratically based meritocracy, it is only an illusion:

The ruling-class ideology of a limited pool of ability served to justify selection procedures and hierarchical institutional structures at both secondary and tertiary levels. This was countered by the labour movement's ideology of equal opportunity, but bourgeois liberalism interpreted this to legitimize selection by examinations which purported to identify the intellectually ablest regardless of social class.... The illusion of a democratically based meritocracy. (p. 289)

If it is agreed that intelligence is not a factor of inheritance, but a factor influenced by the environment, then it must also be understood that it is not fixed and unchangeable or that the measurement of intelligence is final. The child, as Simon (1979, p. 144) notes, should be seen as a dynamic organism whose skills and abilities are developed in

the process of education, in school, at home, in the course of life.

Further, as Whitbread (1979) suggests,

Mechanistic explanations which simplistically accept that innate ability or social class set inevitable limits on educational achievement, are unhelpful, and even promote social control by implying that nothing can be done. This is determinism. (p. 291)

In addition, selective systems which use examinations to measure intelligence also use examinations to label students by placing them in particular tracks or streams, ability groups, or even to certify students as suitable for entry to a particular institution. When they are used as such, they are undemocratic in nature and should be abolished. The implications of negative labeling practices have already been discussed, and one must remember that,

to label children A, B, or C on the basis of a prediction about future intellectual capacity is the very converse of education, given that by that very act, severe and precise limits are set to the child's potential and development. (Simon, 1979, p. 145)

As Lauwerys et al. (1973) explain, there are other unanticipated consequences of these examinations:

- a) they influence curricular and teaching in secondary schools in a way that ignores the needs of pupils.
- b) they penalize students who are underachievers, late developers and slow learners.
- c) they cause schools and teachers to be ranked according to the number of successes in examinations.
- d) they create elite groups of students and teachers. (p. 162)

What type of action, then, in terms of testing, has to be taken which will serve more the needs of democratization? First of all, a switch from selective to comprehensive schooling will offer an environment more conducive to positive

changes as far as testing is concerned. Since education in a comprehensive school is common for as long as possible, and since hypothetically, the practice of labeling has been reduced, the need for intelligence testing will also be reduced.

Continuous assessment, as Le Gall (1973, p. 65) suggests, is a likely solution to replace intelligence testing. In a sense, it is an objective assessment by certain individuals such as teachers, counselors, parents, or even the student himself, of the student's abilities, talents, interests, and future orientation. Testing is permissible as long as it is not used to measure intelligence, to label, select, and divide students. As McIntyre (1970) recommends, exams can be used for teaching purposes to assess the effectiveness of teaching:

For teaching purposes, examinations are useful in so far as they provide information about how far each of the teacher's specific objectives have been attained by each individual pupil and by the class as a whole (e.g. about which pupils have understood each of the major concepts with which the course is concerned). They are also useful in so far as they reveal the nature of pupils' errors and misconceptions. The teacher needs these kinds of information both to continue the teaching of each pupil in a way appropriate to his needs and also to know what modifications in his teaching are desirable when dealing with future classes. (p. 168)

Thus, if testing is to be a measure toward democratization, one has to stop using it as a means of comparing students and labeling them, and one must use it to compare what the student has produced to his previous work; this is the democratic way of assessing.

In sum, the discussion in this section has revealed

that comprehensive systems of schooling as opposed to selective systems, serve more the needs of democratization. Their structural organization which aims towards an "open system" or open access, a common curriculum, late selection and specialization, the use of continuous assessment instead of competitive entrance exams or intelligence testing, as well as the egalitarian principles which define comprehensive systems, are all factors which allow such systems to serve the needs of democratization.

Where there are criticisms of comprehensive schooling, such as those of Julienne Ford (1974), who criticizes English comprehensive schooling for not decreasing social inequalities, or inequalities of opportunity for those with equal talent, they are in fact observations based on systems that have not completed their comprehensive re-organization. As Griffiths (1971) indicates, "it is perhaps worth mentioning that Miss Ford's sample of schools were streamed" (p. 65). Thus, the criticisms are worthless since they are made about schools that are not true comprehensives. Further, as indicated by Rubinstein and Simon (1969, p. 126), proponents of comprehensive schooling would answer Ford's criticism by saying that, first, comprehensive schools were not established to bring about an egalitarian society, but to provide increased educational opportunities, and second, that in order to achieve this, selection through streaming within individual schools must be modified in parallel with the abolition of separate schools for separate groups of children. In other words, Rubinstein and Simon indicate that proponents of comprehensive schooling do not suggest that

such schools can change society and make it more egalitarian, but they do suggest that comprehensive schooling can change one particular inequality, that which concerns access to schooling or the democratization of educational opportunity. But in order to achieve this all parallel schooling must be abolished (see discussion on England pp. 88,91) otherwise complete comprehensivization will never be accomplished, since all schools will have to deal with factors such as competition, forcing them to use practices of streaming and selection.

But on the whole, external structural reorganization by itself does not serve the needs of a democratic society. It does produce an environment more conducive to democratic changes, but if complete quantitative democratization is to take place all its other components must be considered also.

Democratization of Institutions and Areas of Study

This type of democratization implies an equality of educational value and cultural prestige in the various institutions of education such as technical, academic, etc., as well as an equality of value and prestige in the various disciplines that exist. The aim is to avoid the labeling that often occurs on the student, resulting from the area of study he followed or the institution he attended. Also, since one is looking towards an equality of value and prestige, the aim is an ease of access from one institution to another. The democratization of education will occur since educational opportunity will be extended by the ease of access from one

area of study to another, and also since practices of labeling will be reduced.

In a sense, comprehensive schooling aims towards this goal, for eventually as one sees happening in Sweden, successive levels of schooling will be built on each other rather than being high-status and low-status systems set side by side. What Cerych (1974) calls "the comprehensive university model" refers to this same type of democratization:

It envisages the integration within a single institution called a university all types of post-secondary institutions and courses: traditional university studies, teacher training, and technical and vocational colleges....

Basically, this model postulates diversification of higher education within one institutional type. It is expected that this will help to overcome status differences between the traditional university and other forms of postsecondary study, that greater permeability and more equality of opportunity between various forms of study will be achieved, and also that better utilization of resources will be made possible. (pp. 195-196)

Further, Cerych notes that certain countries in Europe are moving toward this direction, such as Denmark and Germany. The trend of post-secondary institutions being promoted to university status can best be exemplified by the inclusion of teacher training in higher education. It "represents one of the most pronounced trends in Europe during the past two decades" (Cerych, 1974, p. 192).

Another example, Italy, as indicated by Le Gall (1973, p. 98), is moving towards a complete integration of higher technical education with the university. Industrial chemistry, civil engineering, or forestry, is taught in the same way as arts or the theoretical sciences. Degrees having the same

academic standing are awarded in both pure and applied sciences.

Interdisciplinary study is also a product of the trend to make all levels of education comprehensive in character. Its aim, as Cerych (1974, p. 192) observes, is to change the organizational structure of the formerly isolated traditional disciplines by bringing them together, combined or integrated in new interdisciplinary units. For example, most of the new British Universities (e.g., University of Sussex), Cerych indicates, have at least partly replaced the old departmental structure with interdisciplinary units based on a theme or problem approach. Also, the French law of 1968 required that all universities be multi-disciplinary and work to overcome the isolation of the old discipline-oriented faculties.

But on the whole, this type of democratization is hard to accomplish for it implies combating forces which for centuries dictated the necessity of elite and prestigious institutions for maintaining the status quo. Even in a country such as the U.S.S.R. where equality and democratization are very important aims of its political ideology, one still sees an inequality of value and prestige in its educational institutions:

The nature of the town in which the vuz [higher education institution] is located, the school's "quality" and its general "profile" (i.e. whether it is more "applied" and technical or more strictly "academic") all affect a specific institution's relative standing. "As a rule" Moscow sociologist F.R. Filippov notes, "capital city vuzy, vyzy which are close to major academic and scientific centers, and so on, enjoy the greatest prestige". (Dobson, 1977, p. 265)

In concluding this section, another component of quantitative democratization has been studied. The extension of educational opportunity is made easier by this type of democratization which attempts to facilitate transfer from one institution or area of study to another by means of making institutions and areas of study equal in value and prestige, and by means of integration and interdisciplinary studies.

Democratization in the Area of Recurrent Education

If the democratization of education is the extension of educational opportunity, it should not confine itself to the initial period of one's life. If it does, then it is not egalitarian for there are people still left out. Recurrent and extra-mural education should play an important role in the democratization process, for as Ashby (1979) suggests, the individual should be offered "recurrent access to courses as his or her needs require" (p. 308). Or as Page (1970) puts it in his discussion of higher education, "the provision of higher education for all who want it also implies at any point in their lives" (p. 214). Thus once we realize that education does not need to be confined to one particular age, but that adults as well as children have the same needs for learning despite the variations in age, then we can try to modify the educational system by making it more accessible to all people irrespective of age. In fact, this is the basic aim of recurrent education:

To modify the educational system so that access to it

is not confined to the individual's early years, but is available at intervals, in alternation with work or other activities, over his or her lifetime. (Schuller and Bengtsson, 1977, p. 636)

Recurrent education is often encouraged only as vocational training, but it is important to realize that it should not be confined to that, and that vocational training is not its sole purpose nor its primary goal.

In France as Schuller and Bengtsson (1977) indicate, the 1971 law on formation continue allows up to 2% of a firm's labor force to take leave of absence at any one time and requires a minimum proportion of the wage bill to be devoted to the financing of such leave. But while "the preamble to the law proclaims as objectives individual and social fulfillment as well as vocational development...at the present it is the latter which dominates" (p. 638). In Italy, on the other hand, as Schuller and Bengtsson add, the Italian Metalworkers Union allows its members 150 hours paid leave over a period of three years, and gives the worker the effective right to decide on what sort of study he or she wishes to pursue whether or not it is closely related to his job.

Recurrent education, as Ashby (1979) advises, should be related to a

diverse range of individual, social and economic needs, for self development and increased confidence, for involvement in democratic processes and for broader social and economic objectives, such as multiracial understanding, full employment and leisure-based study. (p. 308)

Recurrent education includes part-time courses, evening courses, vocational and sub-degree level courses, correspondence

courses, courses offered through the mass media such as radio and television, etc. The British Open University, supported by a substantial government grant, providing courses for students working at home with no special qualifications demanded at registration, is a trend towards recurrent education. The students in the Open University, as Le Gall (1973, p. 194) relates, study through radio, television, and correspondence courses and if successful in the examinations they are granted degrees equivalent to those granted by the ordinary universities. The Swedish experiment, allowing anybody with five years of employment (and with a minimum age of 25) to enter the university is also another example of the trend towards recurrent education.

If recurrent education is a component of quantitative democratization, then it too must aim towards its goals, and care must be taken that it too extends educational opportunity to all irrespective of socio-economic background, sex, or geographic origin. Thus all the factors involved in the quantitative democratization of traditional education must be considered with recurrent education also. But some statistics given by Schuller and Bengtsson (1977) for the Open University in Britain and for the formation continue in France are not very encouraging in terms of the types of students taking advantage of this type of education:

In France, in 1973, less than 10 percent of unskilled and semi-skilled workers benefited from paid educational leave compared with 30 percent of skilled and managerial employees; 3 percent of those employed in enterprises with less than fifty workers, compared with 17 percent in those over fifty; 10 percent of the female force

participated, compared with 16 percent of the males.... in the OU 53 percent of the 1971-72 students were upper middle or middle class and a further 37 percent lower middle class, compared with 7 percent skilled working class and 1 percent straight working class. (p. 646)

What statistics such as the above exactly mean is not clear for some could argue that they simply imply that some people are not as interested in taking advantage of such educational opportunities, while others would argue that such educational provisions do not live up to their aims and they further depress the relative position of disadvantaged groups.

Whatever the truth is behind such statistics, they should not encourage a pessimistic attitude that there is simply nothing that can be done, particularly since the original aim of recurrent education is the extension of educational opportunity, not just to some groups of the population but to all types and ages. Some corrective measures as suggested by Schuller and Bengtsson (1977, p. 643) aiming for a successful and democratic recurrent education are as follows: to adopt measures that include positive discrimination in favour of those least advantageously placed; admission policies could be weighted in favour of certain categories, greater credit can be given to work experience, financial support as well as paid educational leave should be established, the content of the education or curricula as well as teaching methods could be changed to favour the underprivileged, etc.; further, everyone must be aware of the opportunities available, thus information services are very important.

In sum, recurrent education can be said to be a component

of quantitative democratization when it extends opportunity by offering access to schooling to people of all types and ages.

Democratization Dealing with the Regional Variations of Schooling

Sometimes the extension of educational opportunity is hampered by factors involving regional variations in the provision of schooling. For example, people living in the peripheries or outside the major urban centers do not get the same advantages in terms of education as those living in the urban centers. As one moves up the educational ladder, educational provision of the areas outside the major urban centres decreases, particularly that which concerns variety and quality of education.

In Sweden one sees that attempts to correct this regional variation in educational provision go as far back as the 1930s when Sweden saw that one way to equalize educational opportunity was by consolidating rural education and bringing it up to urban standards. Today certain additional factors, such as travel allowances for students over 16, as Tomasson (1964, p. 211) writes, also make an important contribution to this type of educational provision. Also, recently in the U68 report for higher education one notices attempts which propose that,

new provision of the basic higher education should be almost entirely in locations other than the traditional university cities, with an emphasis on decentralized teaching so as to reach as many as possible of the potential students of the area. (Bergendal, 1974, p. 357)

Many countries seem to be having similar problems relating to the regional variations of schooling. In the U.S.S.R., for example, Grant (1979) points out that studies show a very wide gap between town and country in the area of educational provision, particularly serious where nearly half the school population is rural:

Pupils in rural schools are less likely to complete the course and even when they do, the actual standards of work achievement (most marking being done by the schools themselves) are usually lower. There are many reasons for this: standards of living and amenity are lower, teachers are harder to get (and keep) and the smaller schools can rarely offer the range of courses and specialist teaching that town schools can, all of which puts rural pupils at a disadvantage when competing for higher-education places. (p. 258)

One type of corrective measure in the U.S.S.R. to improve these discrepancies in educational provision is the development of preparatory departments to help the rural children catch up before embarking in their main courses. Grant (1979) notes that so far, the results are encouraging--Lenigrad University, for example, reports an 80% success rate, but it is accepted that the basic problem will take longer to solve.

Other corrective measures which might be used to combat the obstacle of distance from educational institutions in cases where educational provisions can not be made to the areas needing them, are correspondence courses. They can be given to students unable to reach a campus. Lauwerys et al. (1973) describe correspondence education as "a powerful instrument for equalizing educational opportunities" (p. 192), and further they say,

It is not necessary for students to feel isolated or cut off from the centre. Group feeling and loyalty can easily be built up. So can the feeling of "belonging" which is a facilitator of learning. Some of the best correspondence systems in the world--in Australia and New Zealand for example--achieve remarkable results. They use television for opening and graduation ceremonies. They make sure that every communication with students contains some personal message, perhaps a photograph, to assure them that they are thought of as individuals. They bring students to centres, often at a university, at weekends or during summer vacations; thus social relationships can be established and learning takes place under traditional and customary conditions. (p. 192)

In sum, educational provision, when unevenly distributed in the various regions of a country, is a factor which works against the democratization process. While an attempt was made in this section to suggest some of the possible corrective measures for this area of study, more research is needed and additional solutions to the geographical inequality of educational provision.

Democratization Dealing with Differentiations of Educational Opportunity Found Between the Sexes

Quantitative democratization would not be complete if it did not attempt to extend educational opportunity to all irrespective of sex, as well as irrespective of the other factors discussed such as socio-economic background and geographic origin. Although the definition at the beginning of chapter 2, does not directly talk about the sexes, it implies that quantitative democratization includes a concern about the differentiations found between the sexes when it says that the curriculum and the school program should be broadened so as to meet the needs of people of all types and ages.

All types in this case would imply both the female and the male sex, and the concern would be mainly for the female sex since they are the ones that are underrepresented in the various educational programs particularly of higher education institutions. For example, Hannon (1979) notes the following inequality in the educational opportunity found in the education of girls in England:

In 1975 the DES Survey 21 Curricular Differences for Boys and Girls suggested that the organization of options in the secondary school was responsible not only for premature specialization but also for determining supposedly "free" choice. For example, the separation of home economics and needlework (girls) from woodwork and metalwork (boys) can mean that girls do not eventually enjoy the option of technical drawing, since metalwork is usually regarded as a prerequisite for this subject. 27% of all mixed schools in England revealed such pre-emptive patterns. (pp. 111-112)

Possible mechanisms for change towards an education for sexual equality can be seen in the attempts that the National Board of Education of Sweden is recently making in this area. The result as Hannon (1979) indicates has been not only the production of new materials and new courses, but also the commitment on the part of the National Board of Education to an action program under which it intends:

(a) to request the government to amend the Education Act so as to indicate the location of responsibilities for equality questions within the school system as a whole; (b) to give consideration to the purpose of the equality programme in all curricular work; (c) to compile and distribute service material and suggestions for various target groups in schools so as to improve knowledge and influence attitudes, about equality and sex roles; (d) to take the work of the project into account when reviewing the compulsory comprehensive school curriculum; (e) to collaborate with the universities and colleges to establish an integral view of the basic inservice training of all teacher categories

concerning sex roles and equality, from pre-school to post secondary level. Appropriate funding is to be made available to carry out this work. (p. 116)

Some other corrective measures taken in Sweden and as noted by Tomasson (1964) are to eventually abolish all-girl schools, to make all schooling co-educational, and to minimize any differentiation in the subjects that boys and girls study. For example, Tomasson relates that,

in the middle stage (fourth, fifth, and sixth classes), boys are required to have at least 20 lessons each year in textile handicraft and girls at least 20 in woodworking. In grade six boys may, by a decision of the local school board, exchange one of four weekly lessons in handicraft for domestic science which includes teaching in the care of infants. (p. 213)

The U.S.S.R., as Grant (1979) indicates, also has clear policies on the equality of the sexes.

The constitution of the U.S.S.R., for example, insists that women have equal rights with men in all spheres of social activity, including education, and declares that these rights are supported by such measures as paid maternity leave, provision of nurseries and kindergartens, and the right to work on the same terms as men. (p. 252)

But on the whole, while the U.S.S.R. and the Eastern European countries have been more successful than many other countries in opening up their educational systems to previously deprived groups such as women, they are still some way from achieving equality of educational opportunity. As one moves up the educational ladder, Grant (1979) discusses, one notices that women become less and less represented, especially at the post-graduate level. Also, he notes, there are variations according to field of study. For example, in the U.S.S.R., in 1977, women comprised 68% of the students in education,

63% in economics and law, and only 33% in agriculture:

Some of the reasons for this relative failure to ensure equality all the way through the educational system, and in careers, can be attributed to practical difficulties such as the shortage of preschool facilities for younger children...the lack of part-time employment, poor shopping facilities and the extra burden of housework, all of which can militate against combining home-making with a career or further education....But the survival of prejudice plays a part too, both in employment and in the home. (pp. 253-254)

Briefly then, quantitative democratization would not be complete if it did not attempt to extend educational opportunity to women who in most educational systems of the world are underrepresented in various fields of study and levels of education, particularly higher education.

Provisions such as nurseries, kindergartens, part-time employment, equal rights at work, etc., have to be offered so that education will become more desirable and more accessible to women. Further, ways have to be found to combat prejudice, particularly that which associates women with only certain careers or fields of study. Curricular offerings should be open to all, and in addition, the hidden curriculum should not label negatively or discriminate against any sex.

Qualitative Democratization

The second dimension of democratization is qualitative democratization. Unlike quantitative democratization, it does not concern the extension of educational opportunity with respect to access to the various levels of schooling; it concerns the individual after gaining access to an ed-

educational institution has been achieved, and deals with the time one is attending schooling. It concerns such items as the extension of opportunity and the freedom given to the individual so that he or she can participate in the educative experience, in the decision making process of the educational institution that he or she is attending, and in the control that one has over the choice of studies.

On the whole, this type of democratization pertains to higher education institutions, or post-compulsory secondary education, since the individual at this point has reached a maturity where he can easily participate in the various factors which concern him or her.

Lets now turn to an examination of the components which make up qualitative democratization.

Democratization as far as it Concerns Pupil Participation in the Business of Being Educated, or Participation in what is Going on in an Educative Experience

This component demands the kind of participation which as indicated by Moore and Lawton (1978) is a necessary aspect of education or of the act of learning:

Education, in any normative sense of the term involves initiating pupils into various aspects of knowledge, understanding and skill. This must involve the pupil in learning something, coming to understand what he is taught. Now, no one can be initiated into anything unless he actively takes part in the initiating proceedings. This is participation in the business of being educated. Participation involves a sharing in an enterprise, with others, taking one's part and knowing that one is doing so. So participation in the business of learning, trying to come to understand, is a necessary condition of being educated. Pupils must participate in this sense or education isn't taking place at all.... Participation by the pupil in what is going on, is

required by the logic of the term "education". (p. 262)

It can not be denied, Moore and Lawton add, that teachers are to an extent authorities in what they teach and they have a right to be listened to. But the learning experience would not be complete unless the student participated in the process of learning, or in the educative experience.

Thus a type of learning, functioning under the principles of democratization would be one that allows participation from the pupil. Traditional teaching is undemocratic when it is de haut en bas (teacher lecturing a group of students, allowing no participation).

The isolated lecture which allows no participation from the student is becoming a less popular form of teaching in countries which aim towards the democratization of education. In France, for example, as Le Gall (1973) discusses, as a result of the events in 1968 the lecture has been fairly generally abandoned:

The isolated lecture, separated from the remainder of the teaching process, is condemned on three grounds: students five or six times more numerous can no longer hear it; students less endowed culturally and linguistically can no longer understand it; and the "new" students not used to the academic style and to unconditioned respect for the spoken word, can no longer accept it.

The lecture therefore only survives in a more flexible, less solemn and more integrated form. The students accept this primary information within the new framework, provided that the form of the teaching recognizes their right to dialogue, to explanation, and criticism. The lecture used to suffer from the distance between teachers and students and from its frequently artificial themes....The traditional and sometimes solemn atmosphere (the professor in some faculties wore cap and gown) seemed to give an archaic and remote flavour to university education. (p. 101)

In sum, it is imperative for the purpose of democratization that the student is active in the classroom, allowed the freedom to inquire and to participate so that his learning does not become limited to the retention of facts and opinions expounded by the teacher. One specific condition which should however be met before this type of participation can occur is a logical teacher-student ratio, otherwise if the classes are large, such as over 30 or 40 pupils per teacher, successful participation can not occur.

Democratization as far as it Concerns Participation in the Decision Making Process

This type of qualitative democratization implies that all those affected by a decision, of the educational process in this case, should have the right to participate and contribute in its making. Thus, students, teachers, parents, administrators, community and local authorities, are to participate in educational matters just as much as the external authorities such as the State. Even further, as Shils (1979, p. 19) indicates, participation in the decision making process could include the secretarial and the custodial staff as well.

Consider as an example the students and discuss how they might participate in the decision making process. They could have a voice concerning the choice of studies they want to follow, as well as a choice of electives besides the compulsory subjects. They could have a voice in the methods of teaching used as well as the right to express their opinions

on the governing and administrative functions of school, in the rules of the school, etc.

As implied in the following quote by Moore and Lawton (1978), it is against the principles of democratization for the teacher to be an absolute authority in decision making matters, for these matters often concern the student just as much, and he or she should be given the freedom to participate.

Now the decisions that people in authority make and the rules they enforce have an impact on the lives of those affected by them and this is particularly the case in schools. In respect of this impact pupils will have as much knowledge and awareness as anyone else. They will know how rules, decisions, even teaching methods affect the quality of their lives. So it can be argued, there is a moral case for saying that pupils should have some say in the decision-making that affects them, through consultation, representation, or whatever other means are appropriate... To say that participation is appropriate is not to say that all children are capable, ready or willing to share in policy decisions. Age, maturity, a sense of responsibility are also relevant considerations. What is being said is that there is a moral case against any a priori attempt to rule out pupil participation merely on the grounds that they are pupils. There is also an educational case, namely that it is through such participation that pupils may come to acquire virtues like tolerance and rationality in decision making, virtues essential to a democratic society...

Democracy, in the liberal, political sense necessarily involves deference to the opinions of the governed. In a limited sense there can be such democracy in a school. Teachers can, and generally should, consult pupils' opinions and invite their participation in decisions, in those areas where pupils can be authorities. (pp. 263-265)

Further, in line with the principles of quantitative democratization which concern participation in the decision making process, the structure of the teaching body should be democratized too, allowing more privileges to the younger faculty members. Traditional schooling allowed the senior

members of the universities to dominate the decision making process, and the younger members did not have any voice, even in decisions which affected them. As Cerych (1974) indicates, today there is a trend toward the democratization in the structure of the teaching body:

The status and privileges of younger faculty members have, in general, increased, and the relative positions and power of senior full professors ("chair holders") has decreased. In Germany new intermediary categories of staff were created or strengthened; in other countries junior assistants were granted rights previously possessed only by full professors. In several instances, also, the traditional, extremely rigid, and demanding requirements for nomination to full professorship (Habitation in Germany, Doctorat d'état in France) were made more flexible. Recruitment of foreign teachers in countries where formerly only nationals could apply is now more widespread... Finally, teachers who do not have a traditional academic background but have practical experience in industry or administration are being more widely recruited than in the past, especially in some of the new institutions and usually for part-time positions. (p. 195)

Some examples of countries where one sees the trend of qualitative democratization concerning participation, are as follows: As Shils (1974, p. 22) notes, in France and West Germany, secretarial staff, technical auxiliaries, administrative and custodial personnel have been given representation on university decision making bodies, but not in such large proportions as students and junior academic staff. Further, as indicated by Cerych (1974), in France, the traditional rector appointed by the Ministry of Education is no longer the head of the university. He has been replaced by an elected president as well as by a board of governors that is sovereign in several essential matters previously subject to approval by the Central Ministry of Education. But in fact, as Cerych

adds, the autonomy and self government of new French universities remain considerably more limited than in America, Britain, and several other countries:

This is partly because public central financing covers almost 100 percent of the university budget, partly because a number of fields of studies and degrees are subject to standard national requirements, and partly because of a sociological inertia in the attitudes of teachers, administrators, and even students. (p. 194)

In the United Kingdom, Shils (1974, p. 22) specifies, students have been brought into committees and councils but not in substantial proportions and not equally in all universities and colleges. In many respects they are confined to consultative roles and do not participate in discussions or decisions about appointments or examinations.

The interest in making the department rather than the faculty the primary unit of higher education, as well as the interest in setting limits to the growth of individual institutions, is indicative of the trend towards wider participation, since large establishments and faculties, with their complex and impersonal nature, make participation difficult.

Britain seems to have settled on 3,000 to 4,000 students for all her new universities; in France the law of 1968 fixed the maximum size at 10,000 to 15,000 students. As a result, the University of Paris, which had 180,000 students was broken up into 13 separate entities, and universities in some major towns were divided into two or three units. (Cerych, 1974, p. 194)

At this point it seems relevant to briefly discuss Yugoslavia, a country which saw the need for wider participation and autonomy in its institutions of higher learning, but which thought that complete decentralization, complete control

over reforms residing at the local level, and absolute autonomy and self-government, would bring about more democratic educational institutions. Thus, as Trahan (1974) relates:

Starting in 1960, legislation was passed which altered the organizational structure of institutions of higher education in order to coordinate them with the over all Yugoslav program for the creating of self managing societal institutions. (p. 199)

But, according to Trahan, the results of this type of decentralized system did not turn out as anticipated. Reform efforts produced mixed results. While some were successful others were not, such as the introduction of first level studies into the faculties, the attempts towards modernization, or the democratization attempts as far as they were concerned with student power of participation in the decision making process.

Explanations for the success or failure of the various reforms, according to Trahan, are attributed to the decentralized system and to the autonomy that higher education institutions have been given to decide almost anything, even the allocation of finances in almost any way they see fit. Two major factors which stand out in Trahan's view as having played a crucial role in the success or failure of reform efforts are as follows:

The first factor is the cooperation or opposition to specific reforms on the part of members of institutions of higher education...the reforms that were successful were ones which had support from the members of the institutions of higher education. Barring this support, they were reforms that the people in local control of these institutions lacked the resources to fight. The reforms that failed...were those which were not supported by members of various institutions of higher education....

The second factor which interacts with the first is decentralization...a decentralized autonomous institution has considerable freedom of action. On the other end of the continuum, a highly centralized system has more power over its component parts so that greater conformity is generated. It is the interaction of these two factors (the self interest of the institutions and the level of decentralization) operating within the given framework of the physical and socio-cultural setting that provides the best explanation for the success or failure of the majority of the reforms attempted. (p. 208)

What in fact lies underneath the previous two factors, Trahan explains, is the principle of status conservation:

Members of large bureaucratic organizations tend to respond to attempts at change, in ways reflecting their perceived self-interest, as explained by the principle of status conservation. When reform goals are perceived as antithetical to self interest, those goals will often become distorted or even ignored.... Is it possible to encourage people to act against their perceived self interest for the good of the system? Obviously, the answer will in large part depend on the commitment these individuals have to the larger social system. (p. 210)

Thus, it seems that while democratization towards wider participation in the decision making process is definitely needed in educational institutions, especially in higher education, complete autonomy, absolute self-government, and complete local control over reforms does not always produce the desired results. Human nature is selfish, self interest often comes first, and since even in cases where there is complete local control, there are still those who find themselves at the top, abusing the extra power they have over decisions. It seems as if though the central government should have some control of decisions made, but not to the extent that it disregards the opinions of the individuals it concerns or of the locality or community that it concerns.

Or at least, the state should have some control in checking the power given to the local authorities, or to the institutions of higher education in this case, to see that it is not abused and that there is an equality of participation in the decisions made.

In sum, this particular component of qualitative democratization emphasizes participation in the decision making process by all those that are affected by educational decisions. The reasons for the emphasis are twofold: (a) Participation is the democratic way of conducting business in an educational institution. As Moore and Lawton have indicated (1978) in their discussion on the participation of students, there is a moral case for saying that pupils should have some say in the decision making that affects them. (b) Participation in the decision making process involving democratic processes and principles, is a necessary condition for preparing the individual for his active and significant role in a democratic society. Again as Moore and Lawton have indicated it is through participation that pupils acquire virtues essential to a democratic society.

It is only logical to think that the democracy aspired to for society as a whole should be practiced in the educational institutions as well.

Democratization as far as it Concerns Control over Ones

Future Occupation and Choice of Studies

There are educational systems of higher education that set limits to a student's choice of studies and future oc-

cupation by means of central government control based on national educational planning and the manpower needs of the economy. In other words, access to higher education is based not only on competitive exams, but it also depends on the student's final destination, in other words, on the needs of the economy. The number of students to be admitted to the various branches is fixed according to these needs, and matched with the corresponding employment.

The student's freedom of choice is thus doubly limited, first by restrictions on access to the university, and next by limitations on the number of places in this or that branch. (Le Gall, 1973, p. 82)

European socialist countries are characterized by this type of educational system. For example, in the German Democratic Republic, Le Gall (1973, p. 82) notes, admission to higher education is controlled and the number of vacancies per branch of study is fixed in accordance with the economic development plan distributed among the various institutions. Candidates are selected through aptitude tests but in cases of equal merit, preference is given to applicants who have completed a vocational training course or served in the National People's Army.

The U.S.S.R. is another example of a country which has a selective system based on planning. The development of education here too is based on close ties between the school, life, and production activities.

On the other hand there are educational systems such as those of the U.S. where the policy is that the individual be left free to choose the field of study he or she desires and

that no limits should be set based on economic needs and educational planning.

What emerges from these two contrasting views, are two contradictory notions of democratization. As Le Gall (1973, pp. 84-85, 95) discusses, advocates of selection based on planning plead for this type of selection principally on the grounds that student numbers must be adapted to the opportunities available and that the economic dangers of having too few students and the social and political dangers of having too many must both be avoided. Further, proponents of such systems believe that entrance examinations are justified because they prevent wrong choices, and that adaption to available employment ensures that students are fully and correctly employed in the subjects which they have studied, that their motivations are strong, and well founded, and that economic needs of the nation are satisfied in an assured manner.

But defenders of free choice on the other hand would make a strong case for the view that taking away the individual's right to choose the field of study he or she desires to follow by means of selection through entrance exams and also by means of educational planning is something that works completely against the notion of democratization. First of all, they would argue that systems based on selection are not democratically justified since the individual is not given the freedom to participate in matters which concern his life; second, they would suggest that not everyone in a

liberal arts education takes up a specific field of study because he eventually wants to find a job in that area of study; and third, they would argue that planning measures do not always make correct forecasts as to the type of employment that might be needed in five or even ten years. Bergendal (1974) in examining manpower forecasts argues that "since they are unreliable...one had better neglect them totally; flexibility and generality is to be the cure of all troubles" (p. 359).

But on the whole, it would be ideal, in terms of democratization, if countries that believed in the free choice of studies practiced this to its strictest sense, for even in countries such as the U.S. who strongly believe in the free choice of studies, in the freedom of the educational system from the manpower needs of the economy, and in the unrestricted entrance to higher education, things do not work as anticipated. They too show tendencies that work against the democratization process.

As Le Gall (1973, p. 88) points out, in the U.S., owing to the large number of students wanting to enter higher education, fairly strict selection procedures had to be established, even in the public universities who as a general rule had to accept any pupil who had a certificate granted by an accredited secondary school within the state.

A study done by Karabel (1977) on the Community Colleges in the U.S., which are supposed to be two-year higher education institutions characterized by their open and democratic character, found that in reality they are "a prime contemporary

expression of the dual historical patterns of class-based tracking and of educational inflation" (p. 235). "Educational inflation" he defines as being the process by which the educational system expands without narrowing relative differences between groups or changing the underlying opportunity structure (p. 235).

Karabel goes on to prove that the community college is itself the bottom track of the system of higher education in both class origins and occupational destinations of its students. Further, he notes, tracking takes place within the community college in the form of vocational education.

Two year public colleges are almost always open door institutions, but admission to programs within them is often on a selective basis. What this generally means in practice is that students who are not "transfer material" are either tracked into vocational programs or cooled out altogether. (p. 241)

Finally, as far as the discussion on democratization and free choice of studies is concerned, Karabel's study implies that the community college, a "democratic" institution, selects its students through tracking and serves manpower needs indirectly by placing the students who are not "transfer material" in vocational tracks. Karabel notes,

The interest of the business community in encouraging occupational training at public expense is manifest. With a changing labor force which requires ever-increasing amounts of skill to perform its tasks and with manpower shortages in certain critical areas, private industry is anxious to use the community college as a training ground for its employees....In the Los Angeles area, Space Division personnel and junior college faculty work together to set up curricular requirements, frame course content, determine student competence, and formulate "on-the-job performance objectives". (242)

In sum, this particular component of qualitative democratization displays two contrasting views of the notion of democratization, one based on selection according to planning and the other on the free choice of studies. While in theory these views are very different, in practice they seem to merge to similar results. They both become "sorters" or "packagers" of human commodities for private and public bureaucracies, to use Shils' (1974) words. Further as he notes,

the existing mode of university education some of the critics say treats the student as an object to be reshaped in accordance with the specifications of governmental and capitalistic bureaucracies rather than as an active subject sharing in the design of his own education. It forms the student rather than helping him to "grow" in accordance with his potential individuality. (p. 19)

CHAPTER 3

THE MOVEMENT TOWARDS COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOLING, STUDIED
WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THREE COUNTRIES

While in chapter 2 the notion of democratization was examined by identifying its dimensions, components, and the factors which work for or against it, the study will not be complete if left at that. It is important to show that democratization, when studied within the context of a particular country, becomes even more complex for there are other factors involved which become apparent only when notions such as the democratization of education are studied not as items hanging in the air but as items within a particular national context.

For example, in the case of the movement from selective to comprehensive systems, which I chose as the item to study in this chapter, since comprehensive education makes up a major part of democratization, time and industrialization often make a difference as to how far a nation has advanced in that aspect of democratization. Historically there is a particular trend showing that the more industrialized a nation has become the more one sees a movement towards comprehensive or common schooling. As Benn and Simon (1970) note,

there have been many comments on this close association between an open school system at the secondary stage and success in industrial development and growth. Generally speaking, the more backward a nation economically, the more heavily committed it is to a highly segregated secondary system--as it might be expected, since opportunities for employment of the educated are few. Within Western Europe, Spain and Greece, for instance have the lowest standard of living and the most elitist systems of schooling; the same may be said for almost all Latin American countries where educational

systems have followed the traditional European model.
(p. 1)

However, time and industrialization are not the only factors dictating this trend from selective to comprehensive schooling. For this reason, I chose to examine three highly industrialized countries, Sweden, France, and England, and show that there are other forces involved, much more influential in dictating how far their educational system has been democratized.

This chapter aims to show through the use of one example, that the democratization of education, no matter how complicated it seems, becomes even more complex when placed in a particular national context. Thus, what seems to be working smoothly for one nation is not working in another nation. But nevertheless, this does not mean that we have nothing to learn from comparative studies, or that there is no use in making these studies. As Neave (1979) suggests when discussing educational reforms,

only with difficulty can the reforms of one country be translated into the framework of another. But this does not mean like Swift's Brobdingnagians or present day Englishmen, continue to squat in the mire of our conviction that we have nothing to learn from anyone.
(p. 241)

Sweden

Let us first take Sweden as an example of a nation that has moved from an elitist type of educational system to a comprehensive one, and show the forces which have worked towards the accomplishment of democratization in education.

Since 1962, after some twenty-two years of debate and experimentation, Sweden has established nine-year (seven-to-sixteen) comprehensive schooling for all children, irrespective of socio-economic background or geographic origin. All existing parallel schools have been abolished. The curriculum of the comprehensive schools is common for all pupils in grades 1-6, and in grades 7-9 a certain specialization takes place but only according to the interests of the student. In other words, there is no streaming with definite consequences for future choice of education or job. As Bergendal (1974) notes:

Today the level of enrollment in all forms of Swedish education is amongst the highest in Europe and the structure of the school has been completely remodelled. Thus, for good or ill, the changes in education in Sweden have been more profound than in many comparable countries. (p. 354)

An excellent historical account dealing with the development of the Swedish school system from a dual to a comprehensive system, is Paulston's book Educational Change in Sweden covering the period 1842-1950. In this book Paulston discusses how the major ruling party, the Social Democrats, conceive democracy to be, and also suggests the forces which have worked towards the establishment of one of the best comprehensive systems in the world.

The Social Democratic Party's justification for establishing a comprehensive system in Sweden was more social than educational in nature. It was based on their definition of a democratic nation, which is one characterized by equality,

national unity, social co-operation, and mutual understanding. Their justification of a common school then was that it provided equal learning conditions and equal educational opportunities for all children, irrespective of social and geographic origin. A common curriculum, as well as the other characteristics of comprehensive education were then necessary to produce national and cultural unity.

Husen (1962) notes that this argument on creating cultural and social unity, advanced by the 1946 School Commission in Sweden, had also been used by the British Labor Party in favor of the comprehensive school:

The 1946 School Commission stated that the school by means of instruction and education had to widen the social sphere of the students so that the spirit of unity which is brought about in school will also maintain itself in wider contexts. (p. 52)

The forces which have made the establishment of comprehensive education, as sought by the Social Democrats, possible, and as presented in Paulston's (1968) study (other references in agreement with Paulston's views will also be indicated in the text), are as follows:

1. Sweden is a country characterized by homogeneity in matters of language, ethnic factors and religious affiliation.

This homogeneity has not eliminated problems of social class conflict, but it has undoubtedly been a moderating influence to the extent that it has made compromise possible and desirable. (p. 5)

2. Sweden is a wealthy nation and always ready to invest a sizable portion of its wealth in educational reform.

3. Sweden's modern history, characterized by continuous peace "has obviously played a decisive role in the growth

of modern Sweden from a standpoint of material well-being, mental life, and attitude formation" (p. 6).

4. Because of centralized control, educational policies are easily administered.

As Neave (1979) suggests, the way in which the decision to begin reform is taken is important. In the case of Sweden, the creation of the comprehensive school involved an Act of Parliament, thus the "will to sustain the reform was never in doubt after the passage of legislation" (p. 246). Further, Neave adds, while local initiatives are not completely ruled out, central control defines "the societal and educational goals of comprehensive education as well as the means, curricular, structural and organizational, by which they are to be attained" (p. 248).

A point made by Tomasson (1964) and related to this discussion is that the fact that the Swedish system is centrally controlled but takes into consideration local feelings and conditions, makes it a smoothly run system that leaves little room for unhappy or dissatisfied individuals. As an example of Sweden's respect for local feelings, one sees that

country and municipal school committees, while they do not determine curriculum or policy, do hire grund-scola teachers, build schools, and generally administer the local school system. (p. 206)

5. The Social Democrats have met little opposition from the other major political parties, especially from the Liberals who in fact were the first to propose the need for comprehensive schooling and the abolition of the double track school system.

In fact, as pointed out by Tomasson (1964, p. 208), the Liberals believed that education was the principal means of transforming society, and thus unlike the Social Democratic view, educational reforms should come first before all other reforms.

Any opposition that has come from the Conservatives was not strong enough to alter the egalitarian nature of the school reforms.

6. The Social Democrats always acted at the right time, that is, when they knew they would have the greatest support. For example, around 1946, after World War II, when they saw that they would have support from the other major political parties and interest groups on the question of comprehensive schooling, they acted:

Since World War II major policy differences between political parties have largely been removed and the three major parties in opposition to continued Social Democratic rule (the Conservatives, the Liberals and the Agrarians) have in large measure come to accept, if not actively support the government's programs for social, economic, and educational reform. (p. 8)

Also, the Social Democrats acted at a time, that is, post World War II, when Sweden was characterized by high popular enthusiasm for social reform, and for the harmonization of social institutions with the values of the ruling majority.

Very influential interest groups, such as the folk elementary school teacher organizations and the popular movements (such as trade unions, the cooperatives, and the temperance groups) were also supporting the Social Democrats..

7. Extensive research and planning carried out by governmentally sponsored committees, are also important elements influencing the smooth transition to comprehensive schooling; research comes first and the reforms later.

A related point to this discussion as indicated by Griffiths (1971) is as follows:

Close liaison exists between policy-makers and educational researchers who have investigated such subjects as school differentiation and individual differences, the curriculum, teachers' attitudes, the reserves of ability, and the home and the school. (p. 61)

8. Perhaps another major reason for the success of comprehensive schooling and educational democratization in Sweden is that the ideological origins of the Social Democratic Party saw school reform as an end product, rather than a prelude to political and economic reforms. Thus, the Social democrats first gave their priorities to political, social, and economic democratization, and once that was settled they moved on to the question of educational reforms and democratization. During the time when they worked towards the democratization of their society in terms of political, social, and economic questions, the only reforms associated with education were of a social welfare nature, such as providing free meals in school, and medical and dental care for school children.

Having discussed some of the major forces which have made comprehensive schooling possible in Sweden it is important to also note that Sweden has not stopped with the seven-to-sixteen comprehensive school. Neave (1979) writes:

The most recent developments in Sweden involved creating an integrated upper secondary school, the gymnasieskola, thus bringing together grammar, technical and vocational schools. Founded in 1970 and covering some twenty-two "subject lines", the gymnasieskola caters for over 80 percent of the age group. (p. 244)

Entry to the gymnasieskola is not restricted. Its organization implies that teachers, teaching aids, and buildings, can be jointly used to better effect. Mattson (1973, p. 205) notes that pupils have better opportunities of changing to a new line of education if they so desire, and vocational education is put on the same footing as other education. Pupils choosing vocational education will receive a more modern and broader basic education in the field, and a gradually increasing specialization. Apart from the direct vocational training all will study certain general subjects.

Of the twenty-two subject lines of the gymnasieskola, five of them, Bergendal (1974, p. 355) notes, representing together about one third of the intake capacity, are three or four year programs that qualify for university studies; the majority of the other branches, all of which are two year programs, have a mainly vocational goal, although all of them also give a certain amount of preparation for further studies.

Sweden is also in the process of changing higher education along comprehensive lines. As Neave (1979) writes,

Here too, the fundamental aim is to open higher education to those groups in society hitherto excluded. This priority emerges with particular force in recent legislation, known as 25/4, which stipulates that anyone aged twenty-five and over who has worked for four years, irrespective of his previous attainment, may enter what are termed "open faculties" at the university. Effectively, this means all faculties save medicine and engineering. It has had a dramatic effect. Forty per-

cent of the students currently enrolling in these disciplines are taking advantage of this legislation. Further, measures are under way to open the closed faculties to mature students on the basis of a scholastic aptitude test. (p. 244)

Sweden seems to be in the half-way mark, between a comprehensive higher education based on freedom of choice of studies and a selective system based on planning. The reason for this is that there are faculties with unrestricted admission, and faculties with closed or limited admission. The closed faculties are motivated by labour market needs. But as Bergendal (1974, p. 358) argues, this has to be questioned on grounds of equality: Having open access to only some faculties is not as democratic as having open access to all the faculties.

In sum, one sees that Sweden's success in establishing the common school, an important component of democratization, and its partial success in extending comprehensivization to higher education have been achieved through many factors which are not only the outcome of industrialization. They were forces related to: (a) the political ideology of the ruling party which aimed for national and cultural unity and which saw common schooling as a means to that end; (b) the national homogeneity of Sweden, making compromise possible; (c), the wealth of Sweden; (d) the history of Sweden, characterized by peace, minimum political opposition, and a long and continuous rule of the Social Democrats; (e) a strong central government, as well as to the local input in educational matters; (f) the fact that questions on educational

reform took place at a time when educational matters had the greatest support; (g) extensive research occurring before the actual reforms; (h) the fact that Swedish society became first politically, economically, and socially democratized, thus making the next step, educational democratization, an easier and smoother process.

France

France, which until recently had a secondary school system of monolithic rigidity, today has an eleven-to-sixteen comprehensive middle school, established in 1977-78. As Neave (1979) notes, each succeeding year will see changes moving further up the educational system:

The principal reforms involve first, a steady prolongation of a common core of subjects into the upper secondary school. Second and as part of this innovation classes will be destreamed at least up to the end of compulsory schooling at sixteen years old. (p. 242)

France had a school system characterized by everything that is associated with selective systems such as early specialization, high degree of pedagogic differentiation such as streaming and grouping, and elitist ideology. Although the collège d'enseignement secondaire which since 1959 replaced a secondary school system consisting of separate schools such as the lycée, collèges, écoles normales etc., it itself was a school with a high degree of differentiation, only at this time all taking place under one roof:

Mobility between streams was extremely rare and, more to the point, around 30 percent of pupils had, by the end of their school careers, stayed down at least once to repeat a year. (Neave, 1979, pp. 242-243)

Intellectualism, the doctrine which says that knowledge is mainly derived from the action of the intellect or from pure reason, has always been a barrier to educational reform in France. As Halls (1965) writes:

The French educational system is based on a belief that finally everything is a function of the mind. By the right use of the power of reason every problem can be solved, every intellectual difficulty surmounted.... Children must be taught this art de bien penser above all else. Some are more capable of learning it than others. Thus if national sentiment demands a common school, from the very beginning children must be graded within it according to their intellectual capacity. (p. 6)

The view that some children are more capable at learning than others, justified for a long time the elitist education system of France. Intellectualism also justified the system's tendency to emphasize a humanist education consisting of the classics, language, literature, philosophy, and mathematics. Science and technology played a minor role for a long time.

What were then the major forces for change towards a comprehensive system of education, towards the democratization of education, in a country which for so long was guided by conservative and elitist ideology?

Perhaps the major force for change towards comprehensive schooling, as noted by Neave (1979), is associated with the social and economic priorities of France and the need for educational planning:

By the end of the 1950s it was apparent both on demographic and on manpower-planning grounds that a vertically differentiated secondary education system could no longer cope with the additional demands being made of it. First, a considerable population shift from country to town was taking place, coinciding with the growing problem caused by the children of the post-war "bulge" passing through the schools. Second, and

perhaps more important, was the belief expressed by the central planning authority, the Commissariat Général du Plan, that economic expansion could not take place without a prior increase in the education level of the younger labour force. (p. 243)


Also, since intellectualism has always downgraded science and technology in education, the problem became intense when in modern times it was seen that there was a shortage of people trained in the sciences and technology. A common school then, one which would hopefully extend opportunity to a greater number of the population, and one which would not concentrate on elitist training was seen as the only solution to the economic and social dilemma faced by post-war France, and to the need for an industrial leap forward.

Halls (1965) notes that the reformers of education in France saw that,

for economic, as well as social reasons, education must be extended because it creates employment. This is no more than saying that the real wealth of a nation lies in its trained manpower. (p. 9)

Thus, democratization in education for the French people was seen as a necessity for solving their economic problems. Unlike the Swedes where economic, political and social democratization came before educational democratization, the French saw the democratization of education as a prelude to their economic, political and social advance. In other words, the democratization of education for the French was desired more for its possibility to solve problems related to the economy than for its ability to nurture national and cultural unity as sought by the Swedes.

Perhaps one of the reasons why the democratization of



education in Sweden had such a long tradition while in France it has been only a recent trend, is the point already discussed that the Swedes attempted to democratize the social, political, and economic aspects of their society before they attempted to democratize education. Possibly these barriers have to be overcome first before one can attempt educational reforms. If we expect education to be the primary factor in changing the ills of society most likely we are going to be left behind just as in the case of France.

One could say that another force which has influenced the recent trend towards the democratization of education in France and which has helped overcome its elitist character is the central control of educational reforms. Like the Swedes, but to an even greater extent, the French see the need for central control to help realize their goals:

In France, central government is regarded as the instrument by which local and parochial arbitrariness, the cunning of local élites and the rapacity of their relatives are held in check. The state is a barrier against particularism. (Neave, 1979, p. 247)

The need for central control in France is related to the way the French people are beginning to view equality, or to the way some previous reform attempts in education defined it: As Neave (1979) writes it is uniformity of practice, structures and objectives:

It is inconceivable that schools for all should be anything other than identical throughout the country, with a uniform and nationally defined curriculum, in keeping with the formally defined objectives associated with the common secondary school. To the French mind, equality without uniformity is but a snare, permitting knaves to claim privilege of equality for honest men. (p. 247)

The French thus believe that only a centrally controlled educational system can bring about any necessary educational reforms, and since the time has come for the comprehensivization of their educational system so that their economic needs can be obtained, it is assumed that only a central system can succeed in achieving the goal related to educational planning and manpower needs. The fact that political and economic objectives have come to prompt the demand for a common school and the fact that there is central control over educational reforms, is making these reforms, to a degree, realizable. In this respect, there has been some success; but since centralization in France completely disregards local feelings or input, unlike in the case of Sweden, the success must be qualified. And we note recent demands for local participation in educational matters and for more autonomy in higher education.

In sum, one could say that in France, industrialization has been, to an extent, a driving force along the road of the comprehensivization of its very elitist educational system. The social and economic dilemma, particularly of postwar France, resulted in demands for common schooling so as to extend educational opportunity to more people and in turn increase their level of education, especially in the sciences and technology. In addition, central control, which happens to agree with the view that comprehensive schooling could be a solution for the economic dilemma in France, has made the road towards comprehensivization and educational democratization an easier process.

England

In Britain today, the basic reform of comprehensive education is still incomplete at the secondary level. Of the countries discussed in this chapter, England is the furthest behind in terms of the comprehensivization of its educational system. Today comprehensive schools exist alongside private, direct grant, independent, and grammar schools, to name a few.

Caroline Benn (1979) writes:

Comprehensives were first discussed in the 1920s, not tried until the 1940s, not made national policy until 1965, and not subject to legislation until 1976. Yet at this last date only twenty-three out of ninety-seven local authorities in England and Wales had comprehensive systems within the definition of the education Act of 1976. (p. 194)

What are the reasons behind this slow development of comprehensive schooling in England? Why has England stayed behind in this respect, despite the fact that she is as highly industrialized as France and Sweden?

One of the forces behind the not so smooth transition to comprehensive schooling has been the fact, as Neave (1975) indicates, that England does not have a national educational system and,

that education in Britain is the responsibility of Local Education Authorities rather than the central government and equally, that a small, but important minority of Britain's elite school children (socially speaking) are educated not in the state system, but in the expensive fee-paying public schools. (p. 4)

Thus, as Neave (1979, p. 247) suggests in a later study, since there is no national educational system, comprehensive schooling its goals, purposes and objectives cannot be defined.

In addition, the "profound distrust in England of cen-

tralized decision making and a certain suspicion of the overmighty state" (Neave, 1979, p. 247), makes reforms very difficult since usually there is no authoritative statement backed by legislation as in the case of Sweden and France. Thus Neave (1979) notes that in 1965 when the Labour Government published Circular 10/65 it requested, not required local authorities to submit schemes for comprehensivization:

For ten years the authorities tried to live with this situation, which was only rectified, again by circular, in 1974. Both in France and Sweden the will to sustain the reform was never in doubt after the passage of legislation. But in England not only is there no up-to-date official definition of what constitutes a comprehensive school; the objectives of comprehensive education have not even been officially laid down. (p. 246)

The result of this type of system, as Benn (1979) discusses, is that no government has ever taken a firm national decision to change from a selective system to a comprehensive one by a definite date:

Instead Britain has adopted a policy of slowly introducing more and more different types of school labelled "comprehensive" into a selective system, a very different process indeed, and one which has not far-reaching implications for equality. (p. 197)

Studies such as those of Benn and Simon (1970), Chitty (1979), and Marsden (1970), argue that the fact that comprehensive schooling is developing alongside a fee paying/selective sector, makes the system unfair and undemocratic, and at the same time it makes the success of comprehensive schooling difficult because it creates the need for competition and retains such undemocratic practices as selection and streaming within most comprehensive schools.

Also, as Griffiths (1971, p. 61) notes, research in England,

unlike research in Sweden, comes after the actual reforms and is often fragmentary and small in scale; thus research is of little effect in guiding reform.

But the major force hindering the smooth comprehensive-ization of schooling in England has been a very long elitist tradition, "sustained by its elite secondary schools, "so successfully dominating entry to so many positions of influence and wealth in society" (Benn, 1979, p. 193). The elitist view holds among other things, that intelligence is inherited and thus that it is unchanging and validly and reliably testable. Those that hold positions of prestige and power are there because they have earned it through their intelligence, and a system that selects and differentiates early the talented is just and democratic.

As Whitbread (1979) describes it, the English educational system is based "on the illusion of a democratically based meritocracy" (p. 289), which has come to be popularly sustained and socially just, and has won consensus support. A meritocratic society "which is hierarchical but where those in authority have demonstrated their right to occupy the better-rewarded positions by passing examinations, by merit" as Marsden (1979, p. 208) writes, is the ideology of the English ruling class who believe that equality of opportunity can be sought in a meritocratic society. But this elitist ideology has come to be accepted even by most common men in England, otherwise, as Rowe (1970, p. 36) argues how can the Durham miners have rejected comprehensive schooling and supported the gram-

mar school. Indeed as Rowe writes:

These hierarchical, elitist, superiority-inferiority assumptions remain widespread and firmly embedded in our educational thinking and practice precisely because they are so deeply socially conditioned as to be unconscious. (p. 35)

Due to this dominating elitist ideology which has conditioned the English mind, the elitist educational system has been accepted in England for a long time. However, the issue of comprehensive schooling was a much-discussed issue in the 1950s and 1960s, with the Conservatives at first opposed by Labor and Liberal parties in favour of comprehensives. Now, many Conservatives themselves support comprehensive schools, but, as pointed out, the scheme has been slow in implementation.

In sum, the forces which have worked towards the establishment of comprehensive schooling in Sweden and France, are in England either absent or ineffective because of the local control of educational matters, the paucity of research taking place, the fact that comprehensive schooling has been slow in implementation, and because of the long elitist tradition which viewed the diversity of school and meritocracy as democratic ideals. As Hopper (1977, p. 158) argues, the reasons for exceptions such as England is that the content of their educational ideologies are still buttressed by cultural folk norms, thus it changes very slowly and industrialization processes do not have an overriding effect.

The English must realize that a comprehensive system trying to establish itself alongside a fee paying and selective sector is not at all a democratic aim, and as Neave (1979) writes:

Equality as diversity is reasonable only to those with a high degree of mobility and income which enables them to choose from a national network of schools. The choice is available only to those in the private sector. For those who cannot afford this, diversity is an ideological shibboleth for retaining badly equipped schools. (p. 247)

Further, as Rubinsfein (1970) discusses, education for democracy means that those who are in greatest need should receive the greatest advantages. The English system, on the contrary,

ensures that children and in particular boys of the wealthiest parents receive a privileged education, an open door to the best universities and professions, as well as an education which remains barbaric in certain respects. Our undue proportion of financial and human resources are devoted to a tiny, privileged sector of the school population, while at the same time practices extremely unsuited to a democratic age are perpetuated. Most of these children, as the Public School Commission observes, "would have been away to a good start whatever school they went to". Our values, in short, are the reverse of what they should be. Without absorbing the independent and particularly the public schools into the state system, any talk of education for democracy remains a mockery. (p. 93)

CHAPTER 4

GREECE: A STUDY OF PASOK'S PROPOSALS FOR EDUCATIONAL REFORM AIMING TOWARDS DEMOCRATIZATION

Greece, a country which until recently had an elitist or selective educational system, is in the process of changing to a more democratic form of education.

PASOK, the Greek Socialist Party, which is in power as of October, 1981, has proposed major educational changes with the underlying aim of democratization.

In light of the detailed examination of the notion of democratization in chapter 2, I would like to examine how this notion is embodied in PASOK's proposed educational reforms for Greece. In other words, the extent to which PASOK's proposals deal with each dimension and component of democratization will be discussed. In the process, questions of the following nature will be examined: (a) Is there an emphasis placed on certain dimensions and components of democratization, and if so, why? (b) Compared to the nature of modern Greek education, how far are PASOK's proposals an improvement and specifically in their emphasis on democratization? (c) How are PASOK's proposals for educational democratization related to the party's view of democracy?

A Brief Historical Examination (1829-1977) of
Modern Greek Education

It is imperative to examine the character of modern Greek education as it has progressed in the history of modern Greece. The purpose of this examination is to provide

the reader with a picture of the system before the proposed educational reforms, so as to gain a better understanding of the reasoning behind the present proposals.

The history of modern Greece begins as soon as independence is gained in 1829 from the Ottoman empire which dominated Greece for almost 400 years. The history of modern Greek education also begins with Greece's national independence. As indicated by Kazamias (1967), two interrelated concepts, Orthodox Christianity and Hellenism, have been very influential in dictating the form that modern Greek education has taken from its very beginning. They have given rise to

an alliance between classical humanism and organized Orthodox Christianity, both of which emphasize the non-material aspects of man's nature. The result has been a heavily classical and religious orientation in the curriculum of the schools, tending to reinforce the moral, theoretical, and spiritual functions of education and to minimize the practical, technical, and economic ones. (p. 332)

Besides the traditions of Hellenism and Orthodoxy which were powerful forces in shaping modern Greek education, modern Greece "was also influenced by Western European patterns and ideas, particularly in the organization of the school system" (Kazamias, 1967, p. 332). For example, Kazamias goes on to add, Western European influence affected the first king of Greece, Otto of Bavaria, in the 1830's, who under the influence of Maurier, one of the three Bavarian regents for young King Otto, elementary education was declared compulsory for children between the ages of five and twelve. Secondary education

was organized in the form of two successive and selective cycles of schools: the hellenic school and the gymnasium. The hellenic school was a three year school (grades 5-7) and had a twofold purpose: It either prepared students for the gymnasium or it provided a terminal education for those children who wished to embark upon the "business of life" (Kazamias, 1960, p. 22). The gymnasium was a four year school (grades 8-11) whose aim was preparation for the university. The Othonian University of Athens, established by royal decree in 1837, had also Western European influence, modeled after the North German universities.

As Kazamias (1967) states, neo-humanism which in turn was a characteristic of Western European thought, served to reinforce in Greece and translate into concrete form some aspects of Helleno-Christian ideology and culture: It reinforced the classical literary conception of education and learning, the institutionalization of classicism, the selectivity in schools, and the downgrading of practical studies and vocationalism:

Classical studies (mostly Greek) were included even in the curriculum of the elementary schools. In the hellenic schools and the gymnasia they constituted by far the larger portion of weekly hours spent (46 percent in the former and 54 percent in the later). (p. 333)

Further, it must be noted that centralized control of education made sure that the ideals of Helleno-Christian ideology, as well as the Western European ideals, were spread throughout Greece.

To make matters even more complicated, besides the Helleno-

Christian ideology and the Western European influence which dictated the structure and content of modern Greek education, the Greek educational system also had to deal with the problem of two main language variations: the katharevousa (pure language) on one hand, and the demotike (popular or demotic language) on the other. The katharevousa is a language that has been constructed by scholars and has to be learned, while the demotike is the living language of the people, the language spoken at home, and which "echoes the peoples' natural linguistic sentiment; and it speaks directly to their souls". (Papanoutsos, 1978, p. 49).

Adamantios Korais (1784-1833) who first developed the katharevousa did so by attempting to purify the demotic and getting rid of all the Turkish, Italian, and other foreign words and replacing them with words borrowed from ancient or hellenistic Greek. Korais tried to give Greece "the single unified and unifying language it needed if it was ever to become a true nation state" (Bien, 1972, p.42).

As noted by Papanoutsos (1978), supporters of the katharevousa claim:

It is the connecting link between the nation and its glorious past, and its abandonment will cut off contemporary Hellenism from its great cultural tradition because we will not be able to communicate directly with the ancient classics or the ecclesiastical texts. (p. 46)

As indicated thus far, the aims of the katharevousa are to create a unified nation state, as well as to link the present with Greece's glorious past (a view similar to Helleno-Christian ideals). But beyond this, the katharevousa has political and

social implications. As Dimaras (1978, p. 15) explains, the language question, especially in the beginning of this century, turned into a heated controversy with obvious political connotations and was marked by riots in the streets of Athens which led to a clause in the Constitution of 1911, making the katharevousa the official language of the state. In 1929, under the liberal government of Eleftherios Venizelos, the demotike was established as the language of the elementary school, but the controversy does not stop here and as Dimaras explains:

In education, the language question remained in the forefront of all debates and policy planning--so much so that with the oversimplified nationalistic and emotional arguments used it appears often to obscure the real sociopolitical aspects of any educational reform.... All in all, katharevousa has served to draw the line between the educated few and the semiliterate masses, between the rulers and the followers, since it was impossible to learn it in the 6 years of compulsory schooling....

In a more general way the existence of a linguistic form incomprehensible to the many and used in legislation and administration strengthened among the population the belief that the state authorities belong to a different class.... Since the matter is also combined with the intellectual development of the people, it soon became an issue of political controversy. The Right opposed any change which might hinder the acceptance of classical Greek values as constituting a part of modern Greek culture, and the more progressives supported all means which might lead to a more generalized literacy. (Dimaras, 1978, p. 15)

Further, the two language variations result in a contradiction which as Voros (1978, p. 8) claims, creates a confusion in the minds of children similar to that described in psychology as "experimental neurosis". As noted by Lambrini-Dimaki (1978, p. 97), according to Mouzelis, the contradiction of the two language variations not only creates a cultural

chasm between the few who have mastered katharevousa and the rest of the population but its artificial and archaic character has a deadening effect on all education and is the "royal road to formalistic thinking--which is to say non-thinking".

The pattern of education which has been described thus far dominated the educational system of Greece for almost a century after its establishment, that is, until 1929. As Dimaras (1978) argues, its stability and longevity can be attributed to socio-economic reasons:

By offering only one ladder to the university level, and this controlled by a series of examinations, it soon came to serve only those who lived in urban centers where higher schools were functioning; and more particularly the ruling classes.... This has been matched by a highly academic and non practical content of the studies offered at all levels, turning the schools into some sort of public cramming institutions which only prepared their students to pass examinations for the next level. Ideologically too, the system has been oriented toward clearly middle-class values, leaving little, if any, room for the introduction of new ideas or methods which might lead to more general sociopolitical changes. (p. 13)

In sum, the findings thus far point to the conclusion that modern Greek education, from its very beginning and at least for a century afterwards, was elitist in nature. It was characterized by early differentiation, specialization and tracks; and the curriculum emphasized religious and classical studies, with low status given to vocational and technical education. Further, the system was centralized and also had to deal with the social and political implications of the two language variations.

The question to be asked next is whether subsequent ed-

educational reforms dealt with the elitist nature of the system by proposing changes aiming towards a more democratic form of education, and if so, how successful were they?

Turning to the educational reforms of 1929, which brought to an end the Bavarian pattern dominating schooling up to that point, we see that the elementary school was extended to six years, the hellenic school was abolished, and a six year gymnasium was established. As Kazamias (1960) writes:

Although other secondary schools were developed-- the six year scientifically oriented lyceum, the 2 year semi-gymnasium and the 3 year practical urban school-- the gymnasium was not only the most highly esteemed secondary school but also the one with the highest enrollment. (p.22)

Demotike, which was introduced in 1917 into the first grades of the elementary school, was now established as the official language for the six year elementary school.

The educational reforms of 1929, having taken place under the liberal government of Eleftherios Venizelos, were abolished in 1935 by the Metaxas dictatorship. But besides the short-lived change under the Metaxas dictatorship, as Kazamias and Massialas (1965, p. 112) write, the 1929 pattern remained unaltered until the reforms of 1959.

The reforms of 1959 focused their attention on the economic aspects of education which led to legislation organizing technical and vocational education. As Kazamias and Massialas (1965) note, since World War II, legislation of such nature was seen as necessary and considerable dissatisfaction had "been voiced at the neglect of technical and vocational education, and at the 'nonfunctional' rela-

tionship between education and economic development" (p. 112).

But the reforms of 1959, as Dimaras' (1978) argument implies, did not aim towards any of the principles of democratization; instead, emphasizing only the functional aspects of education, "the committee appointed by a conservative government seems little concerned with the importance of offering more general education to more members of the society" (p. 18).

Very significant in the history of modern Greece were the reforms of 1964, under a liberal government. As noted by Dimaras (1978, p. 19) they had the following characteristics:

1. The school leaving age was raised from 12 to 15.
2. Secondary education was divided into two cycles, with three grades each, the first forming part of compulsory education, (three year gymnasium and three year lyceum).
3. Methods of teaching classical Greek were changed and translations replaced the original texts in the lower secondary cycle.
4. The teaching of demotike was established throughout the primary school and partly at the secondary level.
5. Curricula and syllabi were reformed at the primary and secondary level with more emphasis given to physical sciences and mathematics.
6. Electives were planned for the upper secondary cycle.
7. Higher education entrance exams were reorganized.
8. Teacher training colleges were reorganized and the period of study was extended from two to three years.

9. Modern languages were given a major status in secondary school curricula.

10. Free meal services for primary school children were introduced.

11. The extension of free education to the secondary and university levels was established.

The reforms of 1964 were abolished by the 1967-1974 dictatorship. Many of the reforms were reintroduced in 1976 under a conservative government: Items 1-3 and item 11 on the above list were reintroduced; demotike was established at all three levels of schooling; entrance examinations to qualify a student for the academic or the non-academic lyceum were introduced at the third secondary school year; the reforms planned for the eventual abolition of the university entrance examinations, but time has shown that this was never accomplished.

Of the 1976 reforms, two of them deserve extra examination: the language reform and the introduction of a selective transition from the gymnasium to the lyceum in the form of an entrance examination.

The language question, as already noted, ever since the beginning of modern Greece has been used to draw the line between the rulers and the followers. Conservative governments have always supported the katharevousa for it contributes to the stability of the system and to the sustaining of the status quo. It might thus seem paradoxical that the conservative government of 1976 introduced demotike at all three levels of schooling. But if one considers that it was

finally time for the contradiction between the official language of the schools and the unofficial language of Greek life to come to an end, the circumstances of such a reform are not at all paradoxical. The language question, which was fought for centuries, had to come to an end, and the conservatives as suggested in the Greek newspaper Exormisi (August 15-16, 1981, p. 11) had to finalize the question, not only because they felt constrained to do it, but because they saw that it would help the party put on the democratic face that it desperately needed.

A parallel view to the question on the language reform, as expressed by Dimaras (1978), is as follows:

It is, first of all, a realistic appraisal of the situation. Over the years demotike has not only monopolized works of fiction, poetry, and literature; it has also made considerable progress toward establishing itself as the language of the sciences. Moreover, almost all national newspapers have shown a tendency to turn to demotike - obviously in response to public demand. It was as if time had arrived, regardless of pressure exercised from above. (p. 18)

As for the 1976 reform which introduced the entrance examination as a selective procedure from the gymnasium to the twin tracked lyceum (general and technical), the reasons for the reform were social and economic. Owing to a very high number of applicants for very few university places, this early selection measure seems to be a "cooling off" procedure to cut down the number of applicants for the university as well as a procedure to direct students who do not make it to the lyceum to vocational education and thus fulfill this particular need of the economy.

Some figures to demonstrate the magnitude of the problem-- many applicants, few places--as noted in Dimaras' (1978, p.19) study, are as follows:

1. Percentage of all candidates offered places at university level institutions following entrance examinations: 1964, 45.7%; 1968, 28.4%; 1970, 25.8%; 1977, 16.9%.

2. In absolute numbers, while in 1964 14,650 candidates were refused places, in 1977 their number had risen to 66,098.

3. Nearly 20,000 Greeks study in universities outside Greece. More than the brain drain or the social and cultural implications of this, officials seem to be concerned at the financial burden put on the Greek economy (nearly \$40,000,000 spent in foreign currency in 1974).

The implications of the above information, according to Dimaras (1978) are obvious:

Socially (and politically) the yearly production of tens of thousands of disappointed and dissatisfied young people becomes increasingly dangerous. Economically this demand for higher education is considered to be ruinous to the nation as it keeps out of productive work so many thousands of young people. (p.19)

Even further, the high demand for higher education had resulted in the increased difficulty of the entrance exams which in turn brought in the need of the frontistiria (private preparatory schools). The fact that in the 1976 reforms selection was moved down to the third year of secondary education did not diminish the need for the frontistiria, in reality it increased it since the plan to abolish the entrance exams for higher education was never fully implemented. Thus one found the need to prepare both for the

lyceum and the university.

Polydorides (1978, pp. 80-81) reports of studies which show that the direct association of frontistiria attendance with success in the entrance examinations to the higher education system has made them a sine qua non for those who could afford them. In 1977, 83% of university students had attended frontistiria before entering the higher education system. Further, the fees for the frontistiria which are very high, and the location of these schools, concentrated in the main cities, put students coming from low socio-economic groups and from the rural areas at a disadvantage. In addition, the inequality increases when one considers that attendance to these frontistiria can be as much as four years in length due to the increased difficulty of the entrance examinations.

Another important point is that the difficulty in entering either the lyceum or the university resulting from the strict selective procedures has created in Greece the problem of parapedia which refers to a type of school that most of the time does not meet the requirements of the Ministry of Education, or to something which is not true education. An article in Exormisi (November 21-22, 1981, p.3) indicates that in Greece over 200 "Centers of Free Studies" are in competition to cover the immense empty spots left uncovered by public education. In other words they are there to offer to all the students who do not make it to the lyceum or university an education that promises to fulfill their needs. But unfortunately this type of education which has its doors open

to whoever is willing to pay the expensive fees, which gives "diplomas" to all in many areas of study, is not true education but parapedia. These schools neglect to tell their students that the Ministry of Education does not recognize them, that the diplomas they give are most of the time worthless or that the teaching staff often do not have teaching degrees or experience. But yet, due to the great demand for education and to the very selective public school system, these schools have managed to flourish in a country where democratic education has been completely neglected.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the implications of the selection procedure from the gymnasium to the lyceum were also seen as undemocratic by the opposition parties, PASOK and the Communists, who criticized it on grounds of economic efficiency as well as on those of equality:

It was argued that a "deadly blow will be struck at education by dividing the secondary education into a three-year-Gymnasium and a three-year-Lyceum and by building insurmountable walls through entrance examinations between the two; 80 percent of the students will fail and be condemned to stay half-literate, which will mean the intellectual stultification of the nation". In their view, "the nation needs to use all its intellectual talents in order to move forward to a better future". (Persianis, 1978, pp. 56-57).

Turning to an earlier question which asks whether the educational reforms in Greece from 1929 and on dealt with the elitist nature of the system by proposing changes aiming towards a more democratic form of education, the answer has to be negative. In fact it can be argued that since the very beginning of modern Greece and up to the most recent reforms of 1976-77 drastic changes were never included, least of all.

changes which would be in line with the principles of democratization.

The reforms appear to have challenged the structural organization of the school, but the movement was not towards a more democratic structural organization. In fact, the 1976 reforms which introduced the selective procedure after the gymnasium and the differentiated and many tracked post compulsory education or lyceum, made the system even more elitist in nature.

The internal structure of the school was only challenged by the 1964 reforms which proposed changes in the curriculum, such as a greater emphasis on the physical sciences and mathematics, as well as the introduction of modern languages in the curriculum and the use of translations for classical Greek texts. But the most serious elements of internal democratization such as the abolishing of grouping practices and the effects of labeling were never discussed.

In terms of economic democratization, again the only reforms which first touched upon this question were the 1964 reforms which introduced free education at all three levels and a free meal service for primary school children. The 1976 reforms continued with the free education for all but not with the free meal plan.

Further, no concern was shown for recurrent education, nor for the democratization involving regional variations of schooling or the equality of the sexes. Maria Eliou, in her article, entitled "Those Whom Reform Forgot" argues

that the educational reforms in Greece have gone as far as to magnify existing inequalities:

Properly implemented they will harness the products of the educational system more effectively to the country's economy, but at the expense of the democratization of educational opportunities. Thus several categories of the population were and have remained "educationally deprived" because the educational system continues to push them to one side. These are the illiterate, the semiliterate, the inhabitants of the countryside and areas removed from the large urban centers, the minorities. Furthermore, the needs of the female population, long underprivileged educationally, have still not been adequately considered. (1978, pp. 60-61)

Statistics presented by Eliou (1978, p. 61) to demonstrate the magnitude of the problem as presented in the previous quote, are as follows: The census of 1971 records 14.2% illiteracy, which in absolute numbers is 1,040,000 persons (222,700 men and 817,300 women); 32.3% of the population had not completed primary school, even though elementary education had been officially compulsory since 1911; the percentage of illiteracy varies from area to area, ranging from 7.6 (in the region of the capital) to 33.9 (in the province of Xanthi)--in the agricultural areas as a whole, the number of illiterates reaches 21.7% and is broken down to 9.1% for men and 33.3% for women.

No successful measures have ever been taken to combat illiteracy or to improve the geographical distribution of educational opportunities in Greece. Further, excessive centralization does not allow for any participation from the local level, desperately needed in Greece because of the remoteness of certain regions that definitely need local input if any improvement of educational provision is to take

place. Only the 1964 reforms showed some concern for the regionally deprived population by introducing free meals in school. As Eliou (1978, p. 65) relates, one saw here a successful combination of state and local initiative at work, since some form of decentralization was allowed, especially in the rural areas which desperately needed the dynamism of local officials, parents, teachers and businessmen. But this reform did not last for long, nor was it restored by the 1976 reforms.

As for the democratization of education dealing with equality of the sexes, women, besides representing a larger percentage of the illiteracy rate than men, are also under-represented in various educational fields and in education in general. For example, as presented by Eliou (1978, p. 68), in the school year 1972-73, there was 70.2% female university student participation in the subjects of Literature and Theology while there was only 22.1% in the Sciences, 38.0% in Law, and 6.5% in Mechanics. In addition, the percentage of women university students in the total student population was 31.0% in 1970-71, and 33.7% in 1972-73.

A final point concerning the question on the equality of the sexes, as noted by Eliou (1978) is that

in the Greek educational system, separate high schools for boys and girls continue to exist (they account for about half of the total number of high schools) and to preserve in a variety of ways the traditional concept of the role of women. In their final grade (i.e., at the critical moment when young people are making the basic choices which will determine their futures), they are taught that for women to hold jobs is of

negative value: "The working wife fills the home with worry and anxiety". (p. 68).

Democratization, as far as it concerned the equality of value and prestige of the various fields of study or of the institution was never corrected, although at times it did concern the educational reforms of Modern Greece.

Academic studies emphasizing classical education, and university education, were highly valued ever since the beginning of Modern Greece. Technical and vocational education, the modern languages, physical education, art, music, the education of kindergarten and primary school teachers, were all viewed as having low value and prestige. For example, Physical Education Academies, and Teachers Academies for the kindergarten and primary school teacher, had always been separated from the university. Training for primary school teachers has always been considered inferior to that of the secondary school teachers who receive their degree after four years of study at the university while the lower level teachers receive it after three years of study (the 1964 reforms changed the length of study from two to three years) and in the Teachers Academies.

As far as qualitative democratization is concerned, it has never been a major feature of any of the educational reforms. No radical change has ever been introduced, especially in higher education which has remained feudal in character.

The Greek universities, as Haniotis (1968) writes, are public, autonomous institutions, governed by a rector.

Article 16 of the constitution states that these institutions

are autonomous under the supervision of the state and that their teaching staffs are members of the civil service. But nevertheless,

the degree of autonomy enjoyed by Greek universities is very high indeed, if not complete, and effective power rests firmly and solely in the hands of the rector, vice-rector, pro-rector and the dean and professors who constitute the remainder of these governing bodies. With them lies the initiative for those changes in law which would permit innovation; the responsibility and initiative for expansion (or contraction) of facilities, investments, appointments, curricula, etc. is almost exclusively theirs....

The decision-making structure of the Greek university in academic matters is much like the German university of the nineteenth century and those which have been influenced by it. Hence, within the Greek institutions of higher learning, teaching arrangements, curricula and changes therein lie exclusively with the major professors, each of whom is the custodian of those topics which fall under the domain of his chair. The consequence of this system of professorial, as well as of university autonomy, the extent to which curricula are enlightened and the spirit and techniques of modern scientific inquiry are imparted and maintained, are quite simply dependent on the ability, interest and personality of the professor. (p. 166)

In the faculty, the major unit of the Greek university, participation is difficult because of size, but in addition, as already indicated, the chair holder who has complete control over the content of education and the functions of his domain, allows for no participation at all from the students or from the other members of the faculty holding lower positions.

The student has a very passive role in Greek universities. His voice and opinion is not considered important and he has absolutely no power to participate in the decision making process of the university, in matters which concern his life. Furthermore, no one that works in the university has a voice

in the decision making process, except the chair holder. The community, the parents, or any social group who might be affected by university decisions, are not allowed to participate.

In addition, the student besides not having any power in the decision making process, has no control over the program of studies he or she wants to follow, since there are no electives, nor can he participate in the classroom. Classroom participation does not occur for the following reasons:

1. The professor conducts a monologue. The student has a passive role, he just listens and absorbs facts. Democratic dialogue or discussions do not exist.
2. Teacher-student ratios do not allow for any participation. The buildings as well as the classrooms are small for the amount of students studying in them. Some statistics indicated by PASP (1981, pp. 13-14) reveal the nature of the problem: Eight classrooms in the law building are used by 18,000 students, and seven classrooms in the philosophy building, to be used by 1,200 students, are used by 6,000 students; in Greece there is 1 professor for 84 students, while in West and East Germany the ratio is 1:6,6 and in Austria 1:7,6.

Furthermore, as Haniotis (1968) notes, besides the insufficient classroom space there are also insufficient laboratory facilities and equipment. Also,

textbooks have in many cases been published many years ago and curricula have not been revised for

a long time. The provision of student guidance and part-time job opportunities, housing for social, student government and athletic activities, student housing facilities, and well spaced and well-equipped libraries with study and conference rooms, photocopy and microfilm facilities, varies from grossly inadequate to non-existent, according to university. (p. 169)

Statistics such as those above make it easy to see why Greek educational institutions fail to produce sufficient and adequately qualified scientists and technologists.

Continuing the discussion on the undemocratic nature of higher education in Greece, the chair holder who as we have seen has complete control over curriculum content and the way he conducts his teaching is also allowed to hold other jobs, completely unrelated to his teaching (Haniotis, 1968; PASOK, 1978; PASP, 1981). The fact that the chair holder has control over his teaching with little inspection from above, and the fact that he can hold other unrelated jobs often make him indifferent to serious educational matters and take his devotion away from his teaching.

Further, the teaching staff for higher education are not democratically elected to their positions. Often nepotism, favouritism and political beliefs are the primary criteria used for the selection (Exormisi, February 6-7, 1982, p. 6; PASP, 1981). As Haniotis (1968) also relates,


the system of administration and organization of the institutions of higher learning in Greece remains today substantially unchanged from what it was when they began. Professors elect new members of the institutions and select their junior personnel according to the criteria they see fit to adopt in a particular instance... their services and duties are defined neither by law nor tradition, but simply by the decision of the professor to whose chair they are assigned. (p. 172)

The selection of senior personnel (professors) as Haniotis (1968, p. 169) also notes, is made by the body of professors of the pertinent faculty and appointment is usually for a 3-year period, after which appointment to permanent tenure is almost automatic and lasts for a lifetime:

The appointment of professorial chairs with life tenure in the absence of any formal requirement for performance have led to a sort of professorial blockade against the development of academic life in Greece. (Haniotis, 1968, p. 179)

The organizational structure of higher education in Greece also needs a great deal of improvement. Post-graduate studies do not exist and research is almost non-existent. Universities as well as the various enterprises pay little attention to research and technological growth. The following information, supplied by PASOK (1977d, p. 142) and Exormisi (February 20-21, 1982, p.5), describes the situation: The growth to date has been based on foreign technology for which each year over 10 million dollars are spend; polyethnic companies do not seek native growth in technology, they rather buy the technology from the mother companies, degrading Greek technicians to jobs of low importance; what little research there is, it is not connected to the economic and social needs of Greece.

In conclusion, having argued that the educational reforms of Greece since 1929 did not deal with the elitist nature of the system by proposing changes aiming towards a more democratic form of education, also answers the



second part of an earlier question which asks how successful were the reforms, if any, which proposed democratic changes.

But one must not conclude that none of the reforms were aimed at a more democratic form of education. For example, one can see that the 1964 reforms were pointing in that direction, but the problem as indicated by Dimaras (1978) was that none of the major reforms was

implemented for more than a few years, and none lasted long enough to prove its real merits or defects. They were all countered by new pieces of legislation which re-established the traditional status quo, following changes of the ruling party. (p.11)

Therefore, the Greek education system, according to Dimaras (1978) can be "characterized by its structural and philosophical stability" (p. 11).

Furthermore, scarcity of resources is often viewed as a factor contributing to the stability of the system. While this might be true to an extent, as Dimaras (1978) argues this factor has been used as an excuse whenever the status quo was challenged:

Whenever proposals for reforms which would alter the content and orientation of the system were becoming too widely accepted, the state would not deny their importance and need for them, but would argue that they would be unsuccessful if quantitative problems were not solved first. This has always proved to be a most effective way of postponing--and in fact--stopping any change in the status quo. (p. 14)

As Haniotis (1968) also adds, the backwardness characterizing higher education in Greece is not attributed to financial restrictions only, because "despite the paucity of domestic resources, the state has always shown itself generous with the universities and has sought to meet their

demands whenever possible" (p. 183).

The stability of the educational system in Greece can therefore be attributed to the political ideology of the ruling party which much too often has sought to retain the status quo and to excessive centralization which has made this possible. It is interesting to note a discussion by Dimaras (1978, p. 17) which indicates that since the first post-World War II elections the Liberals have only ruled twice (1950-52 and 1963-65). Thus even though the liberals could have used central control to impose their new values, they ruled only for two short periods. Instead, the conservatives, who were in power most of the time, used the excessive centralization to control the infiltration of new ideas; thus the stability of the system was retained.

In sum, this section has demonstrated briefly the character of modern Greek education as it has progressed in the history of modern Greece. It is manifestly clear that modern Greek education, ever since its inception, has been elitist, selective, traditional and authoritarian in character. The major educational reforms did not bring any drastic changes to the system, least of all changes which would be in line with the principles of democratization. The stability of the system has not made the use of any new ideas possible. If change of a more democratic nature is to come about it has to come under a government whose educational aims are the same as those embodied in the

principles of democratization. In addition, the ruling party must take into consideration that successful change will come after all the forces which have shaped modern Greek education are understood.

A Review of PASOK's Major Goals with a Special
Emphasis on their View of Democracy

Before discussing the actual proposals for education made by PASOK and examining how the principles of democratization are embodied in these reforms, it is necessary to review the main goals of PASOK and examine how democracy figures in them. In other words, it is imperative to see how PASOK defines democracy for this will guide us to a better understanding of the reasoning behind certain educational reforms as far as they are concerned with democratization.

PASOK (Panhellenic Socialist Movement) came into existence in September of 1974. It is the first socialist mass popular movement in Greece. In the elections of October 1981 PASOK won control of the government of Greece.

PASOK's popularity which was gained in a very short time can be attributed to its closeness with the people, to the fact that it spoke with the people. It understood their desire for change, particularly after their disillusionment with the 7 year dictatorship (1967-1974) which pushed Greece backwards many years. PASOK understood the people's frustration with the Greek economy (as an example, from 1974 to today, the drachma has lost about two-thirds of its purchasing power. The current rate of inflation exceeds 25%

or more than double the rate of EEC Countries) and promised changes which would ameliorate the situation.

One could write another whole thesis on the reasons contributing to PASOK's popularity, but one could say that PASOK's popularity is attributable to the fact that it spoke only of Greek realities, and at a time when the country was thirsting for change.

The fact that PASOK is a Marxist party but non-dogmatic is also indicative of the notion that PASOK speaks only of Greek realities. It is Marxist in terms of its agreement with Marx's method of historical analysis which speaks of class struggle, of a structure of power, and of dialectical development. It is non-dogmatic for it does not embrace a dogma, whether it is called "Stalinism", or "Leninism", or "Maoism" (PASOK, 1974, p. 20):

It is wrong to speak about foreign models, to transfer dogmatic experiences of other countries and of other historical periods to the Greek reality. Our work consists in developing, promoting, and realizing in Greece socialist transformation in a way that will correspond to Greek realities and that will reflect the interests of the oppressed Greek working class and not of some establishment. (PASOK, 1974, p. 26)

The political ideology of PASOK has four basic goals: national independence, popular sovereignty, social liberation, and democratic processes. "National independence is the pre-supposition for popular sovereignty which in turn is the necessary condition for social liberation: i.e., the social transformation of society" (PASOK, 1977c, p. 32). These four basic goals make up the foundations for a political, social, and economic democracy; they define democracy as envisioned

by PASOK.

National independence, as noted in the proclamation of the basic principles and goals of PASOK (3rd of September, 1974) consists of the following:

The creation of a polity free from foreign control or intervention, a polity free from the control or influence of an economic oligarchy, a polity devoted to the protection of the nation and the service of the people. Our national independence is inseparably bound to popular sovereignty.... But it is simultaneously intertwined with the extrication of our economy from control by foreign monopolistic and domestic capital, a control which moulds our economic, political, social and cultural life not according to the interests of the people, but of the economic oligarchy. (PASOK, 1974, p. 1)

National independence also refers to Greece's liberation from NATO and the Pentagon which supported the 7 year dictatorship and did nothing to stop the Turkish invasion of Cyprus. PASOK can not see the reasons for belonging to an alliance that does not safeguard its borders as it should. Thus it has promised political and military withdrawal from NATO, as well as the withdrawal of the American Bases from Greece "which are transforming us into a nuclear target without contributing to the defense of our country in case of local war" (PASOK, 1974, p. 32).

Social liberation is the socialist transformation of society. It is in this goal that education plays a major role. Socialist transformation presupposes:

A new education system for eliminating the barriers which prevent the spread of knowledge and for the creation of free thinking and socially responsible citizens. Education is the responsibility of the whole community. Private education is abolished. Free and compulsory education is assured for all Greeks. An educational policy is enacted which

ensures the wide participation of students in the planning of education and in the administration of the educational establishments. (PASOK, 1974, pp. 10-11)

Thus, the socialist transformation of society presupposes a democratic system of education, and as indicated in the newspapers Exormisi (August 1, 1981, p. 10) and Ta Nea (October 2, 1981, p. 13), this in turn has a tremendous meaning for the path a country will follow because education is seen as the foundation of change; educational choices are interrelated to society, to economy, to politics.

Social liberation or socialist transformation, as specified in PASOK (1974, pp. 10-11), also presupposes the following:

1. The socialization of the financial system in its totality, the basic units of production as well as of the big import-export trade; at the same time it presupposes the integration of agricultural units into cooperatives of a new type. The activity of the cooperatives is extended to the supply of raw materials and to the elaboration, packaging and distribution of their goods. This will eliminate the intermediaries who exploit the product of the land and the sweat of the farmer. The cooperative type of exploitation is promoted in the handicraft industry as well.

2. The regionally decentralized social planning of the economy which is combined with the control of productive units by the workers (i.e., self-management) and by the appropriate social agencies. Appropriate social agencies are the state, the region, the municipality, or the community, depending on the size, type and importance of the productive

unit.

3. The administrative decentralization along with the strengthening of local self government.

4. The systematic and progressive closing of the gap between the lowest and highest incomes, by region and function.

5. Housing and city planning which will ensure a decent residence for every Greek family.

6. Socialization of health, which implies free medical, pharmaceutical and hospital treatment, preventive hygiene for all the Greeks, the abolition of private clinics and of all the privileges in the granting of medical and hospital services.

7. A system of national insurance against illness, accident, old age and unemployment to cover all Greeks.

8. The protection of the mother and child.

9. The protection of the environment, the improvement of the quality of life combined with the cultivation of the national and popular traditions and the participation of all the people in the cultural development.

Three principles of socialist transformation as envisioned by PASOK deserve extra examination. They are the principles of socialization, decentralization and self-management:

These three basic principles constitute a society freed from the exploitation of man by man, a society anti-bureaucratic, a society purely democratic where the citizen takes an active part in all politico-social decisions.

Socialization means a decisive control over the productive process by social factors. Decentralization on a geographical basis means that these social agents are functioning on a panhellenic, regional, or a local

level, depending on the range of the productive process.

Self-management means participation of the working people in the net income of an enterprise as well as in its policy-- under the supervision and the control of the social agent--therefore, it means liberation of the working people from the chains of capitalism.

(PASOK, 1974, p. 29)

Popular sovereignty, the other major goal of PASOK's ideology, means the active participation of the citizen in all the decisions which concern him (PASOK, 1974, p. 5).

Democratic processes, the fourth major goal, refers to the fact that any reform or any changes that will take place in Greece during the time that PASOK is in control, will be done peacefully, legally, and democratically.

Some fundamental institutions to aid in the creation of a democratic society as indicated by Papandreou (1981) are as follows:

1. Parliament will be reinforced in such a way that it will play its role more decisively, that is, in the achievement of popular sovereignty and democracy in the country's daily life.

Our political tenets are based on the principle that: the people decide in a sovereign way, uncoerced and fully informed within a democratic regime wherein all voices are heard, all citizens are equal and where there is complete separation between the state and all political parties and absolute respect for the articles of the constitution. (p. 18)

2. Public administration will be made more democratic and more efficient. For example,

bureaucracy will be combated and the effectiveness of the public administration will be improved by simplifying procedures.... We shall decisively eradicate party favouritism, political favours and corruption. The democratization of the public administration implies that there will be an end to the treatment of citizens

and discrimination among civil servants according to the political convictions or their social origins. (p. 24)

3. Unionism and the mass movement will be encouraged wherever the people live, work, and are educated:

Trade unionism in the town and villages is a fundamental aspect of democracy and the lever for change, which leads to social liberation.

The participation of workers in decisions that affect them will give a new dimension to the trade unionist movement in the country... Free action and the development of a mass, class and politicised unionism, without dependence or guidance from the state, employers or parties, will be assured. (p. 25)

4. Planning will be democratic, assuring the decisive participation of the people in decisions at all levels and stages:

This form of planning, beyond greater productivity, is interwoven with decentralization and assures the rate of development and change which is feasible and absorbable by the people.

We are radically opposed to bureaucratic procedures of planning, which express the will and resolutions of some unapproachable central organ which, indeed, is cut off from the people, their needs and their visions. (p. 29)

In sum, after briefly examining PASOK's major goals, the following can be concluded as to the role that democracy will play in their society, or as to their definition of democracy: Society should be characterized by a participatory democracy where each individual participates in its making, in decisions which concern him or her and the good of others in general; a democratic society would be one that is freed from the exploitation of man by man, characterized by national and cultural unity, and by an orientation to human values rather than to commercial values (e.g., in the case of industry and the mass media); it is a democracy functioning by mutual

understanding, fraternity, cooperation, and active participation; it is a type of democracy which hopes for and works to bring about a society of citizens who are morally good men, possessing creative and critical thinking so that they can actively participate in every sphere of their society in taking moral and political decisions; education, viewed as a major element of change will play a significant role in the creation of such a society (for a more detailed discussion see PASOK's educational aims as discussed on pp. 129, 133-134).

PASOK's Proposals for Educational Democratization

This final and very significant section of chapter 4 will concentrate on an examination of PASOK's educational proposals and actual reforms from the point of view of democratization. The major aim is to see to what extent PASOK's educational proposals cover each dimension and component of democratization as discussed in chapter 2.

Quantitative Democratization

Quantitative democratization, emphasizing the extension of educational opportunity to all irrespective of socio-economic background, sex, or origin, is certainly a goal promoted by PASOK's proposals for educational reform.

Views discussed in the previous section which note that socialist transformation presupposes an educational system that will aim to eliminate the barriers which prevent the spread of knowledge and that education will be free for all,

are indicative of PASOK's desire to democratize the system on quantitative terms. Other statements which express this same desire are as follows:

The application of measures to remove the obstacles to education which exist today, so that every young man or woman who wants to and can study at whatever level of education, will not be barred. (Papandreu, 1981, p. 51)

Education must be available on equal terms to all Greek citizens--to the children of workers, farmers and the less privileged. And the education offered to them must be as complete as that offered to the children of the rich. (Papandreu, 1978, p. 23)

Grant equal opportunities and possibilities for education for all people. (PASOK, 1977a, p: 23)

The ultimate aim of quantitative democratization as seen by PASOK is the equal preparation of all individuals for their entrance into and participation in a democratic society, one characterized by social unity. As will be discussed later on, for this reason private education, parapedia, privileged schools, etc., will all be abolished; they do not belong in PASOK's democratic society, nor can they assure equality of educational opportunity for everyone who thirsts for knowledge.

Lets turn next to a discussion of each component of quantitative democratization as categorized in chapter 2, and examine to what extent each component is embodied in PASOK's educational proposals.

Democratization in the area of economic assistance. The Prime Minister, Andreas Papandreu, has stressed:

The government considers education to be a national affair. Education is not only an investment, it is also an end in itself for man. Consequently, it is an

asset which the state is under an obligation to provide to all at any cost.

Education is the affair of the entire people and providing it is an affair of the state. Consequently, expenditures for education have immediate priority. In this spirit, the increased share of education in the gross national product and in the state budget will be continuous so that free education for all the people will become a reality. (1981, p. 51)

One sees from the above statement that expenditures for education have immediate priority in PASOK's program. "Free education for all" it notes, "will become a reality". One might wonder what this might mean, since, as already indicated, the 1964 reforms introduced free education at all three levels of schooling. The answer is that "free" education for PASOK has a wider meaning than one might think; it implies not only the absence of a tuition fee. As reported in Exormisi (August 1, 1981, p. 10; July 31-August 1, 1982, p. 5; August 21-22, 1982, p. 1), in Papandreou (1981, p. 52), and in PASOK (1977a, p. 22; 1977d, p. 133), "free" education will also include the following provisions:

1. Transportation to school will be free for students that do not have the sufficient economic resources.
2. Free meal services will be provided, especially in the rural and remote areas where the need is the greatest.
3. Books, stationery, and various other supplies that students might need for workshops and gyms, will be free.
4. Extra assistance and special measures will be taken for students from the low socio-economic groups, and to those who are deprived of parental care, as well as for the education of mentally or physically disadvantaged students.

5. Education will be modernized. Provisions will be made for more schools, libraries, research centers, workshops, laboratories, etc. Special attention will be given to the provision of preschool facilities, such as day-care centers, nurseries, children's centers, and kindergartens.

As noted in the newspaper Exormisi (April 17-18, 1982, p. 10), great emphasis has already been placed by PASOK on the provision of more and better schools, especially in educational priority areas such as mountain, semi-mountain, and island regions, as well as in the underprivileged areas of urban centers: Of the 244 schools which are being built, 25 are for special education, 173 kindergartens, and 46 are first level secondary. A recent note in Exormisi (August 21-22, 1982, p. 1) indicates that 170 children's centers are being established which will take care of the ages 2½ to 6.

6. More teachers will be provided. Priority will be given to those who have been on the waiting lists. In a recent Exormisi (September 18-19, 1982, p. 12) it was specified that within one year 9,220 new appointments were made to teaching positions which took care of all those teachers who were on the waiting lists of the years 1978, 1979, 1980, and part of 1981.

7. The new bill for higher education, passed this summer, includes the following items which are related to economic assistance: Complete medical coverage will be offered to the students in higher education; grants, loans, and other economic provisions will be offered; free meals will be provided

for students in the low economic brackets.

In sum, PASOK's proposed educational reforms appear to concern themselves extensively with the democratization in the area of economic assistance, particularly in comparison to previous educational reforms in Greece. The free education at all three levels of schooling, first introduced by the 1964 reforms, will definitely be continued, and other provisions will be introduced, such as, free travel to school, an extensive free meal service, subsidies to students from the low socio-economic brackets, as well as extra provisions to educational priority areas.

"Provision of free education at all levels is one of the most cherished political goals in modern society" Psacharopoulos argues (1977, p. 69). One can not deny that free schooling is also a cherished political goal of PASOK as much as it was for the liberal government which in 1964 introduced the reforms of a tuition-free education at all levels. PASOK considers free education an important political goal, and aims for an even more equitable "free" education by introducing all the other provisions which have been discussed.

Further, it is important to consider Psacharopoulos' argument (1977, p. 69) as discussed in chapter 2 of this thesis, which suggests that free education might further aggravate rather than alleviate social disparities. For example, he notes, that even though education at the university level is free of charge, enrollments have to be

rationed by non-price means such as competitive exams, because the number of university places is limited. This in turn tends to favor the students who can afford measures such as the extra help of the private preparatory schools.

Psacharopoulos' argument can be applied to the situation in Greece where, as already discussed, the very high demand for higher education and the few places available has resulted in highly competitive examinations and in the need for the frontistiria or private preparatory schools. Thus, the absence of tuition fees and the other economic provisions have not made and will not make the system more democratic in nature unless something is done about abolishing the highly competitive exams, as well as bringing an end to the need for private preparatory schools. One must look then, beyond to other educational proposals by PASOK and see what they suggest for this area of concern.

Finally, one must not forget, that the more one tries to democratize an educational system by removing the barriers to access, the more does one have to be sure that there is adequate provision of schools, teachers, and especially places in higher education for the increased number of applicants that this type of democratization will bring about. PASOK's announcement giving priority to educational expenditures, and providing more schools and teachers in all three levels of schooling, is hopefully a positive move in this direction. Only time will tell whether the economic situation in Greece will be able to provide sufficient provision in the educational sector.

Democratization of the internal factors of schooling. A prime objective of PASOK, as implied in the following statement made by the Prime Minister, Papandreu (1981), is the improvement of the internal factors of schooling such as curriculum content and language:

Change in the content and directives of education and studies. Faith in human values, in man himself and respect for and valorisation of tradition will govern all education. The curricula will be linked to the productive and social procedure and will be adapted to the country's needs. There will be changes in the study programmes and text books and the demotic language will become entrenched on all levels of education. (p. 51)

Exormisi (August 1, 1981, p. 11) notes that the demotic language which was established as the language of instruction by the reforms of 1976 which have not been fully implemented yet, will be strictly practiced under PASOK, and at all levels of schooling. In addition, PASOK has proposed measures which will simplify the orthographic aspect of Greek grammar, such as introducing a one tone system in place of the multi-tone system. Further, strong emphasis will be placed on the teaching of foreign languages. Two modern foreign languages will be introduced in the primary and secondary levels of education with one of them being a requirement. Also, public language institutes will be formed to absorb the multitude of private language institutes that exist today.

The content of education, its aims, objectives, and the directions that it will follow, as discussed in Exormisi (August 1, 1981, p. 10; July 24-25, 1982, p. 8), in Papandreu (1981, p. 53), and in PASOK (1977d, pp. 131-132, 134, 136, 137-139) is as follows:

1. Emphasis should be placed on human values.
2. The teaching of history and the culture or pure popular tradition of Greek society should be as objective as possible. Emphasis should be placed on patriotism, cultural unity, national independence, as well as on the cultivation of peace and love for other nations.
3. Emphasis should be placed on the overcoming of prejudices such as those related to the equality of the two sexes and to those that result from differences in origin, and socio-economic class.
4. Familiarity with democratic laws and processes, such as participation and community effort in obtaining a common goal, will be stressed. This is particularly necessary for the eventual and successful active participation in the local self government and in society in general. Group work will be emphasized for it is seen as a requirement for social unity and cooperation in later life.
5. Emphasis will be placed on the importance and necessity of research.
6. The content of education should be as broad as possible, covering all aspects of society, from environmental problems to sociological problems, etc. Subjects outside the mere academic and classical orientation which characterized modern Greek education, will be included in the curriculum. The aim is to develop a free, and cultivated citizen that can participate in every aspect of life.
7. Emphasis on creative and critical thinking will be one of the most important elements of the curriculum content;

it is this type of thinking that can guide the individual to view society with objectivity and to be able to change it, if necessary, by creating one that is in line with the democratic society as envisioned by PASOK.

PASOK criticises the type of learning processes that have been used in modern Greek education, for they are based on the memorization of facts. The end result of this, they say, is the strangulation of the creative initiative of the individual as well the tiring of the memory itself. It also produces people characterized by uniformity, without initiative or imagination. They believe that a fundamental transformation is needed in this type of school system so that they can bring about the liberation of the creative skills, the creative and critical mind. Thus, along with the general type of education, art, dance, handicrafts, music, physical education, trades, theater, and cinema, will all play a major role in the curriculum or the content of schooling.

As the social psychologist, Mariela Doumari argues:

The creative arts can aid the student in approaching the world with imagination and creativity...lead to the formation of critical thinking....

Generally, it is necessary to create a dialogue between the creative arts studies and the rest of the disciplines...to introduce certain theoretical studies in the gymnasium and the lyceum. (Exormisi, July 24-25, 1982, p. 8)

8. Emphasis should be placed on the learning and the application of scientific methods.

9. Technical and professional training should be improved so as to be able to cover the requirements of production.

10. Schooling should provide professional orientation

to the students, that is, information on all the possible professions or directions that an individual can take, and information on the needs of the country. Along with the cultivation of the individual's ability for critical thinking, the aim would be to allow the individual to decide for himself the best direction to follow so that one day he can participate actively in society and in the production processes in general.

11. Learning should be connected to everyday life and its needs. It has to be opened to the outside world. Students should visit and live for a while in places of work (factory, village) in order to familiarize themselves with ways of managing and organizing society. They should visit courts, hospitals, public places, unions, etc. They should observe partnership at work and local self management. It is also important that students travel throughout Greece to familiarize themselves with its natural environment, with its people, and with its needs. Education should take place outside school buildings as much as possible.

12. On the whole, new textbooks will be written, new programs will be developed which will replace the old, anachronistic, and repetitive studies, for all levels of schooling. Teachers will also be retrained by attending intensive training programs at the universities.

13. Schooling should be connected and open to the community. It should be open to the outside world and it should become a center for discussions, lectures, and exhibitions.

On the whole, PASOK's proposals for education concerning the internal factors of schooling deal with questions of language and curriculum content which aim to make knowledge broader and more accessible to all groups of the population.

In addition, their proposals aim for the development of each person into an individual that can function well in a socialist society and that can participate actively in its making.

The question of language in Greece is somewhat similar to that discussed in chapter 2 of this thesis; the distinction between the katharevousa and the demotike could be considered similar to that of the elaborated and the restricted code with the major exception that the katharevousa is a totally artificial language not spoken at home while that is not the case with the elaborated code. This in a sense implies that a totally artificial language that has no major purpose but to divide the ruling class from the rest, should be completely eliminated from the school that aims towards democratization. Indeed, this is the aim of PASOK's language reform, to eliminate the katharevousa completely and strictly apply the 1976 reforms which introduced the demotike at all three levels of schooling. Since demotike is the popular language of Greece, the language spoken by all, there is no reason why it should not be used to its fullest in the educational system.

In addition, the monotonic system which aims to simplify the written language, will be another step in making knowledge more accessible since it will eliminate excessive time spent

with problems involving the written language.

Regarding the curriculum content proposed by PASOK which offers a broad range of options, covering areas of study outside the mere academic and classical studies characteristic of modern Greek education up to that point, the aim is to make knowledge more accessible to all groups of the population by offering a wide range of choices so as to cover the needs and interests of all people. The proposed curriculum is particularly noteworthy in its new emphasis on subjects that cultivate creative and critical thinking in the individual, necessary for the active and not the passive role that the individual will eventually have in society.

Further, PASOK's proposed curriculum content aims to meet the needs of democratization and of a democratic society in its implied attempt to create an individual that can function and participate in such a society. PASOK's emphasis on curriculum content can be easily related to White's (1979) reflections found in his essay entitled "Socialist Perspectives of the Curriculum":

A socialist education is for a fraternal society, held together by strong bonds of sympathy. Its aim can be stated boldly as the moulding of a citizen...I might equally well have said that the highest aim of education is to produce morally good men....A morally good man cares for people, has their well-being at heart: But which people? There is no good reason for restricting them to those with whom he comes into face-to-face contact, since there are others remoter in the community about whom he can also care....Being a good man cannot stop short of being a good citizen.

Citizenship, like morality, is less than perfect if it implies a blind obedience to rules. Since moral and, a fortiori political experts do not exist, each man should be equally entitled, and morally obliged, to help take moral and political decisions. The socialist polity

will be a participatory democracy therefore, in every sphere including the industrial, where moral choices must be made. This entails equipping as many participants as possible with the ability to reason their way independently through moral issues. The "moulding" of a citizen is not at all to be in obedience to the status quo, but in habits of critical reflection....

There is more that could and should be said about the aims of education. About vocational aims for instance. Work being ideally an expression both of one's innermost reflections and of one's fraternal links with others, vocational education is merely one aspect of education for citizenship. It has nothing to do with steering pupils into particular kinds of jobs: its objective is to acquaint all pupils with the whole pattern of work within the community, as it is and as it might be, both as a background to their own choice of a career and so that they come to understand the mutual reliance of each on each. (pp. 170-171)

Further, White notes that curriculum content should aim to mould individuals into people who understand society, its laws, mores, economic and political arrangements. They should be able to grasp democratic principles and be willing to apply them at every level, industrially as well as nationally or locally. People should be made aware of the common features of our human nature, our mortality, our capacities for loving and hating, our self-concern and desire to merge ourselves into a larger whole. In conclusion, White notes that socialist curriculum policy can be described as a noble one for its

libertarian antipathy to indoctrination, its emphasis on democracy, critical thought, equality, personal fulfilment, its awareness of the deeper aspects of our nature and its outward-looking patriotism. (p. 174).

It should be stressed that while the importance of technical and professional training is also emphasized by PASOK as an aspect of curriculum content, so as to cover the requirements of production and improve the economy of Greece, one should not take this as being the sole purpose of PASOK's

proposal for education. Education according to PASOK has two purposes: an economic purpose and a social purpose.

On the long term basis, Greece's future is strongly connected with education. Education has two aspects. It is an investment for the country's economic and social development--and here professional training and research studies are needed. But education is simultaneously a cultural resource. It constitutes a sacred right of every citizen, regardless of his profession or age. The deepening and broadening of knowledge remains a primary aim of PASOK. (Papandreou, 1978, p. 22)

Further, professional orientation, another important aspect of schooling (see external factors pp. 140-141) does not imply that anyone will be pushed or directed into an area of specialization that is not his or her choice. It only means that schools will provide information making the individual aware of what is available and aware of the needs of the country. Beyond that the individual will be allowed to decide on a direction that will coincide with his or her interests and abilities.

Missing from PASOK's proposals on curriculum content are the less obvious but very important internal factors of schooling: labeling and all the elements associated with it. While PASOK's proposals imply that group work as opposed to individualized instruction will play an important role in the education of an individual because it is a necessary item for the creation of the social and fraternal being, there is no discussion as to whether these groups will occur according to ability or according to some other factor. PASOK's emphasis on combating prejudice implies that the groups will not be based on differentiation practices. On the whole, more

input and attention should be given to this area of study; PASOK should make its stand more clear.

PASOK's hesitancy to be more specific on such internal factors of schooling as negative labeling, could be related to the fact that other major changes have to occur first, such as the comprehensivization of the system, before one could try to touch these sensitive internal factors of schooling. Also, it is very difficult to write and propose a reform on psychological factors such as labeling. What such factors involve is much more than a couple of sentences on a piece of paper; they involve people, specifically educators, who are either by nature or by training made to see the seriousness of negative labeling and who can act accordingly in their interaction with a student or with a group of students, and in the educational decisions they make about grouping practices.

Democratization of the external factors of schooling.

One of the main aims of schooling as expressed by the Prime Minister, Papandreou (1981), is as follows:

The application of measures to remove the obstacles to education which exist today, so that every young man or woman who wants to and can study at whatever level of education, will not be barred. We have already taken the first step in this direction. We have abolished the entrance exams from the Gymnasium to the Lyceum. With the abolition also of the Panhellenic Examinations, fair means will be established to allow limitless possibilities of effort for all those who wish to continue their studies in the universities. The institution of professional orientation will continue in this direction. (pp. 51-52)

When one examines PASOK's educational program closely, one notices that "to remove the obstacles to education" often

refers to the external factors of schooling. As will be seen in the following proposals, PASOK plans to make the educational system of Greece into a comprehensive system as opposed to the very selective system characterizing modern Greek education.

We now look at the proposed reforms concerning the external factors of schooling as they have been indicated by PASOK in the following literature: Exormisi (August 1, 1981, pp. 10-11; October 31-November 1, 1981, pp. 1,3; November 14-15, 1981, p. 10; January 2-3, 1982, pp. 1,11; February 6-7, 1982, p. 6; February 20-21, 1982, p. 5; July 24-25, 1982, p. 8; August 14-15, 1982, p. 3; September 25-26, 1982, p. 10), Ta Nea (October 2, 1981, p. 13), Papandreou (1981, pp. 52-53), PASOK (1977b, p. 11; 1977d, pp. 135-136).

1. The nine year compulsory education which was first introduced by the 1964 reforms will continue under PASOK; in the future they hope to raise the school leaving age for one more year, and eventually make 12 years of school compulsory. Schooling will be comprehensive with a common core up to the compulsory age.

2. Entrance exams from the gymnasium to the lyceum as already noted have been abolished by the new government of PASOK; entrance is automatic. Measures are presently taking place to abolish the entrance exams to the university (Panhel- lenic examinations). Entrance examinations are seen as unjust, perpetuating the social divisions in society, obstructing educational opportunity. It is believed that failure in the exams denotes failure of the system, not failure of the student.

Entrance to the university will depend mostly on the continuous assessment of the student's progress in secondary education, particularly at the lyceum.

As an answer to criticism from the opposition party (New Democracy) which introduced the entrance examinations to the lyceum in 1976, the abolition of the entrance exam will not lower the standard, prestige, or value of the institutions, nor will it create problems for the "good" student, or cut the flow to technical and vocational fields:

If the New Democracy party worries for the "good" student, the educational policy of PASOK does not select students. (Exormisi, October 31-November 1, 1981, p. 1)

Also as an answer to the question of whether the abolition of the entrance exams to the lyceum will create a problem due to the excessive number of students, PASOK argues that in about 1,000 general and technical lyceums that exist, the entrance of 10,000 students, in other words, ten students per lyceum, should not create any problems.

3. The technical and general lyceum will be unified into a multibranch lyceum with many directions. Transfer from one area of study to another will be possible with certain adjustments, particularly in the first two years of the lyceum where the core of all branches will be mainly common, based on humanistic education. In other words there will be flexibility of access, no decision as to the choice of future direction will be irrevocable.

The first two years of the lyceum will also consist of some electives that the student will choose according to the

professional orientation he or she wants to follow. In the third year of the lyceum specialization will take place. For those that want to enter the technical or vocational post-secondary educational institutions, entrance will be almost automatic since they will have followed the required direction in the lyceum and with satisfactory progress. For those that want to enter higher education institutions, such as the university, selection will depend on their progress in the lyceum (25%) and on their progress in the preparatory or specialized courses that they have taken in their third year of the lyceum (75%). The school year 1983-84 will be the last year for the Panhellenic or entrance examination which is required for the university.

For those students that want to enter a higher education institution but who have not qualified (poor reports on their progress in the lyceum) will be given the chance to improve and qualify for the higher institution of their choice after they have followed one year of preparatory courses at the metalikiako preparaskevastiko kentro (post lyceum preparatory center); in a sense, it is a national frontistirio offering preparatory courses for those that did not qualify and, in addition, for those that after completing the lyceum decide to change direction or area of specialization.

These preparatory centers will be found in most regions of Greece so as to minimize the need of having to move to the major cities for this type of provision.

4. The frontistiria (private preparatory schools) will

be abolished. In fact, all private education, including the parapedia, will eventually be abolished or dissolve by itself as the educational system of Greece moves towards its democratization. According to PASOK, private education does not belong in a democratic society and in an educational system that aims to open up to all people, irrespective of socio-economic background, origin, or sex, an education of equal quality. For this reason one of the main targets of the educational program as stated by Papandreou (1981) is as follows:

The assurance of conditions of equality in educational opportunities for everyone who thirsts for knowledge. For this, our aim is to do away with para-education, the abolition of private education and privileged schools with measures intended to bring about their harmonious inclusion in the public national system of education, safeguarding the rights of those who work in them. (p. 52)

The frontistiria will be replaced by the post lyceum preparatory center discussed above and by a number of remedial classes within the public school system.

5. Professional orientation, a very important aspect of secondary education, will depend on the student's interests and abilities. It will be something to be decided mostly by the student along with the supervision of a teacher or counselor and with the participation of parents and other educators; the decision will not be imposed on the student.

Information on all the possible directions to follow will be given to the student from the first year of the gymnasium so that a successful choice will eventually take place, one that fits best the student's interests and abilities. Once the student has indicated possible choices, more infor-

mation will be provided to the student on the specifics involved in his choice of direction such as the required courses and the type of involvement that his eventual profession will require. Naturally, the student's abilities and potentials will have to coincide with the choice of direction that has been selected. The last step would be to provide information on the needs of the country, particularly the production process, and discuss with the student how his professional choice is related to social needs and on the demand that exists for that profession.

6. The external structure of higher education will change also. It will become more comprehensive in character allowing the ease of transfer from one area of study to another. Many post secondary institutions such as the teaching academies and the physical education academies will be abolished and corresponding areas of study will be established in the universities. (see pp. 144-145)

The recent bill on higher education (July, 1982) introduces the six month course into the university. The student's progress in such a course will depend on continuous assessment and on a final examination. Failure in a compulsory subject would require it to be repeated. Failure in an elective would require either its repeat or the choice of a different subject to take its place. This way, PASOK argues, one does not lose a whole year as would happen in the previous system, nor is the student obliged to be removed from school completely.

The bill on higher education also devotes a great deal

of its content to the provision of post-graduate studies in higher education, offering Masters and Doctorate degrees. These programs will in turn be associated with research, which will be given extra consideration:

A university which does not include research is a dead university. Research should be done in the university for educational matters, but it should also be oriented towards the general needs of the country. It must be stressed that the university should not put any restrictions on the freedom of research but it must be sensitive to the needs of the society in which it is functioning. (Exormisi, February 20-21, 1982, p. 5)

Even further, a Ministry for Research and Technology has been established and its aim is:

To bridge the present technological chasm which separates us from the advanced countries in order to reduce our technological dependence on them. In the field of research, priority will be given to national defence, energy, the valorization of our mineral wealth and agricultural and industrial development. At the same time, research in economic and social sciences will be supported. (Papandreou, 1981, p. 47)

In sum, the examination in this section which dealt with the external structure or organization of schooling as indicated in PASOK's proposals and reforms, leads one to conclude that PASOK is aiming towards a more democratic form of education.

The highly selective and elitist type of schooling characterizing modern Greek education since its inception is definitely challenged by PASOK's program which aims for a non-selective, comprehensive type of education. For example, the aims of comprehensive schooling as summed in table 1 (p.36) are also PASOK's aims: The abolition of the entrance examinations to the lyceum and to the university indicate a system that aims to be open and non-selective; the nine year com-

pulsory age, common schooling for all, late selection and specialization, and flexibility in the choice of subjects or area of study, which characterize comprehensive schools are also important goals in PASOK's policy for education.

Certain negative elements of modern Greek education, such as the frontistiria and parapedia are also attacked under PASOK's proposal and reforms by the establishment of the post-lyceum preparatory center and by the open access or comprehensive nature of schooling. Also, the abolition of the frontistiria and the highly competitive entrance examinations are answers to an earlier question (p. 127) which suggested that free schooling and other economic provisions do not necessarily make the system more democratic unless something is done about the abolition of other factors which make the system very selective in nature. In the case of PASOK's policy the implication is that these other factors are taken into consideration and the system is indeed becoming more democratic in nature.

PASOK's announcement that all parallel and private education will be abolished is again a positive step towards a democratic educational system. We have seen in the case of England where parallel schools and private education function alongside the comprehensive schools, how difficult this has made the correct function of comprehensive schooling. Besides, PASOK's ideology, unlike English ideology, does not function on meritocratic principles or on the view that diversity of schools is a democratic ideal; PASOK's ideology, as in the

case of Sweden and France, sees that if education is to be made available to all on equal terms private education or any type of school which is not comprehensive in nature, does not fit into their society.

Finally, it is important to note that the organizational structure of higher education is also changing under PASOK's policies, becoming more democratic in nature and with additional provisions such as post-graduate studies and a greater variety of research programs.

Democratization of institutions and areas of study. As indicated in Exormisi (August 1, 1981. p. 11; December 5-6, 1981, p. 6; February 6-7, 1982, p. 6; February 20-21, 1982, p. 9; April 30-May 2, 1982, p. 10; July 31-August 1, 1982, p. 8; August 14-15, 1982, p. 3; August 21-22, 1982, pp. 3, 11) the bill on higher education makes provision for the equality of value and prestige in the various fields of study and institutions. This is exemplified in the following;

1. The E.A.S.A. (Physical Education Academies) will be abolished and two departments for physical education and athletics will be established, one in the University of Athens and the other in the University of Thessalonika. Besides the money provided by the state for their establishment, around 1% from the profits of the Organization for Prognostic Games of Soccer (a type of lottery) will be given towards the full development of these departments.

2. The teaching academies for the training of kindergarten and primary school teachers (offering courses originally 2

years in length, then 3 years) as well as the programs for special education teachers will be abolished and corresponding departments will be established in the universities of Greece. The training for primary school teachers and for special education teachers will be 4 years in length. The degrees offered will be of an equal value and prestige to that of secondary school teachers.

3. All private schooling will be abolished including post-compulsory level private institutions for technology and professional studies. New public institutions for technical studies for the tertiary level will be established in their place offering degrees that could lead on to the universities if desired.

4. Graduates from either the technical or academic studies in the lyceum or from any other direction that a lyceum might offer will be considered as equals and will have equal chances for entering higher education.

5. Transfer from one area of study to another in secondary and in higher education will be made possible with certain adjustments. In fact, transfer of Greek students from the universities abroad to the second and third year (with some exceptions to the fourth year) of the universities in Greece will be a much easier process than before. In the old system transfer could only occur in the second level of the university. Also, the percentage of students allowed to transfer from abroad will increase from 15% to 30%.

One sees from the previous points that PASOK's proposals

do indeed aim towards the democratization of the institutions and areas of study. This component of quantitative democratization as discussed in chapter 2 of this thesis implies the simple fact that if a system is becoming comprehensive this type of democratization can be more easily attained; comprehensive schooling permits an ease of access from one area of study to another or from one institution to another which in turn can result in the equality of value and prestige of the various disciplines and institutions. Since the educational proposals of PASOK aim for the comprehensivization of the system it follows that they aim for this component of quantitative democratization also.

The "comprehensive university model" discussed in chapter 2 which attempts to integrate into a single institution (the university) all types of post secondary institutions is also present in PASOK's proposals. The bill for higher education which provides for the integration of the physical education academies and the teacher training academies into the university is a positive step in this direction. The abolition of private post-compulsory level technical education as well as the merging of such institutions into the universities will also allow for this type of democratization to occur.

In fact, the abolition of all private education will make the democratization of the institutions and areas of study easier to accomplish since it will limit the differences of value and prestige presently found in all the parallel schools. PASOK's attempt to make all the directions of a lyceum equal

is also indicative of their aim to attain this same type of democratization.

The fact that PASOK is increasing transfer of students from abroad to the universities of Greece can also be considered a democratic move since it will encourage Greek students to move back to Greece, finish their education there and hopefully stay in Greece and contribute to their country. Also the problems which have been related to the financial burden migration brings will be diminished with the new incentives which will encourage young people to stay and study in Greece.

But as discussed in chapter 2 this type of democratization is often difficult to accomplish for it implies changes in the way people think or tend to view certain situations. For example, it will take a long time for graduates from the University of Crete to be considered as equals in prestige to the graduates from the University of Athens, or for technical and vocational studies to be considered equal to general or classical studies. But nevertheless, that does not mean that one should give up hope and stop aiming for the attainment of these democratic principles.

Democratization in the area of recurrent education. The

Prime Minister Papandreou (1981) announced that,

decisive support will be given to the institution of continuous education of the people. Educational television will be made more effective through radical reform and local self-government will receive support in the sector of free open universities. (p. 53)

As indicated in PASOK (1977d, p. 142) continuing or recurrent education will be made available for those that never

had a chance to complete their education such as housewives and workers as well as for the illiterate. Continuing education will take place on job sites, in special centres, or in the schools. Their programs will be decided by the educational authorities in collaboration with unions, associations, and the local self governments, so that educational provision is not totally without connection with industry. Lessons will be offered at hours that fit the workers' schedule. The government will pay for the education of the workers and companies will have to give permission, or time from work, for schooling.

The same document (PASOK 1977d, p. 132) also notes that vocational education or education related to the worker's job will not be the only factor stressed in recurrent education. Personal satisfaction or fulfillment will also be stressed as a reason for recurrent education so that each individual can widen his knowledge and attain the freedom required for choosing the type of life he or she wants to lead.

PASOK (1973d, p. 139) also specifies that special programs for the illiterate, particularly programs transmitted by educational T.V., will also play an important role in continuing education.

The "free open university" plays a significant role in PASOK's educational reform proposals, and it is also a significant factor in recurrent education since any citizen can attend these universities at any time in his life and satisfy his desires to learn about things that concern him and life in general. As the newspaper Exormisi (January 23-24, 1982,

p. 4) writes, the establishment of free open universities is a necessary factor in directing the course of life and giving the individual the power to self determination politically and socially. The free open university hopes to give the individual the necessary knowledge so that he or she can participate in matters such as those of environment protection, educational problems, youth problems, urban planning, human relations, etc.

The same Exormisi also suggests that the free open university is also an important factor in tackling many of the problems in people's lives, for the teaching staff has the opportunity to meet closer the everyday citizen, to find out matters which concern him and to try to deal with them. The students will not belong in one particular age bracket or socio-economic group. Hopefully they will come from all walks of life, thus the teacher through open discussions will be able to deal with a variety of problems and concerns.

The recent bill for higher education (July 1982) which makes provisions for 12 days off from work with pay for working students during examinations is also a factor related to recurrent education. (Exormisi May 29-30, 1982, p. 1; July 31-August 1, 1982, pp. 5-6)

In sum, the statements made in this section demonstrate that PASOK gives extra consideration to recurrent education particularly since it is in high demand in a country like Greece where many people have remained illiterate or have not been able to continue their studies because of financial lim-

itations and the need to work. Recurrent education will hopefully bring the workers back into the educational scene as well as the illiterates.

As suggested in chapter 2, recurrent education should not be encouraged only as vocational training; it should go beyond that to the fulfillment of personal needs. The fact that personal reasons or satisfactions as well as vocational training are stressed as factors that recurrent education should aim for in Greece, makes the notion even more democratic since PASOK does not plan to use it only as an opportunity for training related to the work of the individual.

There is no mention of correspondence courses in PASOK's program, an important aspect of recurrent education, especially in a country like Greece where there are many remote areas that lack sufficient schooling. Programs transmitted by the T.V., particularly for the illiterate, are valuable, but one fact that must not be overlooked is that television is not a product found in every home in Greece, especially among the poor who probably would need it the most in cases of programs for the illiterate.

Although PASOK places great emphasis on recurrent education it needs to be more specific in the proposals which concern this area. Further, PASOK should find successful ways of informing the public about the opportunities available so as to perhaps avoid the results of the Open University in England or the formation continue in France which, as discussed in chapter 2, indicated a low representation of the lower socio-

economic groups in these programs.

Democratization dealing with the regional variations of schooling. As noted in an earlier section of this chapter on democratization and economic assistance, priority will be given to regions located outside the major urban centers as well as to underprivileged areas in the urban centers. The reason for this is that the peripheries such as mountain, semi-mountain, and island regions, have always been neglected in terms of educational provision. The seriousness of the problem has already been discussed: Educational institutions such as universities, technical and vocational schools, as well as the frontistiria have always been concentrated in the cities making the education of children living in the rural areas very difficult. Exormisi (October 31-November 1, 1981, p. 3) points out that in order to complete their education these children usually move to the urban centers and there they are faced with problems of an economic nature such as finding a place to stay, the expense of clothing, food, etc., as well as with problems of adjustment to city life, all of which have a negative effect on their studies. Further as noted by PASOK (1977d, p. 132) the schools that do exist in the peripheries are usually understaffed and overcrowded and the buildings very old and of poor quality.

For the above reasons, democratization in this area is one of the main objectives of the government of PASOK. Papandreou (1981) proposes:

The creation of our own, high-quality education with a

proper material and technical structure in every corner of our land. For this purpose, priority will be given to the corresponding expenditures for border, island, mountain and semi-mountain areas as well as to underprivileged areas in urban centers. (p. 52)

Thus, decentralization will be sought, as opposed to the concentration of schooling in the central areas of the country. In the framework of decentralization and peripheral growth a variety of schools will be built in the rural areas according to their needs, including the provision of units for tertiary level studies.

In sum, the provision of schooling in regions located outside the major urban centers is a notable reform aiming towards democratization by making schooling accessible to all irrespective of their geographic origin. PASOK's proposals are positive steps towards this area of democratization. But one must consider that the provision of schooling and the teaching staff involve much money, and if financing this type of a campaign becomes difficult, PASOK should once again consider correspondence courses. Chapter 2 of this thesis discusses how correspondence courses can combat the obstacle of distance from educational institutions, in cases where the institutions cannot be provided in the areas needing them. The student, except for a few times during the year, does not have to leave his town in order to study. Countries such as Australia and New Zealand have achieved remarkable results.

Democratization dealing with differentiation of educational opportunity found between the sexes. The inferior status of women in the Greek educational system has already been discussed.

PASOK sees the problem clearly and wants to work towards the achievement of equality of the sexes in all aspects of life. As proposed in PASOK (1979), education is the number one factor in changing the way people think and in correcting the prejudices they have been brought up with. In other words, the actual content of education and the "hidden" curriculum has to be such that it does not differentiate between the sexes. Boys and girls, they propose, should grow up with the same values, should have common goals, and should be encouraged to the same degree of participation in the race of life.

In light of the previous discussion PASOK proposes to abolish all-girl and all-boy schools and establish co-education throughout the country (PASOK, 1977c, p. 135). It is also proposed in PASOK (1979, p. 28) and in Exormisi (August 1, 1981, p. 17) that no distinctions should be made in the subjects that girls and boys study in school and that they should all be able to follow any field of study they desire.

Continuing or recurrent education will also be made available to women and the provision of daycare centers, nurseries, etc., will make it easier for women to attend school or work.

As Papandreou (1981) states in the Greek Government Programme,

equality will be one of the basic axioms of the new content of education....

Our target is the equal remuneration of men and women at work and the abolition of discrimination with regard to male and female professions. (pp. 57-58)

In sum, PASOK's proposals for the equality of the sexes

in educational matters are a good start to a long and difficult battle. Hopefully PASOK will soon work out a very specific program concerning the education of women and extra care should be taken on the question of illiteracy which as noted earlier is much higher among women than men in Greece.

Qualitative Democratization

The word ekdimokratismos (democratization) is used in the reform proposals of PASOK mostly in reference to higher education and particularly the area of social relations and participation in the decision making process. In other words, while PASOK's proposals for education refer to both quantitative and qualitative democratization it is the latter that they emphasize. The reasons for this might be as follows:

1. Higher education in Greece with its feudal character where only the few such as the chair holder have any say in the decision making process, desperately needed to become more democratic. PASOK thus felt that it should be given first priority in their political campaign and in the actual reforms dealing with education. Therefore, it might be considered a pragmatic solution to something that desperately needed change.

2. PASOK's theory, as it has been described on pages 115-122 of this thesis, places a great emphasis on a society where participation plays a major role in all aspects of life. In fact, they view democracy as a participatory democracy. Such important notions emphasized by PASOK as socialization, decentralization, self-management, popular sovereignty, and

democratic processes, all involve the active participation of the Greek citizen and a type of involvement which demands feelings of collectiveness, fraternity, human values, etc. Further, the curriculum content as discussed on pages 129-130, places emphasis on the cultivation of the creative and critical mind of the individual and on the teaching of democratic processes, as well as on the preparation of the individual for his active participation in society. While the primary school cultivates in the individual these factors, secondary and higher education gets the individual ready for his entry into a society where he will actively contribute to making it a true participatory democracy.

The educational aim of qualitative democratization, then, would provide an appropriate environment for the realization of PASOK's aims. And nowhere can the individual first practice the elements associated with a participatory democracy more than in the schools which in turn should be democratic institutions. Educational policy should thus ensure "the wide participation of students in the planning of education and in the administration of educational establishments" (PASOK, 1974, p. 11).

In sum then, democratization with an emphasis on its qualitative dimension, especially in its dealing with participation, becomes an important element of schooling because it is a pragmatic solution to the problematic nature of higher education in Greece and at the same time it is in accordance with the political theory of PASOK.

We shall now examine PASOK's proposals for education and

the reforms which deal with qualitative democratization as they have been discussed in Exormisi (August 1, 1981, pp. 10-11; February 6-7, 1982, p. 1; April 3-4, 1982, p. 12; May 22-23, 1982, pp. 1,10), PASOK (1977a, pp. 22-23), PASOK (1977c, pp. 135,140-141), PASP (1981), and particularly in the Exormisi (July 31-August 1, 1982, pp. 1-8) which gives all the specifics of the bill for higher education passed in July, 1982.

1. Academic freedom in higher education will be inviolable (freedom of instruction and freedom of research).

2. University asylum is recognized for it is imperative in the establishment of academic freedom, for the free flow of ideas, and for a democratic university as a whole.

Decisions which concern the protection of the university asylum can only be taken unanimously and with the participation of all the higher education bodies.

3. The bill abolishes the feudal institution of the university chair and provides for the organization of higher education in departments which in turn will be divided into fields. The department is the basic decision making unit for it can promote the democratization of educational processes by allowing the participation of teaching and student bodies in its organization and in the programming of its studies.

4. The anachronistic and unjustifiable hierarchy among the teaching staff is abolished and new mechanisms in which all university teachers will participate equally are created.

The teaching staff will be divided into professors, associate professors, assistant professors and lecturers. Cri-

teria for these divisions are such factors as years of experience, research and publications, and the kind of higher education degrees that the individual holds. The means of electing the teaching staff will be democratic in character, and with publicly visible or open procedures. Promotion and credits for the teaching staff will also be done democratically.

The selection process for a teaching position will be initiated by the instigating committee organized by the National Academy of Letters and Sciences and then elections will be held in the departments where the vacancy is. The final decision must be 2/3 in favour of the candidate. Nepotism, political bias, favouritism, and arbitrariness, which dictated the election and renewal of a university professor in the previous system will be safeguarded against.

5. All teachers will participate equally in research and seminars and in the planning of the teaching programs.

6. The teaching staff will not be able to hold other jobs outside the university, except for their periodic service to the country for the purpose of the continuous connection of higher education with the production and social processes.

7. The bill provides for the institutions of higher learning to be legal entities of public concern, with full self-government, functioning according to regulations set up by themselves. Institutions of higher learning will be under state supervision and state financial support. This will not, however, be exercised in a manner which will limit their independence. In other words, higher education institutions will be self-governed but not autonomous. While their general

organization and basic functions will be dictated by the Ministry of Education, more specific matters will be dictated by the internal organization of the university; solutions to problems will be found by the university and other social groups which the decisions concern. The teaching program will be decided by the general assembly of each department. Members of the general assembly are all the teaching staff, the student representatives, and the representatives of the teaching assistants.

The content of studies is approved by the general assembly of the department. The National Academy of Letters and Sciences inspects the courses offered and their content on a national level.

The post-graduate programs are proposed by the professors elected in the graduate studies faculty. Their final approval is given by the general assembly of each faculty.

The content of the teaching programs and curriculum will be constantly reviewed and updated.

8. Measures will be taken to ensure that democratic dialogue will replace the monologue of the teacher in the classroom. Teachers will be conveyors of knowledge not dictatorial imposers of knowledge as they used to be. Students will be respected. The manner of higher education is to reflect not only its connection with the productive process of society but also its connection to social relations. Thus the subjects of the educational process should not be faced simply as students, but as human beings.

The dialogue of the classroom should aim to promote a sense of group work, collectiveness, partnership, and mutual understanding.

There will be a fundamental increase in teaching staff to reduce the ratio of teachers to students to one in which participation can easily occur. Any big classes will be divided into groups and teaching will be done collectively by a group of professors.

9. The bill provides for the participation of all the people that live and work in the university in matters which concern its life and organization. All the bodies of higher education have representatives in the general assembly of the institution with the right to vote in all matters concerning them.

The students will not be looked down upon, they will be respected by the teaching staff and the rest of the university for they are considered members of higher education, and just like all the other members they have a right to participate in the decision-making process, in matters concerning the content of studies, the economic management, and the business of government in higher education.

At the primary and secondary levels of schooling, children of the older grades should participate in the management of their school. They should also have a chance to participate in the local self-government. Student councils should be formed at the secondary level, emphasizing again student participation in school matters.

10. The bill provides for the establishment of the National Academy of Letters and Sciences, and the National Council on Higher Education: The National Academy's function will be to coordinate curricula, research programs, and the procedure for judging and assessing the teaching personnel on a national level. Members of the Academy will be Greek scientists and professors. The first 20 members will be elected by the Ministry of Education, the rest will be elected by the members of the Academy. The National Council will be established for the social supervision and inspection of institutions of higher education. The planning of education and government policy concerning it is a function of this council. Members of the National Council will be the representatives of the government, bodies of the university community such as teachers and students, representatives of the technical and professional areas of education, and representatives of parents, unions, and the local self-governments.

In sum, one can conclude that qualitative democratization is an important element of PASOK's educational reforms, particularly since this type of democratization is in accordance with PASOK's ideology which aims for a participatory democracy.

The recent bill on higher education covers two out of the three components of qualitative democratization as discussed in chapter 2:

1. PASOK's aim to ensure that democratic dialogue will replace the monologue of the teacher in the classroom, as well as the aim to make the teacher/student ratio one where par-

ticipation can occur, are indicative of PASOK's desire to implement that component of qualitative democratization which concerns pupil participation in the business of being educated. The aim is also a pragmatic solution to the problems that higher education in Greece had to face, such as a very high teacher/student ratio and the very passive role of the student in the classroom.

2. Other statements in the recent bill on higher education are indicative of PASOK's aim to democratize the educational system in Greece in a way that ensures the participation of all in the decision making process. For example, the establishment of academic freedom and university asylum, the abolition of the university chair and the unjustifiable hierarchy among the teaching staff, the democratic means of selection for a teaching position, as well as the provision of equal participation of all the people that live and work in the university, in matters which concern its life and organization, are all indicative of PASOK's desire to democratize the system along these terms.

Further, the fact that the university chair is abolished as well as the fact that university professors will not be able to hold other jobs is a definite improvement on the previous system which allowed the opposite, often resulting in the indifference of the teacher to his teaching.

Also the fact that institutions of higher learning will be self-governed but not autonomous ensures that what occurred in the case of Yugoslavia will not occur in Greece.

The National Academy of Letters and Sciences and the National Council, together with the state's supervision of the institutions, will ensure that they perform their basic functions. But the fact that excessive centralization characterizing modern Greek education will be avoided and the fact that the members of the educational institutions will be given plenty of opportunity to participate in the specific matters of the internal organization of the institution in question, will make these institutions democratic in nature.

Regarding the democratization which concerns control over one's future occupation and choice of studies, while this is not discussed in the recent bill for higher education it is discussed in other educational proposals made by PASOK. We have seen that professional orientation, an important aspect of secondary schooling, ensures that students are completely aware of all the career options and choice of studies available, and that the final decision is made by the student and is not in any way imposed or controlled by others such as planning commissions.

Papandreou (1981) discussing planning in general says:

We are radically opposed to bureaucratic procedures of planning, which express the will and resolutions of some unapproachable central organ which, indeed, is cut off from the people, their needs and their visions. (p. 29)

One could say that education is also included in the previous notion that no unapproachable central organ will decide the choice of studies of the student since this would be cut off from the needs and visions of the student and would thus be undemocratic in nature. One could only hope though

that in practice it will prove to work as anticipated and that results such as those presented by Karabel (see pp. 70-71 of this thesis) on the Community Colleges in the U.S. will not occur in Greece.

CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION

It has been demonstrated in this thesis that the democratization of education, is a complicated notion that involves more than one dimension and many components. Even simple definitions of the concept, such as that given on page 7 for quantitative democratization, are not so simple after a close examination for one concludes that it is an intricate task to achieve the aims given in the definition. Thus, the democratization of education, being a notion that covers many areas and many factors of a complex nature, is bound to be a persistent goal of educational policy in contemporary societies, particularly since it is also a worthwhile goal to pursue.

It has been also indicated that some components of democratization are more efficient than others and also that the practice of one or even a few components of the democratization of education do not make an educational system completely democratized because all its components have to be taken into consideration since they are all interrelated, one affecting the other. Complete democratization of an educational system would then seem as a very difficult task, as indeed it is, but this does not mean that countries should stop aiming for such a goal because even if in the process only some components of each dimension or some aspects of democratization are attained this still makes the effort worthwhile.

Further, as demonstrated in chapter 3 which dealt with

one aspect of democratization--comprehensive schooling-- , when the democratization of education is studied within a particular national context it becomes even more complex for there are often other factors involved, common only to the particular country in question, and which affect the democratization process. For example, industrialization, economic, and social factors might have an effect on the democratization process as well as the ruling Party's conception of democracy and the amount of central and local control over educational matters.

The study of Greece (chapter 4) was also a major part of this thesis. In fact, the educational situation of Greece played a major role in influencing my decision to write a thesis on the democratization of education. The educational system of Greece presented many problems, mostly a result of its very elitist nature. PASOK has been the only government to propose radical changes, particularly changes aiming towards the democratization of the educational system in Greece. Upon studying PASOK's proposals I felt impelled to study even further the notion of democratization, see exactly what it entails, and then apply it to the situation in Greece and examine to what extent this notion is embodied in PASOK's proposals and educational reforms. In other words, I wanted to see how sincere the effort to democratize the educational system in Greece has been by PASOK; is the word "democratization" genuinely used or is it just used on the surface? Further if there was any room for improvement I wanted to be able to provide some suggestions.

In sum, the findings from the study of Greece are as follows:

1. As far as democratization in the area of economic assistance is concerned PASOK is proposing extensive changes that do not only continue to offer the tuition free education introduced by previous reforms but also a free education that offers many other provisions such as free travel to school, free meal services, subsidies to students from the low socio-economic brackets, as well as extra provisions to educational priority areas.

Greece, not being a very rich country, is faced with an economic dilemma that might make one wonder how PASOK will be able to provide such "free" education. But as already discussed the fact that priority has been given to educational expenditures is a positive step in this direction and only time will tell, since extensive measures have also been taken for the improvement of Greece's economy, how well this system will work.

2. As far as democratization of the internal factors is concerned it has been indicated that PASOK proposes major changes of curriculum content and plans to strictly use the demotike, as well as simplifying Greek grammar, but PASOK does not discuss such important items as the effects of negative labeling and all the factors associated with it. Perhaps this is because other changes in the educational system have to occur first before one can discuss such an item, or perhaps this is very much due to the fact that it

is not easy to make reform proposals for such an item. Hopefully in the future PASOK will consider such internal factors of schooling more carefully and search for successful solutions.

3. Democratization of the external structure of schooling is also a major consideration of PASOK's proposals for educational reform. PASOK is aiming towards a more democratic form of schooling, non-selective and comprehensive in nature. The very elitist character of modern Greek education is radically challenged and certain parasitic consequences of elitist education such as the frontistiria and parapedia will be eliminated. PASOK's proposals in this component of quantitative democratization appear complete and thus leave little room for suggestions as far as democratization is concerned.

4. Democratization of institutions and areas of study is once again a goal pursued by PASOK's educational proposals and reforms. The move to abolish the Physical Education Academies and the Teaching Academies and establish departments covering these areas of study in the universities is a positive step in this direction, so is the move to abolish all private post-compulsory level institutions and establish new public institutions in their place. The aim to consider graduates from either the technical or academic directions of the lyceum as equals as well as the aim to make transfer from one area of study to another an easy process also exemplifies the desire to democratize the system along the terms that there will be an equality of value and prestige in the various

fields of study and institutions. But as already discussed, this type of democratization is often difficult to accomplish since it implies changes in the ways people have for ages viewed certain situations. Hopefully, the comprehensivization of an educational system will make it easier for this type of democratization to be attained.

5. PASOK does not fail to include recurrent education in its educational proposals as well as a consideration of the regional variations of educational provision and also a concern for the differentiations of educational opportunity found between the sexes. All these three components of quantitative democratization play an important role in PASOK's proposals and they are seriously considered and studied. One factor, though, that seems to be left out is the use of correspondence courses, an important element for a country like Greece where many remote areas exist with insufficient schooling provisions.

6. Qualitative democratization in PASOK's proposals for educational reform is considered even more than quantitative democratization. As discussed, this is probably due to the fact that qualitative democratization provides a pragmatic solution to the many problems faced by Greek education, particularly higher education, and at the same time it is also in accordance with the political theory of PASOK which emphasizes a participatory democracy. In fact, the first major reform which has passed under PASOK has been the July 1982 Bill for higher education which thoroughly democratizes

higher education along qualitative terms.

On the whole then, one could say that PASOK's educational proposals and reforms in Greece do genuinely embody the notion of democratization. While some room for improvement and suggestions exist one cannot deny that PASOK's proposals are an enormous improvement and a definite challenge to the way that modern Greek education has been ever since its inception.

But how successful PASOK's educational reforms aiming towards democratization will be is another question, still too early to answer. While recent reforms such as the Bill for higher education and the abolition of the entrance exam to the lyceum have been widely accepted and appear to work smoothly, only the near future will tell how successful other reforms have been or how well the present educational proposals have been implemented.

Nevertheless, certain conclusions can be inferred after comparing the situation of Greece to other countries mentioned in this thesis. First of all, PASOK by attempting to democratize the educational system in Greece is moving in the right direction considering that one of PASOK's major goals is economic independence. Economic independence which is also related to economic development and industrial growth, requires, as we saw in the case of France, a democratized educational system. France saw that it could no longer function on its elitist tradition if it was to develop economically, PASOK has also reached a similar conclusion. But although this is the functional reason given for educational democratization,

PASOK goes far beyond this and provides social and political reasons for the educational democratization as well. Thus at the same time that PASOK aims for economic, political and social democratization, it also aims for educational democratization, for education is seen as the foundation of change. If we consider the case of Sweden where priority was given to economic and social democratization, making the next step of educational democratization an easier process, one might wonder how successful educational democratization will be in Greece since PASOK has given it priority along with the other types of democratization. In this case one could say that the comparison is not very realistic since the situation in Sweden has been very different from that of Greece. The long history of continuous peace in Sweden, the limited opposition from the other parties, the wealth of the nation, the great deal of research and planning occurring before the actual reforms, and the long rule of the Social Democrats, were a few of the factors which have made the transition from one stage to another an easier process. Modern Greece, on the other hand, with its frequent changes in government mostly of conservative rule, with two dictatorships, with many periods of war, with little research, limited wealth, and much opposition, are all factors which persuade PASOK that if democratic change, desperately needed in Greece, is to occur, it must take place now in all its forms.

Second, another positive move that PASOK is taking is to move away from the excessive centralization to decentralization.

Even in countries such as Sweden and France which were highly centralized one notices a recent trend and demand to decentralize or at least to consider some local input in educational matters. Greece is moving to an even greater extent towards decentralization but does not reach the point described for the case of England or for the case of Yugoslavia. Unlike England and Yugoslavia PASOK proposes that education will not be the responsibility of the local educational authorities only, but in certain matters of the central government as well. PASOK appears to have found a happy medium between excessive centralization and excessive decentralization.

Third, upon comparing PASOK's educational proposals to other countries, another factor in favour of PASOK is its desire to abolish all parallel and private education upon the establishment of comprehensive schooling. This is in line with PASOK's ideology which believes that such schools do not belong in a democratic society for they cannot assure equality of educational opportunity for everyone who thirsts for knowledge. But at the same time it appears as a very realistic move for as we saw in the case of England where all sort of schools function alongside the comprehensive schools this has made the success of comprehensive schooling very difficult to attain. On the other hand, in Sweden all parallel schooling has been abolished and the comprehensive schools have been very successful.

In sum, after these short comparisons one can say that PASOK's educational proposals and reforms do have a chance.

of being successful. We can allow ourselves to be optimistic and hope that PASOK will succeed in democratizing the educational system of Greece, if not completely, at least substantially.

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