THE LATE APPEARANCE OF SPECIAL EDUCATION IN GREECE: 1821-1995

WITH REFERENCE TO THE ROLE OF THE HEADTEACHER IN SPECIAL SCHOOLS

CHRISTINE SYRIOPOULOU

THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REGULATIONS OF

THE UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

SEPTEMBER 1996

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

DEDICATED TO MY PARENTS

CONSTANTINOS AND VASSILIKI SYRIOPOULOU

AND TO MY HUSBAND

EFTIHIOS DELLIS

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ABBREVIATIONS

C.E.D.E.F.O.P.	European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training
E.C.	European Community
E.E.C.	European Economic Community
E.S.N.-M	Educational Special Needs - Moderate
E.U.	European Union
G.D.P.	Gross Domestic Product
G.N.P.	Gross National Product
I.M.P.	Integrated Mediterranean Programmes
INSET	In-Service Training
ITE	Institute for Technological Education
M.B.L.	Multi-Branch Lyceum
N.D.	National Decree
O.A.E.D.	Organization of Manpower and Occupation
O.E.C.D.	Organization for the Economic Co-operation and Development
O.L.M.E.	Greek Secondary Teachers' Union
S.T.E.	Council for Technological Education
T.E.I.	Technical Educational Institution

ABSTRACT

The thesis aims at investigating the social role of the headteacher in schools for children with special needs in Greece and the factors that influenced his/her role

For the investigation of the argument we initially examined the social and political nexus of Greece in order to demystify the social environment where the heads work In the continuation the background of the education system in Greece is examined in order to present the social role of the school The third chapter is devoted to the background of special education in Greece and its social role The fourth chapter presents the sample (headteachers and school counsellors) and the way that data was collected Finally, the last chapter investigates - through interviews with the heads and questionnaires answered by school counsellors - the nature of the head's job as it presently exists, the aims of the special school, the educational and vocational provision of students with special needs, the ways of children's assessment and the education of heads

The main assumption drawn by the research is that the aims, form and context of special education changes through the years in response to broader politico-economic changes The aims, form and context of special education influence the role of the headteacher in a special school Thus, the role of the head is influenced indirectly by the current politico-economic conditions. This is true also at the international level, and the thesis argues that the European Union's economic, political and educational policy influence the role of special education and conceptually the role of the headteacher in Greece.

The analysis of the argument is based on the combination of history with theories of international relationships although a Marxian flavour of approach might come out of the analysis Social institutions like economy and education in Greece as well as their apparatuses (school, headteachers etc) are very sensitive and feel a great impact by the developments that are implemented in developed countries Thus it is only by analysing the facts that influenced the Greek institutions and the form that apparatuses took under this influence that we could understand the role of headteacher in Greece and the social context where s/he functions

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

Special education developed in Greece relatively recently (Information Bulletin on Special Education, 1992). The starting point of the official establishment of special education is considered to be the 1143/81 Education Act (Information Bulletin on Special Education, 1992). According to official documents:

> "In March 1981 the Greek Parliament voted unanimously the first law on special education. That was a great and historical step, because it established special education as part of our education system and bound the government to undertake its duty towards people with special educational needs and not to show just sympathy and benevolence towards these people." (Information Bulletin on Special Education, 1992 p.12).

The technological (automation of production), economic (the international economic competition) and political (efforts towards European Union) developments that took place permitted the training and participation of people with special needs in the production process (Dellassoudas, 1991). In the 1980s special education developed rapidly. It became an integral part of the national education system. According to the Minister of Education:

> "Special education is an inseparable part of the main education system which stamps with its quality, the quality of the whole educational system and its functions". (Information Bulletin on Special Education, 1992 p.83).

The categories of children benefited by the new special educational policy are children with physical disabilities but mostly children with mental problems and learning difficulties. Although previous (segregated) forms of special education were maintained - like asylums - new forms of provision developed. The institution of special classes and special schools (in the 1980s) expanded all over Greece. Special schools have been divided into three mainly types. Schools for children with physical disabilities, schools for children with sensory disorders and schools for children with mental and psychological problems. However, in spite the categorisation of schools, the groups attending special schools have been mixed (for children with physical problems, mental or psychological problems). The group of chilldren attending the special class is officially regulated to be between 4-6 children. Special schools do not have grades but levels. They have two preparatory levels. The first two years of the school are characterized as the low levels, the next two years are the middle levels and the last two years are called the high levels.

Moreover, special education became *"state driven"* and not *"necessity driven"* as it was in the past. I mean that since the mid 1980s the state was deciding which student was appropriate to follow a special school. In the past in spite the pressure of the groups with special needs and their families for educational provision and integration in society there were rare, slow-moving and segregated forms of provision. This fact reinforces our belief that special education is not just a way for the protection of people with special needs but it serves further more complicated social speculations which are linked with the broader position of Greece in the international geo-politics.

Special education in Greece expanded in a period during which E.U. was taking several initiatives (Neave,1984) towards special educational provision. Its form differed from that of the developed European states because it developed upon a non-existent infrastructure. There was not any previous experience, there was not staff to train teachers able to teach in special schools, there was not teaching material for special schools, assessment methods etc. Special education was designed in details by the Ministry of Education which was maintaining the responsibility for its implementation. The function of the schools was based on legislative measures and not on scientific methods.

Having the above observation as a starting point this work began at the School of Education, University of Liverpool, in 1993.

This thesis focuses on the social role of the headteacher in special schools. Moreover, since social environment is estimated to be one of the most powerful factors for the formation of school administration (Hoy and Miskel, 1982; Roussis, 1984), the thesis investigates also the socio-political developments that influenced the educational system and its values as well as the role of the head.

The above aim was investigated through Greek, British and American bibliography and by non-scheduled and standardised interviews with headteachers who were working in special schools all over the prefecture of Attika. Additional sources of information were also used: First, open-ended questionnaires were sent to school counsellors all over Greece. Second, unstructured interviews were carried out with people who were working in the Ministry of Education and were involved in special education.

THE ARGUMENT OF THE THESIS

The role of the headteacher is essentially institutional. In Greece, the role of the head in special schools developed in the 1980's: a period which is characterised by the meteoric expansion of special education and the multiplication of special schools. In 1978 special education was provided for 1,997

students in 67 special schools while in 1993 there were 802 special schools and special classes with 14,136 students (Information Bulletin on Special Education, 1994, Ministry of Education p.12). Within fourteen years the number of students had then multiplied sixfold.

Historical and social factors led to the formation of a centralized system of educational administration in Greece (Massials,1981; Saitis,1990). The head is appointed to hold a position characterised by increased responsibility and authority in the school. For this reason his/her role becomes particularly important for the management and administration of the special school. According to the 1985 Education Act:

> "The head is responsible for the smooth running of the school, the co-ordination of school life, the upholding of laws, circulars and official orders and the application of the decisions of teachers' association. The head also participates in the assessment of teachers' work in the school and s/he co-operates with the school inspector" (Government Gazette,1983, Vol.1, No.120, p.2555).

- The head is the link between the state and society. S/He transmits the educational policy designed by the Ministry to the school.

- S/He is the best informed person in the school. S/He is also the person with the most responsibility and authority in the special school.

- The head co-ordinates the people and the services who are involved in special education and for this reason s/he has an overview about what is happening in the school.

The role of the head of the special school is of particular interest for the following reasons:

- In the special school the head is obliged to participate directly in the process of diagnosis, assessment and classification of students in grades of ability and disability. This assessment and classification of students in the special school is not similar to the assessment implemented in the mainstream schools. The assessment of children in the special school has as a result the channelling of children into a sort of life completely different from the life destined for mainstream school students. This makes the role of the head particularly important for the formation of the social nexus.

- The establishment and function of the special school in society legitimises the discrimination of people into categories. The head contributes to the legitimisation of this division of people into normal and special.

- The institution of special education as part of the education system has implications for the behaviour of mainstream children. By running the special school, the head contributes to the

construction of the ideology about who is normal and who is not and this influences directly the society of *"normal"* people.

- With his/her delegated role the head contributes to the formation of the labour market (through the assessment and channelling of people to particular choices). This fact has a particular political and social importance.

Thus we were led to the assumption that the head - consciously or unconsciously - is used as an important regulator of social norms and behaviour and this became the starting point of this investigation.

LITERATURE REVIEW AND MOTIVATIONS FOR THE THESIS

Since the field of special education has not developed till recently in Greece the bibliography on the administration of the special school and the role of the head teacher in Greece is not very extensive. Most of the Greek studies on the administration and management of education are a recording and periodisation of the legislation, and are written mainly by members of the Teacher Training Colleges (Dervissis, 1984). These studies are largely descriptive. They usually lack theories on the notion of structure and organisation, of administrative systems, on the notion of bureaucracy, on centralised and de-centralised administrative systems. Their theoretical approaches usually end in the giving of definitions of general concepts, like education, discipline, organisation, administration, organisation of administration, etc.(Evagelopoulos, 1984).

In other studies, theory is replaced by reference to general principles of the Administrative Law (Markopoulos, 1978). These theoretical references have the following aim:

> *"the educationist, as an intellectual instrument of society, should know the structure of society, in which s he is integrated and which s he should serve, his her role as this is defined by society, his her duties and responsibilities as well as his her rights, in order to offer all his her strength consciously to his her pedagogical role" (Markopoulos, 1978 p.3).*

The analysis included in these books is limited and it does not take into consideration the formation of Greek society. Such books are also used in the Teachers Training Colleges.

In the last few years, articles (Mavrogiorgos, 1984; Papakonstandinou, 1986; Andreou, 1986; Andreou, 1986; Hassapis, 1985; Michalopoulos, 1987) and studies (Noutsos, 1979; Noutsos, 1983; Kalafati, 1988; Anthogalidou-Vassilakaki, 1980) that have been published include critical investigations into the role of the contemporary state. However, these studies concentrate on sociological investigations rather than references to the administration of education in Greece. In

some of these articles there is an institutionalised perception of the school. In other words, the authors give much emphasis to the systems of administration, and they imply that how the school is administered defines to a high degree the reproductive function of the school. However, according to Poulantzas'(1982) Marxian perspective:

> "the production process in connection with the political and ideological relations - namely the economic, political, ideological class struggle - has as a result the creation of this school" (p.37).

As far as special education is concerned, a number of articles (Christakis, 1982; Theodoropoulos, 1978; Birtsas, 1982) published in the early 80s mention the need for change in social attitudes and the abandonment of prejudice towards people with special needs. Theodoropoulos(1978) mentions the necessity for change in social attitudes towards people with special needs. He states that:

> "economic, social and humanitarian factors have made Greece and most countries undertake a serious effort for the care, education, social integration and vocational rehabilitation of these children" (p.90).

A reference to the social attitudes and perceptions is also contained in the article published by Birtsas(1982). Birtsas supports that research during the last 30 years shows clearly that each child regardless of its inherent possibilities is able to learn a little or a lot. He asserts that *"no child is uneducable"*. Birtsas refers to the efforts of the private and public sector to enlighten and guide the wider public. Finally, Birtsas dealt with the issue of school and social integration of children with special needs.

In similar vein, Christakis(1982) analyses the attitudes of the social environment. Christakis mentions that nowadays there is an improvement in social attitudes towards these children. He maintains that social prejudice is reduced and the public acceptance of people with special needs tends to increase. According to Christakis, three main factors have helped the change of social attitudes: First the improvement of the education level of all social classes. Second, the intensive efforts for the upgrading of special education and the quantitative increase and qualitative improvement of integration of people with special needs into the production process. Third, public information at a national and international level. In reality, the change of social attitudes towards people with special needs is result of the technological developments applied in the production process which permitted the absorption of people with special needs in production. The change of the official policy for the training and the vocational rehabilitation of people with special needs as well as the official attempts to enlighten the public led to the cultivation of a new mentality about the social role of the people with special needs.

Moreover, in recent bibliography, Stassinos(1991) makes an historical review of special education between 1828-1989. The author records the legislative and institutional measures of the private and public sector in the field of special education since the establishment of the education system. He also makes short references to social perceptions and attitudes. Although the study occasionally makes an effort to connect developments in the field of special education with the social and political developments it does not explain in what way the social developments influenced education, nor does it consider the social purpose of the educational innovations.

Finally, Dellassoudas'(1991) book *"The Community's Social Policy and Special Vocational Training"* concerns the legislative measures of European Community on the vocational rehabilitation of people with special needs during the 1980s. He supports the view that:

> *"the substantial change of social attitudes towards people with special needs is realised in the 20th century, but it has its start with the two World Wars which contributed to the improvement of disabled people's position in a tragic way. The change in the attitudes was expressed with the effort of social re-integration of disabled by the war, and this gradually expanded to the whole of disabled and it covers nowadays the whole of the people with special needs" (p.14).*

The Greek bibliography on special education lacks mainly a critical review of the social conditions that led to the formation of the contemporary system of special education and the role that special education plays nowadays in Greek society. It also lacks a review of the actual situation in the special schools. In other words there is need for a review that would distinguish the rhetoric from reality. In addition, existing published research lacks a critical investigation which could permit the reader to understand the current social and educational policy and to foresee the future movements and trends in education.

The thesis has particular interest for the following reasons:

i) The investigation is original. There is nothing relevant written on this issue.

ii) Special education has during the last years attracted particular interest on the part of official government, private organisations and international bodies.

iii) The role of the special school has over the same period acquired particular importance for the Greek education system and society.

iv) For the first time Greek headteachers who work in special schools had the opportunity to express their opinion.

AIM OF THE THESIS

The aim of the thesis is to investigate the impact of the socio-political developments upon the institution of education and its apparatus, with special reference to the headteacher.

Through our investigation we aim:

i) to distinguish the rhetoric from reality and to reveal the way that special schools function nowadays in Greece.

ii) to investigate the perceptions of the people who serve the system of special education as regards special education and special school.

iii) to relate the emergence and character of special schools in Greece to Greek history, culture and institutions.

PRESENTATION OF THE THESIS

The thesis is divided into five chapters. The first four chapters establish the background against which contemporary realities (chapter V) have to be viewed. They are based upon Greek, British and American bibliography. The fifth chapter concentrates on the presentation of data.

Chapter one (State and Social formation in Greece), is an historical review of the social, political and economic situation in Greece from its creation as an independent country until today. The aim of the chapter is to give the social framework within which the institution of special education was eventually established and developed. This chapter also helps the reader to understand the social context of the operation of special school. The presentation of the social environment helps the explanation of the school aims and the role of the headteacher.

Chapter two (School System, Policy and Provision), is an historical review of the Greek education system from its establishment until today. The object of this chapter is to present the changing social role of the school through time and it is a way to introduce the reader to the changes that are currently occurring in the education system. The chapter presents the role of school in the formation of the labour market and social life and it gives a critical view of the way that economic and political changes that took place in Greece and abroad have influenced educational provision.

Chapter three (Special Education), includes an historical review of the institution of special education. It combines the social and political changes with the developments in special education.

The main aim of the chapter is to highlight the context and purpose of special education through years. Particular emphasis is given to the current development of special education.

Chapter four (Research Methodology) gives information about the sample and the collection of data.

Chapter five (Selective Features of the Contemporary Special Education System and the Role of the School Administrator), focuses upon the social role of the headteachers. This part is based upon the interviews with the headteachers who work in special schools in the prefecture of Attika. The chapter is divided into three sections. Section I deals with the form of educational administration in Greece, the nature of the head's job (namely his/her duties and responsibilities). Section II refers to the aims of the special school, the special vocational provision, the technical training and the social integration of students. Finally, section III investigates how pupils are assessed and admitted in special schools, and how competent heads are to perform their assessment function.

This chapter also includes the opinions of the school counsellors on the role of the special school in society and on the school administration.

The chapter ends with a conclusion based on the interviews and the previous theoretical chapters of the thesis.

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CHAPTER I

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STATE AND SOCIAL FORMATION IN GREECE

INTRODUCTION

Although modern Greece is a European society linked to the western block of alliances, it differs in striking and fundamental ways from the highly developed societies of western Europe (Koumoulides, 1977; Psilos, 1968; Samaras, 1985).

These differences do not simply refer to and cannot be explained fully by the relatively low degree of industrialisation in Greece. There are some fundamental structural differences in relation to western European societies which would persist even if Greece were to reach the same level of economic development as its industrially developed European Union partners. Such structural characteristics reflect the fact that Greece, unlike western countries, has emerged as a modern nation from the disintegration of a patrimonial empire without having experienced a feudal past, at least not in the way and to the extent most western societies did. Some of the main features of the Greek class structure, which are constant throughout history, can only be understood by analysing their formation and persistence.

Thus, this chapter will deal in a highly selective manner with key events in Greek history, crucial for explaining some persistent characteristics of the two most important classes, the bourgeoisie and the peasantry. Against this background, I will attempt to assess the changing post-war class structure in the economic and political context of modern Greece.

1.1   1830-1880: UNDERDEVELOPMENT IN A PRE-CAPITALIST CONTEXT

During the first fifty years of independent national life, Greece was a predominantly agrarian society with very low social overhead capital and non-existent industry (Koumoulides, 1977). Niederhauser(1981) describes the situation in these words:

"The country, which had become independent, was poor, its agriculture was backward, without much promise of improvement owing to the rocky terrain. Nor were people and state identical, since the majority of the Greeks were still outside the state, both those living in the diaspora, and the Greek population in the neighbouring Ottoman provinces and on the islands, still in Turkish possession. And these were the wealthiest of the Greek bourgeoisie. Some of them attempted to remedy the situation by moving to independent Greece, bringing their fortune with them where possible, an act which benefited the economy of the country. The majority did not; they remained abroad, and contented themselves with giving financial aid to the new state.

But the great powers too had to be recompensed for their assistance. In the state a bourgeois order had to be established under the rule of the wealthiest class of Greeks, which of course favoured the bourgeoisie. The land taken from the Turks, now declared national property, should have been distributed among the peasants in principle, but in practice were bought up by the rich" (p.272).

Where agriculture was concerned, the Turkish landlords fleeing the country did not let the bulk of the land be taken over by the few big Greek landlords and peasants, most of the ex-Turkish estates became *"national lands"* under the direct ownership of the Greek state. The latter, contrary to its promises, refused to implement the free distribution of these lands to the unpropertied peasants who had fought for Greek independence. Instead of this, the Dotation Law of 1835 gave them the right to purchase small plots of national lands against low annual payments over a 36-year period. Although this law was not very popular and took effect at a snail's pace, the Greek government's refusal to sell the national lands by auction was a very decisive step hindering the emergence of big landed property in the newly-born state. After 1871 the majority of Greek peasants had acquired some landed property of their own.

The ruling class, being unable to stabilise a dominant position by monopolising the ownership of the land - which was the only available productive way of labour - started the *"monopolisation"* of social mechanisms (Koumoulides, 1977). It is true that the lack of capital, the stagnation of production, the stagnation of inner trade, and generally the slow rhythms of development of mechanisms of capitalistic accumulation, made the public sector a privileged area which offered political power and profit. Thus the ruling class was from the beginning cut off from agricultural activities.

Capital had not entered agricultural production, neither had it orientated itself towards industry (Mouzelis, 1978; Petmedjidou-Tsoulouvi, 1987). The expansion of industrialisation in the rest of Western Europe reinforced the pattern of destruction in the economy (destruction of the agricultural way of production) which had begun in the first two decades of the nineteenth century under the impact of the English industrial revolution.

This process of underdevelopment was greatly facilitated by the Greek state having adopted a non-protectionist, *"liberal"* customs policy. Thus, for instance, sporadic attempts to produce certain types

of light machinery in Greece did not, finally, succeed in standing up to western competition. And the shipbuilding industry, which had started to grow again after the revolution, was threatened by a severe crisis around the middle of the nineteenth century - a crisis very much accentuated by the introduction of the steamboat into maritime transport. Until 1912 industrial production served only the needs of the developing local market and was correspondingly sluggish in its growth. The rare and uncertain data which are available for industrial development until 1917 (the year when the first industrial census was implemented) gives a picture of slow industrialisation of the country.

TABLE 1.1
INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

YEAR	Number of Industries	Number of Labour Force
1867	22	7,300
1875	95	-
1889	(145)	-
1904	-	-
1920	2,905	59,120

(Nikolinakos, 1976 p.212; Evelpidis, 1950 p.91; Bickford-Smith, 1893 p.52; Anastassopoulos Vol.1 p.465 Vol.II p.748; Vergopoulos, 1975; Cited in Tsoukalas, 1977 p.260).

If industrial growth was insignificant so was the rate of investment in social overhead capital. The Greek government had very little to show in this direction. Between 1828 and 1852, road construction did not exceed 168 kilometres, a situation which could not but hinder the development of internal trade and the creation of a unified national market.

Big capital remained in the sphere of distribution and finance. The growth of the import-export trade over the five decades under consideration was a very serious source of capital accumulation both for the diaspora and for the indigenous comprador bourgeoisie. The former, during this period, was mainly attracted by a variety of speculative and financial operations which, in an economy starved of capital, ensured enormous profits with minimal risk. Given the international connections and orientation of the diaspora capital entering Greece, there is no doubt that much of the surplus extracted from the peasants was quite systematically transferred abroad (Mouzelis, 1978).

In conclusion, despite the integration of the Greek economy into the world capitalist market during the first half-century of independent nationhood, non-capitalist modes of production remained

dominant in both industrial and agricultural sectors. In other words, the economically dominant merchant and finance capital (whether indigenous, foreign, or of diaspora origin) avoided the sphere of production and chose to extract surplus labour through a set of market mechanisms and state policies geared to maintain and promote its own interests.

In view of this lack of capitalist development, the importation and imposition of political institutions which had been shaped during the growth of western capitalism could hardly be expected to harmonise with the infrastructural realities of post-independent Greece.

More specifically, according to Mouzelis(1978).

> *"the major political conflict during the first three decades of the post-independence period was between the centralising efforts of the monarchy and the centrifugal tendencies of the various local oligarchies which were anxious to maintain the type of autonomy they had enjoyed during the revolutionary years when there was virtually no central government. From this point of view the 1844 and 1862 "democratic revolutions" which curtailed the powers of the Crown and strengthened the political parties cannot be seen as popular victories. They were simply the attempts of the various local oligarchies to undermine the absolutist inclinations of the Bavarian monarchy. For not unlike the Crown-vs-aristocracy conflict in ancient-regime Europe, the local notables, once they realised the inevitability of state expansion, tried to compensate for their loss of regional autonomy by controlling the state from within. For such control, and given their ability to manipulate the local vote, a malfunctioning parliamentary regime was an ideal instrument" (p.16).*

But - and this is very significant - unlike the western case, the articulation in Greece between the state and the various concerned groups had a less collective, more personal character. In the pre-capitalist Greek economy, the linkage between state and *"civil"* society was not in terms of classes or rather of secondary organisations representing class interests, but in terms of purely personal clientelistic networks. This was due to the overriding dominance of patronage politics during this period, which excluded all possibility of distinct *"class"* politics (Koumoulides, 1977).

So it is not surprising that the political parties, before as well as after the introduction of universal male suffrage in 1864, were heading extended clientelistic networks. In consequence, parliamentary conflict did not centre around issues emerging from class differences, but was fuelled by personalistic struggles over the distribution of spoils. The greater the range of the state administration was - and it soon acquired enormous dimensions - the higher the patronage stakes were: for if the state lacked any effective policy for the development of the Greek economy, it directly provided employment for many of those who were leaving the countryside and could not be absorbed into a non-existent Greek industry. This had as a natural corollary that the Greek state bureaucracy quite early on achieved a size completely out of proportion to the country's resources and population. It has for example, been calculated that towards the end of the examined period, the number of civil

servants per 10,000 inhabitants was approximately seven times higher in Greece than in the United Kingdom (Tsoukalas,1977 p.12).

This precocious administrative growth which characterised the basic structure and dynamics of the Greek social formation is an imitation of the German models. The monstrous administrative expansion, in combination with the imported political institutions not fitting the pre-capitalist infrastructure of nineteenth-century Greece, explain the relative autonomy of the Greek state in relation to the class structure. For clientelism not only kept the peasantry, as a class, outside the sphere of active and autonomous politics, but also slowed down or actually prevented the political organisation and the ideological coherence of the economically dominant classes.

The overall picture which emerges from this period, therefore, is of a huge state apparatus controlled by the Crown and by a more or less fragmented political oligarchy at the head of extensive clientelistic networks.

Mouzelis(1978) states:

> "Of course, the lack of class-based pressure groups and the enormous size of the state do not mean that the latter enjoyed the sort of autonomy from civil society that one sees in totalitarian political systems. It was not only clientelism that paralysed the state's capacity to implement collective goals, but also the strict limits imposed on internal politics by Greece's political and economic dependence on the great powers and, to a lesser extent, on the big diaspora capital" (p.17).

1.2   1880-1922: THE TRANSITORY PERIOD

In the forty years straddling the turn of the century, Greece underwent a number of fundamental transformations which, although they did not lead to the dominance of the capitalist mode of production, led the Greek economy away from the agrarian stagnation of the previous period and created the necessary preconditions for the growth of industrial capitalism in the 1920s (Benas, 1978; Samaras, 1985).

Some of these changes were of trans-Balkan character, and linked with the changing nature of western imperialism towards the end of the nineteenth century. As was mentioned earlier, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century western capitalism affected the Ottoman economy negatively, mainly through the imposition of exploitative terms of trade (the capitulatory privileges), whereas later, in the second half of the eighteenth century, the industrialisation of England dealt an unprecedented blow to the empire's handicraft industries thus eliminating any possibility for an autonomous industrial growth (Pepelasis, 1961). In the course of the period under consideration in this section, western imperialism

in the Balkans entered a new and very important stage. The industrialisation of the western part of the continent during the first half of the nineteenth century brought the end of the English industrial hegemony, and the industrial nations' competition for markets resulted in the unprecedented plundering of weak societies all over the world (Jelavich, 1983). And whereas previously the weak and dependent Balkan states had been controlled with military, political and diplomatic means, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century this control took a more direct economic form. Especially during and after the big European economic crisis of the 1870s, western capital kept pouring into the backward Balkan economies in search of quick and high profits. Foreign capital had penetrated the Balkans before, but this time there was a difference both quantitative and qualitative.

Not only were foreign investments more substantial, they also had the full backing of their governments. Most of this capital took the form of government loans and railway investments. Although railway construction, encouraged by foreign capital, had started after the Crimean War (1853-1856), it was during the last quarter of the nineteenth century that these investments became intensified and had serious repercussions on the Balkan economies (Jelavich, 1983; Papandreou, 1975).

Alongside this general wave of Western capitalist penetration, the most dramatic change in Greece was undoubtedly the more than doubling of its territory and population - first by the annexation of the wheat-growing area of Thessaly in 1881, and later, as result of the Balkan Wars and the first World War, by the incorporation of Epirus, Macedonia, part of Thrace, the Aegean islands and Crete. (Petmedjidou-Tsoulouvi, 1987) This spectacular expansion, in combination with the development of the railways and the rapid monetarisation of the economy, created for the first time a unified and relatively large internal market - a fundamental precondition for the development of agriculture and domestic industry (Psilos, 1968).

At the same time, in response to the influx of foreign capital - first under the leadership of Trikoupis, Prime Minister, and later, during the second decade of the twentieth century, under that of the statesman Venizelos - a serious effort was made to build a basic communications network (bridges, ports, roads etc.), and create the necessary institutional framework for Greece's capitalist transformation (rationalisation of the state administration, creation of new financial institutions, changes in the educational system etc.).

For instance under Trikoupis the state abandoned its passive role of "night watchman", made frantic efforts to attract diaspora and foreign capital, and generally took on a much more active role in the economic field. In the industrial sector, the mild protectionism that had existed before 1880s was

abandoned in favour of a dramatic raising of tariffs for both industrial and agricultural imports. With Venizelos, protectionism increased even further, and the state took major steps towards the management and control of the economy. Apart from the state's attempts to get a tighter control over the country's banking system, there were the first attempts at elaborating coherent state policies for the various sectors of the economy, and especially agriculture (establishment of a specialised Ministry of Agriculture, Commerce and Industry, development of agronomical schools, organisation of agricultural insurance schemes etc.). Finally, in 1917, Venizelos passed a series of decrees on land reform which were to become the legal basis for the break-up of the big estates and the extensive land distribution which followed the influx of refugees from Asia Minor in 1922 (Legg, 1969).

The annexation of the new territories made big land property an important factor again in the Greek social formation. The Turkish landlords, although protected by special treaties which safeguarded their property, sold their land (chifliks) cheaply to rich Greeks - mainly diaspora Greeks from Constantinople, Smyrna and Alexandria. From this time on the chiflik owner had the legal right to expel the peasants from the land at the termination of the sharecropping agreement. These increased powers of the landlord were not, however, used for the technological modernisation of agriculture or the development of capitalist forms of production. During all this period, as numerous peasants were cultivating their small plots of land under a variety of sharecropping agreements, land remained fragmented, technological improvements were slow or non-existent and large portions of chiflik land remained fallow for years on end. It is not, therefore, surprising that Greek agriculture failed to supply the growing demand for wheat resulting from the population increase after annexation of the new territories. This had the consequence of a dramatic deterioration in the trade balance, a deterioration which was to be further accentuated by the influx of refugees and the acceleration of dependent industrialisation after 1922 (Heurtley, Darby, Crawley and Woodhouse, 1965).

In the secondary sector, increased protectionism and the influx of foreign and diaspora capital did contribute to some industrial growth. Thus by 1921, the number of industrial establishments had reached 2,905, and the industrial work-force had multiplied by eight compared to that at the end of the previous period. Most of those 1,905 industrial establishments mentioned above were small family businesses with no significant employment of wage labour. Petmedjidou-Tsoulouvi(1987) notes that:

> "Although this period is characterised by an intense development of industrial sector, a big part of the industrial product continues to be produced by small family businesses. Only 1,1% of industrial businesses employ more than 25 people, while 93,3% of industrial businesses employ less than 5 people" (p.163).

Thus, some promising beginnings notwithstanding, industrial capitalism still did not exist as a unified economic system at this stage of Greek underdevelopment. Most of the foreign and diaspora capital, in so far as it was not directed in purely speculative or financial operations, was used for the purchase of chiflik lands or invested in public works projects - mainly railways. But the massive spending on railway construction hardly helped the manufacturing sector as such. In typically colonial fashion, railway construction in the Balkans was much more geared to the military and economic needs of the western industrial states than to the developmental needs of the Balkan peninsula itself (Pepelassis, 1961). There were very few organic links between railway growth and the rest of Greek industry, since most of the materials used in these large-scale public works were imported, even those which could easily have been produced locally. Given this situation, as well as the usurious rates at which foreign loans were contracted and the quasi-colonial behaviour of foreign and diaspora capital, it is not surprising that Greece went bankrupt towards the end of the century and was obliged to accept the establishment of an international control committee (manned by the representatives of foreign bond-holders), which for decades had a very important say in the public finances of the modern Greek state (Legg, 1969).

If foreign and diaspora capital did not effectively contribute to the growth of the manufacturing sector, neither did the indigenous merchant capital play a more constructive role. Despite its huge profits during a decade of almost continuous wars (1912-1922), its erstwhile comprador traditions left it extremely reluctant to exchange the certainty of its easy trade profits for the risky bothersome business of factory production (Mouzelis, 1978; Petmedjidou-Tsoulouvi, 1987).

Moreover, despite the massive rural unemployment after the current crisis, there was no major source of cheap industrial labour. Peasants preferred to vegetate in the countryside or migrate to the United States rather than become proletarians. Thus the number of Greeks who was leaving for the United States every year was greater than the total number of workers employed in Greek industry (Christodoulou, 1990).

To sum up, the territorial and population growth, the influx of foreign capital, the development of an extensive transport system, the creation of a unified internal market and the establishment of an institutional framework facilitating state intervention in the economy, provided some of the basic preconditions for the development of capitalism in the Greek social formation - a development which was to lead to the dominance of the capitalist mode of production after 1922. However, the manner in which these preconditions were created (the impetus originated mainly from the outside and serving foreign and diaspora interests) presaged the kind of peripheral, underdeveloped capitalism which in

fact did flourish in the next period - a capitalism radically different from and much less autonomous than that of the west.

Concerning, finally, the superstructural developments during this transitional period Mouzelis(1978) states:

> "the political debate had ceased to be merely a purely personal feud between patronage-mongers and had acquired a more distinctive flavour of class issues. Although clientelism had not by any means ceased to operate, and although this still pre-capitalist phase was hardly capable of fully articulated class politics, there is no doubt that first Trikoupis' and later Venizelos' policies were inspired by more than exclusively short-term clientelistic orientations. Both these statesmen were motivated by a powerful desire to "westernise" Greece and made serious efforts to realise their vision. Moreover, there is no doubt that the 1909 military coup which weakened both the old political oligarchy and the Crown as well as the spectacular rise of Venizelos and the electoral victories of this party, resulted in dramatic changes in the composition of the parliamentary forces. These changes indicate the rise of the middle classes, and this rise in turn helped Venizelos to contribute in a spectacular way to the bourgeois transformation of Greek society. Though this be granted, one must be very careful not to fall into the kind of evolutionist trap which interprets political events in terms of conceptual schemes derived from western European political developments. It has been a great temptation, especially for Greek Marxist historians, to explain the 1909 coup as a bourgeois merchant-instigated military intervention; or to see the political conflict between Venizelos and his royalist opponents as a struggle between the rising bourgeoisie and the declining feudal landlord classes. Such interpretations are not only much too schematic they are also highly misleading because: first, contrary to the western experience, the lack of industrialisation during this period meant a lack of serious antagonisms between landlord interests and those of the mercantile or industrial bourgeoisie; second, the dividing line between landlord and merchant was not at all clearly drawn (for instance, chiflik owners as a rule had other investments both inside and outside Greece); third, the most important, given the pre-capitalist state of Greek production, the articulation between the state apparatus and civil society did not operate as much in class as in clientelistic terms" (p.20-21).

With the above holding true for all this period, not only were the working classes kept firmly outside the sphere of active politics (in the sense of not being politically organised along class lines), but even the intra-dominant class conflict which manifested itself both inside and outside parliament can not by any means be seen as a struggle between merchants and chiflik owners. Although there were occasional parliamentary debates on the tariff protection of the big wheat growers or on land reform, the issues which really dominated political life were irredentism and, later, the question of the monarchy. Thus it was only with the rise to dominance of the capitalist mode of production in the following period (1922-1960), and the emergence of a threatening urban proletariat, that Greek politics finally acquired a more pronounced class character.

1.3   1922-60: CAPITALIST DOMINANCE AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT

The year 1922 was the turning-point in the history of modern Greece. In this fateful year the Asia Minor defeat of the Greek army by Kemal Ataturk's nationalist troops put a full stop to Greek irredentism, thus setting more or less definite and permanent boundaries to the modern Greek state (Legg, 1969). Moreover, the sudden arrival after the debacle of more than one million Greek refugees from Asia Minor had fundamental consequences for the Greek social structure (Legg, 1969; Tsoukalas, 1977).

On the one hand this massive influx created severe disruptions in a population of only five million; but on the other hand the refugees gave in the long term a big and compelling push to the Greek economy.

The desperate need to accommodate this huge mass of uprooted people had resulted in the acceleration of the land-reform programme already initiated by Venizelos towards the end of the previous period. By 1936, a total of 425,000 acres had been distributed to 305,000 families. These significant developments dealt the coup de grace to big land property. From then on and quite irreversibly, the small private landholding was to be the dominant basis for cultivation in the countryside (Mouzelis, 1978).

Apart from bringing drastic changes in relation to production, the break-up of the chiflik estates (where large areas of land had been left fallow) resulted in a higher acreage of cultivated land and thus an increase in agricultural production (Mouzelis, 1978). The state, once it had distributed national lands, washed its hands of the matter and left the small peasant-owners to their own fate. It did little in terms of education, credits, or distribution of fertilisers to assist them and improve their methods of work and organisation. But despite these shortcomings and the very low per-capita income of the post-land-reform cultivator, there is no doubt that the break-up of the highly inefficient chiflik properties did contribute to the further commercialisation of Greek agriculture and, indirectly, gave a major boost to the development of industrial capitalism.

Not all refugees could be accommodated through land distribution. A sizeable number of them settled in the big urban centres, especially in Salonica, Piraeus and Athens, thus providing an abundant and relatively skilled labour force at the disposal of the Greek capital. (This available potential was reinforced in 1921 when the U.S.A. government's decision to close its doors to new immigrants put an abrupt end to the Greek migratory flow.) Moreover, since a number of the refugees had occupied important positions in the industry, trade and finance of the Greek communities in Asia Minor, they

brought with them badly needed entrepreneurial skills, as well as considerable money savings. To this refugee capital should be added the enormous influx of foreign funds, which took the form of government loans, private investments in public works, international aid to the refugees etc. (Pepelassis, 1961).Considering the short period during which capital came into Greece, it was an injection of foreign funds unprecedented in modern Greek history.

On the other hand, there can be no doubt that this second wave of foreign capital (the first was in the 1880s) - finding itself in a context where there was already a serious social overhead capital and a favourable institutional framework, in combination with the availability of refugee labour and entrepreneurial skills - gave the decisive push to the development of Greek capitalism (Legg, 1969; Petmedjidou-Tsoulouvi, 1987).

All these circumstances brought about the first major breakthrough in the industrial sector.

From 1923 to 1939, the horsepower and the value of industrial production doubled, and its volume tripled (Mouzelis,1978). This stage, in fact, marked the effective entrance of capital into the sphere of production. Before this, not only was the industrial sector as a whole relatively small, but the number of entrepreneurs using wage labour was quite insignificant.

The late twenties saw a notable concentration of capital as well as a closer collaboration between banking and industrial capital - i.e. the emergence of financial capital. This was the time of the multiplication of holding companies, trusts and cartels which, although they did not achieve the dimensions of their western European counterparts, were very impressive by Balkan standards (Pepelassis, 1961). At the same time a marked differentiation occurred in banking capital, as some of the functions previously performed by the all-pervasive and powerful National Bank of Greece were spread over several specialised institutions: the Bank of Greece, was founded in 1927 and was responsible for currency issues and control, the Agricultural Bank (1931), responsible for the management of agricultural credits, and the National Real-Estate Bank (1927) (Benas, 1978).

These developments are clear indications of the gradual rise of financing and industrial capital at a time when the big land property had virtually disappeared, and when merchant capital, in the wake of increasing state control over the import-export trade, and the gradual deterioration of the export markets for currants and tobacco, was at a standstill. In terms of modes of production, capitalism can be said to have become dominant at this point in the Greek social evolution (Petmedjidou-Tsoulouvi, 1987; Samaras, 1985).

A look at the way in which the modes of production were articulated in Greek social formation leaves no doubt about the post-1922 dominance of the capitalist mode. It is from this time onward that the capitalist sector of industry functions as the dynamic pivot of the Greek economy - where "*dynamism*" is meant to imply not so much any high rates of growth, as rather the fact that from this time on the systematic transfer of resources from the simple commodity mode of production (prevalent in agriculture and handicraft industry) to the "*modern*" capitalist industrial sector became a salient feature of the Greek social formation. The mechanisms through which such a transfer took place were obvious: enormous state subsidies to big industry, scandalously generous credit facilities, indiscriminate tariff protection enabling highly inefficient industrial firms to achieve quasi-monopolistic positions, the prevalence of indirect taxation which hit small incomes very hard, etc. The profits of big industrial and finance capital, therefore, as far as they can be measured, acquired spectacular dimensions, whereas in the still vast simple-commodity sector in agriculture and industry the small family unit was hardly able to make ends meet. Inevitably, increasing inequality and the growing marginalisation of those involved in small commodity production became the two major features of the Greek model of capital accumulation.

All the above developments came to an abrupt end with the second World War and the Civil war that followed. The post-civil war governments, in the context of the general European expansion that followed the war years, and with the support of considerable amounts of American aid, managed as early as 1950 to bring the Greek economy back to its pre-war level of output (Benas, 1978; Petmedjidou-Tsoulouvi, 1987; Psilos, 1968; Samaras, 1985). Since then, all the trends already present during the later inter-war period have continued at great speed. Thus in 1959 the volume of industrial production was double that of 1938, and had tripled by 1964 (Pedmedjidou-Tsoulouvi, 1987; Psilos, 1968).

During the 1960s the third phase, since its establishment, of import of foreign capital took place in Greece. This capital was mainly directed to the industrial sector. Petmedjidou-Tsoulouvi(1987) mentions that:

> "70% of the foreign capital was invested in industry and only 30% in the tertiary sector"
> p.163).

However, the Greek economy was still characterised by small units of family businesses and a very limited number of technologically advanced industrial units. According to Petmedjidou-Tsoulouvi(1987):

> "in 1958 only 3% of industrial business occupied more than 100 labourers, while 85,9% of industrial businesses employed five people or less" (p.164).

On the level of relations of production, there too the inter-war trends were highly accelerated. Capital concentration went on increasing, with financing capital in the lead. Suffice it to say that during the post-war period two giant banking organisations (the Commercial Bank and the National Bank of Greece) handled between them approximately 90 per cent of the country's considerable savings and, of course, participated directly in the ownership and management of an important part of the insurance and industrial sectors (Legg, 1969; Psilos, 1968).

The more powerful of these two giant concerns (the National Bank) being largely state-controlled shows the degree to which the state had moved away from its nineteenth-century *"night-watchman"* position (Benas, 1978).

Concerning political developments during the four decades under consideration, the intra-dominant class type of conflict which had characterised the previous transitional period gradually gave way to a conflict between lower social classes and the ruling class. Despite the disorienting consequences of the monarchy issue, the development of an industrial proletariat during the last two pre-war decades and the large-scale settling of refugees in Athens and Salonica provided the basis for the creation and development of the Greek communist party. Although its followers during the later inter-war period were few, its very presence slowly began to change the style of political debate and the ideological orientation of the dominant classes.

Later, when the German occupation destroyed the various control mechanisms by which peasants were integrated into bourgeois politics (patronage, state credit system etc.), the field was open for the highly organised communist party to mobilise the peasantry against both the Germans and the considerable fraction of the Greek bourgeoisie. From this time on the monarchy issue, although it did not disappear altogether, was relegated to second place. The main issue in Greek politics now became the *"containment of the masses"*, the problem of safeguarding the bourgeois order from the incursion of the masses into active politics, a process indissolubly linked with rapid capitalist industrialisation (Mouzelis, 1978).

In conclusion, trying to express the above points in more theoretical terms and following Althusser(1971), it can be argued that with the dominance of the capitalist mode of production in the Greek social formation during the forty-year period since 1922, the economy became not only *"determining in the last instance"* but also dominant in relation to the political and ideological spheres. This dominance was, of course, reflected on the political and ideological levels of the social formation. On the political level, the overriding importance of the economy meant:

(a) that the state ceased to be a mere *"night-watchman"* and acquired very important economic functions. State intervention in the economy, in so far as it aims not at the destruction but the buttressing of bourgeois interests, does not, of course, imply any weakening of capitalism (or the dominance of the political over the economic instance): on the contrary, it is one of the fundamental preconditions of fully developed capitalism;

(b) that the political conflict, contrary to the previous pre-capitalist periods, took on a more directly class character. This does not mean of course that clientelism ceased to play an important role in Greek politics, or that political parties lost entirely their personalistic character and started operating like their western counterparts (given the underdeveloped character of Greek capitalism, the *"malfunctioning"* of parliamentary institutions did not cease but took different forms). But the greater involvement of the masses with politics, a concomitant of capitalist dominance, had consequences which did make the articulation between class locations and political practices more direct; consequences like the emergence of a communist party organised along non-clientelistic, ideological principles, the very gradual decline of clientelism in the large urban centres, the greater organisational cohesion - on the national level - of bourgeois parties etc.

1.4   1960 - 1974: PRECIPITATION OF CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT

Up to the late fifties, despite the high growth rates of the Greek economy and the clear dominance of the capitalist mode of production in industry, Greece still exemplified the classical characteristics of underdevelopment: a low-productivity agriculture, a highly inflated and parasitical service sector, and an industrial sector unable to absorb the redundant agricultural labour force and to expand into capital goods production. Concerning this last point, even the high control exercised by the state over the Greek economy (both through the banking system and through its massive investments in industry) did not succeed in directing Greek capital into those key manufacturing sectors of the economy (metallurgy, chemicals) whose growth has great transformative power and serious multiplying effects on the rest of the economy. Greek private capital, following its preference for quick and easy profits, has continued to orient itself either towards tourism, shipping and other *"comprador"* activities; or, where it did enter the sphere of industrial production, it has been in the traditional industrial branches of textiles, food etc. In the late fifties more than half the labour force was still employed in agriculture, while the contribution of the industrial sector to the GNP was only around 25 per cent. This last figure is even less impressive in view of manufacturing being the slowest growing sector in industry, so that its contribution to total industrial output was in fact decreasing (whereas that of

construction, transport and public utilities was growing) (Benas, 1978; Samaras, 1985). Heurtley, Darby, Crawley and Woodhouse (1965) summarize the position at the time:

> "Greece's economic weakness was brought into prominence by the government's desire to join the European Economic Community, or Common Market, created by the Treaty of Rome in 1957. The chronic deficit on the balance of payments combined with an unbalanced budget, of which nearly one third was devoted to defence, made it seem unlikely that the national economy could stand the strain of participating in the Common Market on equal terms. Moreover, in 1960 the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation reported that Greece's recovery was slowing down. A major difficulty was that whereas imports from the west continued unavoidably to rise, the west did not provide a sufficient market for Greece's agricultural surpluses, particularly tobacco. Attempts were made to remedy the situation by encouraging western countries to establish industries in Greece: the German Federal Republic, for instance, set up a sugar-beet factory in 1960. The Salonica Fair, which was revived and attracted nineteen countries in the same year, also helped to stimulate trade; and in 1961 N.A.T.O. appointed an economic mission to study the needs of Greece and Turkey. But it was clear enough that it was necessary in any case to trade with countries of the eastern bloc, which could help to absorb Greece's agricultural surpluses. Hence economic necessity pulled Greece's foreign policy in a different direction from political sympathy" (p.176-177).

In this situation and with the commitment to "liberal" economic principles of all post civil-war governments, there was no other solution for the further industrialisation of the country than to mobilise all means for attracting foreign capital. Legislation to this end was initiated in the fifties, but it was in the sixties that foreign capital, taking advantage of the enormous privileges granted by the Greek state, really began to invade the Greek economy (Benas, 1978; Clogg, 1983; Legg, 1969; Samaras, 1985).

Thus whereas in 1960 the yearly influx of foreign capital amounted to $11,683,700, it went up to $50,026,290 in 1963, and to $157,605,242 in 1966 (Benas, 1978 p.120). After 1880 and 1922, this was the third massive wave of foreign funds to enter the Greek economy (Benas, 1978; Samaras, 1985). On the two previous occasions, the major bulk of the capital influx had taken the form of public loans and social overhead investments, and their origin was predominantly English. In the sixties it took the form of direct investments in industry by multinational companies, this time mainly of American origin. Most of this capital found its way into the most crucial sectors where Greek capital was unwilling or unable to go and it had a very significant impact on the overall structure of the Greek economy. Thus 1962 was the first time that the contribution of the industrial sector to the GNP was greater than that of agriculture (Samaras, 1985). Gradually there was a very definite shift in emphasis from the production of consumer goods to that of capital goods, and to a concomitant change in the composition of Greek exports as Greece, traditionally an exporter of agricultural products and unprocessed minerals, began to export considerable quantities of industrial goods

(Petmedjidou-Tsoulouvi, 1987; Samaras, 1985). There can be no doubt that by the middle sixties the effective industrialisation of the Greek social formation was well under way.

1.5   THE POST-1974 PERIOD

Karamanlis restored democracy in Greece and brought back into force the 1952 Constitution and proclaimed general elections, after having legalised the communist party for the first time since 1947. Karamanlis' vision was the entrance of Greece into the European Community which was finally implemented in 1978 during his period of government.

EC membership meant that:

> "the Greek economy entered into a decisively more competitive environment than the one it had faced during the preceding decades" (Kazakos and Ioakimidis, 1994 p.298)

Given the outdated economic structures, this move necessitated wide-ranging structural and policy adjustments. The process of adjustments was expected to be greatly facilitated by the European Community (EC) financial transfers to the Greek economy.

Nevertheless, during the whole of the 1980s with the exception of a short break between 1985 and 1987, Greece followed an expansionary macro-economic policy clearly at variance with the Community's requirements. And although the EC began from the first year of Greece's accession to make substantial financial transfers to the country, the Greek economy registered disappointing economic performance compared with that of the rest of the European economy (Kurth and Petras, 1993).

On the other hand, as Georgakopoulos(1994) argues, Greece has been and will in the future be a net beneficiary of the EC budget. Greece's net receipts increased spectacularly over the years from 0.5 per cent of its GDP in 1981 to approximately 7 per cent in 1993 (p.298).

In the area of regional policy and development, huge changes have been identified both in terms of money transfers from the EC structural funds to the Greek regions as well as in terms of real consequences for the basic infrastructure and combating developmental problems. Special programmes like the Integrated Mediterranean Programmes (IMPs) adopted to assist Greece's regional development, along with the reformed structural policy enacted in 1988, have had an appreciable impact on Greece's regional infrastructure and at the same time on strengthening the trends towards greater administrative decentralisation.

The overall balance sheet on the economic front with regard to EC membership is therefore highly mixed. Greece has obtained substantial gains from the Community's budget and various funds which helped raise agricultural incomes and foster regional development, changing basic infrastructure. This is the bright side of the picture. However, despite the substantial flow of resources, the modernisation, restructuring and adjustment of the economy which were expected to take place as a result of accession to the EC have, so far at least, failed to materialise.

In the field of politics, the government and the legal system, EC membership has had a great impact (Kazakos and Ioakimidis, 1994).

CONCLUSION

Looking at the overall development of the Greek social formation and taking into account that the major source of its dynamism was exogenous rather than endogenous, five major phases of Greece's underdevelopment stand out, directly related to corresponding phases in the ever-changing western imperialism.

(a) The first phase is located in the sixteenth and seventeenth century when the Greek territories of the Ottoman empire felt the impact of the rising western capitalism and the creation of a relatively coherent world market. This first influence was chiefly indirect, in that western growth was to a limited extent instrumental in shaping the Balkan economies through international trade, by the increasing demand for Balkan agricultural products, and by the imposition of unfavourable trends of trade on the declining Ottoman empire.

(b) The shaping and integration of the Balkan economies in accord with the developmental needs of western Europe assumed a different and more drastic form during the second half of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, when the industrialisation of England and later of the Continent destroyed the Balkan handicraft industries and put a full stop to the feeble attempts at an endogenous industrial take-off.

(c) Towards the third quarter of the nineteenth century, western imperialism took yet another and more aggressive form vis-a-vis Greece and the other Balkan states. In the previous stage it had eliminated the attempts of indigenous capital to enter the sphere of production, now western capital tried in a limited way to fulfil this function itself, but of course on terms not beneficial to the host economies. Thus western capital, in the form of railway investments and government loans, entered the Balkan economies and contributed considerably to the development of social overhead capital - and, at the same time, to the disarticulation and further underdevelopment of these societies. This intrusion prepared the ground for the growth of industrial capitalism, as during the late inter-war period capital began to orient itself towards the sphere of production.

(d) Moreover - after the second World War, all Balkan societies except Greece having adopted a radically different course of state-planned industrialisation - Greek industry managed to keep up with its northern neighbours' fast industrial growth by means of direct help from foreign capital - which under the new form of multinational company investments had injected itself into the key sectors of Greek industry. This last phase of western imperialism is linked with a new phase of Greek underdevelopment which is no longer that of a weak manufacturing sector. Instead, it takes

the form of a technologically advanced, highly dynamic, foreign-controlled manufacturing sector not organically linked with the rest of the economy, so that the beneficial effects of its growth are not diffused over the small-commodity agricultural and artisanal sectors but are transferred abroad.

(e) Finally, the entrance of Greece to the EEC had great impact on the country's political, social and economic situation. In the economic level, Greek economy did not develop to the degree that other member states developed despite the inflow of capital by the EEC. In the social and political level institutions had been influenced by the EC ideology.

This reference to the socio-economic background of Greece is important to understand the factors that influenced the development of the education system in Greece. In particular the late appearance of special education highlighted in the title of this thesis is a symptom of strains and tensions which are very deeply rooted in the economic, social and political development of Greece.The evolution of the education system from its birth until the present and the socio-political factors that influenced it are investigated in the next chapter. They provide the more immediate matrix within which the subsector of special education was eventually to grow.

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CHAPTER II

SCHOOL SYSTEM, POLICY AND PROVISION

INTRODUCTION

Chapter I investigated the factors that influenced the political and economic development of Greece from its birth as an independent state until recently. It suggested that the political and economic situation in Greece has never been isolated from the wider international scene and that the changing political and economic relations influenced the social institutions.

Against that background, chapter II deals with the educational developments that took place in Greece trying to locate them, in combination with the political conjunctures. The main aim of the chapter is to investigate the background of the education system in Greece: specifically, the factors that influenced its development, its structure, its context and purpose.

Chapter II throws some light on the social role of the school system in Greece in order to explain the role, context and form of special education which is the issue of the following chapter.

The questions which are left to be dealt in this chapter are: How did the political developments that took place in Greece influence the structure of the school system? Which political, economic and historical factors influenced the social institutions and consequently the education system?

The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the education in the 19th century and the second part with the education developments in the 20th century. The first part is divided into three sections, namely,

i)   the Education system of 1834,

ii)   the Decree of 1895,

iii)   the Decree of 1899.

The second part is divided into seven sections, namely,

i)   the Education Reforms of 1913, 1917,

ii)   the Education Reform of 1929,

iii)   The post war period: 1946-1967,

iv)   the Reform of 1964,

v)   the period of 1967-1974,

vi)   1947-1981: post-dictatorship period

vii)   the Education Reforms of 1981-1988.

The periodization of the chapter is based on the educational reforms that took place in Greece. Each reform meant the adaptation of the education system to a new socio-political era.

2.1   EDUCATION IN THE 19TH CENTURY

2.1.1   THE EDUCATION SYSTEM OF 1834

The education system in Greece was instituted from the first years of the establishment of the independent state. During the first months of the Revolution of 1821, local assemblies were convened. Despite the huge political, military and financial problems that these organisations had to deal with as well as the internal difficulties arising from the conflicts between the military leaders and the politicians, these first assemblies occupied themselves with the problem of the Greek education system (Bamios,1984; Markopoulos,1986).

The situation that the first president of Greece Capodistrias inherited when he took office, seven years after the beginning of the revolution was tragic. The country was ruined owing to war and anarchy, while politically it had no secure existence, and its borders were still undetermined. The Turks were still dominant in Peloponnese and Sterea.

Capodistrias' plan was to establish the recovery of Greece on two sound footings: work on the one hand and education of the masses on the other. Despite the existence of financial problems and the extensive anarchy, he began applying his policy practically as soon as he took office. He took particular care to restore order in the country. He laid the foundations of education by establishing schools, an agricultural school at Tyrins, a military school in Nauplia and the teacher training school in Aigina (Lefas,1942).The outline of his educational programme is revealed in his circular No 13577/30-7-1829 to the Fourth National Assembly:

"To encourage the progress of monitorial teaching and to found normal schools...To found schools of higher level for the youth of Greece, for those among them who would devote themselves to the church and for those who would serve their country through the field of politics, as well as for those who would choose the branches of science, arts or literature..."
(Parliamentary Library, 1973, Vol.II No4, p.590 cited in Bamios, 1984 p.12).

The Fourth National Assembly unanimously voted for these propositions and Capodistrias started to systematically organise education. His assassination on September 1831 and the chaos that followed on a political and social level, stopped every further effort on this issue up to 1833, the date of Othon's arrival.

Othon, a Bavarian king, was elected as hereditary monarch of Greece by the three great powers with the protocol of May 1832. The Bavarians found the country in a condition of anarchy with its economy severely underdeveloped. King Othon organised the state according to foreign (German) models. Vakalopoulos(1979) states:

"The organisation of interior affairs was constructed on the model of the administrative regulations and the mechanisms which then prevailed in Bavaria and the other German countries under the influence of the French centralising administrative system of 1790" (p.93).

Othon (1833-1862) laid the foundations of an education system that dominated in Greece for a century. A six member committee, appointed in March 1833 to study the problem of education, voted the Law of 1834 on "Primary Schools" based on the French Education Act of 28 July 1833, which had been inspired by Guizot (Lefas, 1942). Education, took a concrete form for the first time (Diagram I). Up to then schools operated in a totally unsystematic way. There were no distinct classes, no programme of lessons, no teaching personnel with defined qualifications. The education chaos of 1830 demanded the immediate construction of a wide school network. The unfavourable conditions in the economy, the almost complete absence of teaching staff, the non-existence of any previous education network before the war of independence had as result the need for the rapid creation of a school system on a wide scale. There was a universal agreement among Greeks on the priority of the school system.

It should be mentioned that the first levels of a domestic bourgeois class were formed around the public sector. The creation of the bureaucratic mechanism demanded the immediate production of a large number of staff that were at least capable of reading and writing. If the political power was concentrated in the hands of Bavarians, the largest part of the administrative body was staffed with Greeks (Bouzakis, 1987; Clogg, 1983).

The emerging education structure did not face reactions from a traditional domestic bourgeoisie. The . narrow educated nucleus of Greek society that had for the most part been educated in Constantinople and central and western Europe had not been widened after the liberation. If some Phanariotes families - bourgeois families which developed during the period of Ottoman empire and who were living in the area called Phanari where they have got their name - penetrated the upper levels of state bureaucracy their power was not enough to impose their wills upon the domestic ruling levels. Those incoming Phanariotes who were distinguished by their education, habits and wealth were integrated and subordinated to elements already resident in Greece. Thus, there existed no a powerful bourgeois class which would oppose the institution of a liberal education system (Tsoukalas,1977).

The cultivated bourgeois of the diaspora also made Phanariotes unable to react to the expansion of education. The ideological identification of the bourgeois class of the diaspora with the general political positions of a developing bourgeois class in the west that was struggling against the remains of feudal education, was intensified after the French revolution. Together with the liberal bourgeois ideology, the Greek bourgeoisie adapted democratic ideas about education and supported the expansion of education and its democratic organisation during the crucial period of formation of the bourgeois class of the diaspora that preceded the Greek revolution. This ideological position created a real obstacle to the creation and development of bourgeois schools separate from schools for the masses.

The ruling class, that was created after the liberation was heterogeneous and particularly differentiated not only as far as the class origins of its parts was concerned, but also as regards its political and ideological nature. A unified and coherent ruling class was constituted only gradually (Tsoukalas,1977). This ruling class did not have its own particular education tradition, because the Ottoman empire had inhibited the organisation of a wide school system. The education networks during Turkish occupation were mainly organised by the church. Education was not provided over the masses. This is apparent from the fact that education did not function continuously and with coherence, even in areas where Greeks were organised in community forms and had local administration. The differences between parts of the ruling class (landowners, Greek bourgeois of diaspora, Patriarchate of Constantinople) concerned mainly policy problems and not conflicts for the construction of school system. Soon after the liberation, with the organisation of state and mass education the supervision of the Patriarchate of Constantinople over school mechanisms disappeared altogether from Greece. The reason for this separation between state and church had to do with the

fear of the intervention of the Patriarchate of Constantinople - which was dependent on the Ottoman administration - in the domestic affairs of independent Greece (Tsoukalas,1977).

Besides the great powers, fearing the influence of Orthodox Russia, were also pressing for the separation of church from state. Thus, the Greek bourgeois class which developed around the church and was the only group that might have influenced the class structure of Greek education system did not succeed in controlling the emergent education system to the point where class differentiation might have been reflected in divided institutions.

With the Decree of 1834 the school mechanism took the following essentially unitary form:

DIAGRAM I
STRUCTURE OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM
(1834)

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
│   ┌─────────────────────┐                │
│   │    UNIVERSITY        │                │
│   │    3-4 YEARS         │                │
│   └─────────────────────┘                │
│              ↑                            │
│   ┌─────────────────────┐                │
│   │    GYMNASIUM         │                │
│   │    3 YEARS           │                │
│   └─────────────────────┘                │
│              ↑                            │
│   ┌─────────────────────┐     ←──┐  C  E │
│   │   GREEK SCHOOL       │        │  O  D │
│   │   (SCHOLARCHIO)      │        │  M  U │
│   │   3 YEARS            │        │  P  C │
│   └─────────────────────┘        │  U  A │
│              ↑                    │  L  T │
│   ┌─────────────────────┐        │  S  I │
│   │   PRIMARY SCHOOL     │        │  O  O │
│   │   4 YEARS            │     ←──┘  R  N │
│   └─────────────────────┘           Y    │
│                                          │
│   ➡   Without Exams                      │
│   →   With Exams                         │
└─────────────────────────────────────────┘
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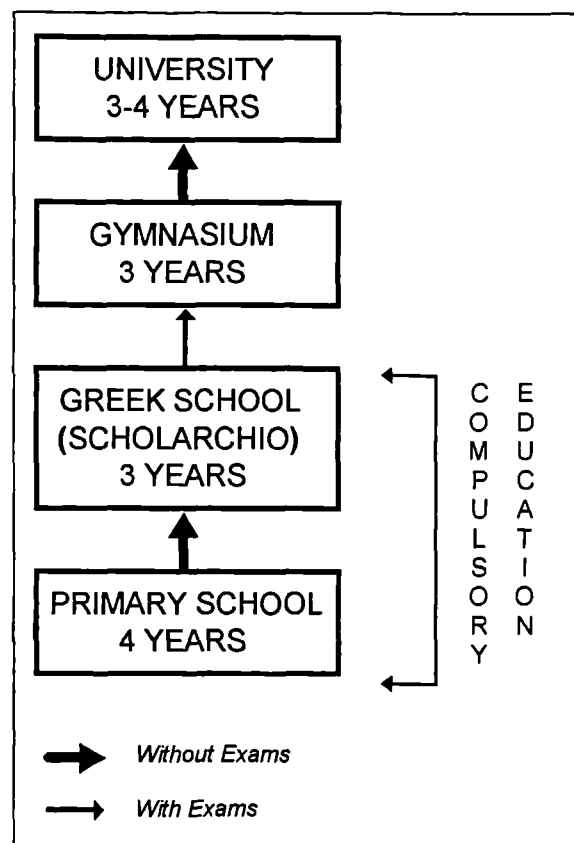
Bonzakis, 1987 p.37 ·

The Decree stipulated 3 years primary education, 6 years secondary education (divided in 3 years Greek school and 3 years gymnasium) and higher education. Higher education included the University of Athens and the faculty of Architecture which became later the Athens Polytechnic School.

Article 6, made schooling compulsory from the age of 5 to 12. The compulsory character of the first seven years of education and also the free access from primary to secondary education without exams indicate the efforts of state to facilitate the access of the children of peasantry to primary education (Bouzakis,1987).

Such an open education system is explained by the fact that only the institution of a national educational system made the participation of the mass in a national cultural life exclusive of and strictly differentiated from the cultural life of other nations possible. The passing of the peasantry through a collective and structured ideological system is necessary because the ideological transformation that is needed demands the acquisition of a semantic and rational corpus of knowledge that does not exist in the original environment (the family). The oral and written use of a standardised language, the elementary knowledge of trade methods, the access to a *"rational"* bourgeois ideology are essential for individuals who wish to attain a particular standardised perception of social and natural phenomena. Even a preliminary technical training demands a series of new semantic codes, qualitatively differentiated from the codes that are inscribed automatically and directly - through the family ideological mechanism - in a child who lives in a village. Even the partial access to the use of these codes, is necessary for the mass transition from agriculture to petite bourgeoisie. The importance of these considerations derives from the fact that many people were employed in the businesses established throughout the Mediterranean by the Greeks of diaspora.

The state was exclusively responsible for secondary education, whilst primary education was under the care of the local authority. Primary school was designed for the children of the rural areas while secondary school was accessible to the population concentrated in urban centres which wished to continue its education. Under these conditions the education system was not accessible to all students at all levels. The result was that in spite of the fact that the state threatened to fine the parents who would not send their children to school many children dropped out of school (Dimaras,1986 Vol.I).

Primary education expanded all over the country very fast. However, its expansion did not cover the whole of the population. High rates of illiteracy existed until World War II and Greece remained behind other industrially developed countries in the field of primary education. However, the numbers of students in secondary education and University were impressive. The rates of students in

secondary education increased quite fast and they exceeded the rates of secondary students in most industrial countries (Tsoukalas,1977).

That was partly explained by the one-track education system. The one way school structure has a multiple explanation: First, the natural economy of that period did not demand technical staff, so, a technical-vocational network differentiated from classical education was not necessary in order to prepare a trained labour force. Secondly, the increasing retailing class of the diaspora which was dealing with monetary and commercial business demanded staff with theoretical rather than practical knowledge. Thirdly, the expansion of the Greek spirit and the construction of a national identity demanded the institution and development of classical studies both among Greeks who were living in independent Greece and among the Greeks of diaspora.

Finally, Bavarians gave priority to the organisation of classical education (mainly secondary) because they were aiming to create a social class which would be loyal to the new order (secondary graduates would staff the state system and University graduates the higher positions of administration). In this way Bavarians were aiming to stabilise their regime along the lines familiar to them in their homeland.

Thus, the single-track school aimed at preparing children who would move almost automatically from one grade to the next. School was not linked to the differentiated needs of the economy and did not lead to productive activities. Pupils who followed the school system would be absorbed in tertiary sector. For the public sector, the leaving diploma was a necessary precondition. For those who were moving to the Mediterranean periphery, education was the main and decisive advantage in relation to local populations. The non-productive character of education was also assumed by the nature of the national curriculum where theoretical subjects and classical studies dominated (Papandreou,1985). The school system became a sort of safety valve which enabled individuals to pass from rural life and agricultural occupations to the life of cities and to different kinds of occupation, mainly in tertiary sector.

2.1.2 THE DECREE OF 1895

The end of the 19th century was characterised by the inflow of capital from economically developed countries to less developed countries. Given Greece's underdevelopment, it is not surprising that the first major structural transformation of the Greek state was a direct reflection of the changes taking place in western imperialism during the final quarter of the nineteenth century. After the industrialisation of the western continent had posed the first real challenge to the industrial supremacy

of England, there ensued a wholesale campaign by western nations to plunder dependent societies in fierce competition for new markets. For the Balkan states this meant that the politico-military control the west had previously exercised over them took a rather more directly economic character (Koumoulides,1977). It was particularly in relation to the 1873 crisis, when western capital had to compensate for declining domestic profits and therefore it turned to the Balkan economies for rapid and lucrative profits. This was the first time foreign capital investments were really substantial and, furthermore, they had the full backing of their governments. In Greece, this influx (which mainly took the form of government loans and railway investments) was accelerated by the huge Greek diaspora capital. It was in the fifty years or so spanning the turn of the century that most of the fundamental preconditions were laid for the eventual dominance of the capitalist mode of production. This period saw the development of social overhead capital (railways, roads, ports) which, in combination with the concomitant expansion of Greek territory and population contributed to the creation of a national market, the development of educational institutions, the adoption of protectionist measures for the development of industry, the initiation of legislative measures for agrarian reform etc. The inflow of capital in Greece had as a result the gradual transition from pre-capitalistic to capitalistic relations of production. That meant economic and social restructuring (for example industrial productivity, gradual proletarisation of agricultural population, development of financial capital). The administrative rationalisation was accompanied by an unprecedented expansion of the state budget, as state income as well as expenditure rose in a spectacular fashion. In contrast to the preceding period, the state managed to extract the additional financial resources through heavy (mainly indirect) taxation, through increased customs duties and large-scale internal and external borrowing, which were used merely for the maintenance and expansion of the civil administration: they also went into the creation of a modern army and, as mentioned, into developing the country's communications system. It was during this transitional period (1875-1920) that the Greek state ceased to be a mere "caretaker" and took the first steps towards regulating the economy in more direct manner; both by adopting more protectionist policies and by providing the basic legal and economic infrastructure for the 1920s' development of industrial capitalism (Pepelassis,1961).

The socio-economic changes demanded the adaptation of the education system. The new school structure had the following form:

DIAGRAM II
STRUCTURE OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM
(1895)
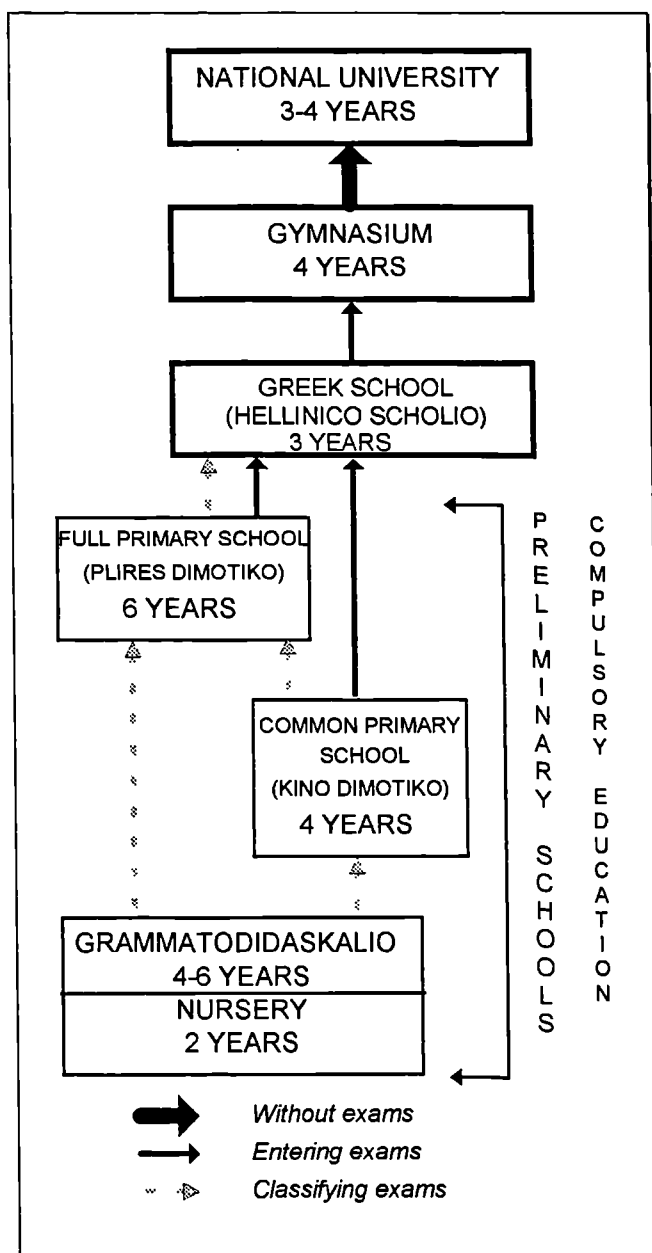
In this period 1882-1910 the primary education system remained almost the same as in the previous one. The main characteristics of primary education of this period may be grouped into three categories:

i)   The modifications decreed by BΠE/1892 Law, BTMΘ/1895 Law and ΓΣH/1905 Law;

ii)   the legislative regulations aiming at the improvement of primary education; and

iii)   the considerable increase in the number of schools, students and teachers.

The modifications passed by the three above mentioned acts covered the whole range of provision: Nursery schools, which could be instituted by individual persons after the permission of Ministry of Education, were required to promote:

> "the physical and mental development of children, the teaching of subjects and their
> preparation for primary education" (Bouzakis, 1987, p.50).

The education reform extended provision to a larger age range of children. From the age of three instead of the age of five or six the integration of children into the institutional life of school started.

There was now a stronger element of stratification in the types of primary education. The grammatodidaskalio was inferior in comparison to other types of primary education. Primary education was divided in common-primary and full-primary education. The attending of these schools and of the grammar school was compulsory. Full primary schools - where the education lasted for six years - were established in cities and regions where their financing was assured either by public resources, or private donations. The same act also defined that in areas where there were no primary schools, parents would have the right to hire a teacher in order to educate their children in the so-called grammatodidaskalio, which was the usual case of primary unofficial school in small villages (Dimaras,1986 Vol.I).

Grammatodidaskalia were established wherever there was not primary school either because there were no financial resources or because there were not many students.

Bouzakis(1987) draws the assumption that grammar-primary students, namely 2/3 of students, were effectively debarred from the higher grades. Thus, higher grades were restricted to students who lived in urban centres.

Primary schools were "preparatory schools" and they were aiming at:

> "moral and religious education of children as well as at the acquisition of useful knowledge
> and the children's preparation for life" (Bouzakis, 1987 p.50).

The national curriculum of primary education maintained the classical character of the past (because the productive forces of the past were maintained as well). The reading and analysis of the gospel and the teaching of ancient Greek language dominated in the national curriculum. Maths and physics covered few hours in the weekly timetable (Dimaras,1986 Vol.I; Papandreou,1985). Primary education did not offer any training to students who dropped out of school. Students were not acquiring technical knowledge and they did not receive any practical preparation for the labour

market. The school structure remained the previous one track school system (nursery school - greek school - gymnasium - University). A second school network after primary education - such as was instituted in the more advanced countries of the 19th century world - was not yet constituted in Greece (Bouzakis,1987).

The increase of the number of primary schools, students and teachers during that period could be characterised as considerable, given the respective increase of the general population. In 1900, compared to 1878 for which we have official data, there is an increase of 130.8% of primary schools, of 118.1% of students - there are no data for teachers - while the increase of the general population for the same period was 4.9%. The next known official data, of the year 1907, compared to the data of 1900, show an increase of 5.9%, for schools and 26.1% for students - no data for teachers - and 8.1% for general population. Finally, a comparison between the official data of 1907 and 1910 show an increase of 4.1% for schools, 9.2% for students. In 1910, the number of qualified teachers was 4,602, that is three times more than that of the year 1878. It should be noted though, that the official data of this period are deficient and often inaccurate (Bamios,1984 p.42).

2.1.3 THE DECREE OF 1899

A new Decree on education was promulgated in 1899. Until that time the educational system of the country functioned mainly on the basis of the Bavarian acts of the 1830s. The aim of the new Decree was the generalisation of primary education in Greece. For this reason it provided two independent stages of primary education with a unified national curriculum. The first stage was to last for four years. Students could next go either to the three year primary education or to the eight year gymnasium (lyceum). After the second stage of primary education students were channelled to production (Bouzakis,1987). The new school structure maintained the one track. Primary education maintained one type of primary school for all Greece with a unified national curriculum.

The aim of the school according to the new reform was the social and vocational integration of students. The national curriculum aimed:

> "to prepare students for their integration in social and economic life" (Bouzakis,1987 p.57).

For this reason the national curriculum of primary school provided among other subjects: agriculture, technology, chemistry, gardening, arboriculture, silk-worm production, apiculture etc.

The programme of secondary education (8 years) included two fields of studies, one theoretical and one practical. Each stage lasted for four years. The differentiation was that, in the practical field there

were more hours of physics and maths and fewer hours of ancient Greek and history, French, German and English (Dimaras,1986 Vol.I).

In addition - in the crucial period of secondary education, namely, when students were prepared to go either to higher education or directly to the labour market - the ancient Greek language was replaced by katharevoussa (a type of language which sprang from ancient Greek but was not identical) (Fragoudaki,1992).

DIAGRAM III
STRUCTURE OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM
(1899)


```
                    ┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
                    │                 PRODUCTION                      │
                    └─────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                                                    HIGHER EDUCATION

                                              GYMNASIUM (LYCEUM)
  C  E                PRIMARY SCHOOL          2nd STAGE - 4 YEARS
  O  D                  2nd STAGE             THEORETICAL PRACTICAL
  M  U                   3 YEARS              1st STAGE - 4 YEARS
  P  C
  U  A
  L  T
  S  I                            PRIMARY SCHOOL
  O  O                            1st STAGE - 4 YEARS
  R  N
  Y                                  NURSERY
                                     2 YEARS

              ━━▶   Without Exams
              ──▶   With Exams
```
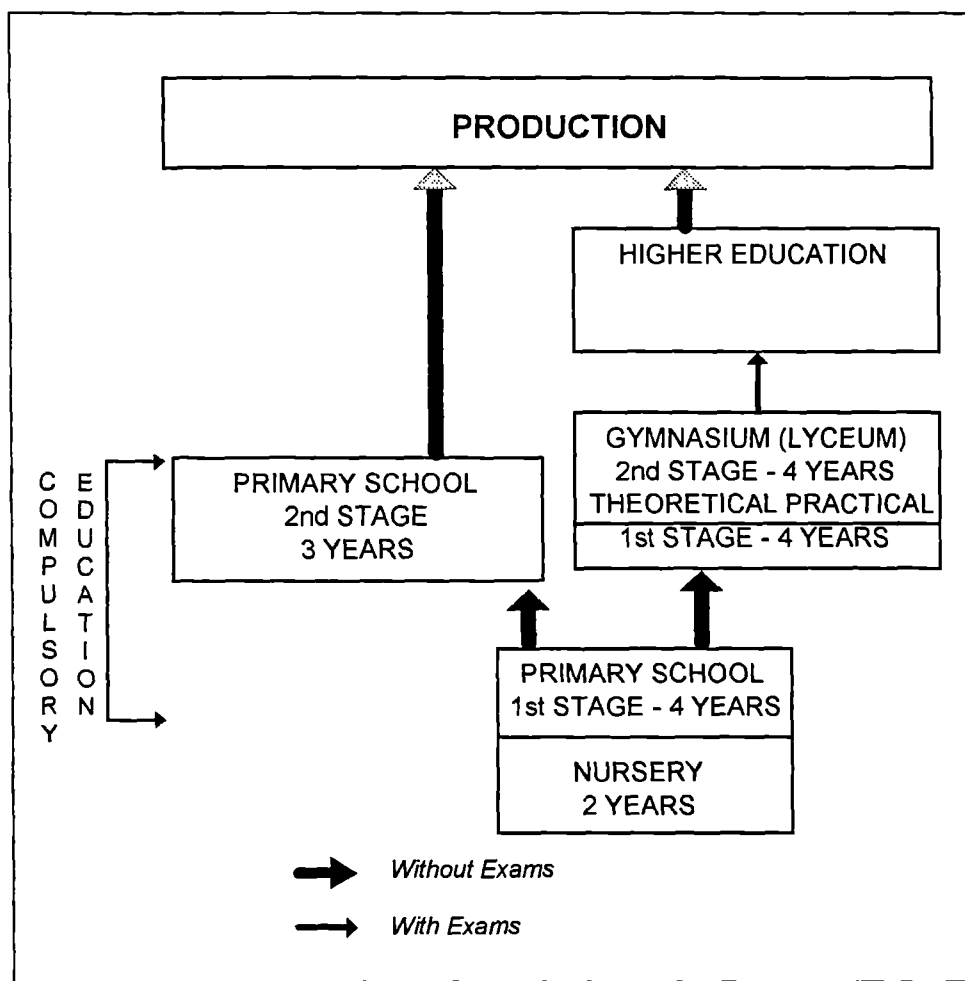
Bouzakis, 1987 p.55

2.2   EDUCATION REFORM IN THE 20th CENTURY

2.2.1   EDUCATION REFORMS OF 1913, 1917

The end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th were characterised by the gradual change of productive relations (abolition of feudal relations and the beginning of capitalism). The inflow of foreign capital in Greece, in combination with the conditions in agriculture, as the country changed to a monetary economy, resulted in a movement of investments into the industrial sector and the gradual creation of a proletariat. These crucial changes in the state-economy relationship had repercussions on the distribution of power within the state itself. The economic changes of the late nineteenth century generated a new middle class which was no longer willing to leave the political game to a handful of oligarchic families. The changing socio-economic conditions weakened the hold of oligarchic politics, and created a fertile ground for the 1909 military coup which marked the transition from oligarchic to middle class politics in Greece (Legg,1969). This transformation was reflected in the composition of the parliamentary forces from the 1910 elections onwards, as *ancien regime* politicians (the so-called paleokommatiki) had to make room for and share power with lawyers, doctors and diaspora capitalists. Because of the broader base of political participation the throne not only lost some of its control over the state but, by identifying its political fortunes with one fraction of the bourgeoisie, became incapable of continuing its balancing role between the bourgeois parties. From then on, chronic governmental instability, which had always been a characteristic feature of Greek politics, was exacerbated by regime instability as Venizelists and anti-Venizelists attempted to impose their respective constitutional solutions on the political crisis (Markopoulos,1986).

In October 1910, Venizelos started the modernisation of the state. The revised Constitution of 1911 laid the foundations of this modernisation. Venizelos founded and organised the liberal party, thus bringing into Greece the ideas of liberalism which have been followed and practised by most Greeks up to the present (Pepelassis,1961).

The economy at the beginning of this period was essentially agricultural in character with low rates of industrial production. The foundation of the first co-operative in 1914 and the foundation of the Ministry of Agriculture in 1917 marked the beginning of state intervention in the organisation and the shaping of agricultural production. Industry had not been developed until 1915.

The revised Constitution of 1911 defined in article 16, that education was under state control and financed by it. The Decree of 1-9-1913 and the Decree of 31-10-1914 brought considerable

legislative changes which remained in force officially up to the 1929 reform, but actually up to the period after the World War II (Lefas,1942).

DIAGRAM IV
STRUCTURE OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM
(1913)
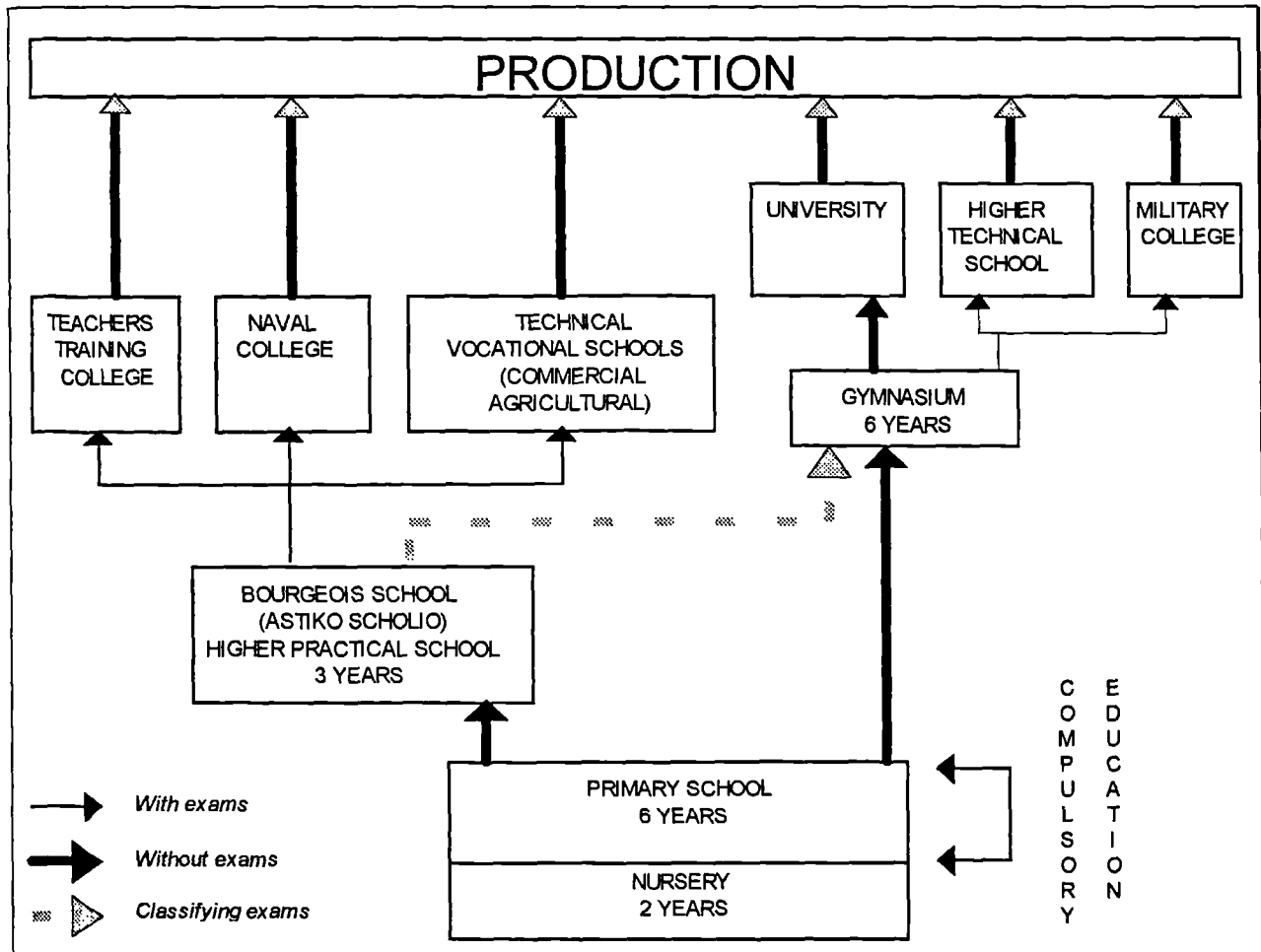
Bouzakis, 1987 p. 65

With the new structure of the school system, pre-school education became compulsory in the areas where nursery schools were established. Compulsory education covered six years overall (Lefas,1942). After primary education - which also provided elementary knowledge on agriculture, industry and cattle-rearing - two separate school networks with different options each were instituted. The first led to the so called astiko scholio (bourgeois school). The bourgeois school graduates (bourgeois school gave importance to practical subjects) could be registered after exams either at a

technical training college, at the Navy College, the Commerce College, the Architecture or at another technical school. They had also the possibility to study in gymnasium under certain conditions.

The gymnasium which admitted primary school graduates without exams lasted for six years and was divided into two stages. The first stage - which covered two years - had a common curriculum for all students. The second stage - which lasted for four years - was divided into classical and practical studies which provided additional subjects which:

"prepare children for practical aspects of life" (Bouzakis, 1987 p.66).

The aim of education in general was:

"preparation of students for productive occupations in the labour market" (Bouzakis, 1987 p.66).

Dimotiki language - a language that everybody could speak and understand - was instituted in primary school and katharevoussa was abolished in the first classes of primary education. Katharevoussa was taught in the last two classes of primary school, when students were preparing for secondary education. The conflicts in socio-economic relations (between agriculture and urban areas)were reflected in education, which was characterised by the sharp conflict on the issue of language between the supporters of the classical spirit and the liberal intellectuals. However, after 1920 (the loss of Asia Minor and the entrance of refugees), katharevoussa - which became an issue of political conflict - was maintained in the education system (Fragoudaki,1992).

Another element of the new school structure was the creation of a second school network, that of technical-vocational education. The one way school network - dominant characteristic of the Greek education system since Bavarians - was abolished. This school network became necessary due to the changes in production process.

However, in spite of the institution of the second school network (technical-vocational education), the structure of the school system in Greece was more democratic than in other advanced countries. The struggle to achieve the bourgeois education reform in Greece was slow moving and difficult to implement because in the socio-economic level Greece maintained feudal relations together with the capitalistic forms of production. The education reform of 1913 came out of the struggle of the bourgeois elements with the pro-capitalistic remainings (feudal relationships).

2.2.2 EDUCATION REFORM 1929

In 1922 (as result of the disastrous defeat of the Greek forces in the Greco-Turkish war in Asia Minor) more than one million and a half refugees from the previously flourishing east Greek

communities moved into Greek territory. But while this sudden influx of uprooted people brought major disruptions, their arrival also created conditions for the subsequent take-off of the Greek economy (Legg,1969).

In industry the settlement of a large number of refugees in the main urban centres meant the availability of abundant cheap labour and entrepreneurial skills at a time when Greece was experiencing a massive injection of foreign funds in the form of government loans, international aid to the refugees, and private investments in public works, etc. With the favourable preconditions established in the previous four decades, the combination of entrepreneurial skills, cheap labour and abundant capital gave a decisive boost to the development of Greek industry (Pepelassis,1961).

What was even more influential was the 1929 world crisis which forced the Greek state radically to reorient its policy vis-a-vis the world market and the management of the economy. In fact, given the collapse of world trade and the incapacity of the Greek economy to export its traditional agricultural products, the state had to embark on a programme of import-substitution by adopting a highly protectionist customs policy, by favouring industrial capital in a variety of ways, and by becoming more involved with the general management of the economy. This period marked the decisive entrance of capital into the sphere of production. Before this, not only was the industrial sector as a whole relatively small, but the number of capitalist enterprises (i.e., those using a large number of wage labourers) was insignificant. With the twenties and thirties a considerable concentration of capital, as well as closer collaboration between banking and industrial capital came - i.e., the emergence of finance capital. This was the time of the multiplication of holding companies, trusts and cartels which, although they did not acquire the dimensions of their west European counterparts, were quite impressive by Balkan standards (Jelavich,1983).

In the field of education, during the Republic of 1924-1935, there was considerable changes owing to the general progress of Greece during that peaceful interval.

The character of education until the 1929 reform remained theoretical and classical and it was unable to serve the new socio-economic changes of the country as these were formed after the loss of Asia Minor and the development of industrial capital. Technical education was rudimentary. The majority of students followed classical studies and one reason for that was the lack of an organised second school network.

With the 1929 Decree the school mechanism took the following form:

DIAGRAM V
STRUCTURE OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM
(1929)

```
┌──────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                         PRODUCTION                                 │
│                                                                    │
│  ┌─────────────────────┐        ┌──────────────────────────────┐  │
│  │  HIGHER EDUCATION   │        │  LOWER VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS    │  │
│  │                     │        │  (AGRICULTURAL-VOCATIONAL     │  │
│  │                     │        │   HOUSE ECONOMY-INDUSTRIAL)   │  │
│  │                     │        │         2-3 YEARS             │  │
│  └─────────────────────┘        └──────────────────────────────┘  │
│                                                                    │
│  ┌──────────┐  ┌──────────┐                                        │
│  │ GENERAL  │  │PRACTICAL │                                        │
│  │GYMNASIUM │  │ LYCEUM   │                                        │
│  │ 6 YEARS  │  │ 6 YEARS  │                                        │
│  └──────────┘  └──────────┘                                        │
│                                                                    │
│              ┌──────────────────┐                                  │
│              │ HIGHER SCHOOL    │                                  │
│              │   FOR GIRLS      │                                  │
│              │   4 YEARS        │                                  │
│              └──────────────────┘                                  │
│                                                                    │
│              ┌──────────────────────────┐                          │
│              │    PRIMARY SCHOOL         │                          │
│              │       6 YEARS             │                          │
│              ├──────────────────────────┤                          │
│              │      NURSERY              │                          │
│              │      2 YEARS              │                          │
│              └──────────────────────────┘                          │
└──────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```

COMPULSORY EDUCATION

→ With exams

➡ Without exams
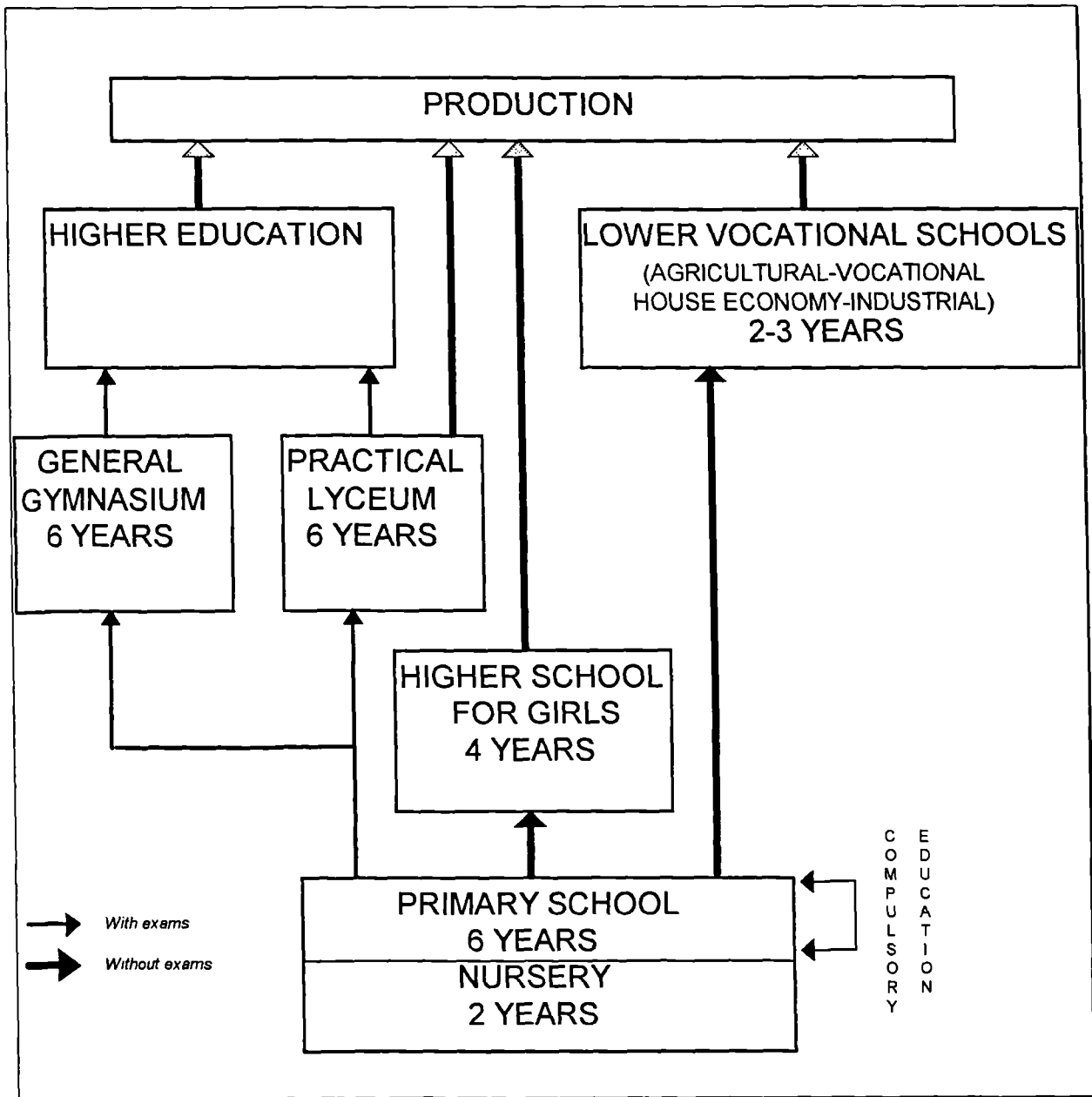
The new demand for the establishment of the second network was mentioned in the introduction of the 1929 Decree. It mentioned the inability of the education system to respond to social needs, the class character of education, the neglect of mass education as well as the theoretical training of the teaching staff (Dimaras,1986).

The new changes in education had the following aims:

"the lower grades of the education mechanism will not prepare students for the higher educational grades but for life" (Bouzakis, 1987 p.87).

The previous structure of school grades (primary - greek - gymnasium, 4 years + 3 years + 4 years) which had remained since the time of the Bavarians, was replaced by the new school structure (primary - gymnasium, 6 years + 6 years). The new school structure increased primary and secondary education by one year, and prolonged primary education for two years.

With the new structure elementary education included nursery school, primary education and lower vocational education.

The aim of nursery school according to the Decree was:

"children's normal physical and mental development and their preparation for the primary school" (Bouzakis, 1987 p.86).

While the aim of compulsory primary school was:

"the elementary preparation of students for life and the provision of the necessary education in order to become decent citizens" (Bouzakis, 1987 p.86).

The Decree also provided for the creation of a garden in every primary school, in order to prepare children for life and to instil practical knowledge on agriculture.

Students who finished the primary education could either study in lower vocational schools, or in the general gymnasium or practical lyceum after having passed successfully the exams. Girls could attend the higher school for girls.

The aim of the lower vocational schools - which lasted for 2-3 years was the acquisition of basic skills for work (Bouzakis, 1987). The graduates from these schools were fed directly into the labour market. On the contrary, the prolonged studies in gymnasium or lyceum led to the University which prepared mainly the higher executives of the state machine.

Secondary education included general gymnasium and practical lyceum. The studies lasted for six years. Their curriculum included mainly ancient and modern (katharevoussa) Greek language. The issue of language still remained. In 1930 dimotiki (the language of the masses) became officially compulsory in all grades of primary school. However, in the last two grades of primary education dimotiki was taught together with katharevoussa language (Fragoudaki, 1992).

The triple role of education - religious, national and moral discipline of students - was not the exclusive role of the school any more. The new aims of primary and secondary education became the

integration of students into the social and productive process as well as the supply of the necessary knowledge for the discipline of decent citizens.

However, 9/10 of the students did not manage to continue their education after primary school (Bouzakis,1987 p.87).

2.2.3   THE POST-WAR PERIOD: 1946-1967

After the end of World War II, which resulted in severe disruption and remodelling of all capitalist economy, we entered a new phase of imperialism which increasingly sought new ways for the overcoming of the contradiction between productive capacity and consuming capacity (Papandreou,1975). The reconstruction and modernisation of w.Europe after the destruction of World War II offered great possibilities for the penetration of capital (mainly American) into the new markets (Pesmatjoglou,1987).

The Greek economy with the help of Marshall aid and through the Truman Doctrine and in the context of the general post-war European economic expansion, quickly managed to start functioning again more or less along the pattern established in the 1930s. The average annual growth rate was around 6% in the mid-fifties. That means that pre-war levels of output were soon reached and then exceeded (Benas,1978).

However, despite impressive rates of growth and increasing state intervention, the economy by the late fifties had not managed to overcome a major feature of its underdevelopment: its weak manufacturing sector. Regardless of various state incentives, Greek capital was not directed into key manufacturing sectors (metallurgy, chemicals etc.). Consequently, by the end of the first post-civil war decade, Greece still exhibited the familiar features of an underdeveloped economy: an over-inflated, rapidly expanding tertiary sector, a badly organised and inefficient agricultural system employing more than one-half of the labour force, and a feeble, stagnating manufacturing sector (Pepelassis,1961).

Education, after the country's liberation from the Germans, was in a state of dilapidation. According to the Minister of Education the situation in the field of education after World War II was indescribable:

> "[There reigned] complete dilapidation, and chaos. Schools did not open that year. School buildings were either badly damaged by the war or requisitioned for the housing of soldiers and the storing of ammunition; most of the teachers throughout the country had either found shelter in Athens or other big towns, flying away from the country; some of them had followed the guerrillas into the mountains, some others were being arrested in towns and cities charged with collaboration with the rebels; communications as well as administration

were completely disrupted; there was no way for villages to be provided with books; the state machinery had stopped functioning" (Papanoutsos, 1982, p.50-51).

The first efforts aimed to re-open all schools that were able to function - official data are not available up to the mid-fifties -, as well as to reconstruct the educational system on a 6+6 model, i.e. 6-year primary school and 6-year gymnasium. Meanwhile the Civil war, that lasted almost throughout the second half of the forties, heaped new ruins on the already existing ones, thus causing further delays to the reorganisation of education. It might be said that the foundations of the general reorganisation of post-war Greece were laid by the Constitution of 1952. The aim of education, defined by article 16, was:

> *"the moral and intellectual education as well as the development of the national consciousness of youth on the basis of the ideological concepts of Greek-Christian civilisation" (Dimaras, 1986 p.163).*

A considerable step towards the advancement of the reorganisation of education was made with the formation of the committee on education in 1957, whose members were appointed by the Prime Minister. This committee consisted of experts who had the task of investigating the problem of reorganisation of education. The government selected the members of the committee, seeking to ensure that various social and educational tendencies would be included in it, with the task *"of arriving at a collection of views expressing not only the will of Greek society, but also the ideological orientation of the time"*, after a broad examination of the problem of education; an educational *"programme"* would then be prepared, based on it, broadly accepted *"as a national policy in the field of education"* (Papanoutsos, 1982 p.91). The report of the 1957 committee on education was submitted the following year, but only a part of those proposals was put into practice, particularly, those pertaining to technical and vocational education, - given a fresh organization and impetus- which was organized by N.Δ.3971/1959 and N.Δ. 3973/1959 (Dimaras, 1986 Vol.II).

Eight principles were formulated by the committee after its examination of the contemporary education system. These were the following:

(i)   *"education is the most productive investment"* and it has to be the first priority of the state's policy.

(ii)   The necessity for the provision of the necessary budget on education was emphasised.

(iii)   The necessity for the innovation of school organisation and national curriculum.

(iv)   The necessity to maintain the humanistic and classical character of education.

(v)   The necessity for particular emphasis on the ancient and modern history of Greece.

(vi) The necessity for changes in vocational education.

(vii) It was declared that education must be a common good and not a privilege of the elite

(viii) Finally, it was underlined that education must stop being the object of political and personal conflicts between the political parties (Dimaras,1986 Vol.II p.238).

In September 1959 the 3971 Law for the organisation of general and technical-vocational education was voted. According to the Law:

> "Education aims at cultivating the humanitarian character of students..." (Dimaras, 1986
> Vol.II p.237).

Besides, the organisation of technical-vocational education aimed at offering:

> "technical training for the needs of the latest technological achievement" (Dimaras, 1986
> Vol.II p.238).

The main innovations in the education system with the 1959 Law were:

(i) The institution of a six year gymnasium (which replaced the eight year secondary education).

(ii) The division of the curriculum in the last three grades of secondary education into two fields: classical and practical (which included technical, agricultural, economic, naval, foreign language and home economic fields).

(iii) The institution of two public technical schools in the two biggest cities of Greece (Athens and Thessaloniki) with several departments (Building Science, Transportation, Plumbing, Topography etc.).

(iv) The institution of six public lower technical schools in rural areas which lasted for three or four years,(Bouzakis,1987 p.99). The form of the curriculum in technical colleges was to remain classical and theoretical.

2.2.4 THE EDUCATION REFORM OF 1964

Although Greece had initiated legislation to attract foreign capital as early as 1953, it was only in the early sixties that large amounts started to come to Greece under the form of direct investments. In the sixties the capital arrived as direct investments in industry, and came mainly from multinationals of American origin (Benas,1978; Koumoulides,1977). The relatively modest amount was more than offset by its going into those key sectors where Greek capitalists were reluctant to invest, and thus greatly boosted Greek manufacturing and the industrial sector generally. As a result, industry not only

expanded faster (its share in the GNP exceeded that of agriculture from 1962 onwards), but there was a strong shift of investments from light consumer to durable and capital goods.

There was a parallel change in the composition of Greek exports, where agricultural products and raw material decreased in comparison with considerable exports of industrial goods. There is no doubt that the post-1960 influx of foreign capital gave a considerable push to industrialisation in Greece, though this type of dependent, foreign-induced industrialisation did not eliminate the underdeveloped character of the Greek economy; it simply changed its form (Benas,1978; Samaras,1985).

Contrary to what happened in western Europe, Greek industrial capitalism had neither destroyed non-capitalist modes of production (i.e., the single-commodity family unit which still prevailed heavily in agriculture and small industry), nor had it become articulated with them in an organic, positive manner. In fact, the linkages between the capitalist and single-commodity sectors were predominantly negative: the effects of high productivity and technological progress originating from the advanced capitalist sector had not spread to the rest of the economy.

Instead, through a variety of partly state-induced mechanisms, resources were systematically shifted from the simple-commodity to the capitalist sector, and then abroad. The large-scale social disruptions and shifts (rural exodus, migration, urbanisation etc.) created by the Greek post-war model of capital accumulation have weakened traditional ties and orientations, and thus not only made inequalities larger, but also more visible.

Another effort towards the reorganisation of education was made in 1964. The following two factors influenced the 1964 education reform:

(i)   Awareness of the obvious shortcomings of the system. According to the results of the 1951 census on the educational level of the population, 33% of the agricultural and semi-agricultural population over ten years old was illiterate. In addition, of every 100 children who lived in rural areas 95 did not continue their studies after primary education. Also, of the 95 children who studied in primary school only 40% finished primary education while 60% dropped out of the third or fourth grade of primary school. Furthermore, a rate of 15% of children of school age did not go to school at all. (Bouzakis,1987 p.96).

(ii)   Lack of technical staff. At the beginning of 1960s, during a period of increased industrial production there were not enough technically trained staff for the needs of economy. For example, there was one specialised graduate from technical school to every 35 workers

(Imvrioti,1983 p.120). The level of technical education remained low: there were in 1970, 5,2 students per 1.000 inhabitants. This rate was particularly low in comparison with other western countries (Katsoulis, Yiannitsis and Kazakos,1988; Kokkotas,1990).

The 1964 education reform concerned the organisation and administration of general education, technical education and University.

The introductory reference of the 4379 Law declared that:

> "education should have the humanitarian character necessary for the economic development of the country and the intellectual amelioration of the nation" (Dimaras,1986 Vol.II p.267).

As far as higher education was concerned the "necessity for highly trained scientists" was underlined because:

> "neither intellectual nor economic progress could be realised sufficiently rapidly if there are not more and well trained scientists" (Papanoutsos,1976 p.319-349).

With the 1964 Reform the education system was reformed in the following way:

DIAGRAM VI
STRUCTURE OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM
(1964)
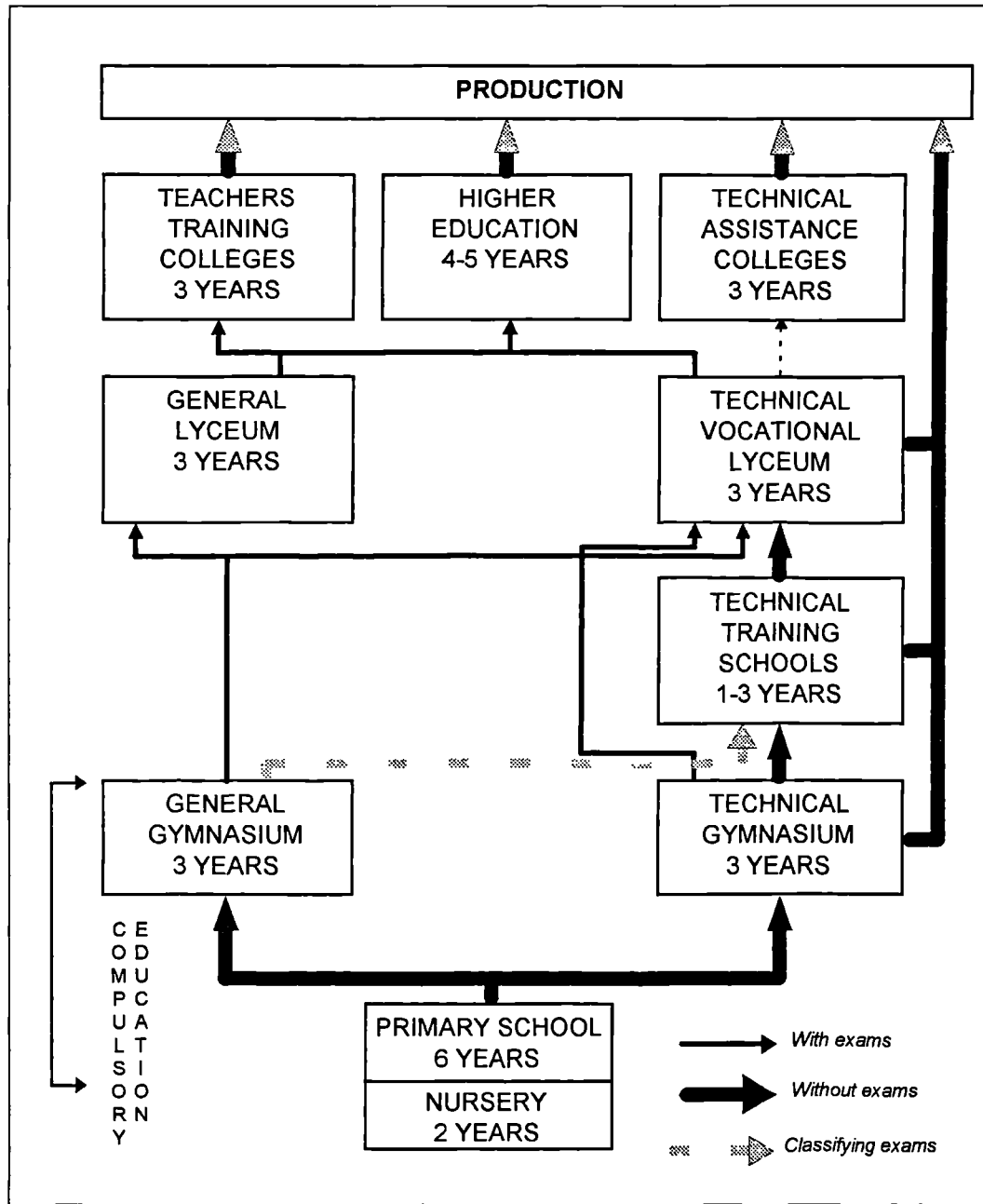
Bouzakis, 1987 p.102

Primary education lasted for six years. Compulsory education increased to nine years (six years primary education and three years secondary education).

The 6-year gymnasium was divided into a 3-year gymnasium and a 3-year Lyceum. The gymnasium was open to all students who had completed their primary education successfully. It was accessible to

the mass of the youthful population which had to be trained and integrated into the new ways of social life. Gymnasium was differentiated into two types: the general and practical gymnasium.

The overall aim of gymnasium was to "provide religious and moral discipline" (Dimaras,1986 p.272).

General and technical gymnasium had a common curriculum. Extra technical subjects were instituted in the technical gymnasium and they were aiming at giving elementary practical, technical knowledge to students.

The second stage of secondary education included three types of schools: the general lyceum, the technical lyceum and the schools for technical training. Admission to general and technical-vocational lyceum demanded successful completion of studies in gymnasium and successful exams. The general and technical lyceum graduates were registered after successful exams in University, teachers training colleges and technical colleges.

Two types of school leaving certificate were instituted. Students who received one type of certificate could be registered in Theology, Philosophy, or Law faculty. Students who received the other type of certificate could be registered in the Faculty of Physics/Maths, Medicine, Dentistry, Agriculture, Veterinary, Forestry (Dimaras,1986 p.291).

With the new education reform the University of Athens expanded. The new faculties included: Economics, Agriculture, Politics and Business/Economics/Industry (Bouzakis,1987). Furthermore, the establishment of the University in semi-urban areas (like Ioannina and Crete) was introduced as well as Polytechnics in other semi-urban cities (like Thessaloniki, Larissa) and the institution of Art Colleges and Tourist/Business Colleges in islands (like Corfu) (Bouzakis,1987).

As far as national curriculum is concerned, the most important innovations were:

(i)   the institution of dimotiki (the language of mass) in all educational grades with the parallel teaching of katharevoussa language.

(ii)   Secondary curriculum changed. Latin became optional, the ancient Greek language was taught from translations to modern Greek.

(iii) The national curriculum was expanded and new subjects were introduced. There was a variety of optional subjects in lyceum (like Psychology, Philosophy, Sociology, Economics etc.) (Bouzakis,1987; Papandreou,1985).

It was the third time in this century that an education reform tried to change the classical character of education. The reform represented a decisive effort to move Greek education towards a more mixed curriculum model though to be more appropriate to schooling in an industrilized state in the second half of the 20th century.

The importance of technical education and the particular attention given to it were underlined in the introduction of the Education Act:

> "the country's economic development depends on the development of technical-vocational education: that is why youths should be channelled to technical professions" (Papanoutsos, 1976 p.349).

With the institution of two school networks the Greek education system at last acquired the dominant characteristics of the corresponding educational systems of industrially developed countries (Tjani,1986; Bouzakis,1987). It also became more responsive to the needs of the whole population: Measures such as the institution of nine years compulsory education, recognition of dimotiki language as equal to katharevoussa, institution of technical education etc. helped, at least in principle, the expansion of schooling in the lower social classes.

However, in reality technical education did not expand as strongly as had been intended. Its healthy growth was inhibited by many factors: the severe negative reactions to the abolition of the ancient Greek language from the national curriculum of gymnasium on the part of church and University people, the inadequate budget that was provided for technical education, the lack of any trained teaching staff, the lack of previous experience on the planning and organisation of technical training, etc. In the light of these factors it is not surprising that technical-vocational education did not succeed in attracting students in very large numbers (Glambedakis,1990).

According to the O.E.C.D. in 1965:

> "The Greek labour market needs trained technical labour force. Technical education continues to play in this country a role less important than it should play. In spite of the increase of students' rate to 65% between 1955-1962 the rate of students in secondary technical education remained the lowest in Europe. This occurred due to the important social meaning that classical studies had as well as due to the lack of trained teaching staff for technical colleges" (O.E.C.D.,1965 p.43 cited in Pesmatjoglou,1987 p.243).

Similar judgements were recorded by the missions of USA in 1949-1950, of the European Organisation of Productivity in 1958 and of the O.E.C.D. in the frames of the Mediterranean Plan during the period 1963-1964 (Pesmatjoglou,1987 p.243).

2.2.5 THE PERIOD OF 1967-1974

The year 1967 represents politically a caesura or disjunction in the development of a democratic state in Greece: the coup d' etat of the colonels and the inauguration of a right-wing dictatorship. Economically, however, the break was initially less sharp, and during the first phase of the dictatorship, the country's economy, owing to the people's industry, private initiative, and the favourable international circumstances, continued its progress. A considerable increase is also observed in the merchant fleet in 1971 (Benas,1978). Furthermore a remarkable reduction is observed in the number of those employed in agriculture (Samaras,1985).

After the failure of technical education to expand, the World Bank began to co-operate with the Greek state of the colonels on the country's education policy. Its main concern, was the financing of programmes for further education (programmes directly linked with production) (Pesmatjoglou,1987). At the same time the World Bank was preparing "for the necessary innovative education reforms" (Pesmatjoglou,1987 p.244).

Thus, in 1970 the first plan started being implemented. A number of lower technical educational schools (which offered three year studies) were established with the financial support of this Bank. These schools offered training in agricultural and industrial fields (Pesmatjoglou,1987 p.254). The Greek state availed itself of several loans for the establishment of technical education. In 1970 and 1972 a loan of 13,8 million dollars was accepted for the establishment of five technical schools and a second loan of 23,5 million dollars for the establishment of a series of technical-vocational schools. The World Bank combined to fund these technical schools while the Polytechnic of California undertook the organisation of their curriculum (Bouzakis,1987).

The financing of the technical-vocational schools was in the framework of the "Long-Term Developmental Plan of Greece 1972-1987". The Plan provided among other things for the transfer of 600.000 workers from the primary to the secondary and tertiary sectors of economy by 1987 and the increase of technical-vocational students from 335.000 in 1971 to 1.600.000 in 1987 (Pesmatjoglou,1987 p.211).

These loans, inaugurated under the dictatorship but regarded presumably by the World Bank as ideologically neutral, continued to be implemented after the disappearance of the colonels regime in 1974. In 1975 there was a third loan of 45 million dollars for the implementation of the third educational plan (for the establishment of three more technical schools, five educational centres for short training and ten secondary schools). In 1978 there was a new loan of 60 million dollars for the

implementation of the fourth educational plan, the establishment of technical schools and schools for the training of staff employed in technical schools (Bouzakis,1987). According to the estimation of the World Bank:

> "With the final plan of the World Bank - the financing of specialised training of the labour force in all fields of economy and the financing of research for the post-secondary education in Greece - all the main educational reforms that World Bank had proposed, are realised...The reform of the education system in Greece is the result of the strategy and the methodical pressures that World Bank imposed upon Greece...After 1978, there is no more need for the replacement of the formal educational policy of Greece by our propositions. The only need is the financing of the proposed educational programs by the Greek government" (Pesmatjoglou,1987 p.245).

With these efforts Technical Education was established and expanded over a space of about a decade.

2.2.6 1974-1981: THE POST-DICTATORSHIP PERIOD

To those who experienced the restoration of democracy in 1974 the break with the previous regime seemed dramatic and decisive. In education, however, some continuity of development was sustained in spite of the political changes, as indicated in the previous section. Nonetheless, the change in mood and overall political orientation from an authoritarian state to a more normal democratic and republican structure, constructed along western European lines, inevitably had consequences for education in Greece.

A constitution was voted in 1975 soon after the restoration of democracy. Article 16 of the constitution defined that:

> "education is the state's mission and aims at promoting the moral, mental, vocational and physical discipline of Greeks, the development of national and religious conscience and the upbringing of independent and responsible citizens" (Bouzakis,1987 p.119).

The next year, the educational reform followed - in the shape of 309/1976 Law on primary and secondary education, - which was mainly based on the 1964 reform and introduced the system 6+3+3.

DIAGRAM VII
STRUCTURE OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM
(1976)
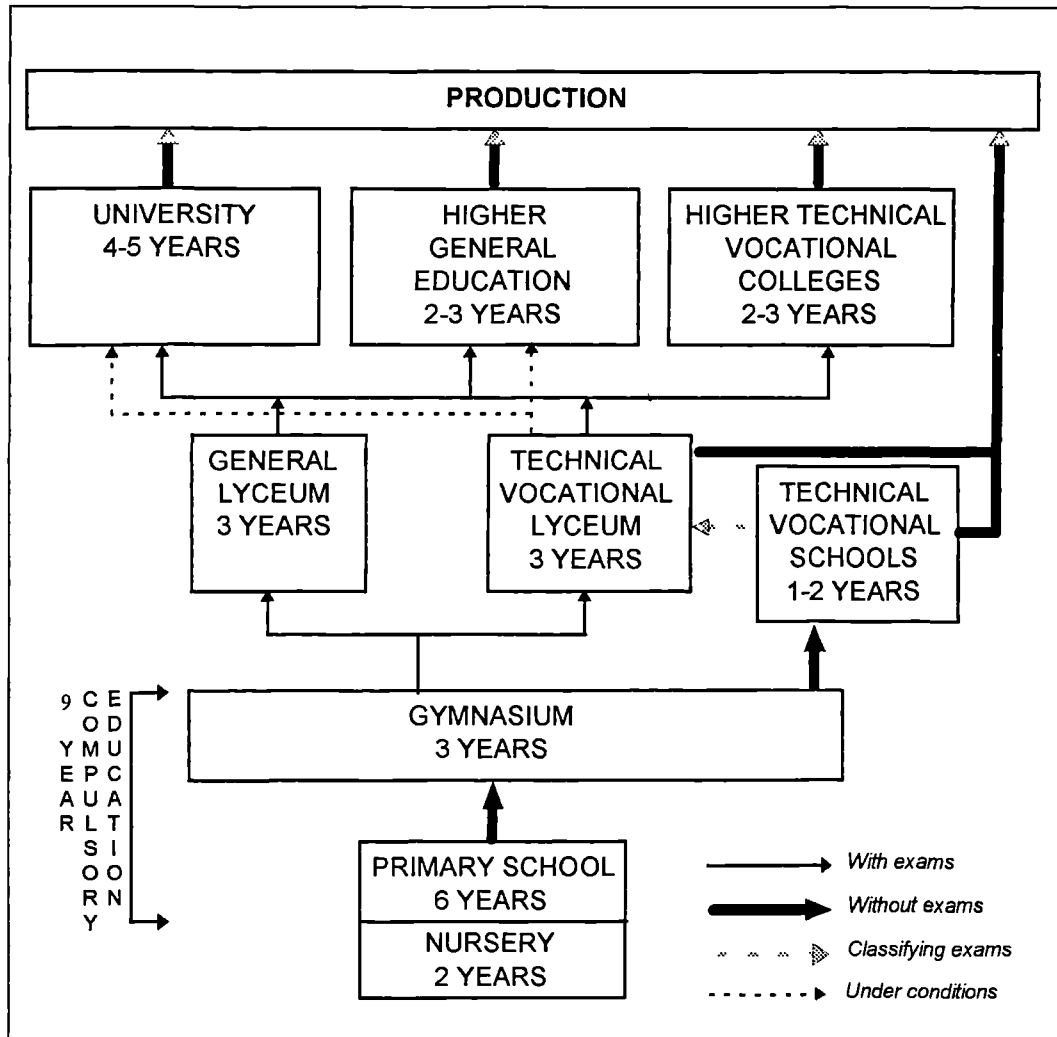
Bouzakis, 1987 p. 114

With the new education reform, compulsory primary education lasted three years. The primary school - where the dimotiki language was instituted - aimed at:

> "*awakening students' moral consciousness and at laying the foundations of religious, national and humanistic discipline*" *(Bouzakis, 1987 p.113).*

The gymnasium accepted students who had successfully accomplished their primary education. Students did not have to pass exams in order to be registered in gymnasium.

Gymnasium graduates who wanted to continue their studies had three choices:

(i)   to study in a technical-vocational school which lasted 3-6 terms without exams. These students were mainly prepared for their incorporation into the labour market. Students who wanted to continue their studies were registered in the technical-vocational lyceum after exams.

(ii)   The second and third choices open to students were the general or technical lyceum after exams. The subjects in the last two grades of secondary education were divided into classical and practical. Technical-vocational lyceum aimed at the preparation of students for University or for the production process. The studies in this type of lyceum lasted three years and the subjects taught were similar to those of the general lyceum with the addition of practical subjects (Bouzakis,1987).

The channelling of students to technical education aimed among other things at solving the over-population of gymnasium and reducing the over-crowding at University (Zographou,1979). That was:

> "a psychologically and socially painless way of inhibiting youths from University...students should be persuaded that they might have a lot of abilities but not those demanded by University...other ways of training should be found soon for these students" (Papanoutsos, 1982 p.360).

The 309 Law of 1976 for general education and the 576 Law of 1977 for technical-vocational education were maintained until 1981.

However, despite the new education reform the rates of students who followed technical education remained low. In the academic year 1976-77, 93% and in 1977-78, 97,2% of gymnasium graduates took exams for lyceum (either general or technical). Of these students only 20% chose technical lyceum, and of that 20% only 5% did not take exams for University (Katsoulis, Yiannitsis and Kazakos,1988 p.180).

2.2.7 EDUCATION REFORMS 1981-1988

1981 was a crucial year for Greece, as with effect from 1st January 1981 the country officially became the tenth member of the EEC. In the same year the elections changed the political scene in Greece, breaking a long tradition of centre and right-wing dominance in Greek political life since the second World War.

The new left-wing government of 1981 from the outset regarded education as one of its highest priorities. According to its policy statement:

> "Education is a social good, something to which every citizen has a right. The state has an obligation to ensure equal education for every young person as an urgent priority, in every corner of our land... One of the basic objectives of our educational policy is to seek out and

develop the creative abilities and talents of our young people, to give these young people a systematic preparation for shouldering the difficult tasks of regenerating our country and ensuring its progress, in a responsible way, with critical understanding and, above all, as socially-conscious workers and citizens equipped with adequate scientific and technical expertise" (Papandreou, 1983 cited in Starida, 1987 p.74).

But the problems faced by the new government were daunting. The major weaknesses and vulnerable aspects of the existing educational system were as follows:

(i)   In comparison with other EEC countries Greek education was highly traditional and examination oriented, selective, and largely ill-adapted to the needs of contemporary society.

(ii)   Decentralisation of power was unknown and education, like other spheres of administration, was bureaucratically controlled by the centre. The Ministry of Education had the control of administration, finance, teacher training, approval of textbooks and all the main responsibilities for the running of education. There was hardly any power shared with parents' organisations or any local authority.

(iii) The school curriculum was so rigidly uniform that it offered no choice of subjects (at least until the age of 15) and there was no differentiation or streaming or any remedial teaching.

(iv)   The examination system, which was designed to lead to entry into higher education institutions, made the system an elitist one.

(v)   Formal teacher training was limited to a basic two year degree course and confined to teaching practice. There was hardly any organised in-service training. Consequently teachers' training, practice and experience was low. All efforts of the 6 year post-dictatorship period to upgrade the quality of teacher training colleges, technical education and the total education system had not been particularly fruitful.

The new Minister of Education announced various educational changes:

(a)   Reduction of bureaucracy and development of a *"fast-tracking"* promotion system to help young teachers to advance in teaching career and administration.

(b)   Abolition of the entrance examinations for the lyceum (post-15 education) and replacing of the entrance examinations to University with a new system of examinations. University preparation would be confined to the final year of the lyceum instead of dominating all 3 years of the lyceum.

(c)   Liberalisation of the curriculum and of the teaching methodology with special programs and curriculum development and with changes in in-service and basic teacher training.

(d) More decentralised educational administration involving regional education councils to share in policy-making. Parental involvement and genuine teacher involvement in policy formulation through their elected union leaders were encouraged.

(e) But the most serious approach of the Ministry was shown in its decision to expand technical education. As a first step it was considered crucial to shift the emphasis from theoretical and general knowledge to practical and specialised training.

(f) State supplementary attention was also to be given for the most able and for slow learners, and students with learning difficulties .

In embarking upon these programmes the government did not lose sight of the fact that the country had already become a member of the E.U. This meant that the very crucial educational issues, e.g. technical/vocational education, should be dealt with in co-operation with the other member-states, taking note of their experience and successes.

The aim of the five year plan (1983-1987) for the *"economic development of Greece"* was based on the following principles:

(i)   The contribution of education to the development of a self reliant economy of the country.

(ii)   The social recognition of labour.

(iii)   The revision and updating of curriculum.

(iv)   The development of a system of mass education of the lower social classes.

(v)   Expansion of education for adults who had not been at school at all or who had only primary education.

(vi)   The connection of the education system with the long-term economic and social needs of Greece.

(vii)   The abolition of barriers in education with the support of vertical and horizontal mobility.

(viii) The establishment of equality between technical and vocational education (Bouzakis,1987 p.111).

With the new education reform the school system took the following form:

DIAGRAM VIII
STRUCTURE OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM
(1985)
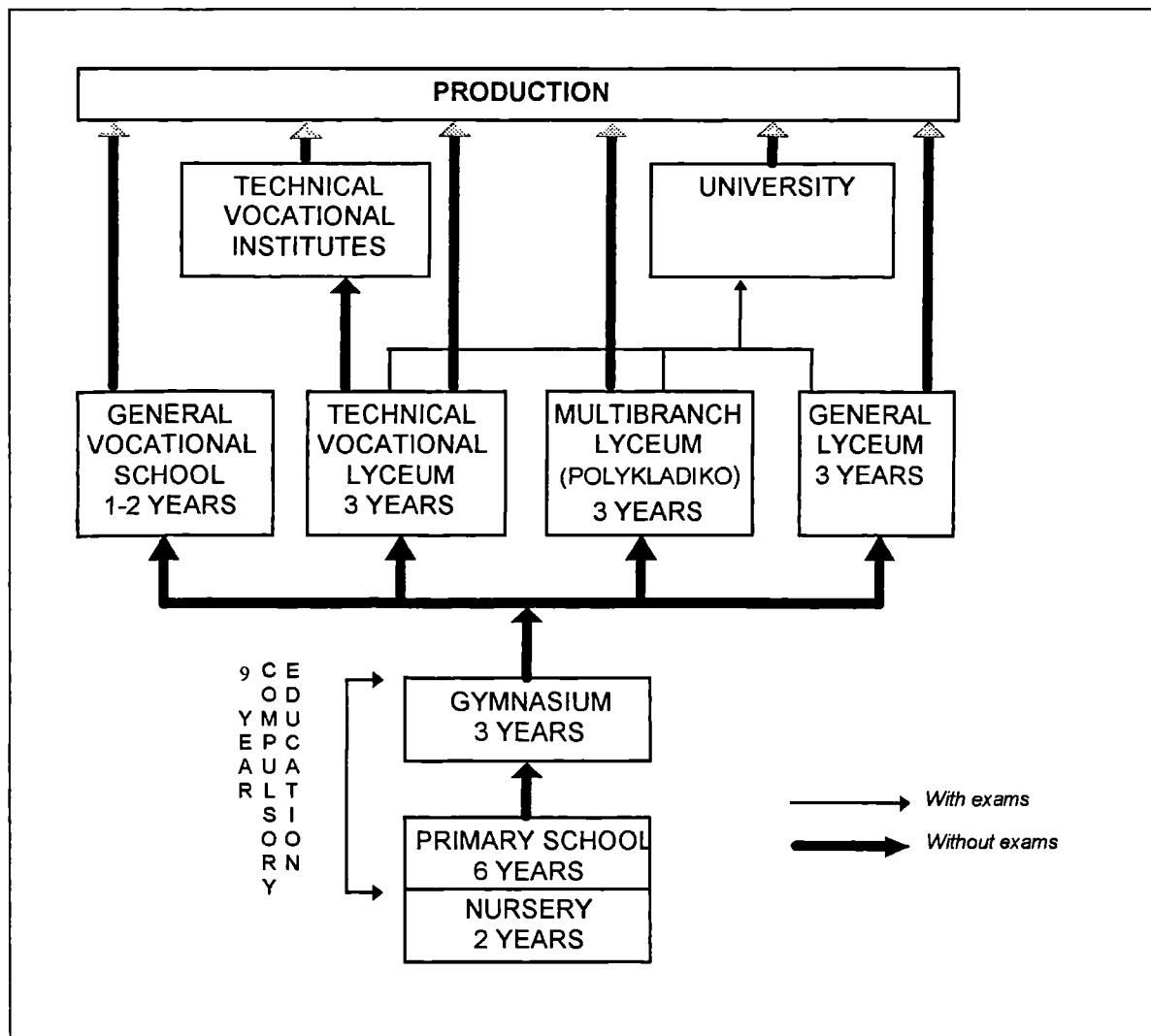
Bouzakis, 1987 p. 126

According to the 1985 education reform the aim of primary education was more strongly focused than previous formulations on democratic values and open learning. The primary school was expected to foster:

"the development of students' mental and physical abilities. Students should have the possibility to develop and live creatively, independently of their sex or origin. An aim also of primary and secondary education was to create independent, responsible, democratic students, able to serve the national independence and democracy" (Law 1566 85).

It was also mentioned the equality of mental and manual work and the value of friendship and co-operation between nations (Law 1566/85). The scope of the new form of secondary education was, as the Education Act mentioned:

"the solving of the long-term social and educational problems, like the accumulation of thousand of candidates in the University, the entrance of thousand of youths in the labour market without any vocational training, the unbalanced distribution of students between technical and general education, the upgrading of educational life etc." (Law 1566 1985).

Greece was relatively poorly provided with vocational training facilities and lagged behind other member-states in terms of the fit between general and technical education. The need for a comprehensive type of secondary school at national level brought into reality the program for the establishment of the multi-branch lyceum (M-B.L.) in 1984 implemented as an EEC project (Psacharopoulos and Kajamias,1985).

According to the Ministry of Education:

"A new page in the history of Greek secondary education has opened with the functioning of M-B.L... the M-B.L. stands for the realisation of the basic aim of the Greek education system, which is the creation of individuals with free, responsible and creative personality who will be able to contribute actively to the nation's development in a co-operative spirit with the other nations" (Kaklamanis,1985 cited in Starida,1987 p.92).

The M-B.L. reflects the increasing concern about: how the secondary school curriculum can respond to the needs of individuals and society. M-B.L. tried to eliminate the tripartite division of secondary education (general - technical - vocational) - a hope expressed by the president of the secondary teachers union (OLME):

"to give a wider context to the term of general education by modernising it, to ensure a coherent and balanced relationship between theoretical instructions and vocational practice, and to offer young people the right methodology for obtaining scientific and technical knowledge corresponding to the socio-economic development of the country. It will also make pupils adaptable to the rapid changes in the conditions of work and to the different types of vocational occupation; furthermore, it will enable pupils to critically examine the universal objectives and participate in the modernisation of society" (Starida,1987 p.94).

The curriculum of this school includes lessons of general education (Greek language, maths, physics, English language) and specialised lessons (according to each pupil's job preference). This school equips pupils with technical knowledge and a certificate for entering the labour market or being enrolled in the second year of the technical/vocational lyceum.

Law 1404 of 25.11.1983 made a total reorganisation of technical education - according to the prospects of the 5 year plan (1983-1987) - for economic and social development and established TEIs (Technical Educational Institutes) as autonomous institutes at post-secondary level, under the control of the Ministry of Education. Their major aims were defined as follows:

(a) the theoretical and practical education and training for the successful application of scientific, technological and artistic kind of knowledge in different occupations, and

(b) the development of responsible persons able to contribute significantly to economic, social and cultural progress of the country.

TEIs were designed to offer new methods of production, to train Greek manpower for participation in a modern dynamic economy and to provide a linkage between technical education, production and national economic and social development.

In addition, two advisory bodies were established: the Institute for Technological Education (ITE) with the responsibility to advise the Ministry about the development of TEIs curricula, their organisation and their operation, and also the Council for Technological Education (STE) which was responsible for the development of the framework of the policy related to the general function of them.

The same law established 11 TEIs in major Greek cities. A sharp increase in the numbers of young people choosing technical education appears during recent years with the state's intervention.

CONCLUSION

In the 19th century education was instituted in a single network where classical studies dominated. The basic aim of the education system was the integration of a heterogeneous population which was expanding as a result of the continuous annexation of the territories under a common national ideology.

The factors which influenced the education of that period were:

i)   The non-existence of a traditional bourgeoisie which inhibited the establishment of a democratic education system

ii)   the maintenance of primitive methods of production

iii) the commercial orientation of the bourgeois class of the diaspora which demanded an educated labour force with national ideology.

The education machine did not at this time prepare children to participate in production or see such preparation as a proper aim for schooling. Children who intended to return to agriculture occupations dropped out of the education system in large numbers without receiving any technical training. Pupils who continued their education aimed to be occupied either in the civil service or in the business of the diaspora.

The 20th century is characterised by the efforts for the establishment of the second school network, that of technical-vocational education and the expansion of the education system. The aim of the education system was the adaptation of the education system to the socio-political and economic needs of the country in the wake of the inflow of the capital in Greece. Those needs were not seen as including the needs of pupils with disabilities or unusual learning problems.

The maintenance of pre-capitalistic ways of production delayed the establishment and expansion of technical education. The reform of 1964 laid the foundations of technical education. However, until the 80s the rates of students in technical education remained low. The majority of school leavers preferred classical studies which ensured a job in the civil service. It was only in the 1980s that technical education achieved a place within the overall system which allowed reforms in particular, and society in general, to move on to the next step: initiating proper provision for children with learning difficulties. With the socio-political innovations that took place in the 80s education expanded and several social categories - including people with special needs - had the opportunity to

get advantage by the new educational opportunities that were created. Against this background special education necessarily evolved much later than in other parts of the western world, and in ways which were specifically Greek.

The factors the influenced the expansion of the education system into people with special needs in the 80s and the forms of provision that have been instituted are the issues of the next chapter.

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CHAPTER III

SPECIAL EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

In chapter II we saw that education is inseparably part of the political scene. The education system in Greece changed form and context according to the political developments that took place in Greece and internationally. It did so in ways which had very real, if often indirect impacts upon the central theme of this thesis - the role of the headteachers and their place within the total system of special education.

This third chapter now turns to an historical exploration of special education in Greece. For the purpose of this analysis, the background of special education is divided into four periods. The first period starts in 1827 with the establishment of the Greek education system until 1906 when the first institution for blind children was established. During this period there was no organised policy in the field of special education. The second period covers from 1906 until World War II when the political and social situation in Greece changed radically. During this period special education was left under the care of the private sector (which was represented by bourgeois families as well as Greek and foreign benevolent organizations). The third period, from 1945 until 1975 is characterised by a slow-moving and fragmentary official policy in the area of special education. Finally we come to the post-1975 period which is characterised by fast developments in the field of special education under the impact of the European Community.

People characterized with special needs can be generally categorized into five types in the Greek education system children with i) physical disabilities ii) sensory disorders (hearing impaired, visually impaired etc.) iii) mental problems (feeble minded, people with learning difficulties etc.) iv) psychological problems (autism, psychotic etc.) v) socially maladjusted (delinquent juveniles etc.). Through our historical review it is apparent that during different periods different categories of people were attracting the attention of the private sector and the state. Thus, for example, during the pre-war period and until the 1970s people with physical disabilities were receiving more care than the people

with mental problems or learning difficulties, while people with psychological problems have never received sufficient and adequate care at least from the Ministry of Education. Even nowadays, the Ministry of Education has not established schools for children with psychological problems. These children are in many cases still obliged to stay under the care of their parents for the most of their life or, to attend special schools for children with mental problems or to enter in asylums. The thesis argues that the fact that different categories of children attract the attention of the private and public sector depends on the condition of production and economy. So, in the pre-war period and until the 70s, physical strength was important and necessary element for the production process. The invasion of information technology in production the last two decades, devaluated the meaning of physical strength and gave importance to the proper function of the mind for simple routine tasks. Thus, in the 80s fast steps are implemented for the training of children with mental and learning difficulties. Special classes and special schools expanded all over the country, bringing a new ideology about pupils' achievement and the role of education.

In the past special education was "necessity driven". By this, I mean that people who were facing problems in their education or vocational rehabilitation or social adaptation had themselves to generate pressure for the creation of the "special" conditions that would enable them to adapt successfully to the educational and social system (Christakis,1982). Nowadays, by contrast, special education is in principle "state driven" I mean that the legislative frameworks that the state has established discriminate some people from the mainstream education system - according to their academic achievement - and force them to receive special education. In other words, the crucial feature in the development of special education has been the emergence of the state as the dominant actor. The political implications of such a policy are left to be investigated in chapter V.

The questions now to be dealt with are:

i)   Which political events influenced the form and context of special education?

ii)   How did the political and economic developments affect the social perceptions of children with special needs and the development of special education?

iii) Which factors explain the development of special education?

iv)   Which forms has special education taken through the years, with particular emphasis on its present configuration?

v)   What is the role that special education is going to play in the education system and in society?

The chapter intends to combine the national and international political element with the developments in special education and to investigate how they interact.

The underlying assumption of the chapter is that special education changed qualitatively and quantitatively through the years in order to adapt education to the new political and social conjunctures.

The historical review of special education is an area which has been very little studied systematically. Some approaches towards this direction have been attempted in Greece during the last decades (Tsiboukis,1976; Ministry of Education,1972). However, these studies do not investigate the social aspects of the problem.

3.1   1821-1906: THE PERIOD OF NON-OFFICIAL INSTITUTION OF SPECIAL EDUCATION

From the long war of independence, Greece emerged wrecked and disorganised; economic and social conditions were deplorable; the country was a fallow land in ruins. Cultivation was carried out with primitive methods; trees were burnt or destroyed. As late as 1870, less than half the arable land was being cultivated. Transport and communications remained underdeveloped, with less than 400 miles of roads constructed till 1880 and only about 14 miles of railways as late as 1883. Industry was practically non-existent, and handicrafts made no perceptible progress (Pepelassis,1961).

At least one third of the population had been killed during the seven-year war of liberation or had died from diseases which were wide spread. Soon after the liberation Kapodistrias took measures to improve public health and social welfare. An orphanage was instituted in Egina for the protection of the orphans of the war (Paraskevopoulos,1971).

During the governance of Othon a series of legislative measures were published concerning the organisation of health services and the protection of public health. Diseases were the most urgent health problem. The rates of maternal and infant mortality were high (Psara,1950). But the emphasis remained on the immediate alleviation of stark problems rather than long-term measures of prevention and education.

In spite of the measures for the amelioration of the social situation that resulted from the war, special education was not officially institutionalised and it was not provided by the Greek education system. In order to explain the non-foundation of special education by the state until 1906 - when the first

special institution for the blind was established - we should investigate the particular role of the school and the social formation of Greece during this period.

The combination of the political forces that prevailed in Greece between 1830-1840 - a traditional domestic bourgeois class that would prevent the establishment of a democratic educational system did not exist (Bouzakis,1987) - and the non-industrialization of production led to the institution of a "democratic" and classical education system. Education was free, students did not pay fees, instituted in a single-dimensional network, that of general-classical education. Students were not selected quantitatively (Tsoukalas,1977). With the typical end of studies in any lower grade the student was automatically given the right for registration in the next grade. Students who were graduated from primary education were allowed to register for secondary education. Students who were graduated from secondary education were able to enter the University. The single-dimensional and gratuitous-free structure of school had as a result the mass access of Greek students to secondary and higher education. The rates of students attracted by education were high for an agricultural and underdeveloped country (Tsoukalas,1977).

The following features characterised the education system in Greece during this period were:

First, there was no other network destined for the "privileged" pupils. A series of private schools - where children and especially girls of the upper social class could study and which were established after 1850 - did not acquire typically or essentially more privileges than public schools. This happened not only because a few private schools were instituted but also because these schools always functioned under the absolute control of the state. They followed the same curriculum that had been instituted for public schools. Thus, the diploma obtained from private schools was essentially equivalent to public school diploma (Dimaras,1986).

Second, in Greece the role of technical education was particular. Except for the Navy, there was no other type of special productive labour in the whole process of capitalistic accumulation that dominated the social formation in Greece (Bouzakis,1987). The Navy Colleges, which were concentrated in islands, had only marginal relation to the whole school mechanism. Besides, Commercial/Business Colleges that were established after 1882 not only attracted a small number of students but they were not really vocational colleges at all. The Commercial/Business College trained students destined to work either in big commercial and monetary organisations (in Greece and abroad) or to be self-employed in commercial business. In other words, Colleges produced staff for the tertiary sector. From this point of view Commercial/Business Colleges coincided with secondary general education in terms of their social function and they had the same impact on the labour market

as secondary education. Thus, Commercial/Business Colleges cannot be considered to be a second education network and the graduates from these colleges were not destined to be employed in manual jobs. These Colleges expanded the public education, but they did not serve any different or distinctive social purpose. Only after 1885 did the first pressure for the introduction of vocational education appear. That period coincided with the phase of agriculture decline and industrial development in Greece. After 1900 and especially after the Balkan Wars (1912-13) the pressure for the institution of technical-vocational education increased (Bouzakis,1987). The only serious effort for the establishment of technical education was realised with the 1964 Education Reform. This reform was related to substantial changes in the Greek social and political system (Kokkotas,1990; Psacharopoulos and Kazamias,1985).

Finally, in the 19th century Greece, classical studies dominated the national curriculum of the school. Until the education reforms in the 1930s more than half of the teaching hours were taken up with ancient Greek language and Latin, whilst the teaching of practical, technical skills did not exist (Papandreou,1985).

The following socio-political and economic reasons explain the institution of such a curriculum: First, the Greek education mechanism was *"democratic"*, single dimensional and offering mainly classical education, because its role was not to produce labours for the individual production but members of the bourgeois mainly of the diaspora . Education system which was supposed to be the ark or essence of its civilisation and distinctive character for the Greek nation (Tsoukalas,1977). Greek nationalism did not develop around economic relations, nor was it structured around a domestic market in Greece itself, but in the framework of a system of social relations spread in non-geographically defined areas: i.e. in the communities of diaspora. Thus, some factors which at the ideological level could have served to build up a sense of national identity, were lacking (Fragoudaki,1992). The revival of the glorious past, the revival of the history, the reproduction of a system of communication were on a symbolic level necessary in order to develop and sustain a bourgeois nationalism when the real form of development of a nation as an autonomous and strictly defined state was lacking. The Greek national spirit had to be produced and reproduced without strictly defined territorial boundaries (Mouzelis,1978). The development of a national spirit was necessary not only for the existence of a national state, but was also a necessary element for the increasing reproduction of a dominant bourgeois class in the diaspora, which conserved and encouraged its class benefits upon a strictly national, and ideologically unified base (Mouzelis,1992). Thus, the diaspora's needs demanded the continuous expansion of education and the reproduction of people characterised by strong nationalistic feelings. In other words, the quantitative and qualitative

development of the economic power of the bourgeoisie of the diaspora, which established the organisation of its dominance in a wide network of every kind of business, needed more than anything else staff that could be completely identified with the same national and cultural models of the nation. The dominance of Greek businessmen demanded the ideological coherence of the system of economic profit that was implemented. Education at this time was concerned above all with promoting and sustaining this coherence rather than with technical know-how or skills.

Second, during the 19th century the class reproduction of farmers - who were still outside the capitalistic way of production - was realised outside the school system. If the child of an agricultural family dropped out of school during primary education he or she worked in agriculture without receiving any training. Thus, the role of education in the reproduction of rural population destined to be occupied in agriculture had only marginal importance (Tsoukalas,1977).

Education offered in a single-network during the 19th century played a crucial role for those who abandoned rural life. Secondary education was for agricultural children the preparatory stage for their integration into the bourgeois class. A mechanism of selection implemented through the one way and phenomenically "neutral" school system helped the expansion of petit-bourgeois levels, which were either built around the state mechanism or were absorbed by diaspora (Tsoukalas,1977). The typical "meritocratic" education served the process of social mobility, namely the mass transition of small-farmers to petit, urban based-bourgeois. That had direct effect on the non-awakening of class consciousness of peasants, since it was agriculture itself that fed the increase of bourgeois levels (Clogg,1976).

Briefly, the productive forces of the country led to the institution of a single-dimensional and democratic network. A special education system had not been constructed because people who dropped out of school simply returned to agriculture which remained non-industrialised, and were thus absorbed by the labour market. People who so severely disadvantaged that they were unable to participate in the production process remained at home, under the care of their parents (Christakis,1982). They remained segregated from social life and that had as a consequence the development of social prejudice against people with special needs (Christakis,1982). The circumstances of the economy and the labour market thus conspired to build up in the folk consciousness a feeling that physically or mentally handicapped people were incapable of education or other help, and downed" "by act of God" to permanent helot status. This was the classic "village idiot" syndrome familiar in many rural areas, not only in Greece. It is the product, not simply of primitive initiatives but also of certain stages of development of the economy and the education

system. The apparently hopeless position of such people could change only if those broader systems changed.

3.2   1906-1945: THE PERIOD OF PRIVATE INITIATIVES IN THE FIELD OF SPECIAL EDUCATION

3.2.1 THE PASSAGE OF GREEK ECONOMY TO CAPITALISM AND THE FIRST INITIATIVES ON SPECIAL EDUCATION (1906-1930)

Special education has its origins in the first decade of the 20th century at the time of Greek society's transition to the capitalistic era (Jelavich,1983). During this period, important social and economic mutations marked the economy's passage to capitalism and social crisis led to the definitive taking of political power by the bourgeois forces. Greece underwent a number of fundamental transformations which although they did not lead to the dominance of the capitalist mode of production, led Greek economy away from the agrarian stagnation of the previous period and created the necessary conditions of the growth of industrial capitalism in the 1920s (Jelavish,1983).

Throughout the 19th century and till 1949, Greece was involved in a chain of wars beyond the country's control. These wars reflected the competition of the industrially developed countries (Jelavich,1983). The troubled period of wars and the consequent influx of refugees transformed Greece. Its territory was doubled and the population was tripled. Within a period of eight years (1912-1920) the population had swollen from less than three to six million people (Pepelassis,1961).

The main aim of education during that period (1910) was to force the integration of this larger population - expanded as a result of the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) - into a common culture. For this reason and in combination with the non-industrialisation of production, the education system maintained its *"democratic"* character.

It was provided in an essentially single-track system and classical studies remained dominant in the curriculum (Papandreou,1985; Dimaras,1986). Another parallel school network, that of technical education, did not develop and failed to take the form that it took in industrially developed countries. Similarly, special education was not instituted officially in the education system and remained severely underdeveloped or absent. The non-appearance of both these alternative forms was to result of similar factors.

However, there were scattered individual developments even though no overarching system was generated. Soon after the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) private benevolent organisations with the support

of the church and the state took measures for the confrontation of the needs of two mainly categories: people with physical disabilities and people who were socially maladjusted. These measures reflect first the maintenance of pre-capitalist forms of production in the economy (physical strength was necessary element in production) and second the efforts of the state to impose social control (unstable political situation and continuous wars).

The foundation of *"The House of the Blind"* (1906) was instituted in Athens (Lambadarios,1938). It was the first institution of such a type not only in Greece but in the whole near east. Until 1924 the functioning of the institution was very difficult due to the continuous wars and the lack of funds (Lambadarios,1938). After the Asia Minor disaster (1922) it was used for the accommodation of refugees. Only after 1924 did the institution start to care for the education of the blind. But it closed down again during the period of foreign occupation. As long as it functioned as an institution for blind it was supported by the Red Cross and the state. Its aim was:

"the development of children's capabilities and possibilities" (Stassinos,1991 p.34).

The institution followed the mainstream curriculum which included the teaching of French and English language as well (Stassinos,1991).

After the destruction of World War I (1914-1918), the disaster of Asia Minor(1922) and the arrival of refugees, the American Organisation *"Near East"* instituted *"The House of Deaf and Blind"* (1923) in Athens initially for ten refugee children. Children were following the mainstream curriculum with parallel vocational training. However, the school did not succeed in functioning on a regular basis due to financial problems (Lazanas,1964).

Similarly, after World War I a series of Reformatories for delinquent juveniles was established under the care of the Ministry of Justice (like the Embirikio Reformatory (1918), the Athens Reformatory for Men (1918), the Reformatory for Men in Siros (1918), the Reformatory for the Education of Men in Koridalos (1918); the Reformatory for the Vocational Training of Men in Koridalos (1918); the Reformatory in Kassavetia (1928) etc.) (Vergopoulos,1939; Koumbi,1938).

Moreover, the Institution for the Protection of Infants and Juveniles was created in 1925. This Association was part of the *Union Internationale de Secours aux Enfants* which had been established in Geneva. This institution took care of the socially maladjusted and juveniles (Koumbi,1938).

The policy followed for delinquent juveniles was similar to the policy followed by western countries. According to Stassinos(1991):

"the official policy was based on the conception that If juveniles stay unemployed after their primary education they wander in the streets without purpose" (p.71).

The official view was that the keeping of delinquent juveniles in institutions prepares them for a normal life in society, and as a result of their temporary removal they become decent and law-abiding citizens. It should be mentioned that Greece was facing serious social problems and crisis in all its institutions as a result of the wars and the rapid expansion of the population (Markopoulos,1986). The prime aim of the reformatories was:

"the cultivation of juveniles' moral and religious spirit". (Stassinos,1991 p.71).

Reformatories were a way of repressing anti-social behaviour: they aimed at social control rather than at the creation of conditions for their social re-integration (Vergopoulos,1939).

Thus, for forty years special education grew, but in a relatively disorganized and sporadic way. It remained essentially a small-scale and inadequately resourced charitable enterprise: or rather less a single enterprise than an incoherent set of institutions private in character and isolated from one another.

3.2.2 DEVELOPMENT OF THE FIRST INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION AND ITS IMPACT ON SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL PROVISION (1931-1945)

In spite of the intensive efforts for economic advancement during the 1920's and 1930's, the economy remained an outdated system, dominated by a largely inefficient and heavily protected manufacturing industry (Pepelassis,1961; Koumoulides,1977).

The country was exhausted by wars and prolonged mobilisation and exasperated by the corruption of adventures attached to Venizelos' party. In the elections of 1932 Venizelos was defeated and his opponents marked the starting point of a whole new series of troubles for the country (Legg,1969: Mouzelis,1978).

In March 1935 a group of army officers overthrew the legitimate government, they abolished the republic and reinstated the monarchy (Markopoulos,1986).

Metaxas acted to enforce his power and to eliminate all opposition. One measure he undertook was to gather the communists and some of the Venizelists who might have revolted against the regime and sent them into exile or to jail. He abolished any elected membership of legally constituted parties and representative councils, and appointed his own supporters to those councils. He concentrated all the powers in his hands and into the hands of the three central agents that he appointed (Markopoulos,1986).

Meanwhile, Greek education in general was beginning to experience the impact of changes in production and the national economy generally. In the economic level, the inflow of foreign capital in Greece and the development of the first industrial production increased the demand for trained workers. Gradually over this period the attitude towards people with special needs was transformed. According to Stassinos(1991):

> "the dominant perception even in the early stages was that people with special needs were unfortunate people, who have capabilities which should be developed" (p.42)

However, the unfavourable economic and political conditions of this period did not allow the state to take measures towards the establishment of special education. There was an inadequate state budget, lack of school buildings, lack of school equipment and lack of teachers. With the 1929 law the government gave permission to anyone who knew how to read and write to be a teacher (Lefas,1942). Later it organised a short course for their training. The structure of education, which was formally set out in legislation and decrees, it operated in fact only at secondary and higher levels. The provision for seven years of compulsory education was not strictly implemented (Lefas,1942). Even in townships where there were primary schools, there were usually fewer than four classes in operation. At that time illiterates corresponded to 87.5% of the total population (Markopoulos,1986 p.23). Thus not only was the organisation of special education neglected by the state but even mainstream education system was struggling to develop (Lefas,1942).

Special education was left in the care of the private sector, the role of the state was confined to approving and legitimating the actions of the private sector (Stassinos,1991).

In 1937 with the initiative of the private sector, the support of the American Institution "Near East" and in co-operation with the International Association for the Protection of Disabled Children "The Greek Association for the Protection and Rehabilitation of Disabled Children" was established. The establishment of the foundation coincides with the development of the first industrial production in Greece and the emergence of a Greek proletariat (due to the inflow of large amounts of capital after the disaster of Asia Minor).

Stassinos(1991) maintains that the representatives of the private sector began to assert that physically disabled children were able to contribute to Greek society if the state would take measures for their education and their vocational training.

The aim of the Greek Association for the Protection and Rehabilitation of Disabled Children was the education of children with physical disabilities from the infant age to the age of 16. The

physiotherapy centre which functioned with a physiotherapist seconded from America was the first physiotherapeutic centre in Greece. It also included a department for the assessment of children's needs. However, during the period 1939-1941 the institution ceased to function, as it was transformed into a hospital which served the needs of the war. The Association operated again as an establishment for special children in 1943 (Lambadarios,1938).

Until the late 30's no provision at all was made for children characterised as mentally retarded. Official documents indicated that a large number of people was facing psychological and mental problems as result of the wars (Stassinos,1991). At that time the category of mentally retarded included people who were:

> "*psychologically unstable, feeble minded, unable to respond normally to the educational environment of the mainstream school as well as children who were living under unfavourable social conditions, like refugees and low class children" (Stassinos,1991 p.42).*

According to the psychiatrist of the Ministry of Education and Religion, young people of this sort could be seen only in a negative light - they are defined as "*disturbers*" and "*misfits*":

> "*These children are subnormal and they disturb their families and the school. In the future they will end in neurological hospitals or in courts. They will stay in the margin of society. They will be vagabonds, and unable to adapt in working life. Their environment is the main cause of their problem" (Imvrioti,1939 p.37).*

For the confrontation of their needs the state instituted asylums and rather than thinking of placing them in schools no measure was taken for their full re-integration into society. The first public special school was instituted in 1937 for "*subnormal and mentally retarded*" children in Athens. Although special schools and special classes in the mainstream schools in Athens and rural areas were foreseen by the law no school was instituted until the 1970s when the social and economic conditions radically changed (Imvrioti,1937a).

According to the director of the model special school of Athens writing in the 1930s' :

> "*Educationists and doctors know how destructive the consequences of World War I and the disaster of Asia Minor were. The periods of social instability and the wars had negative results on the mental and physical state of children...The state should institute special schools in order to close the reformatories and prisons. Special schools can protect society from decay and criminality. Our major problem is our youth. Our youth cannot contribute in society as long as it is psychologically and mentally disturbed. No matter how much special schools cost they aim to purge society. It is social care which will upgrade the position of Greece in front of the civilised world" (Imvrioti,1937a p.97).*

The pseudo-medical metaphor of *"purge"* reflects the prejudice against people with special needs as well as the homogeneity of society and the exclusion of "different" people, namely people who do not fit in it .

Imvrioti(1937a) comments:

> *"The dominant social conception for these children was that these children are "ancillary" members of society who are able to work only under guidance and supervision...they will never become people who can confront life with security and stability...we all have great responsibility for the security of the society" (p.99).*

According to official documents the role of the teacher in the special school was summarised as follows:

"i)   the teacher should cultivate children's abilities so that they are able - to return to the mainstream school

ii)   the teacher should care to send back to society some of these children as skilful workers and decent citizens

iii)   the teacher should give to the most feeble - mentally weak - the basic skills so that these children can live without the help of anyone else. That means that special children should receive the appropriate education in order to be able to help themselves and not to become a needless burden in society

iv)   the feeble-minded and subnormal child has a right in education to a greater degree than other children

v)   the concern for the provision of special education to mentally retarded children should not be considered as unnecessary expenditure

vi)   the state's duty is to support the "victims" that are created by the influence of unfavourable social conditions" (Imvrioti,1937a p.102).

According to official documents, special education can bring social and educational benefits because:

i)   it succeeds in making some of these children useful to society by transforming them from delinquent juveniles to productive citizens,

ii) it liberates mainstream school from their burden and facilitates their efficient functioning (Stassinos,1991 p.112).

Although such documents contain the first signs of more enlightened attitudes, it is clear that the dominant view of disability is essentially negative: rehabilitation or learning is seen as at best a pious hope, and there is a strong element of seeing the school as a place for *"parking"* difficult cases.

3.3 1945-1975: THE PERIOD OF SLOW-MOVING AND FRAGMENTARY OFFICIAL POLICY IN THE FIELD OF SPECIAL EDUCATION

3.3.1 POST-WAR DEVELOPMENTS IN SPECIAL EDUCATION (1946-1960)

The three and a half years of German occupation was a crucial period of Greece's history when new political orientations became apparent, intermingled with the resistance movements within the country, and the political word in exile. The radical differentiation of the Greek political forces which entered the post-war scene originated outside the world political setting which the victorious allies (Great Britain and Russia) had laid out (Markopoulos,1986).

When the German forces of occupation retreated from Greece (in October 1944), the Greek government of *"national unity"* of 1944 collapsed leaving Greece divided into two political camps, whose armies fought against each other. In Athens strong forces EAM/ELAS guerrillas had gathered with the intention to seize power by force (Markopoulos,1986).

World War II and Civil War worsened an already bad situation. The results of these wars were the worst destruction of Greece in its history. It had been estimated that over one million people lost their lives. Greece emerged from the wars with devastated economy and severe social problems which for more than five years shook the country ruthlessly (Pepelassis,1961). From 1945 to about 1953 foreign assistance and domestic efforts aimed at recovery rather than development (Pepelassis,1961).

When Civil War between the army of the central state and the guerrilla forces spread over the whole country (1947-1949), a new problem for children's education arose. Most village schools closed. (Markopoulos,1986).

Early in 1945 the government attempted to restore all the schools to a normal operational footing. But the lack of teachers, the lack of school-buildings and school equipment, and the empty state treasury, made normality very difficult to achieve. Despite this, as Bamios(1984) states, there was generally enthusiastic attitude towards educational growth and a durable wish of the people for a universal education available to everyone, all over the country. Consequently, many schools did in fact re-open and operated normally, and a few boarding schools were established in the mountain villages.

The political conflict between communists and anti-communists - which had been the reflection of the Cold War and the penetration of American capital into the Greek economy with the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan - had a considerable impact upon Greek social life (Pesmatjoglou,1987).

After 1950 an intensification of the efforts of both the private sector and the state in the field of special education took place, not only as a result of changing policies and philosophies but also as a result of a pressing demand to face the diverse problems created by the recent war. The most important factor was that the attitudes of the society in general were changing; there came a greater recognition of the rights of those with special needs as members of the society. The idea of *"equal rights"* and *"equal opportunities"* for everyone started to develop. The value of a person was increasingly recognised independently from his/her physical or mental status.

The private sector took several initiatives during this period in the field of special education concerning hierarchically children with physical needs, socially maladjusted children, children with psychological problems and finally children with mental disorders. In 1946 *"The Lighthouse of the Blind"* was instituted in Athens by private organisations and individuals. It aimed:

> *"at the mental, physical and social adaptation of the blind and simultaneously at the development of their possibilities" (Stassinos,1991 p.52).*

It initiated measures for the social protection of the blind. For example it took measures to sell goods made by blind people (Stassinos,1991).

The *"Agricultural and Technical School for the Blind"* (1946) was instituted in Athens by private organisations and individuals. The aim of the school was to develop the possibilities of the blind in rural areas and encourage their involvement in agricultural occupation as well as to provide technical training so they could find employment in industry. (Kroustalakis,1991).

The School of Blind of North Greece *"HELIOS"* (1948) was instituted in Salonica by private organisations and individuals. From 1952 the institution provided vocational training to students. In 1951 the Greek parliament voted a law which defined blindness and instituted the compulsory attendance of schools by blind children (however there were not more than four schools for these people all over Greece). It also foresaw their vocational training and rehabilitation and it provided for the financial support of those who could not work (Haramis,1963). Thus, after the end of the Civil War state care developed and undertook measures for the protection of the blind children.

The *"Model Special School of Deaf and Hearing Impaired"* was instituted in 1956 in Kallithea-Athens. That was created by the private sector. It provided children with vocational training

(Lazanas,1964; Ministry of Education,1972). Although it was an umbrella organization for hearing impaired children it covered mainly the needs of children living in Athens.

In 1954 - after the Civil War - the "*Greek Association for the Protection and Rehabilitation of the Disabled*" expanded its activities into several fields (for example the Department of Psycho-Pedagogical Research, the Department of Speech Therapy (1961) as well as in different towns (e.g. Salonica (1969)). (Apostolopoulos,1975).

Over the following two decades, the Centre for the Protection and Rehabilitation of Disabled Children (1959), the National Foundation for the Rehabilitation of Disabled (1955), the Training Centre for Spastic Children (1967) and the Association for the Protection of Spastic Persons (1972) were instituted. Their concern was:

"*the smooth social and vocational integration of disabled people*" *(Stassinos,1991 p.139)*

And these organizations and institutions necessarily had as one of their primary objectives the whole complex issue of vocational rehabilitation.

The process described so far shows the emergence of groups concerned for gross and easily defined physical handicap. Blindness and deafness first then slightly more problematic conditions such as poor speech and spasticity. The next phase moves on to social conditions such as delinquency which although they may be discussed in pseudo-medical terms, are in far-defined by departure from generally accepted social norms.

In the case of delinquent children the state considered that the delinquent behaviour of youth was:

"*a social illness which creates serious concern to Greek society*" *(Kalantzis and Vakiarelli-Kalantzi, 1973 p.7).*

The state's policy for fighting the problem was isolation of delinquents in reformatories. Such institutions were supposedly filled with people who were "*dangerous for the social peace*" (Kalantzis and Vakiarelli-Kalantzi,1973 p.8). Similar measures of social repression were taken in other western countries as well (Xidi,1966). Thus, the state seemed to be more interested in the ensuring of peaceful society than to the social re-integration of these people.

The state gave particular importance to the naming of the reformatories and prisons for social reasons. It called them "*schools*" and the children who were kept in the reformatories "*students*". According to Stassinos(1991) the state considered that the use of such names would have a positive psychological effect upon these young people and simultaneously they would disguise the repressive

policy of the state in this field. According to the state's declaration these schools offer the necessary education for delinquent juveniles' social re-integration (Gerou,1964). The function of such schools aimed at the moral discipline of these children and at their vocational training and vocational rehabilitation (Gerou,1964).

In the mid-1950s the private sector directed its interest towards the *"psychologically disturbed"* children of school age. Categories were broad and loosely defined and they reflected the social values of that period. Thus, even people who were found to lie were sometimes characterised as *"psychologically disturbed"*.

According to Potamianou(1983) representatives of the private sector estimated that there was a crisis in family relations as a consequence of the German occupation and the Civil War and that special support and care should be provided. The private sector focused its effort on the diagnosis and therapy of people with psychological problems (Kalantzis,1962). For this purpose the *"Centre of Psychological Health"* (1956) in Athens was established.

Few years later the psychologically disturbed people of school age had the opportunity to attend children's neuro-psychiatric hospitals (like the Children-Neuro-Psychiatric hospital of Paleologou (1960) and the Department of Special Education of the Children's Neuro-Psychiatric Hospital of Daou, Pendelis). They were under psychotherapy and at the same time they received education. In other cases they attended special schools for mentally retarded children (like the Foundation for the Protection of Maladjusted Children Theotokos (1964), The Model Special School of Saint Philothei (1959), The Psychological Centre of North Greece(1964), The Hospital for the Psychologically Disturbed (1960) etc.). (Stassinos,1991).

Another category that attracted the attention of the private sector and state was that of mentally retarded children. The policy on mentally retarded took the form of a *"national programme with social purpose"* (Stassinos,1991). Changing public attitudes towards this group were necessarily linked to the employment sector. Due to the non-industrialisation of production and the lack of advanced technology in Greece the mentally retarded were not usually considered to be able to participate in production and they stayed marginalized. For this reason mentally retarded were considered to be social parasites and they bore the corresponding social stigma (Kroustalakis,1991). With the inflow of foreign capital and the penetration of the capitalist way of production in Greece their position was reconsidered. The aim of special education for this group of people was:

> *"special pedagogical support to mentally retarded children and their families" (Kalantzis and Vakiareli-Kalantzi,1973 p.10).*

The new conception was that some of these children were able to become productive members of the society. According to the curriculum of the special institutions - which had been constituted by the private sector - mentally retarded children who are *"educable"* are able to develop practical skills and adapt themselves to society. Stassinos(1991) comments that it was believed that these children should receive vocational training according to their abilities in order to be able to integrate into society.

The objective of the Parents' Association of Mentally Retarded Children - which was created in the 60s- was to inform the wider public about the real nature of mentally retarded children's needs and simultaneously to accelerate the integration of these children into society (Pitsikidou-Droussou,1982).

The private sector established several institutions for mentally retarded people like the Department of Pedagogy in the Medical Centre of the Royal National Institution (1956), the Stoupathio Pedagogical Centre (1962), the Sikiaridio foundation for Maladjusted Children (1971).

The policy of the private sector in the field of special education during this period was based on private care of children with special needs, namely segregated provision of special education in asylums and boarding schools. Similar policy was adopted in other western countries (Birtsas,1982). Stassinos(1991) refers that the dominant conception, in a period when Greek society was still unprepared and unable to accept these children was that special education was provided for the protection of mentally retarded children. He states:

> "It was maintained that institutions would constitute the best solution for the effective protection and treatment of these people whom the Greek society was rather unready to accept at that time" (Stassinos,1991 p.117).

In summary, main features of the post-war period is the change in the attitudes towards people with special needs and the recognition of peoples' right independently of his/her abilities. Categories like mentally retarded and psychologically disturbed attracted the attention of the state while initiatives towards the organization of children's vocational training are undertaken.

3.3.2 THE IMPACT OF NEO-COLONIALISM PERIOD ON SPECIAL EDUCATION (1961-1974)

In 1961, Greece signed the treaty of accession to the European Community (Minet, Siotis and Tsakaloyiannis,1981). This treaty provided for a twelve-year preparatory period during which *"the country will be able to pass beyond the stage of underdevelopment"* (OECD,1975 p.14). Six years later a military junta seized power in *a coup d' etat* (1967) (Koumoulides,1977). The political parties, the parliament and the government were abolished.

This period overlapped with the period of Cold-War and neo-colonialism during which the industrially developed countries exported not only capital but also whole industries in the form of subsidiary industries to developing countries (Papandreou,1975). During the dictatorship period considerable American and other foreign capital flowed into Greece, affecting its social life and institutions considerably. The demand for technically trained staff increased rapidly. The 1964 Education Act established technical education - which had not developed until then - as a second network in the education system. Particular financial and educational support was offered by American and other international institutions for the establishment and functioning of technical education as there were no trained staff available to be employed in technical colleges and there was a general lack of experience at this level (Bouzakis,1987).

The aims of the Greek education system during the dictatorship period were:

> "the all around development of the personality of the young people of Greece, the creation of responsible citizens, honourable men, capable producers of a higher level of material and intellectual life according to the principles of Christianity and the values of classical studies, humanity, freedom, justice, health, moderation, good, and human dignity" (Dimaras,1986 p.64).

The development in the field of special education in the 1960s was connected with the general educational and social philosophy that dominated that period. At that time the theories on "Human capital" (Schulltz,1971) - which developed in USA - influenced the education system of western countries.

During the dictatorship the formal history of special education in Greece started with a number of administrative and educational measures taken by the state. Until the end of the 1960s special education remained for the state "terra incognita". First the Special Education Office in the Ministry of Education was established (1969) (Government's Gazette 101491/1.8.1969 Vol.B). The Office was staffed with teachers who did not have any particular training in special education. The aim of the Office was to study the case of children who were unable to study in mainstream schools due to physical or mental deficiencies (Paraskevopoulos,1977).

A committee of education in the early 1950s was constituted by the decision of the government, for the study of educational issues (Ministry of Education,1972). The committee gave particular emphasis to the development of "intelligent" children and the handling of "difficult cases" that teachers were facing at school (Ministry of Education,1972). As far as "intelligent" children are concerned the state believed that a great number of these came from working class origins and were underutilized because of early drop-out. The state felt that these children should be used

appropriately for the general economic and cultural development of the country. There was thus a greater readiness to cast the educational net more widely.

The committee concluded that measures about special education and vocational training should be taken without any further delay by following the western models (Government Gazette,793/2/10/1972).

At the end of the 1960s the state created the Special Education Bureau in the Ministry of Education. The exclusive almost responsibility of this Bureau was the education of the mentally retarded - which were estimated to be the largest group of children with special needs. In September 1971 the Ministry established a series of 40 educational units, for the education of mentally retarded, officially called special schools. These schools or units (four with 3 teachers and thirty six with 2 teachers) were established in cities with Pedagogical Academies (Teachers Training Colleges) as well as in some other urban centres throughout Greece (Ministry of Education,1972). However the special schools that were instituted were attended by mixed categories of children with special needs. Thus, these schools operated with heterogeneous groups.

Their education was defined as having very general aims. These included:

i)   the many-sided and effective development of their abilities

ii)   their general acceptance in society and

iii)   their integration in it (Ministry of Education,1974).

In February 1972 a committee together with members of the Special Education Bureau studied the organisation of special education in Greece (Ministry of Education,1972). The study was based on a census that had been effected before. It had to investigate the operating schools and institutions, the staff and the students, the material used by schools as well as the people who assessed the children with special needs. According to the census at the beginning of 1972 there were 40 special schools and institutions (Hassapis,1976 pp.256-263). The schools offered education and the institutions offered education and medical treatment. The committee concluded that the number of special schools and institutions was very small in comparison with the number of children with special needs and that they could not cover the needs of the student population. Moreover, it concluded that there were deficiencies in the structure of special education due to inadequate legislation, lack of special staff and curriculum as well as lack of vocational training. In addition, it concluded that there were

gaps in the legislation   for the vocational rehabilitation of people with special needs (Ministry of Education,1974).

The special education of the physically disabled children during this period was undertaken mainly by the private sector. The policy which was followed was: medical treatment, special education and vocational rehabilitation which aimed at achieving:

"*improvement of the quality of life of disabled children, the best development of their abilities and their integration into productive life (Stassinos,1991 p.213).*

Birtsas(1982) states that the private sector believed that "*the disabled are not incapable*" and that "*the problem of disabled's education does not finish when the child grows up*" (p.183*).* The education policy was based on the principles of equal opportunities in education, school and social integration as well as social acceptance, preparation for the transition from school to active life.

The Greek Association for the Protection and Rehabilitation of Disabled Children which expanded its departments (Psychiatry Centre, 1975, Special Primary School, 1975, Nursery School, 1976, Department of Speech Therapy, 1979) and its annexes in several towns (Crete,1981; Ioannina,1982; Salonica,1986) played a dominant role in the education of disabled people during this period (Ministry of Education,1987).

Both state and private sector found that enlightenment and information of the public were necessary (Paraskevopoulos,1971). For this reason the Greek Association for the Protection and Rehabilitation of Disabled People - which was supported by the private sector - organised social seminars, established the Information Bureau and published Bulletins of Information on Special Education (Stassinos,1991).

At the same time, more general enquiries were being conducted in the field of social welfare (Ministry of Education, 1974). The institutional and structural changes, so that the services could correspond fully to economic, social and cultural conditions within the next 15 years (1973-1987) and could contribute positively to the developmental effort of the country, were studied. A year later, the committee composed the "*Long-Term Model Plan of Greece's Development 1973-1987*". The government was trying to develop a policy of rehabilitation and integration of the people with special needs in society related to the socio-economic development of the country.

It was concluded that:

i)   there was unequal distribution of the socio-educational services in different areas of Greece

ii)   the restricted education of the disabled was provided in special institutions whilst according to the committee it should be provided in schools

iii)   there was no connection between the vocational training of disabled and their employment. The result was the ineffective integration of the disabled in the production process,

iv)   the information of the public and employers about the abilities of people with special needs for the production process was insufficient. The result was that their attitude towards people with special needs was totally negative (Paraskevopoulos,1977).

In the summer of 1975 the Ministry of Education constituted the first committee for the studying and organisation of special education which was composed by special scientists (psychologists, psychiatrists etc.) as well as members of the Ministry of Education.

The committee's function was to set the aims of the special education, the vocational training and the employment of people with special needs in Greece. In addition the committee proposed the following changes in the field of special education:

i)   the academic year 1975-76 the in-service training of teachers in Maraslio became a two year training course in special education and

ii)   with the Law 227/75 the Special Education Bureau was changed to Department of Special Education and then to Directorate of Special Education and gives a wider remit.

As a result a new committee, which started working on the legislative framework of an Act for special education, was formed. This Act (1143/1981) mirrored the educational policy of the government which aimed at keeping special education completely segregated from regular education. The law was severely criticised as a law stressing categorisation, dividing individuals into *"normal"* and *"subnormal"* marginalizing and therefore devaluating certain groups of children and adolescents (Stassinos,1991).

At the end of the 1970s the state introduced specific measures for the vocational rehabilitation of disabled and generally people with special needs (Law 963/1/9/79 Government Gazette,Vol.A, p.202).

According to Stassinos(1991) motivations were provided to encourage employers to appoint these people. The state characterised people with special needs as *"protected"* people. According to the law, *"protected people"* were people aged 15 or more who due to any physical or mental problem

had restricted possibilities of employment. Their vocational rehabilitation was under the care of the state (Stassinos,1991).

The Organization of Manpower and Occupation (OAED) began to pay attention to their vocational training and their employment, according to their training and their abilities. In case of employment, the employers would be responsible for the development of these peoples' abilities. The law foresaw the creation of special institutions and workshops for the rapid adaptation and employment of people with severe disabilities who were unable to work either temporarily or permanently.

3.4 POST - 1975 PERIOD: ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF SPECIAL EDUCATION

In 1974 democracy was restored and Karamanlis was elected as a Prime Minister. The new government had to carry out a reform in education in the frames of new political realities. The demands of people and students were, *"Bread, Education, Freedom"*, and those of the teachers in primary and secondary schools: *"purging"* and reform in education (Markopoulos,1986).

The declared aim of the new government (1975-1981), was the appropriate preparation of the country in all fields of activity for its eventual entry into EEC. This prospect had highlighted the role of education and the adoption of an educational policy which aimed at:

- the maintenance and development of the national, cultural identity together with the promotion of the cultural standards of the people

- democratisation of the system, to ensure equality of opportunities

- full use of human resources for the economic development of the country

- fulfilment of individual needs and aspirations.

The government had been fully aware of the future implications of Greece's accession to the EEC and had aimed specifically at an educational system which would respond to the new social and economic needs arising from it (Starida,1987).

Part of the new government's plan for propelling Greece into what it saw as the modern world involved the strengthening and extension of education. Article 16 of the new 1975 Greek Constitution contains the following provisions:

"1. Art and Science, research and teaching, shall be free of impediment, and it shall be incumbent
on the state to develop and promote them. Academic freedom in teaching shall be subject to the
provision of the Constitution.

2. Education shall be a fundamental concern of the state. Its purpose shall be to develop national
and religious awareness and to provide for the moral, intellectual, physical and vocational
education of the Greeks, and to care for their development as free and responsible citizens.

3. All Greeks are entitled to free education in the state institutions, at all levels. The state shall
support distinguished students and those in need of assistance or special protection, according
to their abilities" (Commission of the European Communities, EURIDICE,1986 p.ii).

The educational policy of the Greek government rested on the following basic assumptions:

"education is a social good and something which, every citizen has a right to. The state has
the obligation to ensure its provision for every young person as an urgent priority in every
corner of our land - with the same level and quality of preparation, the same upright,
transparent and objective procedures, the same reliable and full provision of information
about opportunities and conditions of study at all levels, about the specific needs of the
labour market, and about the situation in employment. One of the basic objectives of our
educational policy is to seek out and develop the creative abilities and talents of our young
people, to give these young people a systematic preparation for shouldering the difficult
task of regenerating our country and ensuring its progress in a responsible way, with
critical understanding and, above all, as socially conscious workers and citizens equipped
with adequate scientific and technical expertise" (Information Bulletin on Special
Education, Ministry of Education,1992 p.22).

The year 1981 brought changes in Greece's life as a consequence of the country's accession to the
EEC. In view of the general consensus among the political parties on education affairs, new prospects
were opened up along with the change in the long political scene. It appears that Greek educational
policy has tried to be in line with the EEC educational policy. The Greek government took several
measures affecting the provision of education at different levels. Its priorities in education and
training were highlighted in its 6 year plan (1981-1987) as follows:

1. Priority to the use and development of new technologies in education.

2. New emphasis on technical education through expanding the vocational training course in upper
secondary education.

3. Reform of higher technical and vocational education provided by the new Institutes of
Technology (TEI).

4. Development of intensive vocational training courses organised by the Organization of Manpower
and Occupation (OAED).

5.   Particular attention to the young people who leave school and of compulsory elementary education (25% of the student population)

6. Development of a policy for youth (OECD,1975).

As part of this general drive to strengthen education provision, the new government initiated two Educational Acts with a bearing on special education (in 1981 on *"Special Education, Special Vocational Training, Employment and Social Welfare of Persons Deviating from the Normal"*, and in 1985 on *"the Structure and Function of Primary and Secondary Education"*). According to the Director of Special Education:

> *"Our particular interest for children with special needs is part of our general educational and social policy and fulfilment of state's duties towards them. This policy is in accordance with our Constitution, with the declaration of Children's Rights (Article 21 and with the Declarations of rights of Disabled and Mentally Retarded children that have been instituted by the U.N.O. Our policy aims at: Social justice, equal education opportunities - as far as this is possible - the changing of everyone's attitudes and mentality towards our fellow-citizens and especially children who have slight or severe, temporary or permanent, mental, psychological or physical disabilities (which hinder their development, their education and their general social adaptation), as well as the recognition of human value and dignity without discrimination. These are the basic principles of our educational policy in the field of special education"* (Information Bulletin on Special Education, Ministry of Education,1992 p.7-9).

Contemporary special education provision is defined by Law 1566/1985 (Hantzichristou and Hopf,1993). Law 1566/1985 makes special education an integral part of the education system, and the previously separate legislation has been incorporated into the combined law on the structure and operation of primary and secondary education. The main elements affecting special education are:

1. The creation of new grades of skilled personnel (psychologists, speech therapists, social workers, physiotherapists, occupational therapists, carers etc.) who are employed by the Ministry of National Education and staff the special education units.

2. The creation of the Council for Special Education by the Ministry of Education. This body was to replace the old Special Education Council and would have more representatives of the various services and social agencies.

3. Close co-ordination of the services responsible for diagnosing the needs of each child.

4. The possibility of starting special education from the age of three.

5. Teachers training and education.

6. Institution of bodies responsible for advice and support of parents and people with special needs (Article 35).

7. The regulation of certain matters affecting the teaching staff of special education units run by foundations managed by other Ministries.

8. The categories of children considered to be in need of special education (Article 33), and specification of the bodies by which assessment will be made. The categorisation process of individuals changed to a more sensitive policy of recognition of individual needs and the acceptance of a wide range of ability levels. This resulted in a greater concern for children's special needs and a rapid expansion of special schools (Ministry of Education,1992).

9. The definition of types of special educational provision (Article 32,4)

From the academic year 1983-84 the Ministry of Education started applying the idea of integration of children with special needs into regular schools especially those with learning difficulties. It was roughly estimated that about 10% of the total school population (consisting of 180,000 children between 4-18 years old) could at some time or other during their life present problems sufficiently severe for them to need special help. However, it was stated that the majority was unlikely to have a long-term disability and such needs could be met within the regular classes (Information Bulletin on Special Education,1992). There was a rapid establishment of special classes which constantly increased. The main target of this strategy has been:

> "to create the necessary conditions in order to offer special education inside the mainstream class, individually to every child with learning difficulties who needs it by the classroom teacher" (Information Bulletin on Special Education, Ministry of Education,1992 p.17).

The statistical figures given by the Department of Special Education for the academic year 1988-1989 show 8,200 children with special needs within the total primary school population. A striking part of this total is the group of pupils with learning difficulties (Leonardi,1992).

The Ministry believed that:

> "the majority of the children with learning difficulties is integrated in the students population of the mainstream schools at a rate higher than 90%" (Information Bulletin on Special Education,1992, Ministry of Education p.14).

The Ministry believed that these children should stay integrated in mainstream classes and they should receive as much special education as possible.

TABLE 3.1
EXPANSION OF SPECIAL EDUCATION
(1978-1992)

YEAR	Special schools	Special classes in mainstream schools	Students of Spec.Ed.	Teachers of Spec.Ed.	Specialists of Spe.Ed.	Counsellors of Spec.Ed.
1978-79	67	-	1,997	163	-	-
1981-82	87	-	2,536	213	-	4
1985-86	152	105	4,989	619	-	8
1988-89	164	285	8,200	850	200	16
1989-90	170	368	9,150	950	200	11
1991-92	186	520	12,383	1,200	200	10
1992-93	200	602	14,136	1,370	200	13

(Information Bulletin on Special Education. Ministry of Education, 1994 p. 12).

Stassinos(1991) points to an impressive increase in the number of special classes and the number of children considered to have learning difficulties during the last decade, but specifically in the academic year 1988-1989. He reasons that the increase of the population with special needs is probably related to recent policies about special education and especially the emphasis put on integration of children with special needs in ordinary schools.

In our opinion the following reasons could explain the fast increase of the student population identified as special: first, the increased number of categories of people characterised as special facilitated the identification of people within one of the special categories (Ministry of Education,1992). Second, in the early 1980s, because of economic and political difficulties the EEC has been strongly influenced by the need for policies aiming at the development of human resources as an essential precondition for co-operation within the Europe of tomorrow. All citizens should be able to face the challenge of a developing European Technological Community able to compete successfully with the USA and Japan (Jones.1992; Wistrich,1989). Thus, education expanded and included among other categories, people with special needs as well. It aimed to integrate people into a common European ideology as well as to the expansion of human resources. Finally, the repatriation of Greek refugees from the countries of the Eastern bloc after the collapse of communist rule increased the rates of pupils identified with special

needs. Although this population had maintained its Greek identity and culture it had severe linguistic gaps (Report on the Education System, school counsellors, Ministry of Education,1994).

CONCLUSION

Political and economic conjunctures influenced the development of special education over many years. As long as production had not been industrialised special education remained on the margin of the Greek education system. It was left under the care of the private benevolent societies and individuals. As production was industrialised - with the inflow of foreign capital and technology - the ideology that all the people are equal and they should have equal opportunities in education developed and several innovations took place in the education system of Greece. These include: the expansion of the education system to wider social levels, the institution and expansion of compulsory education and, most important, the institution of technical education (1964 Education Reform).

In the post war period the state confined its role to the approval and legitimisation of the actions of the private sector. Measures on special education were fragmentary. However, the forms of state care that developed in industrially developed western countries did not develop in Greece, and people with special needs maintained their marginal position in society and production. Until the 80s special education was mainly provided in segregated asylums and that had as a result the maintenance of social prejudice against people with special needs.

Once Greece joined the EEC a new era in the development of special educational policy started. The state with the support of the EEC moved rapidly towards the official organisation of special education which was expressed in the 1143/1981 and most recently in the 1566/1985 Education Act. The Act defined the categories of people characterised as special, the methods of children's assessment, the educational provision for children etc. A policy of integration of people with special needs in mainstream schools or in special schools which functioned on a campus with mainstream schools was adopted. A new social ideology developed. It supported the belief that people characterised as special have possibilities that should be developed. The innovations in the education system are not cut off by the political targets of the EEC

Consideration so far has been given only to norms, as expressed in legislation, and to the institutions (schools, asylums, etc.) through which those norms are realized. We now turn to the people who within those institutions are responsible for making a reality of the aspirations expressed in the norms.

A figure with particular educational and social importance in the new special educational policy is the headteacher of the special school. Due to the centralised administration of the education system in Greece the head becomes a central figure in the running of the school and the achievement of the

school aims. The head influences with his/her work not only the school life but also the social formation. For this reason a more careful investigation of his/her role is necessary. Chapter V investigates the role of the headteacher in special schools in Greece as this was described by the Greek heads themselves who have been interviewed. It focuses on the nature of his/her job as well as his/her social role and therefore gives us a revealing perspective on the reality of contemporary special schools in Greece which the previous discussion of history and legislation necessarily overlooks. But before we consider the interviews in detail we should give some preliminary information about the data.

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CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 THE AIMS OF THE RESEARCH

The thesis attempts to illuminate the field of special education in Greece So far it has done this by describing and analysing the antecedents to its recent rapid growth We now turn more directly to the contemporary scene and to a quite different mode of enquiry. In considering for example 19th century Greek education we have been obliged to rely on written material In investigating the current scene however we are obliged to turn to living informants That has been found necessary since, as has been shown in Greece, special education is a newly developing field and for this reason it lacks any extensive background material on the education of teachers who work in this field, on the teaching material and teaching methods as well as on methods of management and administration of the school etc

Aims of the field work are

- The collection of different views on issues related to special education from people who are directly involved in this field

- The formulation of an overview of the actual situation in the school of a kind that can not be obtained from the official documents

-The cross-checking of the aims and results of special education as on the one hand these are expressed by the people who are involved in special education and on the other by the official documents This process to inform a critique of the role of special education in Greece

The bibliography used for the field work is British and American

4.2 CRITERIA FOR THE SELECTION OF THE SAMPLE

The investigation includes headteachers who work in special schools. This group was chosen for the following reasons: According to the 1985 Education Act the head is the main person responsible for the management and administration of the special school. For this reason the head is a key link between the government, the school and the society. In addition, the concentration of a great deal of responsibilities in the role of the head makes his/her position particularly important but simultaneously gives him/her increased authority to make decisions and to implement them. Moreover, special education in Greece is a newly developing field. Headteachers are better informed about what is going on in the school than any other member of the staff, who in general are quite inexperienced in special education. The Ministry of Education and the school counsellor inform and co-operate with the heads on a regular basis. Thus according to the official policy the head is the main co-ordinator of the activities of the people inside and outside the school.

4.3 THE SAMPLE

The sample includes headteachers who work in special schools in the prefecture of Attika (Borg and Call,1989). The sample is randomly chosen. It includes 20 special schools (together with the three schools of the pilot study they become 23) out of 30 special schools that operated all over the prefecture of Attika. The sample was selected from the prefecture of Attika for the following reasons: (i) Half of the population of the country lives in this prefecture. (ii) The Attika prefecture contains a good mix of different types of population, namely people from rural and urban areas of Greece as well as people from different social classes. (iii) The centre of the policy-making on special education is the Ministry of Education and Religions located in Athens.

The schools were selected from the list of special schools contained in the *"Information Bulletin on Special Education"* edited by the Ministry of Education and Religions (1992).

Of the 20 selected schools, 13 were public special schools for children with moderate learning difficulties. They were located on campuses alongside ordinary schools. Two of the special schools were private primary special schools for children with moderate learning difficulties. Seven of the schools were not located in campuses with ordinary schools. Three of the schools were public boarding schools for children with moderate learning difficulties and mild physical difficulties. These schools - as well as some other schools of this sample - provided students with organised laboratories

for vocational training. Finally, the sample includes one public school for hearing impaired children. All schools were functioning under the care of the Ministry of Education and Religions.

Eight schools were located in central Attika which is an area of mainly middle class population. Eight schools were located in east Attika that is inhabited mainly by an upper-middle class population. Four schools were located in west Attika which is an industrial zone with working class population. Finally, the sample includes 12 men and 8 women.

1/teacher, 2/teacher and 3/teacher schools are considered as small schools and they are usually instituted in rural areas, while 4/teacher, 5/teacher, 6/teacher are considered large schools. In urban areas there are all sorts of schools but usually large schools are instituted in the centre of Athens.

An overall picture of the main characteristics of the sample are presented in the table 4.1

TABLE 4.1
SELECTED SAMPLE

Name of the School	Size/ Teachers	Type	Location	Place	Sex	Years of Exper. As headteac.
Model s..school of Kessariani	10	Learning difficulties	Central Attika	in campus	M	10
Public s.school of Platia Attikis	4	"	"	"	M	3
Public s.school of Lambrini	2	"	"	"	M	2
Public s.school of Zographou	4	"	"	"	F	4
Public s.school of Tourkovounia	2	"	"	"	F	7
Model public s.school of Athens	6	"	"	"	F	4
Public s.school of Pagrati	2	"	"	"	F	5
Public s.school of Pagrati	10	Learning & physical needs	"	Independent	M	4
Public s.school of Nea Ionia	3	Learning difficulties	East Attika	in campus	M	9
Publics s.school of Neo Hiraklio	3	"	"	"	M	7
Public s.school of Holargos	3	"	"	Independent boarding	M	8
Sikiaridio public s.school of Maroussi	6	"	"	"	M	9
Sikiaridio public s.school of Maroussi	6	"	"	"	F	4
Public s.school of Filothei	6	Hearing impaired	"	Independent	F	4
Private s.school of Kifissia	1	Learning difficulties	"	"	F	8
Private s.school of Psychiko	1	"	"	"	F	11
Public s.school of Peristeri	6	"	West Attika	in campus	M	8
Public s.school of Peristeri	2	"	"	"	M	9
Public s.school of Nea Liossia	6	"	"	"	M	17
Public s.school of Egaleo	6	"	"	"	M	6

4.4   THE PILOT STUDY

The provisional draft of interviews was pre-tested within a pilot study group similar to the interviewed sample. Nisbet and Entwistle(1970) suggest that:

> "*this [pilot study] is an essential stage, which must never be omitted through pressure of time...the pilot run will shown up flaws and ambiguities, and it provides an invaluable check on the options in multiple-choice items and on the feasibility of the proposed procedure for coding responses*" *(p.51).*

The pilot study lasted one week (9/5/94 - 12/5/94). It included three special schools.

i)   The 2/teacher public special school of Haidari in west Attika for children with learning difficulties which was functioning in the same campus with a mainstream school. The head was a man who had held this position for the last four years.

ii) The 2/teacher public special school of Elefsina in west Attika for children with learning difficulties which was functioning in a campus with mainstream school. The head was a man who had been in this post for the last five years.

iii) The 2/teacher public special school of Koridalos in west Attika for children with learning difficulties which was functioning in a campus with mainstream schools. The head was a woman who had managed the school for the last three years.

The heads were asked the same questions that I had prepared for the main field work. It was a good opportunity for me to test the following aspects of procedure:

- the duration of an interview

- the duration of each answer

- the clarity and accuracy of questions

- the form of the questions

- the context and sequence of questions

- the way I should handle the interview in order to establish a pleasant atmosphere and make my interlocutor feel at ease to speak

- how to take fast and clear notes (Borg and Call, 1989).

After the pilot study the reorganisation of the layout of the schedule was found in some ways necessary. Some of the questions were excluded while new more specific ones were added.

Ambiguities of wording and confusions arising from the questions were ironed out. Some of the questions had to be re-written (Carr and Kemmis,1986; Eisner and Peskin,1990).

The pilot study helped me to clarify the aims of my research and to classify the priorities of my investigation. It also helped me to give importance and priority to certain questions.

During the pilot study I found a positive response by the heads. Heads responded with enthusiasm to the fact that a research enquiry in the field of special education was being carried out and that they had the opportunity to participate and express their views. That gave me real encouragement to continue the research.

4.5   APPROACHING THE SCHOOLS

In order to gain access to schools I had to send a letter on the 13 of April 1994 to the Ministry of Education informing them about my research and asking for permission to enter the special schools. The Ministry approved my access to the schools. Soon after, a second letter was sent to headteachers (on the 22nd of April) informing them on details about the research (it included information about the aims of my research, the purpose of the work and who I am and what I am doing) (Borg and Call,1989). The letter also mentioned the importance of their contribution for the completion of the research. Between the 10th to 16th of May I got in touch with heads personally. The purpose of the first visit was to get to know the heads, to give some introductory information about the interviews, to get to know the area of the school and the school itself (Nisbet and Entwistle,1970).

Heads were asked about the use of a tape recorder during the interviews beforehand. They were assured about the confidentiality of the interviews. However, three of the heads refused the use of ipe recorder and short notes were kept during their interviews (Cohen and Manion,1984). I succeeded in contacting the 20 heads and fixed appointments with them.

According to the plan that I constructed soon after, I had to visit one head per day or every second day. I planned to spend a school day in each school.

The interviews lasted almost for 6 weeks (17/5/94 - 23/6/94).

4.6   THE INTERVIEWS

I chose the interviews as a method of investigation (Cohen and Manion,1984; Goetz and LeCompte,1984; Borg and Call,1989). Interviewing as a research method has some advantages in that the writer can get a living impression of how values, experience, structures, official regulations, in built cultural attitudes to handicap etc. are melded together in the day-to-day professional experience of heads. In addition, one advantage of the interview method is that it allows in-depth examination of the research subject by open-ended questions. These might enable the interviewer to get more information, to clear up misunderstandings if he/she feels there are any, to assess more easily the respondents' beliefs and to establish an atmosphere of mutual respect and understanding. In the case of the headteachers of special education in Greece it was the main available source of information on the management of special schools as well as on the practice of special education in Greece since it is a newly developing field.

As Burgess (1985) maintains:

> "Often it [interview] is the only way of finding out what the perspectives of people are, and collecting information in certain issues or events, but it is also a means of "making things happen" and stimulating the flow of data" (p.15).

There are, few drawbacks in the use of interviews as a specific research tool. There is for example the danger that the interviewer will indirectly and even unconsciously see the respondent's ideas under the light of his/her own conceptions and unwittingly seek for answers which support his/her point of view. On other occasions the respondent may not understand the meaning of the question being asked. That is why questions, just like questionnaires, have to be clear, understandable, simple and not highbrow, complex and therefore frustrating for the respondent.

As an interviewer, the author also ought to pay attention to the fact that people may not give "sincere" answers in the course of the interview because they are afraid of being criticized. So there is a strong possibility that they say things considered to be socially acceptable, avoiding at the same time to express their own convictions.

Subsequently, respondents are likely to attempt to anticipate what the interviewer wants to hear and offer answers akin to the interviewer's possible expectations. By using a neutral way of questioning people (i.e. *Have you any comments about...?*) the problem just presented can be successfully overcome and interviewees can be assisted to enunciate their personal views and to give utterance to their own feelings.

Another thing that an interviewer has to be aware of is the danger of misinterpreting a respondent's answers (especially in an open type question) when recording the replies given. The interviewer may emphasize or write down during the interview's course only those points, he/she likes best and may, without perceiving it, fail to keep the notes that do not satisfy him/her.

The interviews were non-scheduled and standardised. The same questions and probes were used for all respondents, but the order in which questions were posed was changed according to how individuals reacted (Hitchcock and Hughes,1989).

The first part of the interviews was covered by basically factual questions like: How many years have you been working in the field of special education? How many years have you been in this school? How long have you been a headteacher? How long have you been the administrator of this school? What sort of needs do children have in this school? How many students does this school have? How many grades do you have in this school? What kind of staff do you have in this school?

There were three main areas of investigation:

i)   The duties of the head in the special school. This part investigates the nature of head's job and the social role of the head.

ii)   The aims of the special school. This part deals with the special educational provision, technical training and social integration of people with special needs.

iii)   Assessment, and head's competence. This part examines the way children are assessed and classified in categories according to their abilities and the consequences of assessment in their future social and vocational life. In addition, it investigates the competence of heads to participate in the assessment of children.

For the investigation of these three areas the following questions had been prepared:

-   What are, in your opinion, the aims of special education?

-   What are the targets of the special school?

-   What are the duties and responsibilities of the head?

-   Would you delegate tasks to your colleagues?

-   How do you inform yourself about innovations in the field of special education?

-   How do you inform yourself about matters of educational policy and school   administration?

-   How is co-operation with parents encouraged? How often?

- What is the procedure for a child to be accepted as a student in the school?

- How do you assess children?

- What are the necessary qualifications for someone to become a headteacher?

- Where are children occupied after the end of their studies?

- Which are the main problems that the head of a special school might face?

Heads had been informed vaguely about the nature of the questions from our first meeting. That was found necessary for two reasons: First, because heads wanted to know what it was all about and I wanted them to feel confident. Second, because I wanted them to be ready to answer and provide me with as much information about special education as possible.

Each interview lasted for about an hour and half. After the end of the interview they usually took me around the school. They introduced me to teachers and pupils with whom I used to spend the rest of the day. I had the opportunity to see children's laboratories - in schools where there were laboratories - and to attend the training courses of children in some of the special schools.

Although none of the heads refused to be interviewed, a couple of them were reserved (especially when the conversation touched upon the governmental educational policy or other political issues).

Before the end of the day the interviews were transcribed from the tape recorder (Powney and Watts,1987). Each school had a different file. A diary was kept for each day of the interviews (Burgess,1985).

My contact with the heads was useful because apart from the information collected through interviews they provided me with printed material (documents, photocopies, articles etc.).

During my contact with the heads I was presenting myself as a teacher who was interested in the field of special education and I had been involved in a study on the administration of the special schools.

4.7 INDEFINITE TRIANGULATION

Given the limited number of sources on special education that exist in Greece (mainly official documents, Government Gazettes and legislation), the contact with people was the most effective way to collect information.

Denzin(1988) explains the importance of indefinite triangulation. He states:

"The realities of which sociological methods are fitted are not fixed. The social world is socially constructed, and its meanings to the observer and those observed, is constantly changing. As a consequence, no single research method will ever capture all of the changing features of the social world under study" (Keeves,1988 p.512).

Two other sources of information about the role of the headteacher in the special school were used:

i)   In mid-April 1994 unstructured interviews were carried out with (a) the Director of Special Education. The Directorate of Special Education is part of the Ministry of Education and Religions. It is divided in three departments. The first department is responsible for the application of the national curriculum in the special schools and vocational schools, the enlightenment of parents and the wider public on special education, the training and INSET of teachers and special staff all over the country. The second department cares for the institution, organization, administration and function of special schools, special classes and special vocational schools everywhere in Greece. The third department deals with the writing and publication of books. Also it cares for the equipment of special schools with teaching aids or any material necessary for the function of the special schools all over Greece. The Director of Special Education co-ordinates the actions of these three departments (603/1982 Presidential Decree, Vol.A). (b) the Director of Primary Education which had similar responsibilities with the Directorate of Special Education but for the primary mainstream schools of the country (c) an official of the Ministry of Education and Religions who was responsible for legislative issues in education, namely changes in the education acts, legislative issues in the function of schools, on the function of parents' associations in schools etc. The interviews concerned matters of administration of special school and the relations between the Ministry of Education and the school administrators. The information collected from these interviews have not been transferred in this thesis but they have been used by the author to get the views of people who take decisions on the policy of special education and to clarify her views on the administration of the special schools.

(ii) I sent (on the 25th of May 1994) open-ended questionnaires to the school counsellors for special schools (Appendix I) (McGrath, Jelinek and Wochner,1963). School counsellors of special education were closely related to the school administration. They were the agencies of the Ministry of Education. Their duty was:

"the right guidance of educationists who work in special schools and the supervision of the function of the special schools...They are competent for the information and enlightenment of the educationists in general, of parents, of local authorities and the wider community" (Information Bulletin on Special Education,1992, Ministry of Education, p.82).

For this reason we judged that school counsellors could contribute in our investigation on school administration.

The aim of the questionnaire was to investigate the views of the school counsellors on the role of the head teacher in the school and in society. The first part of the questionnaires included general questions like:

- What sort of studies have you done?

- Have you done any study on special education?

- How many years have you been working in the field of special education?

- How long have you been working in this post?

- In which area do you live?

- Which area do you have under your supervision?

- How many schools do you supervise?

- What sort of schools do you have under your supervision?

The areas investigated by the questionnaires were:

- The views of school counsellors about special education

- The views of the school counsellors about the role of the headteacher

- The nature of relations between school counsellors and headteachers (ways of co-operation between school counsellors and headteachers, how the teachers get information about education policy etc.).

More specifically the following questions were asked:

- What is the aim of special education?

- How important is the role of the headteacher in a school for children with special needs? Why?

- What are your demands from the headteachers?

- What are your expectations from the headteachers of the special schools?

- How do you co-operate with the heads?

- How do you inform heads of the special schools about the current operational needs of the schools?

- How do you get informed about the needs of the special schools?

- How do you inform heads about the developments in the field of special education? How often?

- How do you supervise the function of the headteachers in schools for children with special needs?

- What kind of co-operation do you think could help headteachers in the accomplishment of their duties and could contribute to the development of co-operation with the Ministry of Education in the future?

Several arrangements had been done in order to increase credibility, reliability and to receive some kind workable solutions to the research problem:

Emphasis had been given to the overall appearance of the questionnaire. A considerable attempt had been made in order to make it appear easy and attractive.

Furthermore, in the covering letter which had been sent with each questionnaire, an effort was made to encourage school counsellors to reply as clearly as possible.

Making the questions simple, understandable and interesting, had been one of the paramount concerns of this study. In this way possible misinterpretations on the part of the respondents and feelings of embarrassment and frustration that might have been caused to them from ambiguous and obscure questions, have been as much as possible avoided. In every question the instructions were repeated so that no queries were left with the respondents. Sequential order to the questions according to the interest and difficulty of their content in a clear and not confusing scheme was brought into prominence.

Ergo, it can be claimed that the respondents had given those types of information directly associated with the research and not any kind of irrelevant comments due to some misunderstanding of the questions' content and demands.

TABLE 4.2
SCHOOL COUNSELLORS OF SPECIAL EDUCATION

Region	Location	Sex	Years of Experience
Athens	Attika	M	10
Athens	Attika	M	9
Piraeus	Attika	M	7
Piraeus	Attika	M	10
Salonika	North Greece	M	4
Salonika	North Greece	M	4
Larissa	Central-North Greece	M	10
Patra	South Greece	M	10
Ioannina	North-West Greece	M	4
Mitilini	Aegean Islands	M	4

Of thirteen questionnaires that were sent out, ten were returned back.

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SELECTIVE FEATURES OF THE CONTEMPORARY SPECIAL EDUCATION SYSTEM AND THE ROLE OF THE HEADTEACHER

INTRODUCTION

After having investigated the political and educational background of Greece we now turn to the contemporary social role of the headteacher in the special schools.

As we have seen, Greece has maintained a highly centralized education system, headed by the Minister of National Education and Religions (Massialas,1981; Saitis,1990). The centralized administration of the education system has its origins in historical and social causes (annexation of territories, expansion of population, influx of refugees) as well as political ones (ideological coherence, Greek Christian ideals, anti-communism etc.). Tsoukalas(1977), Professor of Political Sociology, observed that in the period 1830-1922 the debates concerning education had never focused on the institutional framework of the education service. The lack of interest for the institutional arrangements was attributed by him to the fact that the educational system of Greece had been organized *ex nihilo* by the Bavarian advisers of the first Bavarian King of Greece and that a centralized educational system was perfectly acceptable at that time under the influence of the Napoleonic ideas favouring a strong liberal state.

Remarks about the educational system of Greece can be found in encyclopaedias or other international publications referring to education in Greece. In the International Handbook of Education Systems, Holmes(1983) noted that the administration of the Greek education system was highly centralized, reflecting the focus of political power in modern Greece and that, although the country was divided into regions for administrative purposes, no independent departures from the countrywide uniformity of the education system were permitted (pp.341-368). Similarly, In the International Encyclopaedia of Education, G. Psacharopoulos (1986), chief researcher in the World Bank, also noted that the management of the Greek educational system was highly centralized, a fact

not to be dissociated from its original organization according to French and German models, and that all decisions concerning education stemmed from the Ministry of Education in Athens (pp.2079-2085). The same observations were repeated by the OECD(1982) team who reviewed educational policies in Greece. In their report it was remarked that the education system in Greece was highly centralised and, indeed, sometimes described as analogous with the system in France, which is often cited by comparative educationists as a centralist model par excellence. It was also added that the then recent reform, being reviewed by the team, did not include any concrete proposals for decentralization: instead, the advantages of a centralized education system were acknowledged only in general terms and it was admitted that the reform under way at that time could not possibly have been instituted rapidly and simultaneously in a decentralized system.

Similarly, E.Papanoutsos(1976), a leading liberal educationist, pointed out that, although in the past some form of administrative decentralization had been achieved, in the period following World War II all powers and responsibilities in respect to education had again been concentrated in the hands of the Ministry of Education. In addition, professor A.Kajamias(1978) writing about the educational reform in the mid 1970s observed that all demands for reform had been addressed to the government as the sole authority responsible for initiating and implementing policy and he added that this had been traditionally the case in Greece where, since the establishment of the new state in the nineteenth century, power in all aspects of education, had emanated from the central government.

The establishment of representative councils and committees at national, prefectural, municipal, communal and institutional levels and the transfer of some responsibilities for schools to Municipal/Communal Authorities, introduced by the Education Act 1566/1985 were presented by the then government as putting into effect the principles of decentralization and participation in the administration of education. Without disputing that steps towards greater decentralization had been taken and that the above mentioned principles were further promoted by the Education Act 1566/1985, it should be noticed that the celebratory tone in the preamble of the Bill of the previously mentioned Act was not to be justified since the predominant role of the central educational authorities in the educational policy remained undisputed.

The Minister, a political figure appointed by the party in power, is legally responsible for formulating and executing educational policy in the country. The Ministry of Education and Religions is the main instrument for putting into effect government policy after Parliament has passed the necessary legislation.

The pyramid of the education system has always been highly centralized, extending from the Ministry of National Education and Religions to the classrooms of the primary and secondary schools. Curricula, timetables, textbooks and teaching methods have all been uniform and the appointment and promotion of teachers have been centrally controlled as well.

The Minister of Education exercises its control over schools and teachers through intermediate administrative agencies of inspectorates (the school counsellors). The main function of these agencies is to carry out Ministry policies and directives.

The political and social developments that took place the last two decades influenced the role of the headteacher. As we saw in the previous chapter the political developments in Greece are not cut off from the international political scene. After World War II, European states moved away from policies conceived exclusively in terms of the single nation-state. Before World War II, national policies - including educational policies - aimed at the strengthening of the competition between European national markets. Since the international capitalist system changed, European states moved towards forms of political and economic co-operation aiming to confront the large markets of USA and Japan. The innovations in the political scene had great impact on the national institutions. Changes in the education systems of the European states were inevitable. Consequently, the role of the educational apparatus had to be adapted to the new conditions. Thus, the school - which had previously been a national apparatus which aimed at serving the national targets - becomes in the contemporary system an essentially European apparatus. European Union develops educational policy which affects the national educational policy of member states. Consequently the members of the school - including the head - are not any more to be seen exclusively in national terms but are also members of a European apparatus, whether they are aware of it or not.

The contradictions revealed by the historical survey in the chapters one to three could be studied in the present mainly through personal contact with people who are involved in special education and particularly the headteacher.

Chapter V is divided into three sections. Section I deals with the administrative role of the head and his/her relations with the Ministry of Education, the school counsellors, the parents and the people of the mainstream school. The section aims at investigating the nature of the head's job, namely his/her duties and responsibilities as well as the limits of his/her authority, power and freedom.

Section II examines the perceptions of the heads and school counsellors on the aims of the special school, the special educational provision and the social and vocational integration of students with

special needs. The hypothesis advanced in this section is that special educational policy in Greece is closely related to the social ideology and the new conditions of the labour markets in Europe and the new European economic policies - namely the EU's aim to create small, manageable groups, to spread and strengthen the European ideology, to increase human resources in order to confront the economic development of USA and Japan but also the increasing population of Asia and Africa.

The section aims at investigating the correspondence between the political aims set by the European Community and special educational provision in Greece, and the vocational integration of students with special needs.

Section III focuses on the process by which students are identified as special and are admitted at the special schools. It questions assessment methods as well as the education and competence of people who have undertaken such a role. Some of the questions considered before writing this section were: Who is appropriate to characterise somebody else as special? Who gives the power and who legitimises people to characterise others as special? Who sets the criteria of normality and subnormality? Can education and training of teachers and headteachers enable them to separate children into categories of normal and non-normal?

One aim of the chapter is to investigate how crucial and decisive the role of the head - consciously or unconsciously - has been in the social formation of a new sector of educational practice.

I shall draw upon one main source of descriptions of school administration: the headteachers' remarks during the interviews. Two additional sources will also be quoted: first the questionnaires that I received back from the school counsellors and secondly the official documents.

5.1   SECTION I

5.1.1 HEAD AND SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

According to the 1566/1985 Education Act the head has a triple role:

> "The head has administrative, supervisory and teaching duties" (Government Gazette, 8.9.1983, Vol.1 No.120, p.2553).

The majority of the heads agreed that the school administration was concentrated. Head had an overview of the situation. In this way the state could have a better control of special schools. In addition homogeneity in the administration of special schools was maintained.

A head who was working in a 4/teacher public special school in central Attika and had had 4 years of experience in this position found that all the duties of the special school are included in the head's duties. The head said:

> "The head has mainly administrative duties. She concerns herself with the staff. She is concerned about the time that the colleagues come in the morning. I do not want to say that she spies on them. She cares about the proper function of the school and this is important. Apart from that, the head co-operates with the parents, with the social worker and other persons related to the school".

A head from a small (3/teacher) public special school, in east Attika, who had had 7 years of experience in this post said:

> "The duties of the head include all the decisions related to the curriculum and the every day life of the school, the contact with the parents, the keeping of school records, the assessment tests and the methods of diagnosis. We come into contact with specialists for each case".

A head from a small (2/teacher) public special school, in central Attika, with 7 years of experience said:

> "The head, as the law defines, should care for the administration of the special school, namely for all the necessary papers for the assessment and registration of children at school, the correspondence with the Ministry and the other services. The head apart from the administrator of the school is also a teacher and a supervisor. She takes care of the problems that might appear, for example any conflict between a member of a staff and a parent".

There were heads who were using their leisure time for the administration of the school (Ball,1987). A head who was working in a small (2/teacher) public special school, in west Attika, with 9 years of experience said:

> "The law defines that the head should spend 30 hours per week at school. 24 hours for teaching in the classroom and 6 hours for the accomplishment of administrative tasks. When I am not able to accomplish my duties at school I take them home".

It is worth noting that this approach to work is very distinct from that prevailing in Anglo-Saxon countries where no head would dream of confining administration to six hours or being able to go home when school finished (Waters,1979).

The majority of the heads compared their work with the work of the head of the mainstream school and they found that their job is more complicated and demanding. Some heads found that their work is demanding because the nature of their job is particular. In the special school the head and the staff should be particularly sensitive with the individual case of each student. The curriculum and the teaching methods of the special school should be adapted to individual needs.

A head in a large (10/teacher) public special school which had existed for some time, in central Attika, with 10 years of experience said:

"*Head's duties concern the internal and external life of the school. As far as the internal life of the school is concerned, the head has the duty to supervise if the teachers are punctual and keep to the timetable. The head also concerns himself about the curriculum and the teaching material. These should be in accordance with the law and the Presidential Decrees as well as in accordance with the state's ideology and policy. Any method that can be applied in a mainstream school might not be applied in a special school. The curriculum and teaching material is the head's concern in co-operation with the teachers. These should be adapted to students' needs because students cannot be adapted to curriculum needs. Here, for the construction of the special curriculum, we give particular emphasis to the psychological and physical development of children . A second duty of the head is to make sure that special teaching methods will be applied. Teaching methods should be very particular in order to have a positive effect upon children with reduced mental and physical abilities. The head should care so that the student is not compared with any other student or his brother who is in the mainstream school. Moreover a head's duty is to help the scientific team of the teachers and the other staff to classify children into levels successfully.*

Here we have levels, we do not have any grades as in the mainstream school. Here the role of the head is crucial. He gives advice and he controls if the teachers keep notes carefully about the students in order to be in the position to say if a student is appropriate for the lower level, for the middle or for the advanced. The heads' role is very crucial because the special student is a particular case. The special child is not like the mainstream school child who can be absent some days from the school and nothing happens. These children need our constant help in order to overcome either the inferiority complex that they might have or to develop the mental abilities that they have got. The head should also supervise the decent appearance and behaviour of students. All the head's duties should be accomplished with the help of dialogue and in good co-operation with the teaching staff and the special staff. In a special school we do not have only teachers, we have also a care taker, a physiotherapist and other specialists. A head's duty is to co-operate fully with all his staff. In a special school, I can not think that a perfect co-operative atmosphere might be absent. This is important for special schools. Here the staff should be friendly, keep hand in hand in order to be able to offer as much as possible to these students. The head should give the example with his attitude. The head should be very polite and gentle with the staff. He should motivate his colleagues to accomplish their tasks promptly. The head should try to ensure a perfect relationship with the colleagues. The relations between head, teacher, special staff should be perfect. Perfect should also be the relations between head-students, between head-parents, between head-governmental bodies, between head and community, as well as between teachers-students, teachers-parents and teachers-community. The spirit of love and co-operation should dominate...The head should co-operate with the community perfectly. He should keep the correspondence with the different services and he should represent the school according to the law. In addition the head has teaching duties. The head does not have only the supervision of the school. He should be able to teach. I teach children of the higher levels".

Other heads found that the nature of responsibilities between the head of the mainstream school and the head of the special school is different. A head who worked in a 6/teacher public special school in

west Attika with 17 years of experience in this position found that his role included the role of a guide for young colleagues. He said:

> "The duties of a head in the special school are more than the duties of a head in the mainstream school. By law, the head should supervise if the teachers are punctual, what time they arrive in school and what time they leave, he is responsible for parents' meetings and information, for a continuous contact with teachers and the other staff, for directions and guidance. The head should say to teachers exactly what to do because many of them are young, or are working for the first time. The head has also many duties outside school. The special school operates properly if the head passes on the message of special education to the surrounding environment. That means that the head should establish contact with the mayor. Undoubtedly he should be sociable".

Moreover, in special schools a variety of services were co-operating with the schools and a plethora of specialists were working inside the school, thus, the concentration of administration upon one person was ensuring the maintenance and achievement of school aims as well as the continuity of the educational policy.

A head who was working in a 1/teacher private special school in east Attika and had had 11 years of experience said:

> "Every year we have four specialists and a trainee teacher. For every ten children there are five specialists. These are four psychotherapists who work part time, a child-psychologist, a social worker who deals mainly with parents and ancillary staff".

A head who was working in a 1/teacher private special school in east Attika and had had 8 years of experience in this position said:

> "We have a part-time psychologist, a special psychotherapist who has undertaken the therapy, a physiotherapist, a musician and a nursery teacher who deals with children's theatre".

A head who was managing a 6/teacher public special school in west Attika and had had 6 years of experience said:

> "There are six teachers, the social worker, the caretaker and the psychologist. We have neither a physiotherapist nor a speech therapist. The post of a speech therapist was vacant but nobody applied for it. There is a psychologist but at the moment she has gone abroad for post-graduate studies".

Specialists (e.g. speech therapists, psychologists etc.) do not participate actively in the school administration at all (Information Bulletin on Special Education,1992), yet their interventions need to be organized and recorded as part of a co-ordinated school process.

A head who was managing a 6/teacher public special school in central Attika and had had 4 years of experience said:

> "The specialists and the ancillary staff of the school do not intervene in the school administration at all".

There were heads who believed that although they had a heavy working day they could not delegate responsibilities to teachers. They felt that school administration was a burden personally for them. Heads who agreed that they could delegate sometimes responsibilities to the staff, or that they used to do so, delegated mainly their teaching duties. They let other teachers look after their class when they had to leave the school in order to meet someone, or participate in meetings or conferences. Heads also delegated simple tasks like the purchase of books. Heads did not delegate their central administrative duties to teachers. Administration was exclusively under the care and control of the head. No task was delegated without the supervision or the co-operation of the head.

A head who was working in a large (6/teacher) public special school, in east Attika who had had 4 years of experience said:

> "I can not throw the responsibilities off. It is more useful to co-operate to find common solutions based not upon my own opinion. The head proposes, makes suggestions, expresses her own opinion."

A head who was working in a 4/teacher public special school, in central Attika, with 4 years of experience said:

> "I do everything myself. If there is an issue that I should ask my colleagues about, or I need to co-operate with them then I co-operate. Everything starts from the head. The head is the nucleus of the school."

Waters(1979) maintains that heads avoid delegating duties because they are responsible for anything that goes on in the special school and they do not want anything to go wrong.

Some of the heads interviewed corroborated this. For example a head from a 6/teacher public special school in west Attika with 8 years of experience said:

> "I have all the responsibility for anything that is missing or does not work".

Similarly, a head from a large (6/teacher) public special school, in west Attika, who had 17 years of experience said:

> "In large schools, 4 teacher or 6 teacher special schools there should be an extra teacher. An extra teacher to help the head. The head's hand suffers from the load of paper work.

Very often the head needs to be out of the classroom and there is no-one to replace him for a while".

This head tried to inspire to his colleagues the sense of responsibility in order to ensure that the school functions smoothly. He said:

"Yes, of course I delegate duties. It is not a totally centralised administration. Each one has undertaken a field. However, the head does not stop being responsible. Everything affects the head. Anything that happens good or bad affects the head. I try to persuade my colleagues that we are all responsible, and they have accepted that".

Another factor, more urgent for special education than for mainstream schools, is relationships with the surrounding community. The same head said that he delegates his teaching duties in order to cope with his public relations:

"I have worked hard so that people accept the special school. It is important for the school to gain the support of the community. I participate in social events because I want people to get to know the work we do. I was obliged to leave the school often. I have had the chance to participate in many events because I have the support of the staff".

Some heads found co-operation between the staff members unavoidable sometimes because the school resources were insufficient (teaching material, textbooks, assessment tests etc.). They were willing to co-operate in order to fulfil better their role.

A head who was working in a 6/teacher public special school in west Attika and had had 6 years of experience said:

"The teaching material is chosen by us. It is extracted from the mainstream books. We do anything we can from our experience, and by exchanging our views. Hopefully there is an harmonious co-operation between us".

For any difficulty or request heads turned mainly to the Ministry of Education. A head who was working in a 3/teacher public special school in east Attika and had had 7 years of experience said:

"Special schools need their own books. Here and in other special schools teachers use their own books, teaching methods and material. I would wish the state, could publish a few books - although this is expensive and difficult - for the special schools, so that we are not obliged to buy them from the market, or spend hours to make our own material, without having even a photocopier but only with the use of a carbon-paper".

Some heads tried to remedy the situation by taking initiatives on their own. A head who was working in a large (6/teacher) public special school in west Attika and had had 17 years of experience said:

"The head should be very active in order to improve the conditions of work. In a parents' meeting I asked all the parents to contribute in order to buy a photocopier...I have plans for my school. I want to house it on another campus together with a mainstream school. We are going to take better rooms there...I have heard that some colleagues work in the field of education because they need the extra bonus that has been instituted. I have never thought

of working in a special school for the bonus. 1 used to work in a mainstream school and 1 chose to come to the special school. "

A head who was working in a 10/teacher public special school in central Attika and who had had 10 years of experience recognised that under the unfavourable conditions that schools functioned the head should encourage the staff to continue its function. He said:

"There are no books for the special school. Every teacher takes the books of the mainstream school and s he abstracts the simple texts and exercises and we form our own material which is simplified. The role of the head is important here. Under such bad conditions the head's duty is to inspire and encourage teachers to continue and to develop and to look for other ways for transmitting the necessary knowledge to children. I say to the teachers that they should not expect everything from the state. Until the state creates the necessary infrastructure we should not wait. We should not let children who pass from our hands get lost. The teachers should co-operate. We should get together and exchange our views about the teaching methods. Me, personally I have taught all subjects, History, Geography, Language with slides. The teacher should seek for ways to reach the level of the students' abilities".

That was also in accordance with the official documents:

"the variety of difficulties and demands of special education should not discourage us, but inspire us to new conquests towards a stable target, the value and dignity of individual" *(Information Bulletin on Special Education, 1992 p.28).*

In spite of the difficulties or obstacles the head is appointed by the state to put into effect its educational policy. The concentration of the responsibility for the school management into the head's hands makes the public regard the head as the main responsible person for the good and the bad things that happen in the school. The head functions as a seawall or buffer between the public and the government.

A head who was working in a 6/teacher public special school in west Attika and who had had 8 years of experience in this post said:

"The parents and the public held the head responsible for whatever happens. If something goes wrong then it is the head's fault and the parents complain to me. If parents are pleased with the way that their child behaves then they change their attitude towards me, they become friendly. The head is not responsible only for his own actions but for the actions of the staff as well. If the relation between a parent and a member of the staff is disturbed then the head is obliged to reconcile them. The head should always keep an overview for whatever happens in the school".

The headteacher is somebody who, although s/he acts according to official governmental policy in the special school, appears to be a non-political person. With a non-political role the head is the key person in persuading parents and society to understand and accept the good aims of the special school.

One of the heads who was working in a 4/teacher public special school in central Attika and had had 3 years of experience agreed that the creation of the appropriate conditions for the establishment of the school in the community is a head's duty. He said:

> "There are schools which close. A school that I used to work in east Attika is closing down because they do not have any students. When I first came in this school I insisted that the school should be housed in an appropriate building. It is very difficult to find appropriate housing conditions for a special school. When the special school is housed in a campus with a mainstream school there are usually reactions from the parents of the mainstream school. The head should be diplomatic in order to achieve the housing of the school. Our colleagues should not see the special school with disdain. "Ah! it is the special school, give them the classrooms in the basement". The head should be sensitive. It is not easy to cope with the problems that appear in a special school".

The marginalized position of people with special needs in society has as a result the creation of social prejudice. The role of the head and the aim of the contemporary special education policy has been the fighting of prejudice and the restoration of trust for people with special needs in society and labour market (Information Bulletin on Special Education,1992).

A head who was working in a 2/teacher public special school in central Attika and had had 5 years of experience said:

> "The aim of the special school is to integrate children into society. This is a common aim of every school and mostly for these children who are cut off from society because the public opinion has not been sensitised. Many times parents themselves are negative. We try to get into touch with parents and other services in order to help parents and simultaneously help children to become integrated".

Another head who was working in a 10/teacher public special school in central Attika and had had 4 years of experience said:

> "People should change their approach towards these children. There is a prejudice towards these children. This is a reason why we are here, in this school: In order to help the rapid socialisation of these children".

As far as the role of the head in the special school concerns, school counsellors gave it particular importance. Some of the answers quoted in the questionnaires follow:

A school counsellor from north Greece answered:

> "I believe that the role of the head is decisive. S He is like the conductor of an orchestra. Because with his her attitude s he is the example for imitation by students and school staff. He should be worthy of his mission."

A school counsellor from north-west Greece answered:

"The role of the head is very important because he co-ordinates all people who participate in the school. He also co-ordinates the students in order to achieve the school aims".

A school counsellor from central-north Greece answered:

"The role of the headteacher in the school for children with special needs is very important for the following reasons:

i)   S He co-ordinates the whole work of the school

ii)   S'He creates conditions for the co-operation between school and family

iii)   S He organises the individual teaching programs of students in co-operation with the teaching staff and the specialists

iv)   S He is the intermediate link between school and other services and organisations which s he gets and gives information from ".

Another school counsellor of special education who works in Attika found that the head has additional and special requirements to satisfy in the special school. He answered:

"The role of the head in a special school is very important, because the organisation and function of the special school has additional and special requirements as far as the pupils' groups, the curriculum the teaching methods, the assessing methods, the equipment etc. are concerned. His job also demands flexibility in the application of educational methods. "

A school counsellor from south Greece regarded the head as an important factor in the administration of the school. He answered:

"Particularly in large special schools the headteacher is its soul. It is the inseparable administrative and guiding leader".

Summarizing the main points of this part we mention: the fact that special education was lacking an already experimented background led the Ministry of Education to apply a concentrated policy on the management of special schools. The head is a key person in the management of tasks and people who were dealing with the school life. His/Her role was characterized by increased responsibility. Thus it seemed that it was one person's business to make the school work caused heads to assume all responsibilities themselves and to avoid delegating duties to the personnel. However heads were willing to cooperate with the personnel due to the inexperience of the personnel and the insufficient school resources (schools were lacking the necessary teaching aids, material, assessment tests etc.).

The head's duty was to co-ordinate the people of the school and to ensure that school aims would be achieved. Moreover, his/her duty was to supervise the personnel and ensure that their were acting to the legislation.

Head's duty was also to attract the support of the community. The attraction of people of the community and the identification of children as special ensured the job and position of the head. Enlightenment of the public and cultivation of attitudes was also part of the head's role. Thus, heads had a multifaceted role as teacher, supervisor, administrator, and former of social ideology.

School counsellors saw the head as an important figure for the school life and the life of the community. The importance of his/her role was due to his/her pivotal position to co-ordinate school resources and to implement legislative measures..

5.1.2 THE EXPECTATIONS OF THE SCHOOL COUNSELLORS

There seemed to be a general agreement at least that the head's job was broad, demanding and various. For example a school counsellor from south Greece listed no less than eight categories of work which might be expected from headteachers. He wanted the head of the special school to be interested and active in his/her job. He did not want headship to become a routine job. He answered:

"I expect from heads:

- *To be active in case a problem comes up.*
- *To co-operate with the teaching staff (teachers).*
- *To co-operate with the special staff (the psychologist, the social worker etc.).*
- *To co-ordinate the work of the teaching personnel and special staff without intervening in scientific fields which need expertise so that misunderstandings can be avoided. He should not pretend to be a specialist in every field.*
- *To study and get informed continuously.*
- *To know the educational legislation accurately and to be able to solve correctly questions of the staff and school.*
- *To co-operate with parents and other social bodies.*
- *To take initiatives and to have organising abilities. A head who is bored and considers his job as a routine is not only useless but harmful as well".*

School counsellors were expecting heads to combine such qualities that could enable them to implement successfully the educational policy in spite the difficult conditions and the shortage of resources inside the schools.

Successful co-ordination and supervision of people involved in special education were the expectations of a school counsellor from Attika. In addition, he saw the head able to contribute to the diffusion of the new tendencies in special education, like the idea of integration of children with

special needs together with mainstream children. He answered the question about expectations as follows:

> *"My expectations from the head of a special school are: the careful control, organisation and function of special school and in particular: the supervision of the staff, the co-ordination and support of the function of the special staff, the promotion of the new perspectives for the education of people with special needs (for example integration), the organisation and promotion of an essential co-operation between parents and school, the connection of the school with several services especially with employers as well as linking the school with the community."*

A school counsellor from the Aegean islands also produced a daunting list, and added some fresh items. He was expecting heads to be well-informed and educated, able to respond to the needs of their scientific role. However, heads did not have any particular training on special education. The concentration of responsibilities to one person, was creating the illusion to the public that the inefficiencies of the special school is result of head's incapability and not of the system's ineffectiveness:

> *"The head of the special school should foresee the future needs as far as teaching methods and ways are concerned, the physical recreations, the methods of speech therapy and psychological therapy and to find ways for the introduction of these methods. The head should co-operate with all the staff members of the school: educational, scientific, ancillary especially as concerns the regular re-assessment of special pupils in his her school. Whenever s he finds it necessary the head should ask for the assistance of the school counsellor of special education, of the psychologist, of the physiotherapist etc. The head should organise the functioning of the school, so as to ensure the maximum development of pupils. That means the regular organisation of excursions - with the participation of parents and friends - , the organisation of ceremonies for national, religious or other celebrations, for example, birthdays. It also means construction of general and individual programmes of discipline, practice in laboratories, organisation of rooms for physical recreations etc."*

Given these alarming job descriptions, it is not surprising that some respondents emphasized the personal qualities expected of heads. A school counsellor from north Greece for example observed:

> *"The head should be the first to arrive at school and the last to leave. S'He should be strict with him herself and lenient with the others. Order, self-discipline, discretion etc. should characterise the head. S He should not take the decisions alone and imposes them on the others. He should co-operate. S'He should address issues, s he should let anyone express his her opinion. The head should finally accept the decisions of the majority even if s he is against them."*

The relation between head and the people involved in the special school is important for a school counsellor from central-north Greece who answered:

> *"The head should be well informed about his her job. S He should be co-operative with the teaching staff as well as with all the people, the organisations, the services, the bodies which are related to special children".*

School counsellors were expecting the head to be able make the special school to function successfully and to gain the social acceptance in spite of the insufficient resources, inexperienced staff and social prejudice.

5.1.3 RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SPECIAL SCHOOL AND THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

These personal observations of personnel working in the field echo the more general norms and regulations issuing from the Ministry of Education.

The 1566/1985 Education Act which defines *"The Structure and Function of Primary and Secondary Education"* foresees the construction of a centralised administrative system in the field of special education. According to the Articles 32, 33, 34 of the 1566/85 Education Act:

"The Ministry of Education and Religions regulates with Presidential Decrees:

- *the name and the type of the school,*

- *the minimum number of children which should exist in each school,*

- *the organisation, function, administration and way of provision of special education at home by public and private bodies,*

- *the structure of special school in grades and groups,*

- *the number of students in each class,*

- *the composition of medical services and bodies for social care,*

- *the financial management of special schools and special vocational schools,*

- *the way of admission and integration of people with special needs in mainstream schools and their classification at the appropriate type and grade of special school or special vocational school or any other special unit,*

- *the constitution and function of parents' associations, which co-operate with the Ministry of Education in the field of special education and special vocational education,*

- *the registration or the transfer of a child with special needs to another school,*

- *the assessment, and grading of children with special needs,*

- *the weekly schedule of teaching or any other activity of the teaching staff of special schools and special vocational schools,*

- *children's examinations,*

- *the beginning and the end of the academic year,*

- *the interruption of studies or the extension of the academic year,*

- *the graduation and any other detail for the organisation and function of special educational units and special vocational schools.*

- *the necessary textbooks, the individual tape recorders, and other necessary teaching aid are provided by the state,*

- *Any issue concerning the writing, illustration, criticism, publication, distribution of books and other teaching material is regulated by the Ministry of Education and Religions"* (p.60-64).

Behind the concentrated administration of the special school, the Ministry is responsible for the designing of a detailed policy on special education. Although the limits of responsibilities of a head seemed quite broad the limits of his/her actions seemed quite defined by the Ministry of Education and Religions.

This mass of centrally stated requirements results in a heavy flow of information from centre to periphery. It is not surprising that heads often see themselves as conduits of information from the Ministry to the particular local institution of which they are in charge. For example, a head who was working in a 6/teacher public special school in central Attika with 4 years of experience in this post said:

"The Ministry informs us with circulars as well as through the school counsellors"

A head who was working in a 10/teacher public special school in central Attika and who had had 4 years of experience said:

> *"We are informed by the school counsellors and the director of the Municipal Communal Authorities. For administrative issues we are informed by the Municipal Communal Authorities. For the registration of children, their assessment or the registration of a child in the mainstream school I am informed by the counsellor of special education, the psychologist and the medical centre".*

And she added:

> *"The Ministry sends us an Information Bulletin on Special Education and gives us instructions how to function".*

Heads were obliged to inform the subordinate staff after they have been informed by the Ministry of Education. A head who was working in a 6/teacher public special school in east Attika and who had had 4 years of experience said:

"The Ministry sends us the circulars in order to inform us and then we inform the staff".

The school counsellor was the intermediary between the Ministry and the school manager. A head who was working in a 3/teacher public special school in east Attika with 9 years of experience in this position said:

"The school counsellor comes often. Whenever he wants or whenever we call him".

But counsellors as channels of information are not unproblematic. They have under their supervision large areas of Greece. That inhibits them from being able to focus their attention upon particular schools. A head who was working in a 2/teacher public special school in west Attika with 9 years of experience said:

"The Ministry has sent us the school counsellor once. He came, he had a coffee and he left, because the counsellor has many duties and a large zone to supervise. He is obliged to go to Evia, to the islands, to Fokida, Fthiotida and he should move often. He said to us: "you have got enough experience, you do not need more advice".

Apart from being obliged to implement the official policy school counsellors do not have any training or specialisation on special education. Usually they had attended the INSET in Maraslio where they had got general information on special education. Their training and experience was basically similar to the mainstream teachers.

A head who was working in a 10/teacher public special school in central Attika and who had had 10 years of experience in this position asked for personal contact with the state.

"The state should call the heads and ask them: "what teaching aids do you need in language or in maths?" ".

Perhaps *"the state"* seems rather vague or abstract concept, but some heads had their own ideas about how a more balanced relationship between centre and periphery might develop. It could be communication not only from Ministry to school, but also from school to Ministry. A head who was working in a 2/teacher public special school in west Attika and had had 9 years of experience proposed a solution for the organisation of teaching material for the special school. He was willing to offer his time, knowledge and service to the Ministry for the preparation of curriculum and educational planning on special education. He said:

"The Ministry should get organised in order to publish a few leaflets for special schools. The Ministry should exempt me for two months from my duties in order to be free to get some books and prepare a curriculum. We should see what is done in other countries and adapt it to our needs. There are children who are educable, but we cannot start in September with the mainstream books and force them to learn language. Here we do not start with reading and writing like in mainstream school. Children should first be trained in order to develop certain basic skills".

A head who was working in a 6/teacher public special school in central Attika and had had 4 years of experience found important more direct and concrete the participation of the Ministry in the school life. He said:

"The authorities should come close to the special school and inside the school and experience the situation that we live on a daily base. We face very serious problems which need a long term effort in order to be solved".

School counsellors gave their own views about informing and coming in contact with headteachers. A school counsellor from Attika had a more top-down view of his role as informant:

"We inform heads about the administration of the special school in the following ways:

i) with regular visits and discussions.

ii)   during seminars regularly or occasionally

iii)   during frequent visits to the schools. "

A school counsellor from Piraeus replied:

"Heads get informed on school administration through our visits which are realised as often as possible in special schools and through circulars. We give guidance about: the handling of problems with other heads, the ways of enlightenment and sensitisation of the public, co-operation with organisations, associations, local authorities, public services etc. "

As far as the supervision of the head's job is concerned a school counsellor from north Greece took a less authoritarian view:

"During our discussions with heads we accept many of the heads' views and actions and we try discreetly to mention the law, the presidential decrees, the orders referred in the circulars. We aim to direct and support head's actions and initiatives as correctly as possible having as ultimate aim the smooth function of the special school. "

A school counsellor from Attika also took a balanced line:

"a) during our visits at school,

b)   during our meetings with heads, heads give an account of the school life and they describe the policy implemented for the function of the school. They give us detailed account of the results of any initiative that they take,

c)   with brief reports that are demanded by the heads at the end of the academic year for the administrative function of the school and the programs and methods that were applied during the academic year".

A school counsellor from south Greece answered:

"I give guidance and directions, I do not supervise ".

A school counsellor from central-north Greece answered:

"I supervise special schools through frequent visits to schools, by giving advice and making comments and corrections. There is evaluation of the teaching material and teaching methods that have been used. Additions and changes in the school programs may occur".

A school counsellor from Piraeus answered:

"During my visits to special schools I ask heads to submit the time table of the school, the schedule of teaching work of every level and class, to give me a report on the administration and function of the special school".

Briefly, the Greek education system is homogeneous. Special education is a newly developing institution in Greek society and it has not got a stabilized context and form. The Ministry of Education is the sole agency responsible for the designing of the special educational policy and

followed a centralized policy in order to ensure that they will not be diversions. The role, attitudes, choices of people working inside the school was influenced to a high degree by the institutional measures of the Ministry.

The Ministry informs the heads on administrative as well as on special education matters. The way that heads should handle some cases, how they should assess children the way schools should cooperate with services and parents etc. The Ministry informs the heads either through the circulars or leaflets or through the school counsellors whose role is to visit the school in order to supervise and give directions.

5.1.4 RELATIONS WITH THE PARENTS

In a centralized *"Napoleonic"* system such as that seen in Greece, relationships between the Ministry and the school will naturally look large in the comments of heads and others and this bureaucratic aspect of schooling understandably featured heavily in the previous section: However, schools and special schools even more than mainstream schools are obliged also to take serious account of these communities in which they are located and of the clientele which they serve. In particular the family is an important institution for the school and social integration (Milios,1986; Tjani,1986). Relations with parents are very important for the heads. First, due to the insufficiencies in the field of special education and the support parents can offer. Second, as parents are part of the family they can influence their children, and as part of society they can influence the social attitudes (Fragoudaki,1985).

Parents' attitudes towards the special school were varying. A head who was working in a 3/teacher public special school in east Attika and had had 8 years of experience said:

> *"The parents of the children that I have got seem sensitized and they seem to have understood the problem. This is the impression that I have got when I meet the parents individually but also during the parents' meetings that take place here. Almost all parents come into school and this shows their interest. As far as I know there are some parents who have not accepted the problem of their children and they have rejected them".*

A head who was working in a 6/teacher public special school in west Attika and had had 6 years of experience found that mothers almost exclusively visit the school. He said:

> *"We have defined a particular day for the parents' meeting but these meetings are often cancelled because parents have several problems and they cannot to be synchronised in their visits to the school. There are two categories of parents. These who have accepted their child's problem and these are few. And these who have not accepted and they are*

the majority. 90% almost 100% of parents who visit the school and are interested in their children are mothers. Fathers in their majority do not seem interested in their children's progress. Mothers come and ask and are interested in their children. Again not all of the mothers".

According to studies implemented by Glambedakis(1990) especially in Greece, the institution of family is very important in the educational and vocational choices of young people. Greek parents do not easily accept to take their child in a special school (Christakis,1982). However, in most cases, we believe, they would prefer to take their child in a special school instead of keeping it at home. The relation between the parents and the special school was something that the majority of the heads gave importance.

Academic achievement is a very important matter for the Greek parents. Some parents were suspicious about the special school. Heads supported the advertisement of their school. A head who was managing a 6/teacher public special school in west Attika and had had 17 years of experience in this post said:

> *"Parents do not accept that their children have a problem. They come here and they say "I want to see the school first, how the children are here, because my child is quite capable". They doubt that we can help them. Finally, they accept to leave their child in this school. After having seen the school once or twice and seen the work we do, they accept it. At the end they insist on leaving their children here. There are cases that we say: "take your child back because s he has overcome its problems" and they insist on leaving it here because they believe that we do better job than the mainstream school".*

A head who was running a 3/teacher public special school in east Attika and had had 7 years of experience found that trust was a crucial factor for the co-operation between parents and school. He said:

> *"The head's duties in a special school are complicated and difficult, because the communication with parents is difficult. Parents are initially frightened to come to special school. The head's duty is to approach them and inspire trust in them for the school function. Then the opposite happens. Parents of these children are tied with the teacher and they ask for support. We have children who have left school and their parents keep coming to the special school in order to find support".*

A head who was working in a 2/teacher public special school in west Attika and had had 9 years of experience saw his role almost as a personal counsellor:

> *"I started long time ago to come in contact with parents. I formed some groups of parents on my own initiative and I succeeded in persuading them to trust the psychologist. Every 15 days we have a two hour session with parents and we talk about their problems. In another school as I know, the head did not succeed in assembling the parents. The approach of a parent is a hard struggle...The Ministry should inform the public better about special education, through the mass media. It is not easy to assemble parents. They cannot be assembled, they cannot be found. They do not come to the special school. A parental*

meeting might be organised outside school from a team of specialists. But this team would be impersonal and I do not think that there would be any result. If I bring a specialist in my school in order to talk to parents, parents will not talk to the specialist. They might sit down and listen to the specialist for hours but they will not talk. The specialist would not communicate with them. The mother can not cry in front of the specialist, but she can cry in front of me. Interpersonal relationship is very important...I had a student who did not talk. The mother refused to see any specialist. She talked only to me. Since then she does for her child whatever I say to her. I said to her: "take your child to a psychiatrist", she took it, or "take it to a doctor", she took it, or "take it to the physiotherapist", she took it. Trust is a very important factor".

Headteacher and staff were willing to cooperate and inform parents regularly. There was a sort of mutual feedback between the parents and the special school. Special school wanted parents' acceptance and support and parents needed psychological support and counselling. A head who was managing a 10/teacher public special school in central Attika and who had had 4 years of experience co-operated with parents on a daily basis. He stressed the ongoing character of contacts with parents:

"Parents in the special school co-operate because they know the problems. In special schools children are very difficult. They have psychological problems and low mental level. There are children who provoke many troubles to parents at home and parents do not have anyone else to talk to but the teacher. That is why they seek co-operation. We inform them almost every day. Our official schedule defines that parents' meetings are held every Friday. Of course parents are not informed once a week but on a daily basis. The mother or the father who brings the child into the school every day gets informed and co-operates with the class-teacher. We have also the social worker who visits them at home. Parents themselves come from their home and talk with the social worker. The social worker is the link between the teacher and the parents. She has the opportunity to get in touch with parents because she does not have any teaching duty. She collects very useful information for us. We get to know all the problems that each child faces in his her family."

A head who was working in a 1/teacher private special school in east Attika and had had 11 years of experience offered consultancy and support to parents. School was penetrating in the bounds between parents and child. (Information Bulletin on Special Education,1992). He described parents as "traumatised":

"Consultations and support are offered to parents by a specialised social worker twice or three times per week according to their needs...When there is a child with special needs in a family there are also additional problems. They are more in the sense that parents are traumatised when they realise that their child is not as they had imagined, as they would like, it is not like other children. For this reason we think that parents need support and consultation...An aim of our school is to maintain good relations between the child and the parents in the family."

Heads were not only concerned about particular cases. They were also often concerned about the social environment and the relation of the school with the people of the community (Xiromeriti-Tsaklaganou,1986; Theodoropoulos,1978). Thus, a head who was working in a 6/teacher public

special school in west Attika and had had 17 years of experience in this position was saying his experience about his successful effort to attract students and enlarge the school.:

"The head is the soul of the school. Before I undertook the administration of this school it had been a 2 teacher special school. Now, it is a 6 teacher special school. This school had only 10 children. Ever since I undertook the administration of the school we have over 70 students. The reputation of the school concerns me a lot...I have a full team in this school. It includes about 18-20 members of special staff. There are eight teachers, a social worker, a psychologist, a speech therapist. The school has also coaches for the transport of the children. If the head is not sensitised, if the head is not active then the school cannot function properly. People have seen the work we do here and they are willing to support us. There are parents who insist on bringing their children to my school but I do not have space to keep them."

Heads were contributing to the formation of social ideology, values and attitudes. A head who was working in a 2/teacher public special school in west Attika and had had 9 years of experience said:

"I need to leave the school often in order to meet members of the Municipal Communal Authorities. The head must be sociable. For the correct function of the school the head needs to do a lot of things outside the school. He needs to pass the message of special education into the community and this takes a lot of time. Some days ago I had been invited to a meeting. The priest was against the establishment of the special school in a campus with a mainstream school. I had to dispute with him in public and I tried to present the positive effects of the co-existence of the schools in the same campus"

The diffusion of the ideology and the establishment of special education in society is also a head's duty (Information Bulletin on Special Education,1992). A head who was working in a 3/teacher public special school in east Attika and had had 8 years of experience said:

"We have three levels, we would like to organise a lower level for next year because there is a great demand for young children classes. Today 5 or 6 people came. We have serious problems because we have only 3 teachers for 24 children."

A head who was working in a 3/teacher public special school in east Attica and had had 9 years of experience in this position said:

"At the beginning this school was a 1/teacher school and now it is a 3 teacher school and it is going to be a 4 teacher one. Initially it had only 15 children and now it has 31. We are 3 teachers and a social worker."

Thus, the institution of special education had to face long traditional prejudice against people with special needs. Until the mid 1980s children with special needs were normally placed in asylums and they stayed under their parents' care. Parents were initially suspicious with the institution of special school mainly because they did not believe that their children could be treated in a human and positive manner.

Heads found that the building of a good relation with parents is very important for the function of the school. There was a need for mutual support between heads and parents. School needed parents to supply it with students and financial resources and school was offering to parents guidance and support. School was also cultivating to parents the hope that it can undertake the care of these children for a part of the day, unburden parents and may be help the child to find a job and not return back at home to a life of long-term or permanent unemployment. Thus, parents were legitimizing the establishment of special education in society.

5.1.5 RELATIONS WITH MAINSTREAM SCHOOLS

The official statements of the Ministry of Education emphasize that the whole system is essentially integrated:

> "The staff of the mainstream school is requested to support actively, with responsibility and sympathy the role of the special school and to contribute positively to the development of special education. This field should not be the margin of education neither the field for the expression of sympathy. It is a field inseparable from our education system and its quality reflects the quality of the whole education system and the teaching profession...We call again all the teachers, headteachers, directors of the Municipal/Communal Authorities and the school counsellors to get sensitised actively on special education and to contribute constantly, in any way to the responsible enlightenment and information of the public" (Information Bulletin on Special Education, 1992 p.83).

Moreover, in a circular that the Ministry of Education sent to the headteachers in 1992 it was defined that:

> "The key to success   is the change of attitude and mentality of the whole school organisation (students, educationists, administration, parents) towards children with special needs, without any deprecatory discrimination. Every teacher is responsible for the pedagogical and teaching function which s-he has a moral and scientific duty to offer to all students" (Information Bulletin on Special Education, 1992 p.87).

Some heads who were working in special schools especially in west Attika had problems with pupils, parents, and staff of the mainstream school. Mainstream people did not accept the housing of a special school in the campus of a mainstream school. The experience of a head who was working in a 6/teacher public special school in west Attika and had had 6 years of experience led him to question the cosy co-operative model promulgated by the Ministry:

> "We do not have any problem with the children and the staff. We co-operate harmoniously here. Serious problems exist with the mainstream schools of the campus and mainly with the parents of the "normal", children. The hugest problem arises when a special school is housed for the first time in the premises of the mainstream school. These problems are caused by the parents of the normal children who do not like our children. Here we had problems a few years ago when we were moving into the new school. Until a few years ago the school was functioning as a 2-teacher school and it covered the needs of the wider area of Egaleo. After its enlargement the school had to be transferred to another building

because four new levels were added. In the meantime the special staff came, the psychologist, the social worker, a year later the care taker and the problem became urgent. The prefect judged that, this was the appropriate building for the school to move into. It was difficult for us to come here because parents reacted. The students of the mainstream school did not go to their classes and parents were pressing the municipal committee to prevent the transfer of the school in the campus of the mainstream school...I think the special schools which function separately and under bad conditions will gradually close down. The number of the special schools and the number of students in these schools will diminish. We had a similar problem here. After the intervention of parents of the mainstream school the school was planned to be housed in an isolated building with a fence five metres high. That building had been used by a primary school and then a Technical School but they moved to other buildings because the specialists said that the building was ruined and that an earthquake could demolish it. But, apart from the bad conditions the children would be isolated. In addition the building was low-ceilinged and it used to be a dovecote. It did not have a proper roof but a flat-roof and in the summer it was burning hot while in the winter it was freezing cold. There were also other problems...Finally, after several protests we came in touch with the Ministry of Education...We moved in on 30-31 of August when the school was still closed and there would not be any reactions. In the first day at school parents found that the case has closed. There were reactions then as well but it was difficult for the school to move out. It would be easy for them to prevent us to get in. They could stand at the door and close the entrance but it was difficult to throw us out...We had also another problem with the school buses, because these children are not only from Egaleo, they come from other areas as well. Some people tried to inhibit their entrance. I said to them you can prevent the children of your school to get into the building but not our children...For a period of 20 days the school remained shut. Some parents wanted to send their children to school but there were groups of parents who safeguarded the school and pushed back anyone who wanted to enter the school...There was a hard nucleus of parents who after the decision of the prefect realised that there was nothing they can do".

A head who was working in a 6/teacher public special school in west Attika and had had 8 years of experience spoke of his own somewhat similar experience:

"We have the problem of housing. Since the school was enlarged and it became a 6 teacher we should move into a new building. It had been proposed that the school should be housed in a building which was too old and it was isolated. Me and my colleagues reacted and we went to the committee of education of the municipality. The committee accepted that the school should not be housed there because the building was inappropriate. From that moment the conflicts started. We started looking for a school and we were going from one school to the other. We could not find any which would give us six rooms. We found incredible reaction from the parents and the colleagues who were working in the mainstream school; unfortunately, from the colleagues as well. The director of the Municipal Communal Authorities came then and started looking for some space. We found this office and two other rooms where we could use for some children for a while. There were other rooms as well but there were incredible reactions from the parents. They even threaten to attack us. The teachers union of Peristeri felt obliged to organise a meeting and inform them. But nothing changed. They continued to threaten us. They said that they would occupy the building and that they would inhibit the entrance. They would not let our classes be housed here. They would not let the carpenters decorate the rooms a little bit. That is why we have remained with a low number of children at school. Parents have inhibited our function, otherwise we could have used some of these rooms since last September and

functioned properly...The committee of education of the municipality has decided to build a new building on an empty site. We are going to go there after a year and find some peace".

In a circular that was sent to the heads of schools the Minister of Education states:

"Everyone carries some responsibility for the unacceptable housing of some special schools. There might be the problem of housing in some areas, but it is unacceptable this problem to remain unsolved, or to be handled with superficiality. Special schools are instituted after your proposition. You are requested to co-operate in time with the competent services and the bodies for the solving of such problems" (Information Bulletin on Special Education, 1992 p.92).

Many of these problems - as was perhaps to be expected in a relatively new social institution - are related to buildings. A head who was working in a 3/teacher public special school in east Attika and had had 7 years of experience said:

"The problem of housing is terrible. They have proposed to us to house the school in trailers. Mainstream parents reacted and they have done many movements to throw us out. Now we are obliged to share the rooms and work with many groups of children from different grades in the same classroom. We work all together divided in groups in the same room."

A head who was managing a 2/teacher public special school in central Attika and had had 5 years of experience said:

"We have the problem of housing the school. Whenever the special school is together with the mainstream, special school gets the worst rooms. It should get the best since these children have particular needs".

The agents of special education had to confront some hostile reactions. Even people who were working in the field of education were opposed to the existence of a special school next to a mainstream school. Heads with their efforts to ensure a nice school environment for the special school was spreading the official policy without revealing a political role. The depth of local reaction to special schooling, going in some cases cited above as far as threats of violence, reflects at least three factors particular to Greece: (i) the novelty of special education and the unfamiliarity of parents and others with what it means (ii) the lack of dedicated buildings which of itself produces "*territorial*" disputes and conflicts; and (iii) a cultural distrust (derived in part from "*folk knowledge*" of "*asylums*") of institutions catering for special needs. The practical difficulties and tensions described in the statements of some of the heads are fuelled and increased by widespread ignorance of, or confusion about the aims of special schooling. It is to these that the next section turns.

5.2   SECTION II

5.2.1   THE AIMS OF THE SPECIAL SCHOOL

Problems with school buildings, the head's need to build up parental support and conflicts with parents and staff in mainstream schools tended to emerge frequently in dialogue with heads. But behind these obvious everyday problems the deeper underlying aims of special education also provoked many comments and some reflection. Aims naturally led on to social and political questions. It is clear that the aims of the special school can not be investigated without a simultaneous investigation of the social and political environment. Tjani(1986) supports the view that schooling is the ultimate political action. She maintains that its form and context vary according to social and political forms. In Greece the development of the institution of special education did not develop in the same way as in the developed western countries. It resembled an import. More stress was laid on the exterior characteristics of a policy followed in Europe than on the deep-rooted, *"home grown"* development of the role of state care.

Thus, in order to investigate the school aims - and consequently the *"raison d' être"* of the headteacher, as Hoyle(1986) says - we should give at least some information about the contemporary social and political situation.

The advent of World War II finally persuaded European countries to seek a new settlement, which would secure peace and move beyond the historic system of independent nation states to a far-reaching economic and political union (Hopkins, Howarth, Metais, Parry, Smith, Strath and Willis,1994).

The European Community was founded to deal with the changing political and economic world and has advanced quite far along the federal road towards a European Union, which is the explicit objective. The aim of the European Union is to unite the continent with the consensus of its citizens instead of by war (Starida,1987).

The political and economic development in Europe brought distinct changes in the field of education and social ideology (Politis,1994; Kassotakis,1990; Jones,1992). In the late 1970s or early 1980s the EEC reconsidered the position of people with special needs in society and labour market and it consequently recognised their right to receive education and training (CEDEFOP, European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training, 1990; King,1969). A series of initiatives for the designing of a co-ordinated policy in the field of special education and special vocational education between member states has been undertaken since the 1980s (e.g. the 1981 was declared as the

International Year of Disabled People, on March 1981 the Resolution of the European Parliament containing proposals to facilitate economic, social and vocational integration of the disabled was adopted etc.) (Commission of the European Community,1990; Neave,1984). The thesis argues that the main factors which have influenced such initiatives have been the automation of production and the expansion of information technology which give to people with special needs the possibility to participate into production process.

In Greece the initiatives of European Community, in the field of special education concern:

i)   EEC financial support which includes the funding of 55% of the operational cost of institutions for vocational training, the construction, expansion and equipment of institutions, grants for students and the funding of boarding schools (Dellassoudas,1991 p.85).

ii)   initiatives like the establishment of a network for vocational training and re-integration, the Networks of Model Local Plans directed by INTERACT for the undertaking of initiatives at a local level etc.

iii)   the organisation of meetings, seminars and symposia with the participation of specialists, representatives of the European Community or member states.

iv)   The publication of studies and information bulletins, like the Re-integration Network Review, the "INTERACT NEWS" the bulletin and publications of CEDEFOP (CEDEFOP NEWS & CEDEFOP FLASH) etc. (Dellassoudas,1991 p.85).

v)   the introduction of the second Community programme for the care of people with special needs ("HELIOS"). The programme included reform and expansion of the European Community's activities aiming to enable disabled people to live an independent life (Daunt,1991; Herakleous,1993).

In 1982 around 1,800 unemployed handicapped persons in Greece benefited from various measures designed to help their integration into working life. 50% of the beneficiaries were young people under 25 years. 1,000 handicapped persons had been able to find a job in the open market thanks to the fact that their wages and training costs were subsidised (Dellassoudas,1991 p.82). In addition, the Organisation of Manpower and Occupation (OAED) with the participation of the European Community Fund is applying a number of financial incentives to persuade employers to hire people with disabilities (Polychronopoulou,1985).

According to the philosophy of the Organization of Manpower and Occupation (OAED) as it is stated in a triptych brochure (1985) distributed over 10.000 copies throughout the country:

> "...the unemployment handicapped is twice handicapped and condemned to live in the margin of societal life and creative activity, dependent on his family and social environment, and imprisoned in a climate of illiteracy and prejudice which ignores both his human rights and his potential for independent life...The government calls every handicapped and every employer of the country to participate in the programme of OAED...The Organization of Manpower and Occupation believes that handicapped and non-handicapped people will break all castles of prejudice and institutionalization through the process of mutual acceptance and understanding and will soon open widely the door leading to social liberation"

The participation of people with special needs in the education system and production process aims at adapting the (European) labour market to the new economic conditions (economic competition between large markets) (Georgatselos,1994; Nikodimos,1994). The expansion of education to social groups who have been left out of the education system and production (e.g. disabled, psychologically disturbed, socially maladjusted etc.) has enriched the labour market with a greater variety of skills. Since the 1980s European economic projects foresaw that the declining number of young people in Europe, and the accompanying ageing of the labour force would have as a result the growing skills shortage. Thus, the European Community has developed new policies for the increase of human resources, including the expansion of special education and vocational training, to people with special needs (Kennedy,1988; Jones,1992). It also expanded the opportunities for vocational rehabilitation and it improved the working conditions for some categories of people with special needs. In the designing of a new Europe people who had been marginalized can have a place. There is a new redefining of roles and power relationships in society. Even if in some cases the cost of training people with special needs is higher than the training of "normal" people however there are benefits in the ideological level (who is normal and who is not, who holds the power, who decides and who obeys) which help the establishment of the new social order.

The initiatives of the EU had a special impact on Greece (as opposed, for example to UK) because they affected a social situation which hitherto - for social reasons that we have already analyse in previous chapters - had given little attention to special education.

The opportunity for integration into society and production would be viewed as a challenge for people with special needs. The marginalized position of these people, the social prejudice that they have been - and they are still - facing and the imposition of a new ideology about the need to change peoples' attitudes towards people with special needs and to integrate people with special needs in society are some of the factors that are expected to influence people with special needs to accept

employment with "*special*" conditions corresponding to their abilities (for example to work longer hours than "*normal*" labour does or to get low payments). As Hoyt(1975) has stated:

> "*We have for too long, seemed to act as though a handicapped person should be both pleased with and grateful for any kind of work society provides. Unlike other persons, we seem to assume that, if a person is handicapped, boredom on a job is impossible...If any job in the world of paid employment can be found for the handicapped person, we seem far too often to be personally relieved and surprised when the handicapped person is anything less than eternally grateful*" (p.2)

As the economy moves towards liberal and competitive forms, the participation of people with special needs in production can become a threat for the rights of "*normal*" people in the labour market. We believe that the participation of people with special needs in the labour market increases the competition between workers and tends to depress wage levels.

The term special education pre-defines that people who attend special schools will not be treated exactly as mainstream students are. Thus, in the labour market two labour forces are gradually constructed. As the categories of people characterised "*special*" expand and increase, more people who are able to participate fully in production receive special education. Thus, people with special needs will gradually become a considerable labour force.

In Tomlinson's(1982) book "*A Sociology of Special Education*", Coleman's(1956) study on the employment success of the ESN noted that at least 70% of the ESN ex-pupils are employable and this group is a reliable source of labour (Tomlinson,1982). Special schools after the war particularly the ESN-M, have embraced the aim to prepare their pupils for routine, manual work with an emphasis on such qualities as obedience, docility and punctuality. Knight and Walker (1965) discussed how the school day could resemble as closely as possible the factory day, and described how their school pupils "*clocked-in*" at the wood-work room where "*one day a week we try to bring factory-type conditions*". In a recent paper describing the work of Further Education College Industrial Training unit for slow learners, Atkinson(1981) noted that while officially the aims of the unit were to provide young people with occupational skills the day-to-day training is couched in terms of the model of a "*good worker*" and the value of good work to those who control the productive process in society. As he noted, "*appearance, demeanour, the willingness to accept subordinate roles and discipline, have a great influence on unit staff and may be influential in obtaining jobs for the students*" (Atkinson,1981). The majority of special school leavers, then, has always followed a curriculum which has the general aim to prepare them for some kind of low status employment (Tomlinson,1982, p.142).

According to an investigation implemented by Dellassoudas(1991) on technical-vocational education and employment in Greece, 5% of the employees in the public sector, 80% of the ancillary staff and 100% of the operators could be replaced by people with special needs (p.86).

The integration of people with special needs in society, and their controlled channelling to production can become the vehicle for the implementation of the policy towards a European Union with social and political consequences for all "*normal*" European citizens. Thus, the development of special education - under contemporary conditions - may bring serious political and social changes.

According to Article 32 of the 1985 Greek Education Act the aims of special education are:

> "*(i)   the multi-faceted and effective development of children's abilities and possibilities,*
>
> *(ii)   the integration of children into the production process,*
>
> *(iii)   their mutual acceptance into society" (Information Bulletin on Special Education,1992 p.67)."*

Socialisation and learning are the main aims of special education according to a head in a 2/teacher public special school in central Attika with 5 years of experience. She said:

> "*Our aim is socialisation and learning together. We are interested in giving them as much knowledge as possible and in integrating them in society in the best way. Of course, social integration is our main aim in this school*".

Similar are the aims of the mainstream school.

Integration in society, acceptance by the social environment and vocational rehabilitation are the aims of special education according to another head from the same area who was working in a 6/teacher public special school in east Attika and had had 4 years of experience in this position. She said:

> "*The scope of special education is a world wide scope. It is to integrate children in society. The most important is, children to become accepted by the social context. Social integration and finally vocational rehabilitation of children are our ultimate aim*".

Smooth integration in society and vocational rehabilitation are also picked out as the aims of the special school according to a head in a 10/teacher public special school in central Attika with 10 years of experience in this post. Increase of human resources for the maintenance and transmission of culture and civilisation is also a school aim. He maintained that:

> "*The aim of education is the same either in primary education or in University. Both mainstream and special school aim at the smooth integration of people in society and in the production process. The aim of education is to make the individual productive and not a burden. We do not aim just to achieve children's social integration, we rather aim at teaching for the promotion of our civilisation*".

Socialisation, self-help, integration into society according to children's abilities, acceptance by society and family environment are the aims of the special school according to a head in a 6/teacher public special school in east Attika with 9 years of experience in this post. He said:

> "Special school aims at the socialisation and usually at the learning of self-help. It aims at integrating children in society on the basis of their abilities. It aims at making them able to be accepted by the family and social environment. We have levels here in the school which aim at providing children with knowledge in a slower rhythm than the mainstream school. We have trainable and educable children. Educable children can progress more than trainable children. Our aim is clearly to try to integrate them in society. ".

Learning, of academic knowledge, learning of social behaviour and social integration are the aims of the special school according to a head in a 2/teacher public special school in west Attika with 9 years of experience in this post. However, according to the head, knowledge is useless if the child does not learn to behave properly. This means, learning the code of social values. He said:

> "Here we give particular emphasis to learning. The school is for trainable children. Our main target is the social integration of children. If the child does not learn how to behave properly in society, how to speak properly, then the knowledge is useless. There are cases of children who can learn but apart from that they cannot integrate in society. Our ultimate aim is the social integration of children... ".

Integration and obedience, are qualities which also looked large in the testimony of a head from a 1/teacher private school in east Attika with 8 years of experience. She said:

> "The role of the special school is to integrate children inside the family and to make their life harmonious. It aims at making them able to be self dependent and helping them to obey orders. I consider it to be a great progress of a child when mothers tell me that they have sat all together and they saw a movie... Our ultimate aim is the integration into society. "

Some heads carried the argument a stage further by recognizing that integration required effort and change not just inside the school, but in society at large as well. Some heads found that one of the aims of the special school is to prepare society to accept the children with special needs.

Typical was a head who was managing a 2/teacher public special school in central Attika and had had 7 years of experience. For her a central task was enlightenment of the public. She saw this as a task much bigger than the school alone could handle:

> "The Ministry could enlighten the public through the mass media. The television is helpful. It is not easy to assemble people at school and talk to them about special education. "

The Ministry's view on the issue of public enlightenment was that:

> "Headteachers and school counsellors in co-operation with the Municipal Communal Authorities are competent for the enlightenment of educationists in general, of parents, of people of the local community and the wider society. Anyone who is interested in special education and especially parents should not arrive at the Ministry from every area of

Greece in order to get information on special education. The Municipal Communal Authorities are competent to inform them...The responsible and continuous information of educationists, parents and people with special needs and of the general public from the competent services and the University research centres falls within our plans. The mass media (press, t.v., radio) can and should play a serious and responsible role." (Information Bulletin on Special Education, 1992 p.82).

Establishment of the institution of special school in society, creation of ideology about who is normal and who is not are part of the head's role.

Socialisation, learning and self-help were the aims of the special school according to the school counsellors of special education. Most of the school counsellors quoted parts of the 1566/1985 Education Act, and many of their responses were very broad. Thus a school counsellor from the Aegean islands answered:

"The aims of the special school are:

1) to cultivate, reinforce and strengthen the self-confidence of students in special school

2) to develop the mental and physical strength of special students as much as possible.

3) to develop the practical skills of students as much as possible

4) to equip pupils with special needs with knowledge to the degree that they are able to."

Similarly, a school counsellor from Piraeus answered:

"In the frames of primary, secondary and vocational education, special education aims:

a) at the multifaceted and effective development of pupils' abilities and possibilities

b) at their integration into the production process,

c) at their mutual acceptance into society (Law 1566 1985)"

A school counsellor from Attika answered:

"The aims of the special school are: the normalisation and socialisation of people with special needs. Specifically:

a) the equal development of their mental and psychological abilities and possibilities,

b) the reduction or the elimination of their needs,

c) their smooth integration into society and

d) their integration into the production process."

The aims of special education move beyond the benevolent protection of people with special needs or the perception that the state suddenly realized its duty towards its citizens. The aims of special education are social and political. This is apparent from the fact that special education expanded suddenly and spread faster than the building of the necessary infrastructure which would permit to children to choose among a variety of life styles individually. According to

headteachers and school counsellors the aim of special education and special school is to integrate people with special needs into production process and society and make them accepted by the other members of the society.

5.2.2 SPECIAL EDUCATION PROVISION

The concept of "provision in the 1985 Education Act is sweeping even grandiose:

> "to people with special needs, special education and special vocational education are provided according to their needs and abilities" (Information Bulletin on Special Education, 1992, Ministry of Education p.34)

At school level, heads saw this in more pedestrian terms as the integration of children with special needs into society and into the production process. This confronted heads with the necessity of improving their plant especially the establishment, equipment and expansion of craftrooms and laboratories. Thus a second head who was working in a 4/teacher public special school in central Attika and had had 3 years of experience said:

> "Lessons like craftwork and pottery are very helpful. We call them the "talking hand". The hand which makes the mouth speak. Craftwork is very important and useful. Thus, some members of our staff teach hand-crafts...These students have constructed this skeleton with the assistance of the teacher".

Similarly, a head who was managing a 2/teacher public special school in central Attika and had had 7 years of experience in this position found work-rooms useful for social and vocational integration of pupils who do not have severe problems. She said:

> "Here we need some work-rooms for activities like woodcrafting because many of these children do not have severe retardation and many of them can be integrated in society and work somewhere as technicians or labours. A preparation could be done here".

Moreover, a head who was running a 2/teacher public special school in west Attika and had had 9 years of experience found that crafts were useful also for children who had severe learning problems. He said:

> "I do not think that the most important thing for these kids is to learn the subjects. I do not believe that they should study just their lessons since they have serious problems. After a few hours of teaching they should deal with craftwork and gymnastics. In my school I am trying to expand the craftrooms and enrich them in order to offer children the possibility to deal with different practical activities that are able and they like to do".

One head who was working in a 4/teacher public special school in central Attika and had had 3 years of experience said:

> "After the special school they go to a vocational school in Kallithea or Pendeli. They learn a few things but not enough. Vocational education should start from the primary school. It is tiring for these children to attend classes from 8.30 to 1 o'clock. I think with these

craftrooms they will be able to learn many things and they will not get tired. They can not deal five hours per day with the lessons. "

Heads supported that special technical vocational education has not been sufficiently organized but there is need to be organized. Qualitative and quantitative improvement of the system of technical education should be seen in relation to the reluctance of the Greek student population to choose technical education and their orientation mainly towards jobs of the tertiary sector. However, it should also be examined to the broader economic aims for increase of trained productive labour force which can be used in the frames of European Union. The non-provision of classical-general education makes people less critical. The development of practical skills do not give to people the opportunity to communicate their ideas and to argue about the institutions.

5.2.3 VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION

Primary special educational provision includes totally 802 special schools and special classes all over Greece. Secondary special education is confined. There are eight special gymnasiums (for hearing impaired and physically disabled children, in Athens, Piraeus, Salonica and Patras), 6 special lyceums (for hearing impaired and physically disabled children, in Athens, Piraeus, Salonica and Patras) and 7 special technical vocational schools (for hearing impaired, socially maladjusted, physically disabled, feeble minded children in Athens, Piraeus, Salonica and Patras) (Information Bulletin on Special Education,1994 p.15). There is no secondary education provision for some categories of children (for example blind people). Although teachers found that special vocational training is more appropriate type of education for children with special needs however, the fast expansion of population identified as special was unable to be accommodated to the vocational schools that had been instituted. The Ministry foresaw that children who finish primary education could register to mainstream secondary education. Thus, some children who could not find a place in a technical school and did not want to go back to the family tried to attend the secondary school. However, their attendance in secondary school was problematic, because there was not the appropriate infrastructure to support their education and teachers were not trained appropriately to face the needs of children. So, most of the children were attending the mainstream school without receiving any special care and in many cases they dropped out.

A head who was working in a 6/teacher public special school in west Attika and had had 17 years of experience said:

> *"The great issue is what happens with these children when they grow up. This is also a head's concern, this is also part of a head's duties. A head is concerned with the student's vocational rehabilitation from the first moment that students come at the school. We send our children to Kallithea or to Theotokos, but not all children get a job. Some children go*

back home and they face a bad situation. The state sends these children to a special school for 5, 6, 7, 8 years and then...This is the problem...There should be more technical schools for their training and preparation for the labour market".

A head who was working in a 10/teacher public special school in central Attika and had had 10 years of experience sends children who finish special school to a technical school. He said:

"The aim of special school is to teach children the basics in reading and writing. But most of all it aims at integrating children in society. Usually after their education in this institution...after the age of 15 we send them to institutions like Sikiaridio where they learn a craft".

Another head who was working in a 6/teacher public special school in west Attika and had had 8 years of experience aimed at the vocational and social integration of children. He said:

"The role of special education is children's socialisation and vocational rehabilitation. We do not expect from our kids to obtain a leaving certificate at the end of gymnasium. What we demand is socialisation and vocational rehabilitation in an easy vocation. These kids usually become workers, sometimes in industries. They learn an easy craft, they usually become carpenters. Technical schools like Theotokos, Sikiaridio, the school of Kallithea, vocational schools of several private bodies teach such crafts. These are our main targets. However the number of these kids is larger than the number of the available vocational schools can train. This is the point where the state must focus. There should not be only one vocational school in Peristeri. West Attika needs more vocational schools so that all special kids can receive special vocational training. Attika needs at least ten such vocational schools and there are only three or four public vocational schools, if I am right...This is where we target. These kids are not able to learn the school knowledge, they are capable of learning an easy profession in order to be able to earn a living and relieve their families".

A head who was working in a 6/teacher public special school in west Attika and had had 6 years of experience sends children to mainstream secondary school after their graduation from special school. The head said:

"When the child graduates from the special school and is younger than 14 years old we are obliged to send his leaving certificate to the nearest gymnasium and the child is obliged to attend the gymnasium if there is not any vocational school to absorb him. But, do they attend the gymnasium? Of course no. The child who finishes the special school is a very low-level student. Here children have serious mental problems. What happens then? Last year we got the order from the Ministry to register them in the gymnasium. We sent their papers in order to get registered. The children did not attend the gymnasium. No-one reacted. The headteacher of the gymnasium knows the problem...These children stay at

home or they are occupied in their parents' job. I had a child last year, he left the special school and he was registered to gymnasium. He did not attend the gymnasium, his father was working with mosaics and marble. The child became a worker next to his father".

A head who was working in a 2/teacher public special school in west Attika and had had 9 years of experience said:

"The employment of these children is a serious matter. After the primary school, they go to the vocational school in Kallithea which is the only vocational school in this area. Their

registration there nowadays is difficult. A few years ago their registration was easier because not many people would go there. Children who are educable are registered in the gymnasium or in the evening gymnasium and we provide them with any sort of support. Teachers are not very strict with them. They are very co-operative with us. We visit the child very often until s he finishes the gymnasium. When the lower technical schools were instituted it was easier for these children to go to one of those schools, but now they have been abolished. As soon as they finish gymnasium we look for an occupation together or in co-operation with the parents. The boys - we have mainly boys in this school - usually deal with car engineering. In other cases, after the gymnasium children go to middle technical schools or to OAED schools and they get some training".

A head from a 6/teacher public special school in east Attika with 4 years of experience in this post said:

"After their graduation from the school at the age of 14 we register them at our vocational institution until the age of 21. In other schools as soon as children graduate from the primary school they go back to their families...This is a problem faced by other countries as well and according to the economic situation of each country the problem is either solved or not. Our country aims at reaching the European standards".

A head who was working in a 2/teacher public special school in central Attika and had had 5 years of experience said:

"After they have finished the special school children become technicians or they stay at home. We keep them here until the age of 17 and then we register them in gymnasium. But who attends gymnasium? No-one. Some of them join their parents' jobs and they become labourers".

The population identified with special needs developed faster than the necessary infrastructure and a variety of technical schools did not exist in the education system.

When Greece joined the European Community, vocational education for people with special needs was at an initial stage. During 1983-1984, three special technical schools had been established with the care of the private sector for the teaching of traditional crafts. Gradually special vocational schools increased and during the academic year 1993-94 there were seven special technical schools.

In parallel the Organisation of Manpower and Occupation (OAED) developed and offered training to children with special needs. Nine years after the accession of Greece to the EEC special vocational institutions increased fivefold and the state participated actively in their function (Bernhard,1983).

Some of the factors that influenced the increase of vocational institutions for children with special needs have been:

i)   the development of a policy in the field of special education and special vocational education between the EEC members (Neave,1984).

ii)   the gradual increase of financing by the state and the European Community Fund.

iii)   the institution of legislative measures which protect and propel vocational training and employment of people with special needs..

5.2.4 THE ROLE OF THE HEAD

In the new social and educational conditions a crucial role of the head in a special school is to smooth the relations between mainstream and special children and to cultivate a good relationship between them at school, since this relationship will later be transferred into the labour market and society (Mattheou,1994; Zafaras,1993; Sianou-Kirigiou,1992). A number of heads referred to this aspect of their work. For example, a head who was working in a 2/teacher public special school in central Attika and had had 7 years of experience in this position said:

> "I have problems with the pupils from the mainstream school. They make fun of our children. There is a struggle of reconciliation".

A head from a 6/teacher public special school in west Attika with 6 years of experience said:

> "These children should not be isolated, they should be in a campus with special schools. This is useful for their socialisation. Our aim is to help the construction of good relations with the children of the mainstream school as well as with their parents. For this reason we need the support of the mainstream school people as well".

The circulars of the Ministry of Education that have been sent to special schools lay great stress on ill-defined terms such as "sympathy" and "love":

> "It is necessary for the aims of the special education to become everyday practice, not only due to sympathy - because such an attitude provoke in the long term opposite results - but because of duty and respect to our fellow-citizens and particularly to children with special educational needs. The love and understanding for these children cannot be imposed by legislation, but it is an element of the relationship which develops between the teacher and the students. We insist on the exhaustion of love and the showing of true affection and comprehension not only towards these students but also towards their parents. Try to imagine yourselves in their position and you will understand them better. In this occasion we consider useful the co-operation of headteachers and teachers with the students' communities in order to cultivate love and understanding towards pupils with special needs, their mutual acceptance and the elimination of any negative prejudice. Relevant illuminating discussion would help very much. Children with special needs should be surrounded by love and interest and teachers and headteachers should become the model for imitation by other students, parents and the wider society...The students' communities should co-operate with the teachers' union in order to organise several activities which aim at the development of love and understanding towards their fellow students with social needs, the equal acceptance from the school community and the society and the disappearance of any negative obsolete prejudice against these students. Teachers of all grades, parents' associations and students are called to help actively so that the field of special education develops smoothly and it does not become a marginalized field of education nor a field for the expression of sympathy only. It is an unseparable part of our

education system as the law 1566'85 stipulates" (Information Bulletin on Special Education, 1992 p.74).

"Sympathy" and "love" are by no means meaningless concepts, but they certainly do not constitute clearly defined operational objectives which can easily be implemented by heads or staff. Such aims lay a weighty responsibility especially on heads. The aims of special education can not be achieved simply with the institution of the relevant legislation, it needs the true support and interest of school administrators and staff. The head, who has undertaken the role of reconciliator between groups of people with different social and economic roles and rights in society plays a crucial political and social part.

The head is a political instrument for the implementation of the political plans of those who hold power, namely the international centres of policy-making who direct the local (national) governments and who gradually lose their power (Kakavoulis,1994; Nianias,1992; Damanakis,1993; Heliou,1992). An important aspect of the head's "political" role lies in his or her assessment and classification of children as "special".

5.3 SECTION III

5.3.1 CHILDREN'S ADMISSION AND ASSESSMENT IN SPECIAL SCHOOL

In the book "La reproduction - éléments pour une théorie du système d' enseignement" Bourdieu and Passeron(1970) develop an argument about the imposition of arbitrary culture through symbolic violence by the state apparatus and by the arbitrary empowerment of school people by the bodies who hold social power. More specifically, Bourdieu and Passeron support that, the arbitrary power of the dominant group or class in the frames of a social formation delegates the exercise of power on its behalf to its agents (e.g. headteachers) in order to inscribe the arbitrary culture in an arbitrary way by exercising symbolic violence.

Through the empowerment of the headteacher by the state, the head is legitimised to divide, classify and characterise children as special and s/he contributes consequently to the construction of a particular social mentality, ideology and self-image about special and normal people.

"Experts" were legitimized to diagnose the needs of children. However, in Greece there is not a University course for the training of psychologists, social workers, speech therapists or teachers of special education who are members of the diagnostic team. These are usually trained abroad or in Greek colleges. Those few who are trained abroad have two disadvantages. First they use different

tests and methods according to the country where they studied and second they do not have the infrastructure to apply what they learned abroad in the Greek schools. Their role - according to the Ministry of Education - was to identify the sort and degree of students' needs, the possibility of the students attendance at a particular type of special school or special class, the adaptability of the child in the school environment and school life, the potential of the child as well as student's family and social background. In urban areas medical centres were established, while in rural areas there were mobile diagnostic teams established in the capital of the prefecture. These were obliged to visite the special schools .

According to the Ministry of Education:

> *"the diagnosis is implemented by the scientific teams which function in the 31 medical centres and the 30 mobile diagnostic teams which are established in different prefectures. Unofficially diagnosis is implemented by the teachers union in co-operation with parents specially for the selection of students with learning difficulties who are going to attend the special classes which are integrated in the mainstream schools. The role of the school counsellor is crucial" (Information Bulletin on Special Education,1992 p.21).*

In addition Article 10 of the Presidential Decree 603/1982 adds:

> *"The head should care for the medical and psychological examination of the student"*
> *(Information Bulletin on Special Education,1992, p.110)*

The process of children's diagnosis and assessment in order to register in a special school is a flexible process. The head together with the teacher's union and in cooperation with parents are enough to legitimize the registration of children in a special school or a special class.

> *"In case the presentation of the diagnosis document is not possible during the registration period, parents are bound to bring it before the beginning of the academic year. If the presentation of the diagnosis is not realised, the student is accepted in the special school if s he belongs to one of the categories of students of the special school, according to the opinion of the teachers' union. Headteacher should take the necessary measures for the medical diagnosis of the students" (Information Bulletin on Special Education,1992 p.110).*

Not only were special staff involved in the diagnosis and assessment of children inadequately trained but also the classification of children into special categories according to the 1566/1985 Education Act is vague and unclear. Article 32 of the 1566/1985 Education Act defines that:

> *"People with special needs are considered people who due to physical, mental or social causes present a retardation, disability or disorder of the general mental and body situation or of some of their functions to the degree that the attendance of the general and vocational education, their possibility to integrate in production process and their mutual acceptance into society are inhibited seriously...Besides, young persons, children or youths who do not belong to the previous cases but who have a disorder in personality by any cause" (Information Bulletin on Special Education,1992 p.99).*

However, due to the fact that the signs of needs of children's are not always apparent and the staff of mainstream and special school was inexperienced there is always the danger of misunderstandings or subjective interpretation of the signs in the assessment of children. Individuals were sometimes assessed, for example, for reasons other than strictly psychological, to solve or reduce group tensions rather than meet individual needs. Thus, teachers might use special classes and special schools to unburden their classrooms from cases of children that cannot easily fit in the group work or were not appropriately trained to handle..

"We want to draw your attention to the selection of children who will attend the special classes. The selection should be done strictly, with concern and it should be justified. It is unacceptable to consider every lively and "unprepared" student inappropriate for the mainstream and appropriate for the special class" (Information Bulletin on Special Education, 1992 p.80).

A head from a 4/teacher public special school, in central Attika with 4 years of experience recruited all the of the special school in order to share the responsibility. She said:

"There is a team which is constituted by the psychologist, the physiotherapist, the social worker, the headteacher and the head of the Nursery school. We call the children to come at the end of the year in order to decide which of them we are going to accept in the school. The assessment is implemented by all these people together and by each one separately. At the end we have a meeting, during which we say which students we think are most eligible for our school. We classify them accordingly in a certain grade. Children might come from other schools, children who might have learning difficulties or motor difficulties. This school accepts children mainly with motor difficulties, mainly spastic children".

Usually, heads and teachers of the special school direct parents where to go for the diagnosis of their child. Medical centres play also a crucial role in justifying the need of the child to receive special education. Thus the channelling of children to special education becomes more complicated and parents cannot easily deny the need of their child for special schooling. A head from a large 10/teacher public special school, in central Attika with 10 years of experience uses his experience as a criterion for the assessment of children. He said:

"The selection of children is done by us, here. It is implemented by the teachers' union, the head with the staff. Eh...we ask them, we give small tests to the kids we ask their age and certain other things. It depends on the child. If s he has been to another school etc. There are kids who come from the mainstream school, others who have not been there at all, we see their age etc. we understand what we should ask more or less from our experience. And anyway a child who comes here should bring a medical report from a psychologist who confirms that the child needs to attend a special school otherwise s he cannot be registered in the special school. Parents should go to the medical centre after we have told them, otherwise they do not know where to go".

According to a head in a 2/teacher public special school from west Attika with 9 years of experience the child's failure in the mainstream school is enough in order to register him/her in the special school. He said:

"Here there is a complete team for assessment and selection. Parents bring their child in the school, the team which mainly decides comes from inside the school. This is how it usually happens in Greece. If the child does not have clear the signs of retardation s he goes to the mainstream school. If s/he fails in the mainstream school we take him her here in the special school and then the child takes all the tests and psychological tests and anything else that is needed. When the child has apparent signs of retardation s he comes directly here. Eh..., of course the child has already a certain age because the mother has kept him her at home when the child was six, seven, eight years old and she usually brings him her at the age of eight".

Not only the criteria for the assessment of children are not standardized but the procedure followed in schools all over Greece varies. A head who was running a 3/teacher public special school in east Attika with 7 years of experience does not follow strictly the procedures of assessment defined by the official documents in order to accept a student in his school. He said:

"We ask an attestation from a medical centre confirming that the child needs to attend a special school. However, in some cases we select the children ourselves, with procedures followed here inside the special school. We make an assessment informally and we judge if a child is suitable for special school. We ask the child to take a test and some exams and we take our decision. We say then: "S He is eligible for the special school". This paper should come to us in advance if this is possible. In some cases we decide to register the child so that s he does not lose the courses and we let parents bring the papers later. We do not stick to the formal process we give importance to the matter."

Children might have been extracted from the mainstream school not necessarily due to a personal insufficiency but also due to false retardation, unfavourable family conditions, previous school experience or due to a strict teacher or headteacher. There were also children who had temporary needs and then returned to mainstream school. A head who was working in a 6/teacher public special school in west Attika school and had had 17 years of experience said:

"There were children who returned to the mainstream school. These were cases of false-retardation due to unfavourable family conditions, previous school experience or to a strict teacher or headteacher who had put too much pressure upon the child. In the past, there were no specialists to diagnose correctly and when a child could not read in the mainstream school s he was considered special. This situation has been maintained until nowadays. If a child fails in school subjects once, twice, three times and s he cannot cope with the lessons in the mainstream school then s he should go to a special school. If s he has learning difficulties or s he is immature or anything, the child could go to a special school. I am not opposed to this policy. Given the fact that we function in the mainstream school, we do not stick labels".

Although each school accepts children with particular type of difficulties, children with special needs are not strictly divided into homogeneous groups. This happened because there is no special

provision for some categories of children (autistic, Down's syndrome, etc.), usually children with psychological problems.

According to the Ministry of Education:

> "Children with learning difficulties should be grouped in homogeneous groups as much as possible. The head, with the participation of teachers and the supervision of the school counsellor is responsible for the grouping of children" (Information Bulletin on Special Education, 1992 p.81).

A head in a 2/teacher public special school, in central Attika, with 5 years of experience said:

> "This school is for educable children with mainly learning difficulties but there is a great variety of cases. There are children who are autistic, others who are psychoneurotic and children with disturbed behaviour due to serious family problems".

A head in a 6/teacher public special school in the same region with 4 years of experience said:

> "Children who are here have several difficulties. They have psychological problems, mental retardness or sometimes both psychological and mental problems."

A head in a 4/teacher public special school in central Attika, with 4 years of experience said:

> "Children have mainly learning difficulties. There are also children with mental retardation, autistic children, we have children with Down's syndrome, children who are trainable. We have trainable and educable children. We have children who are on the limit between normal and special".

There are boarding schools in Athens which are functioning as umbrella schools for people all over Greece. In a 3/teacher special school in east Attika there are pupils from Athens as well as from different areas of Greece. The head, who had had 8 years of experience in the head's post said:

> "We have educable and trainable children from all over Greece, from Peloponnese, from Mitilini etc.. They have several problems, some of them are able to learn quite a lot, some others can learn only to self-help, others are not able to do anything."

5.3.2 HEADS' EDUCATION

Criteria for the assessment of children are not standardised. The procedure of selection is flexible from school to school. Special schools in rural areas are usually smaller than in urban areas and they lack a full team of special staff. Moreover medical centres in rural areas are very rare and they are usually mobile diagnostic teams instituted by the prefecture. Assessment tests used in the special schools are selected by head and the staff themselves or they are designed by the staff of the special school, sometimes with the cooperation of the school counsellor. Heads were passing children through non-standardized interviews. They were actually improvising. Due to the non-institutionalisation of standard criteria for the assessment and selection of pupils with special needs

the head's role and the role of the assessing team is crucial. The fact that assessment is based on non-standardised criteria becomes more dangerous if we think that there is not any University faculty, college or institution where the heads could get any training on identifying or assessing students' special needs. To meet the problem the government started out an initially one year INSET in the 1970s which became a two year course in the 1975 in the Maraslio Pedagogical Academy of Athens (Stassinos,1991). According to the Ministry of Education:

"the educationists who are employed in primary special schools should have attended the 2 year INSET in the Department of Special Education in Maraslio where they register (50 teachers per year) after they have passed exams and they have already 5 years of experience in the field of education. The INSET offers general education and it does not give specialisation, although specialisation is necessary nowadays...The teachers who work in secondary education do not receive any education or special INSET, but they have only experience or studies that they pursued on their initiative in Greece or abroad...In case there are not teachers who have attended the INSET in any special unit the school is staffed with people who have some experience, sensitivity and love for children with special needs. Teachers who work in the field of special education receive a valuable bonus of 36.000 drh. per month for the unfavourable conditions of work. However, the need for training and general information of all teachers on matters, methods or programs of special education is obvious, especially during their first degree at University when systematic educational courses on special education for all future teachers should be organised. The needs and insufficiencies of the active teachers are tried to be confronted, as much as possible, with seminars and short educative visits abroad in co-operation with the European Community and other international organisations. It is true that our contemporary teachers are sensitised more than ever on matters of special education and they are interested in increasing their knowledge and in offering their services at this sensitive field" (Information Bulletin on Special Education,1992, Ministry of Education p.20-21).

In fact the teaching staff and the heads which staffed special school were mainly extracted from mainstream school. In some cases they had attended the INSET which was offering general knowledge on special education. Thus, due to their insufficient knowledge they were obliged to follow the scientific consultations of the Ministry and the school counsellors or to improvise.

Greece has a continuous co-operation and exchange of information, experience and ideas with international organisations and other countries, especially these of the European Community, through the network of EURYDICE and HANDYNET as well as the participation in EEC projects. (Information Bulletin on Special Education,1992, Ministry of Education p.28).

According to the Article 35 of the 1566/1985 Education Act on the training of the educationists who work in the special schools:

"With the decision of the Ministry of Education and Religions the training of teachers who work in special schools, the planning and approval of training programs for teachers of special education, the selection of candidate-teachers for training and the teaching of teachers are the exclusive responsibility of the Ministry of Education and Religions...The

establishment and function of any kind of school, institute or college by individuals for the education, training, post-graduate training, specialisation or in service training of staff who works in special education or special vocational training is forbidden. The offenders are prosecuted according to the Article 458 of the Penal Law...The continuous co-operation and exchange of information, experience and ideas with international organisations and other countries, especially European Community countries through the EURYDICE and HANDYNET networks and our participation in relevant EEC programs are some clear and challenging perspectives for the development of special education in Greece" (Information Bulletin on Special Education, 1992 p.72).

That shows the regime's intention to keep total control of teachers' education and INSET. Since the education of teachers is influenced by the E.U. training policy and given the fact that in Greece there has not been trained staff able to train teachers on special education, teachers' ideology is influenced by the EU ideology.

Most of the headteachers that we met had finished the INSET in Maraslio and this often gives them access to other colleagues. From this experience grows an informal network of mutual support and stimulus. A head in a 10/teacher public special school in central Attika, with 10 years of experience said:

> *"All the teachers who are here have finished the two year INSET in the Teachers Training College. We acquired some basic things there. Here we are trying to specialise on our own in a way, eh...and by using our imagination, in co-operation with each other, we try to exchange our experience. We talk often in the office about some cases. We talk again with the psychologists we meet and discuss about some difficult cases or we meet when we need to re-assess a student or to put some special targets for some students who cannot follow the class".*

A head who was working in a 6/teacher public special school in west Attika, with 17 years of experience find the INSET useful because it introduced heads into some basic meanings of special education. He said:

> *"The two-year INSET in special education was useful to a certain degree because we have learnt few things that we had not heard before during the first degree. They were completely unknown to us before...like the word "dyslexia". The president of the Teachers' Association said "I doubt if any teacher knows what dyslexia means". Not only INSET but also the self-education is important. They did not make us wise in the INSET but they gave us some bibliography. If somebody had taken this bibliography s/he would have learnt a lot. Do not expect of course that we have learnt everything".*

A head who was working in a 3/teacher public special school in east Attika and had had 9 year of experience said:

> *"The INSET provided in Maraslio is the only training for teachers on special education. It might not be of a high level but it offers many things for the Greek standards".*

Some heads found the two-year INSET in Maraslio sufficient. Experience is the most important factor for some heads in order to cope with the difficulties of the job. A head who was working in a 2/teacher public special school in central Attika, and had had 5 years of experience in the head's post said:

> "The INSET that I attended in the field of special education in Maraslio was sufficient to me. I believe that most things are learnt through experience; When someone works close to the children."

Other heads believe that the education provided on special education is not enough. One head who was running a large public special school (6/teacher) in central Attika, and had had 4 years of experience supported that they had been taught general issues and they did not get any specialisation. He said:

> "I believe that in Greece there is not much support for teachers who deal with special education. The INSET covers general matters. Teachers are trained for all cases in the same way. There is not specialisation, for example for spastic or children with mental problems".

A head who was managing a 3/teacher public special school in east Attika with 8 years of experience emphasized how much she was on her own, with little support even from books:

> "I finished the two year INSET which is the only possibility for training in Greece. There are always questions and gaps in the knowledge. I have found many difficulties in my work and for this reason I talk with the school counsellor. We also search for books ourselves, we read, we invent on our own, we create the teaching material ourselves. In special school there is not any ready teaching material. Each child with her his particularities needs her his own teaching material, thus, we are obliged to fix it ourselves".

Special education in Greece did not develop in the same form like in other countries of E.U. where experts take care for the development of a complete infrastructure on assessment, teaching aids, teaching material etc. In Greece special education develops more as a policy of social control than social care. The state takes legislative measures about the assessment methods and the teaching material of children and leave school counsellors to inspect the implementation of the legislation. A head who was working in a 6/teacher public school in east Attika with 4 years of experience said:

> "The education that is provided is not enough. We have learnt most of the things from our experience, we act on our own and we use our imagination a lot".

For some heads the insufficiency of their training was linked to the complexity of their role. A head who was working in a 2/teacher public special school in west Attika with 9 years of experience said:

> "I finished the one-year, INSET in the Teachers' Training College in 1971. I was one of the first special teachers educated in Greece. We took few knowledge but nothing particular. Then we were all obliged to read few things alone, we learnt also things from the kids themselves, we talked with few other people. As long as there is not a particular training on

the special child I think no teacher in Greece has the education that s he should have because, s.he is obliged to play many roles. I used to play the role of psychologist until recently, the role of special worker etc. A psychologist has come only recently, he visits the school twice a week..."

A head who was managing a 10/teacher public special school in central Attika, and had had 4 years of experience in this position supported that she got familiarized with the work through practice. She said:

"I do not think that a head needs much education for this role. What counts most is experience. I do not think that someone needs particular discipline to become a head. Experience, experience above all, experience that we have got from the first years that we worked in 1 teacher schools and where we were the only teachers and we did not have any other choice but to undertake the whole school management, the correspondence, the certificates, the finance etc."

Seminars are organised by the school counsellors with the care of the Ministry of Education for the information of heads on matters of special education. A head in 3/teacher public special school in east Attika with 9 years of experience said:

"As soon as I finished the Teachers Training College I did not have any experience on special education. I passed exams and I attended the two-year INSET in Maraslio. That was the only available training. In the continuation, the only way to increase my knowledge were seminars organised by the Ministry and the school counsellors ".

A head who was working in a 1/teacher private special school in east Attika and had had 8 years of experience said:

"The Ministry informs us through circulars which are sent to us by mail. They do not inform us often about matters on special education although we would like that very much. They just send us the Bulletin of Information on Special Education but it is not enough. There should be informative seminars as well ".

Heads were feeling that specialization and expertise on special education should be combined with affection for these children. A head in a 3/teacher public special school in east Attika with 8 years of experience said:

"The education that I have got is not enough. The INSET is not sufficient. This job needs a lot of practical training and continuous information. They should organise seminars every 1-20 of September and 1-15 of June but they do not. I hope now that we are members of European Community. there will be some improvement. This job needs good will, tolerance and love for the country. Many people study, then they get a post in the public sector and these studies are forgotten. There is not any progress in special education because there is not interest and love. If these elements existed then these children would not be in this situation ".

Publications and organisation of events in the field of education are not frequent. In general the material available on special education is poor. A head from a 2/teacher public special school in west Attika with 9 years of experience said:

> "New things do not easily come up in Greece. A professor from the University of Athens, or someone who has retired and has free time might write a book. This book that I have got here is an old fashioned teaching method that a professor who has been in Switzerland for post-graduate studies has written. Development in the field of special education in Greece is slow. Very few, new things on special education have came out since 1974".

School counsellors gave their own views on the ways heads get informed on issues of special education. A school counsellor from Attika answered:

> "Heads get informed on special education:
>
> i)   during seminars,
>
> ii)   through books and journals,
>
> iii)   for particular fields, like for example on learning difficulties, or on behavioural adaptation, or on school integration and social adaptability heads get informed through educational programs. The frequency of informing heads depends on the type of school. A program for trainable children does not last as long as a program for educable"

Another school counsellor from Attika answered:

> "We inform schools during meetings with the participation of all the staff of each school, during my visits to schools or during seminars. Rarely - due to the lack of the necessary infrastructure - we also organise pilot programs like for example the programs for the full integration of special students in the mainstream school. In addition, during our meeting with heads in order to exchange our views and to give them instructions. We meet heads every time that there is something new. Seminars are organised every second year. These are attended not only by the heads but also by the special staff as well."

A school counsellor from Piraeus said:

> "Heads get informed on special education,
>
> a)   through the organisation of education meetings, seminars, speeches etc.
>
> b)   with model teachings on each subject, according to levels, separately for each type of school,
>
> c)   through the publication of books, or articles etc.
>
> d)   through expositions of books etc.
>
> e)   with the planning and application of special programs, for example for the fighting of learning difficulties, on school integration of blind, hearing impaired and other types of special needs.
>
> Heads get informed:
>
> a)   every year in the first week of September and the last week of June,
>
> b)   once every three months,

c) *occasionally when ever a reason arises. If it is demanded by heads, or if it is demanded by the Ministry of Education".*

A school counsellor from south-Greece answered:

"Heads get informed on special education:

i)   *through co-operation*

ii)   *during educative meetings,*

iii)   *through short seminars in each area. Seminars for the heads of the whole prefecture are difficult to be organised,*

iv)   *by the recommendation of school books and articles,*

v)   *through publications in journals.*

Meetings take place two to four times per academic year, educative meetings are organised once or twice per academic year, seminars take place once every second school year. Publications are often done."

A school counsellor from north Greece answered:

"Heads get informed on special education through seminars and conferences, through educational meetings, through bibliography, with the mailing of photocopies from the stuff of conferences that we have attended, with photocopies of visitors who have been to EEC countries in the frames of the European exchange program HELIOS, with the mailing of bulletins and circulars by the Ministry of Education, official journals of the European Community related to the education of people with special needs".

Heads' education was under the care of the state. Heads had also the opportunity to get some experience by visiting European Union countries. Thus their narrow education and the fact that they were obliged to function under strict instructions made them in an ideological level obedient state agents. They were unable to judge the real state motives on special education. School counsellors did not have any specialization in the field of special education.

5.3.3 QUALITIES AND QUALIFICATIONS FOR A HEAD

According to the Ministry of Education necessary qualifications for the selection of teachers and headteachers in special education were:

"The balanced personality, emotional maturity, and a genuine love and interest in special children. All future teachers finish a gymnasium program, pass an entrance examination, and then attend a Teachers Training College for a two- year course which after 1985 became to a four-year course. In-service training is given to few teachers every year Those teachers who need highly specialised training are sent abroad to study" (Information Bulletin on Special Education,1992 Ministry of Education p.28).

A head in a 6/teacher public special school in east Attika with 4 years of experience said:

> *"The head has the same duties as the head who works in the mainstream school. In addition, he has to be an enlightened person, with rich knowledge on special education. That is why the head should get extra education here or abroad."*

It seemed from many of the comments recorded that it is heads' responsibility, heads' quality, interest and love to cope with these children and not matter of staff's training, of construction of the necessary infrastructure etc. that makes the system work. A head in a 10/teacher public special school in central Attika with 10 years of experience in this position said:

> *"A head who works in a mainstream school might not be able to work in the special school, and the opposite. I want to say that the educationist of the special school should be more educated and informed, he should be distinguished for his mental strength, the love, the patience, the persistence, the optimism. We should be optimist and not give up. We cannot say that this child is not able to do anything and to abandon it. We should persist with our love and encourage the child. If the head does not have such mental qualities he should not be a head. The head should be well educated, full of love and understanding. He should have the knowledge of a wise man and supranatural qualities if he wants to succeed. I am 15 years in this job and I know what the head should have. He needs not only special education but he needs knowledge of all sciences. Thus, not only seminars for the heads are necessary but the state should inform us about all the findings from every science that comes out in Greece or abroad, during the first ten days of the academic year. The state should call us - the heads only - and inform us about the new findings in teaching, psychology, psychopathology so that we are able to inform the teachers. The state should call people from England, Germany, USA to give speeches."*

In spite of the frequent stress on love of children, commitment etc., there were teachers that got involved with special education because of the extra bonus that the Ministry was offering in order to attract staff in the field of special education (Information Bulletin on Special Education,1992, Ministry of Education).

A head in a 6/teacher public special school in west Attika with 17 years of experience in the head's position said:

> *"Many teachers come in the field of special education because they get a bonus of 36.000 drachmas. The head should do his job out of commitment. The head gets an extra bonus of 13.000 drachmas for the administrative work. But the head returns to the school at the evenings because there are so many duties. Every day I go home for a while and I come back".*

He added:

> *"I believe that this job is yearning. You should like it. When I first came in special education, I came because I felt sorry for these children and compassion and I wanted to help them. Many people choose the field of special education just for the extra bonus which is going to be abolished. If they abolish it very few teachers of special education will remain."*

Some members of the special staff had also been motivated to work in special education by the money. There are schools that are functioning with reduced staff because specialists prefer to work in better-paid private offices or institutions than to be employed in public schools where they get a school salary.

A head in a 6/teacher public special school in west Attika with 6 years of experience said:

> "Apart from teaching staff we are lacking special staff. We have a social worker, a care taker, a psychologist but we are lacking other specialists which are also indispensable like the speech therapist. We have a lot of children, who have speech problems. Although the post has been advertised no-one has accepted to be appointed. Probably for financial reasons...They prefer to have their own offices where they accept their clients, because it is more profitable for them than to become civil servants. They are able to earn five times more if they work in an office because there are few specialists in this field. There is a speech therapist in the medical centre who goes there only to give the attestations to children that have asked for. We do not even have enough space for the accommodation of the speech therapist. If we find a therapist we will look for more space."

Some heads on the other hand have chosen this job because they liked it. A head in a 2/teacher public special school in west Attika with 9 years of experience said:

> "To choose this job means that you like it and you are interested in it. I work here without any other motivation but because I love this work. The extra money is only recently given and I am used to working without any bonus".

School counsellors agreed that heads' job need moral and mental qualities. According to the school counsellor from Attika, the head should be endowed with administrative abilities, pedagogical sensitivity and endless love for children. He answered:

> "We have many demands to make of heads and great expectations. The head should be the best person among the teachers of the school. S He should have administrative abilities and pedagogical sensitivity as well as endless love for children with special needs. The head should be flexible, have organisational ability, s he should have imagination and far-sightedness".

Scientific qualities are as important as the qualities of character. The head as a social model could facilitate the abolition of social prejudice, the changing of attitudes and consequently the integration of people in society . The school counsellor from north-west Greece answered:

> "The head should have scientific education as concerns special education and sensitivity for children with special needs. S He should co-ordinate the operation of the school and s he should be the first to give the example of diligence and offer".

According to the school counsellor from the Aegean islands:

> "I believe that the role of the head in a special school is particularly important. It demands delicate handling and wide knowledge because the head of the special school should have knowledge on psychology and pedagogical sciences and knowledge especially in the fields

which are related to special needs. Especially if s he is the head of a particular type of school for example of a special school for blind children, the head should know the psychology of blinds. Being the co-ordinator of the school operations, s he should have great administrative abilities more than the abilities that bureaucratic demands require. S He should be able to keep the balances between

   i)   the head and the governors

   ii)   the head and the other teachers

   iii)   the head and the special staff (like the psychologist, the social worker etc.)

   iv)   the balances among teachers

   v)   the balances among the members of the special staff

   vi)   the balances among special staff and parents.

The head should try to avoid small or big turbulences which are fatal in the small school society ".

The school counsellor from Piraeus answered:

"The role of the head is very important because with his her special pedagogical knowledge and his her rich teaching experience, with his her moral and diligence as well as with his her administrative knowledge, abilities and activities s he contributes decisively to the achievement of the special school aims. S He is the co-ordinator of the special pedagogical function in the school. S He is the soul of the school"

CONCLUSION

As we stated in the introduction the thesis focuses on the social role of the headteacher in special schools in Greece as well as on the social and political developments that influenced the educational system and the role of the head.

The questions that we had originally put are: What political and social conjunctures led to the institution of special education? What is the role of special education in the contemporary society? and what is the role of headteachers who work in special schools?

The argument is constructed like a pyramid. Initially we examine the Greek social environment since the birth of the Greek state. In the continuation we direct our investigation to the Greek education system since its establishment. Then, our investigation is narrowed to the field of special education. Finally, we focus on the role of the headteacher and on selective aspects of contemporary special educational provision.

More analytically, in the introduction we argued that social environment is estimated to be one of the most powerful factors in the formation of school administration. In chapter I, we explored - through Greek, British and American bibliography - the political factors which led to the late appearance of special education. It was argued that the particular formation of the independent state and the productive forces that developed in Greece reflect the country's geopolitical position. Moreover, it was argued that the maintenance of primitive ways of production in agriculture in the 19th century and their non-industrialization in the 20th century, as well as the absence of heavy industry in Greece until a late stage were factors which delayed the institution of special education in Greece.

In the continuation (chapter II) we explored the education system of Greece and the forms that it took through different social and political conjunctures. The education system reflected the economic and social situation of Greece. During the 19th and part of the 20th centuries the education system was instituted in a single track, that of general education. It was "democratic," namely open to all social classes and the access from primary to secondary and then to higher education was not inhibited. Technical education was not formally instituted until very late, when the 1964 Education Act added to general education a second network, that of technical education. Even when technical education had been instituted it was not popular among students, who preferred to follow classical studies due to the non-productive character of economy. Until the institution of the 1964 Education Act, education did not include among its stated aims the creation of a productive labour force. Children

who finished primary education or dropped out of school returned to agricultural activities without receiving any technical training in school - a fact which both reflected and prolonged primitive modes of production. Secondary graduates were occupied in the tertiary sector and in the economic and business activities of the diaspora, while higher education graduates were employed in the higher positions of the state mechanism. Thus, education aimed to prepare non-productive labour whose employment was mainly dependent on the state (creation of clientelistic relations for political reasons).

The role of the school during the 19th and early 20th centuries had been the integration of the population under a common ideology - that also explains the dominance of classical studies in the national curriculum - and the strengthening of the national identity which was important for the economic relations.

The failure to develop a second network, that of technical education, and the prolonged dominance of classical studies delayed the institution of special education. The apparently "democratic" and unitary character of the school and its availability to the whole population distracted attention from the needs of the population for special education.

Until the 1906 an official state policy on special education had not been instituted. But even until the post-war period, special education was left to the care of private bodies, Greek and foreign. Special educational provision had a fragmentary character and it aimed mainly to solve or reduce the social problems created by the continuous wars that Greece had been involved in than to help the social integration of disabled. It operated in an aura of charity and was essentially concerned with "doing good" to unfortunate individuals. It was provided mainly in asylums which did not function in terms of an officially designed educational policy. It aimed to maintain the social peace by isolating the people characterized as "special". Not all children who needed special educaton received it. Until the 80s, mainly children with physical disabilities received special education. After an elementary training most of the children with special needs were remaining under the care of their parents. There was no policy for their vocational training and rehabilitation and they rarely participated in the production process. When they did so, it was mainly in family businesses.

The non-industrialization of the production process did not favour the participation of people with special needs in the labour market. Thus their training had a marginal character in the whole Greek education system and their social position was also marginalized. That contributed to the creation of social prejudice against them.

Special education became a recognized part of the national education system with the 1146/81 Education Act and it took its contemporary form with the 1566/1985 Education Act (chapter III). The accession of Greece into the E.U. had a great impact upon the socio-economic and educational policy of the country. The technological developments and the socio-economic policy of the EU. influenced the initiatives of Greece in the field of education. The E.U. stimulated Greece to reconsider the position of people with special needs in the production process and more generally in society. It recognized the right of people to receive education without any discrimination. Plans on the education, vocational training and rehabilitation of people with special needs were designed and undertaken in cooperation between the member states. As we argued, the development of special education was result of the technological development and the application of information technology in the production process that permitted the training and occupation of people with special needs.

The social role of the special school and the role of the head who is a central figure in the management and administration of the special school are the issues that we investigated in chapter V. Since the field of special education has newly developed, is constantly revised and lacks any solid background in terms of published information and research, we explore selective aspects of contemporary special education through living informants. Interviews with the 20 headteachers who work in different types of special schools in areas which represent different social classes all over the prefecture of Attika were carried out. In addition, questionnaires had been sent to school counsellors of special education all over Greece. Moreover, unstructured interviews with people who work in the Ministry of Education were carried out. Through the field work we aimed at distinguishing the rhetoric from reality and at revealing the way that special schools function nowadays in Greece. Besides, our purpose was to investigate the perceptions of the people who serve the system of special education as regards special education and special schools.

Special education in Greece developed very rapidly from a non-existent infrastructure. When the institution of special education was inaugurated in Greece there was no qualified staff available to be deployed in the education and vocational training of these children. There were neither courses for the training of teachers nor teaching staff able to train them. The Ministry extracted the teaching staff from the teachers working in the mainstream schools by attracting them with the institution of a 36.000 to 60.000 drhs bonus per month. The necessary qualifications for someone to work in a special school, according to official documents, were sensitivity for the needs of these children and love for them. Apart from the lack of training and experience, teaching staff and headteachers were also working in unfavourable conditions. A curriculum adapted to particular types of special schools had not been instituted. Teachers who were working in special schools were trying on their own or by

cooperating with each other or with the support of the headteacher or the school counsellor to adapt the mainstream teaching material and curriculum to the needs of children in the special schools. The teaching aids and equipment for the students were also limited and in some cases obsolete. The assessment methods and the available tests were rare and they varied from school to school. They were not standardized but they were left to be invented by the head and staff of each special school. These methods were hardly supported by equipment. Essentially, headteachers and teachers were improvising from day to day. Furthermore, in many cases special schools were functioning with insufficient supporting staff. This was in the first place because there were no people trained as social workers, psychologists etc. No organized course on these specialities had yet been instituted in Greece. In the second place, supporting staff preferred to work in the private sector for financial reasons. In addition, no particular arrangement for the housing of the special schools had been made. The school environment was inappropriately equipped. There were no ramps, no handrails etc. which would facilitate the access of physically handicapped students to the school, the classrooms and the playground. The transport of children to the school was not organized, either. Another problematic feature of the accommodation of special schools was quite often that they were housed in the same campus with mainstream schools, and often forced to occupy limited and inappropriately equipped space (e.g. with insufficient heating). There were schools which were squeezed in one or two rooms. There were other schools that were using only one room with pupils obliged to work all together in the same room so that teachers had to instruct them in inappropriate groupings. Some schools were housed in the basement of the school where there were unfavourable conditions such as insufficient lighting.

For the administration of the special school the Ministry applied a centralized policy. It delegated to heads managerial, supervisory and teaching duties. In this way the governors aimed at maintaining the control upon the special schools and ensure the fulfilment of school aims. They ensured the continuity of the school policy. In this way, homogeneity in the education policy was achieved. In addition the Ministry and the rest of the society knew who to hold responsible about the school and who to blame if something went wrong. Finally, the activities of the different people and services that were involved in the school life should be co-ordinated. Heads avoided the delegation of duties to teachers because special education was a newly developing field and many institutions had not been stabilized. They were feeling responsible for the school management. Heads personified the aims of the school. Some heads supported that the head is the nucleus of the school management. Some others found that the head is the heart of the school life. Heads believed that they were offering a valuable input of social work and they were contributing to the good of the society. Most of the heads

were spending their leisure time on the school management. Most of the heads supported that their work is more difficult and complicated than the work of the head in the mainstream school because: a) the needs of children are more particular, and extra care should be given to their teaching and ways of approaching children, b) parents are more difficult to deal with and c) the social environment does not have a positive attitude towards special school.

The head was the best-informed person in the school. S/He was in direct contact with the Ministry and the school counsellor. Heads received the guidelines on special education policy from the Ministry. The Ministry set the school aims and it was regulating in details the school life through circulars and Presidential Decrees. The Ministry of Education and Religions was responsible for the appointment of teachers and supporting staff in the special schools. It drew up the list of categories of people with special needs and it was setting the conditions for the assessment of the children. It defined the responsibilities of the medical services and the conditions of cooperation with the schools and the parents. It was responsible for the material used by the special schools (e.g. textbooks etc.) as well as for their curriculum. It was responsible for the appointment of the teaching and the supporting staff, and equipment of vocational schools as well as for their curriculum and for the vocational training of children. It had undertaken the education and INSET of teachers. School counsellors were the bridge between the Ministry and the special school. They were transfering the official policy into practice, they were offering guidance to the school staff and they were supervising the function of the special school. School counsellors had no particular training or specialization on special education. They usually had attended the INSET in Maraslio. Their experience was in the mainstream education.

The state and the centres of power (which need identification and further investigation) empowered the head to fulfil tasks with particular social meaning:

First the heads were involved in the assessment and diagnosis of children's needs and their grouping according to them. Usually, heads had attended the one year INSET extended to 2 years but they received general education and not any specialization. Heads considered their participation in the assessment of children necessary. They would not insist if parents did not bring an attestation from a medical centre in order to register the child in the special school but they found necessary to process the child applicant by means of a personal interview.

The characterization of children as special meant the channelling of children into special vocational training. This field is a newly developing field in Greece. The expansion of the student population identified as special was rapid and the technical vocational schools were not able to cover the needs of people who finished the special school. The field of technical vocational education as well as the

vocational rehabilitation of children with special needs is now getting organized with the funds and according to the organizational plans of the E.U. Heads believed that children could develop practical skills and acquire the habits of a working environment. For this reason, heads found the construction of craftrooms and laboratories in special schools useful.

Second, the head was obliged to diffuse the message of special education in society. Heads laid much stress on their public relations. They were willing to delegate their teaching duties to staff in order to cultivate their public relations. They participated in meetings with priests, they were involved in discussions with mayors in public, they were giving speeches in several occasions like exhibitions or national celebrations.

Heads were cultivating the social environment in order to ensure the support and participation of community in special education and in this way to legitimize the discrimination of children into mainstream and special.

His/Her duty was also to gain the confidence of parents in order to ensure their support. Some heads supported that parents were afraid to accept that the special school can help their child either because the quality of work in the special school was not good or because they believed that their child had abilities and could cope in the mainstream school. Other heads found that parents were reluctant to visit the school and cooperate. The majority of heads found that mothers mainly visit the special school. Parents were the link between the special school and the child, so the attraction of parents and the need to convince them that the school's aims were good and appropriate meant that the identification of children as special, the establishment of special education in society and the maintenance of the heads' position necessarily went together. There were heads who were organizing meetings with parents in order to get financial support for the equipment of the school. There were special schools that were closing because heads had not succeeded in attracting parents. Heads believed that parents were usually frightened and they were facing psychological problems themselves. Heads found that parents need guidance and they should be informed almost on a daily base in order to be able to cope with their children needs at home and in order to calm their anxieties. Some heads found that a special service should be instituted in order to offer support to parents during the periods that schools are closed.

The head as a non-political person is the most appropriate agency to present the humanitarian face of special education and to persuade parents and the wider society about the good aims of the special school.

Moreover, heads were obliged to build good relations with the mainstream schools. The Ministry had delegated to heads, through circulars, the cultivation of friendly relations and cooperation between mainstream and special school people. According to heads, special schools were facing a hostile attitude when they were housed in a campus with a mainstream school. Children characterized as special should cooperate with their mainstream peers. The Ministry was suggesting to heads to organize celebrations, games, athletic recreations in cooperation with the mainstream schools. Friendly relations should also develop between the parents of the schools as well as between the staff.

Furthermore, a head's duty was the enlightenment of the public and especially of the employers in order to get their trust for the abilities of people characterized as special. With the assessment of children and their characterization as special, the head influences the conditions of the labour market. Studies by Dellassoudas(1991) on the possibilities of employment of people with special needs in Greece show that in some cases (banks, telecommunications etc.) there are possibilities of replacement of the normal labour force by special staff. In addition, studies presented by Tomlinson(1982) show that some people with special needs can respond to the conditions of the working environment and form a punctual and obedient labour force. Although special education and training might cost more than mainstream education however, in the ideological level it has great consequences. In spite the efforts for the employment of people with special needs in Greece that developed in the 80s and the support of the European Community the rates of people with special needs who get employed in Greece remain low. Factors which influence the low rates of employment are: the inadequate training of these children (lack of technical vocational schools appropriately equipped and staffed with adequately trained personnel), the insufficient spread of information in urban and rural areas about the possibilities of training and employment of these children (Polychronopoulou,1985).

In summary we believe that none education system has been or will be instituted or funded for charity. Special education gets funded and it aims to serve particular purposes. It is an institution that it involves a great deal of people in society and it is quite powerful to influence the social ideology. Having that in mind we believe that the way that special education functions nowadays in Greece can not accomplish a positive role because: a) the necessary infrastructure is lacking, namely books, teaching aids etc. That makes the provided education inadequate b) the staff employed in the special school is not appropriately trained c) special staff is lacking - especially in rural areas - and their training is not sufficient d) the assessment methods do not exist and the school staff improvise e) the

public is not appropriately informed f) some categories of children - like children with psychological problems - do not receive special care or they are trained together with mentally retarded children.

The findings of a research carried out by the Pedagogical Institute in 1995 on the attitudes and perceptions of the personnel in special schools in Greece showed that 60% of the sample believe that the organizational framework of special education is not satisfactory. 71% are not satisfied with the structure of the education system in primary and secondary education for children with special needs. The vertical system of education - primary education, secondary education - does not cover the needs for the education of these children, especially those with severe disorders who are not going to attend the secondary mainstream school. They support the institution of low technical schools. 63% believe that the provided education is not satisfactory. They believe that more emphasis should be given to the social integration of children and to a flexible curriculum aiming to the development of social abilities than to the acquisition of academic knowledge. 61% support that the assessment methods are not adequate in order to choose and classify children in special schools. This happens mainly due to the non-trained staff, the confined number of medical centres. They propose the increase of diagnostic teams and the institution of a visitor teacher to schools able to assess children as well as the participation of teachers to medical teams. 82% believe that the curriculum implemented does not correspond to the children needs. They propose the constitution of a curriculum, books for teachers, books for the students and INSET for the teachers. 75% believe that the present system of assessment cannot be implemented for all kind of children. 99% believes that cooperation with parents is necessary. They supported that psychological and other kinds of support can be offered to parents, while parents can be informed and participate actively in their children education. 91% supported that parents cooperate with the school for the organization of activities and voluntarily for the promotion of the idea of integration. 97% believe that the cooperation of special school with the community for the organization of ceremonies, excursions, painting exhibitions, athletic activities, speeches for the enlightenment of the public is necessary. However, 67% support that special schools are actually cooperating with the community (for the libraries, for the environment, etc.) 67% believe that the school integration is impossible because: first, the function of mainstream schools is inhibited with the existence of special children in side the school, the feeling of inferiority to special children increases, children's needs inhibit their integration and finally, society is still not sufficiently informed and sensitized.

In addition Polychronopoulou, presents a list of recommendations for the development of special education in Greece, drawn from her research.

TABLE 5.1

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF SPECIAL EDUCATION IN GREECE

RECOMMENDATIONS LISTED IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE BY TEACHERS AND SUPPORTIVE SERVICES PROFESSIONALS WORKING WITH THE HANDICAPPED	RECOMMENDATIONS LISTED IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE BY PARENTS OF HANDICAPPED CHILDREN
Changing attitudes toward the handicapped.	Changing attitudes toward the handicapped.
In-service training of all personnel working with integrated youth.	Legal measures supporting integration and employment of the handicapped.
Better curricula, materials, and equipment	Nationalisation of private institutions and schools serving the handicapped.
Integration of handicapped children and adolescents.	Better preparation of handicapped youth for employment
More advisory and support services for handicapped students.	More parental contribution concerning decision about their children's educational programmes and arrangements.
Better preparation of handicapped youth for employment.	Integration of handicapped children and adolescents.
Nationalisation of private schools and institutions serving the handicapped.	More advisory and support services for handicapped students.
Legal measures supporting integration and employment of the handicapped.	Better curricula, materials and equipment.
Increasing responsibility and autonomy of local authorities concerning both education and health services.	In-service training of all personnel working with integrated youth.
More parental contribution concerning decision about their children's educational programmes and arrangements.	Increasing responsibility and autonomy of local authorities concerning both education and health services.

Polychronopoulou 1985, p.43

Our main assumption from this research is that special education aims to maintain the discrimination between special and mainstream children and to redefine their relationship according to the new order. Nowadays to call someone *"special"* is a kind of offence, however, in the future it will be harmless to call someone who finished the special school *"special"*. That means abolition of the Constitution and the notion of equality among citizens. *"Special with certificate"* means less equal than the others. It legitimizes the notion of *"special"* and the discrimination of *"normal"*. The school values depend on the social power relationships, thus the recommendations for the improvement of the system of special education means how to make the system more discreete. However, to say deschooling society can also be dangerous, especially nowadays that the system of information is directed. Our proposition is that the bureaucratic system should not become giant. It should not cover

categories of children *"with non-apparent needs"* or *"learning difficulties"*. The system expands and in order to be maintained will try to identify *"special"* people.

The Ministry of Education is currently studying a new Draft Law which foresees: i) the provision of special education in the mainstream school with the support of the teacher of the classroom, or the support of a teacher of special education or with the support of a teacher who participates in the diagnostic teams which are proposed to be instituted ii) the institution of special technical vocational gymnasiums for children who can not attend the mainstream gymnasium iii) the institution of visitor teacher iv) the construction of curriculum for special schools v) the institution of private technical schools which are going to be under the authority of the Ministry of Health and Social Care as well as the Ministry of Education. vi) the institution of centres for diagnosis assessment and consultation, vii) the introduction of programmes for the vocational training of students viii) psychological support and help to infants ix) the increase of supportive personnel x) the increase of school counsellors to 30 xi) the increase and expansion of the bonus in the salary of school counsellors, visitor teachers and all teaching staff or people who work in services related to special education xii) the provision of support to students who want and can go to higher education, xiii) the institution of a department of special education in the Pedagogical Institute for the construction of curriculum, INSET programmes, programmes for the promotion of new technologies in special schools, the support of the school counsellors.

Organizations and individuals (school counsellors, associations etc.) who commented on the new Draft Law mentioned that it separates the special educational provisions from the main education system and it does not help to the abolition of labels from special children.

We believe that our investigation has brought to light useful information sufficient to illustrate the argument of the thesis that we stated at the introduction. However, further investigation with a wider sample on the policy making and school administration would highlight more aspects of our multifaceted argument .

In order to investigate further the role of the headteacher in schools for children with special needs and the factors which influence the form and role of the special schools in Greece we should focus on the political pursuits of E.U. from the institution of special education. We should explore the sort of citizens the E.U. prepares and why, the power relationships and the role of institutions in the European Union, how the E.U. perceives the relation between the labour market and the education

system, the economic role of Greece in the E.U., the E.U. socio-economic policy and the part of

Greece in this policy in order to understand the role of special education.

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APPENDIX I

49, Bouziki St.,
11524 Nea Philothei
Athens
Tel: 6927802

24.5.94

Dear school counsellor,

In the frames of a research carried out in the University of Liverpool - in the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy - under the title *"The Late Appearance of Special Education in Greece: 1821-1995, With Reference to the Role of the Headteacher in Special Schools"*, we have sent a questionnaire to all school counsellors all over Greece.

The research deals with the sensitive field of special education which has gained a lot of interest by the member-countries of the European Communities the last decade. Aim of the research is to investigate the way that special schools function in Greece and how they are administered. We believe that as a person who transmits the educational policy from the Ministry of Education to the school, you could help us in this research by giving your views as honestly, clearly and critically as possible in the questions included in the attached anonymous questionnaire.

At the end of the research you can be provided with the results of the research if you like.

Your participation in this research will contribute to the evaluation of the education system, so do not hesitate to answer. I would appreciate if you send the completed questionnaire back in the enclosed envelop to the following address the latest a week after you receive it and not later than 7.6.94.

Thanks for your co-operation in advance

CHRISTINE SYRIOPOULOU

LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY
DIVISION OF EDUCATION
CHRISTINE SYRIOPOULOU

PhD. candidate
49, Bouziki St.
11524 Nea Philothei
Athens
Tel: 6927802

THE ROLE OF THE HEAD IN SCHOOLS FOR CHILDREN WITH SPECIAL NEEDS

No..................

1. Sex (cross as appropriate):   Male   Female

2. Age: 25-35   36-45   46-55   56-65

3. Speciality:

    ....

4. Studies:

    ....

    ....

5. Any study on special education:

    ....

6. Other qualifications:

    ....

    ....

7. Years of experience in the field of special education: ....

8. Years of experience in this position: ....

9. Area that you live:

    ....

10. Area(s) that you have under your supervision:

    ....

    ....

11. Number of schools that you have under your supervision: ....

12. Types of schools that you supervise:

    ....

....

13. What is the scope of special education in your opinion?

....

....

14. How important is the role of the headteacher?

....

....

....

15. Justify your answer

....

....

16. What are your demands from the headteachers of the special schools?

....

....

....

17. What are your expectations from the headteachers of the special schools?

....

....

....

18. How do you co-operate with the heads?

....

19. How do you inform heads of the special schools about the current operational needs of the schools?

....

....

20. How do you get informed about the needs of the special schools?

....

....

....

21. How do you inform heads about the developments in the field of special education?

....

....

....

22. How often?

....

....

....

23. How do you supervise the function of the headteachers in schools for children with special needs?

....

....

....

24. What kind of co-operation do you think could help headteachers in the accomplishment of their duties and could contribute to the development of co-operation with the Ministry of Education in the future?

....

....

....

Thank you very much for your co-operation