Motivating students in Second Chance Education in Greece:

The case of an Evening School and a Second Chance School

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1. Introduction

Most teachers in mainstream education in Greece complain that they teach students who with some exceptions dislike school. They see that students' enthusiasm on the first day of the school year is transformed into boredom very quickly and they end up working only with a few consistent students while they feel helpless in motivating the rest of them. Overall, the school culture is not considered as motivating since its centralised structure hinders the development of students' critical thought and creativity. A question that has already emerged is how far traditional school practice is untenable and whether it should be replaced by new education models that could meet the needs of students who, in spite of having a normal learning potential, fail in school.

To those who have dropped out from secondary compulsory education in Greece a second chance is offered through two types of schools: the Evening Schools (ESs) and the Second Chance Schools (SCSs). While ESs have the same curricula as well as the same teaching and evaluation methods as ordinary schools in mainstream secondary education, SCSs are considered to be innovative. They operate without pre-specified curricula, use new teaching and evaluation methods and offer counseling to students.

This paper is part of a large scale research project on meaningful learning conducted in two different school environments – that of an evening school and a second chance school. It aspires to evaluate motivation in these school environments.

2. Literature review

2.1 ES culture

The first ES was established in 1934 (Katsikas, 2000) but in their present form they were established through the Law 1566/85 introduced by the Greek Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs (GMERA, 1985).

ESs offer compulsory education (3 years) as well as upper secondary education (4 years) while they admit people older than 14 years old who have a job and have dropped out of the ordinary secondary education.

Since ESs operate exactly as mainstream schools, their culture can be approached through literature on secondary mainstream education.

Hopf and Xohellis (2003) characterise teaching in Greek secondary mainstream education as purely theoretical, verbalistic and textbook oriented as well as without any reference to real life. They found that learning by rote is usually promoted and observed deficiencies in teaching ability. As for assessment, it is often based on recitation of the already acquired knowledge.

Konstantinou (2001) stresses that school aims at making students comply with teachers' perceptions. Traditional teaching along the knowledge transmission model is the most commonly used teaching method and normative assessment is often used as a means to 'motivate' students (ibid).

Pre-specified curricula do not leave space for teachers' intervention and creativity (Kossyvaki, 2003) and teachers' pedagogical knowledge is frequently insufficient (Konstantinou 2001, Kossyvaki 2003).

2.2 SCS culture

Following the proposal of the European Commission (1995) which is contained in the White Paper on Education and Training, the aim of which was to fight social exclusion, the Greek Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs (GMERA, 1997) established SCSs These schools offer accelerated compulsory education to people older than 18 years old who have dropped out of ordinary compulsory education. After two years of study students can obtain qualification equivalent to that obtained in ordinary education.

SCSs, according to the school guidelines published by the Institute of Lifelong Learning (IDEKE 2003), should use constructivist pedagogy. Learning is conceived as action and not as acquisition and therefore it is based on discovery on the part of the students as well as teachers who should also be active researchers. Therefore collaborative learning, the method of project as well as crosscurricular approaches within the context of multiliteracies, are considered to be the most appropriate teaching and learning methods. In this way students take initiatives with regard to their own learning while they acquire gradually meta-cognitive abilities. Teachers are invited to recognise students' needs regarding their way of learning and support them accordingly. It should be noted that students with learning difficulties are further supported through extra teaching sessions in groups as well as individually. Students are also offered counselling by a career advisor

and a psychologist in each school. In this sense SCSs constitute a highly nurturing environment. Assessment is descriptive, based on students' participation in the learning process and focuses on methods which facilitate not only the cognitive process but the whole development of students' personality. Assessment does not test only cognition but also takes into account understanding, critical thinking as well as meta-cognitive ability. In its turn meta-cognitive ability creates the condition for self-assessment. In general assessment is individualised, representative of student's progress and avoids comparisons among students. Teachers do not assess students' competence in complex mental activities but their involvement in such activities. Emphasis is also given in students' ability to interact and co-operate with others. Recommended modes of assessment are the one based on portfolio, the assessment of the process of realisation as well as of the outcome of projects, the assessment of smaller scale tasks, self-assessment and peer-group assessment.

2.3 Motivation and learning context

The issue of motivation is central in theories of cognition. Students may be intrinsically motivated and therefore engaged in learning for its own sake or extrinsically motivated since they come to school in order obtain a separable outcome (Watkins *et al.*, 2005). According to Deci and Ryan (2000), there is more than a polarised distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, and social contexts supportive of the needs for competence, autonomy and relatedness facilitate the internalisation of extrinsic motivation. According to modern pedagogy such suitable learning contexts are created

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through constructivist pedagogy, in other words pedagogy that is based on student activity, collaboration and learner's agency (Watkins *et al.*, 2002).

3. Conceptual Framework

3.1 The research question

The aim of this study is to detect and evaluate motivation in two distinct school environments in second chance education and should be considered as a first step towards researching such a complex psycho-pedagogical phenomenon.

The central research question of this study is as follows:

To what extent are students motivated to learn in Evening and in Second Chance Schools?

For the purposes of this study the degree to which these schools constitute motivating learning environments is considered to be dependent on the reasons why students came to school as an indication of their motivation for learning, the school pedagogy to enhance their motivation and the kind of learning that is produced as the outcome of enhanced students' motivation.

3.2 Theoretical framework

This is mainly a qualitative study with the exception of calculating and presenting some numerical data that determine the profile of the schools since what is going to be

researched is the qualities of persons, processes and meanings that are not measurable (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003).

This study was conducted from the perspective of social constructionism because it seeks to understand multiple social constructions of meaning and knowledge (Robson, 2005). More specifically, within the social constructionist framework of symbolic interactionism, motivation was researched along the conceptual lines developed by Blumer (1998). According to Blumer, the notion that human beings act on the basis of interpretations of meanings about things acquired through social interactions constitutes the ideological premise of symbolic interactionism. What enables the construction of meaning is that the individual being in possession of its 'self' can stand out of it and put it in the position of others. Blumer suggests that organisations as arrangements of people interlinked in their specific actions have to be studied and explained in terms of the interpretations in which acting participants are engaged as they handle situations. Participants bring to such formations the world of objects, the sets of meanings and the schemes of interpretation that they already possess. Equally, they are continuously redefining their own perspective of the situation by defining others' perspectives as well as their own through self-interaction.

3.3 Methodology

For the purposes of this research two case studies have been conducted, one for each type of school. Case studies focus on the groups of actors and seek to understand their perception of events (Hughes cited in Cohen *et al.*, 2003).

Data was collected only via semi-structured in depth interviews although observation was also needed for safer results. According to Brown and Dowling, (2003) interviews render exploring of complex issues possible while they allow the researcher to provide clarification, to probe and prompt. Moreover, semi-structured interviews increase the comprehensiveness of data, make data collection systematic for each respondent, anticipate logical gaps and remain conversational and situational (Cohen *et al.*, 2003).

Since ESs are mainstream schools and therefore constitute a familiar learning environment, interviewing two teachers and two students was considered to be adequate for drawing conclusions on motivation. On the other hand, SCSs constitute an innovative school environment and, therefore, interviewing more persons was necessary for safer conclusions. So, it was decided that four teachers and five students should be interviewed. Students were selected on the basis of various criteria. Some students made interesting interventions in classes I happened to observe and some stimulated my curiosity during some short talk or because I heard teachers talking about them. Teachers were selected with a view to covering the main teaching subjects. All interviews took place in the schools and were recorded. For reasons of confidentiality pseudonyms are used in place of participants' real names. Finally, it should be noted that participants' words quoted in this study were translated into English by me.

The ES under investigation is situated in a low/medium income area near the center of Athens where many families of foreign workers live over the last fifteen years. The SCS is situated in a low/medium income suburb near Athens where many repatriated Greeks from Russia, gypsies as well as families of foreign workers live.

For data analysis the guidelines of the Miles and Huberman approach were followed (Miles and Huberman 1994, Gibbs 2004)) as it is incorporated into NUD*IST. The components of this approach are data reduction in order that data can be kept manageable, data display so that the researcher can feel what data are telling him as well as conclusion drawing and verification (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

For the purposes of this investigation interviews were transcribed. Due to the small number of transcripts only data reduction was done through coding by means of the qualitative analysis package Nvivo. Coding was done by associating paragraphs in the raw interview transcripts with one or more themes defined in a hierarchical coding structure.

Because of the small scale of this investigation definite conclusions are not drawn, yet the likelihood of the validity of some findings is stressed. As far as the trustworthiness of this research is concerned the possible presence of bias is discussed in the concluding section of this study.

4. The findings

4.1 Motivation in the Evening School

At the beginning of the school year 114 students were enrolled in this school. 35 of them were foreign, mostly Albanians. During the school year 44 students, almost 40% of all students dropped out. Six full-time and three part-time teachers were placed in the school. The student per teacher ratio was 70/9=7.8.

Choosing a path

MT, the maths teacher, describes students who study there as:

> Adolescents who have failed many times in ordinary education,……adolescents from Albania who need to work and study as well as grown up women …….. These women are the best students.

LT, the language teacher, says:

> They have known school failure all these adolescents………They know they will come to the ES and at least teachers will help them pass……..Grownups…look upon school differently as they want to learn and fulfill unfulfilled wishes.

Many youngsters drop out during the year. LT alleges:

> they are youngsters either involved in drugs, or others with families not able to help them………..

MT reports that many young students react by dropping out when they realize that they cannot cope with school requirements. LT, the language teacher, however, thinks this reaction is a natural consequence of schooling:

> ….School is by nature a power exerting institution. Hence, students automatically perceive school as something oppressive, something against which they have to react a priori……

In his second year of studies a male younger student, MYS, has ten brothers and sisters and dropped out because of financial reasons. Although he believes knowledge is useful, the main reason he came back to school is ES qualification because he wishes to get a job in the public sector. He also seeks social acknowledgement:

> ………knowledge makes you somewhat better, in other words you think differently. …………………I don't want people from my village to say: 'You did not go to high-school ……

FOS, a female older student is about to graduate. She dropped out when she was young because she had a tetraplegic brother she had to take care of while her parents had to work. Besides, her parents thought that she did not need to go to school because she was going to end up as a housewife anyway.

FOS also needs qualification. She wants to continue to the vocational education in order to be an assistant physiotherapist but she also has a deep interest in learning for its sake:

> ……..When I read poetry images appear, situations already known. When I read Herodotus moments of my life come up. When I read 'Helena' I can understand the feelings of that woman. I have been mother, wife and daughter, I am familiar with these things, it (school) is an amusement to me, it's my only amusement now.

Therefore, regarding motivation for returning to school, one could infer that older students are more likely to be intrinsically motivated in contrast to young ones. Collaborative culture could facilitate internalization of extrinsic motivation but teaching methods in the ES are of traditional nature.

Pedagogy

ESs have the same pre-specified curricula as ordinary schools but teachers teach fewer things and of course at a lower level. LT states:

> It' s wrong that they have the same books in ES as in ordinary schools. Kids in ES deal with plumbing, engines and electrical stuff. They have different interests…………………….

Teachers in ES use traditional teaching methods. MT uses the textbook but he tries to teach those things that students meet in everyday life, like what '15% discount' means or what 'ml' on a coca cola bottle stands for.

> …..A student told me the other day that he asked colleagues at work what 'ml' stood for and nobody knew. He thought he was clever. They learn a few things and they do feel they've learnt something……

In language classes things are different. As FOS said, students read a text, they write a summary and then they do grammar and syntax exercises. In history class they underline the most important things during class and then they have to learn the historic events by heart for the next time. Students are reluctant to do homework, so tasks are sometimes given in classroom. MT states:

> Only very few do homework. Only one or two of the older women……

Moreover, LT confesses:

> I can't even think of giving them any homework, it is too much………..Sometimes they write essays in classroom but they are unfortunately very short. Only older students (write good essays) who feel embarrassed to hand me something badly written…….Youngsters, on the other hand they want to leave the classroom as soon as possible.

Students have the chance to ask teachers a question in class or during the break whenever they have difficulties in learning something. As MYS says, relations between teachers and students are good, yet typical.

Pedagogy is traditional in the ES since curriculum is pre-specified and collaborative, student-centred teaching methods as well as meaningful student activity are absent. This kind of pedagogy cannot help extrinsically motivated students. As a result, whether young students learn is questionable.

Assessing learning

The situation regarding young students' learning is alarming. LT states that there is nothing she could do with younger students, but the situation is different with older ones.

> ….. When I see younger students I can feel their resignation……..I get upset when I see that quite often they don' t even want to open their books or they come to school without books……. And then they ask for charity (to pass).
> I think older ones enjoy ES more because it reminds them of their childhood.

MT thinks that some students cannot learn. He alleges:

> ……..Of course you cannot make one learn if one does not want to…

Despite non-learning most students pass. LT argues:

> Most students pass. There is no other way…. because of pedagogical sensitivity as well. If a student has failed in ordinary education twice or three times and he/she comes here to get the qualification, I think it would be very bad if he/she didn't pass.

However, when I asked these two students whether they feel they are getting something out of school they said:

> MYS: Knowledge from primary school that I had forgotten come to memory again……

> FOS: If I had the keys of the classroom I could show you what I wrote on the board with an indelible marker the first day I went in: 'Life chisels the soul, knowledge polishes it so that it can glow with pride.'

Despite the fact that most progressive educators challenge whether real learning can be produced through traditional pedagogy, it could be said that intrinsically motivated older students are more likely to learn. Such pedagogy, however, does not stimulate mainly young students' interest if they are extrinsically motivated.

In summarising findings we can say that a large percentage of students, mostly younger ones, drop out. Further, students' age plays an important role in motivation and internal regulation for learning.

Younger students are more likely to be, if at all, extrinsically motivated.

The curriculum is pre-specified and does not seem to meet the interests of most younger students, while it may satisfy the older ones.

Traditional pedagogy along the knowledge transmission model with the use of examples from real life and discussion in some cases cannot be considered as motivating. As a result, extrinsically motivated young students remain in a state of non-learning.

Teachers blame students for lack of motivation and appear helpless to motivate younger ones. On the other hand, they do not express any concern regarding pre-specified curricula, teaching methods or school practice.

In conclusion the ES school culture dos not seem to facilitate internalization of extrinsic motivation.

4.2 Motivation in the Second Chance School.

At the beginning of the school year 2004-05 98 students were enrolled in this school. 6 of them were gypsies, 1 Muslim and 16 repatriated Greek immigrants. During the school year 6% of all students dropped out. Sixteen teachers were placed in this school and the student per teacher ratio was 92/16=5.8

Choosing a path

Students' motive for returning to school is not always learning.

MOS, an older first year student attended high school for one year and dropped out from mainstream education because the school was far from his village. Right now he has a job in the public sector. He confesses:

> The reason I have come back to school is not that I need high school qualification for my job but because there was something of an unfulfilled wish in me………………………

FOS, a repatriated Greek from Russia, is a female older second-year student. She says:

> It's the deep pain I feel because I didn't finish school. I wanted to be a teacher…..I feel better when I learn things.

FYS1, a young first year student, attended high school for one year and dropped out because she had to look after her little brother while her parents had to go to work. She works as a hairdresser and wishes to go on studying in vocational education.

> ….if my child asks a question I want to be able to answer…..but the most important reason I have come back to school is that I felt awful with myself….

Since FYS2, another young first-year student, graduated from primary education has thought that going to high-school is absolutely unnecessary until recently when she has had difficulties in finding a job:

> The truth is that if I didn't need compulsory education to get a job I surely wouldn't do it….. I have an affair, we are practically engaged and I wouldn't go through all this now.

MYS1 is a male young second-year student. He works as an electrician and wants to be self-employed. He leaves no room for misunderstanding:

> I'm not here to learn; I'm here for the certificate, for my job!

LT, the language teacher, comments on the impact of age on students' attitude towards learning:

> Younger students make absences or try to avoid work. …………..Older students are very stable in relation to attendance while they have a sense of self-respect when it comes to their duties.

ST, the science teacher, generally doubts students' real motives for coming back to school:

> ……..They say they really want to learn but in my opinion they also want to get the qualification not just to learn…….……

MT, the maths teacher, on the other hand, believes that students should be trusted irrespective of cultural and cognitive level:

> I think we have the best part of Greek society here. They're people who have decided to take this step and they stick to this decision. You don't find it very easily in society.

Hence, students' motivation for learning is questionable and in any case varies with age. Older students are more likely to be intrinsically motivated than young ones. The question that arises, though, is whether school pedagogy stimulates extrinsically motivated students' interest in learning.

Pedagogy

LT, the language teacher, says that students get motivated to learn because the curricula are not pre-specified, so subject matters can be jointly chosen:

> ……….If they know that something lies within their interests and widens their scope, they have every reason to work on it.

She uses teamwork, so that even him who cannot do the task can get satisfaction from group success. She believes that:

> In this way a collective outcome is better than an individual one and so one feels she/he has succeeded.

Besides teamwork she uses role play and brainstorming as teaching methods and organises cross-curricular sessions with other colleagues.

On the other hand, MT, the maths teacher, confesses:

> It drives me crazy when maths teachers tell me I should teach maths according to students' needs and interests. This means nothing; empty words.

SoT1, a sociology teacher, blames students for teachers using traditional teaching methods. She argues:

> They want to listen to the teacher talking. What they have in mind is mainstream school, the stereotype of a teacher who does the talking.

But without admitting it she also shares the same stereotypes:

> Traditional teaching cannot be abolished in the SCS. It can only be a joke, because some things have to be clarified…It should be the starting point.

So, it is the teacher who starts talking. S/he suggests, proposes and clarifies while students follow instructions. The teacher has the leading part in any case.

SoT2, another sociology teacher, admits:

> Look, you can't escape from traditional teaching. It's very difficult. After so many years I simply can't…

The ST teaches 10% of the syllabus that is normally taught in an ordinary high school. Additionally he chooses to introduce interesting unusual topics within his domain and uses 'theatricality', as he calls it, to draw students' attention:

> I use theatricality. I have the power to draw peoples' attention no matter what I say. In science there are many beautiful quaint things you can talk about. For instance while female mammals suckle their babies from their breast what happens with female dolphins or whales and their babies?

Theatricality is not everybody's method. The FYS1 describes how SoT1 teaches:

> She hands photocopies out and we read them aloud during class while she interrupts and explains what we have just read.

Students are viewed as hard working people; therefore teachers never give them homework. On the other hand, tasks are given occasionally at school.

Workshops and projects are inherent in the curriculum as a means of student active learning. ST, however, alleges that students are not in a position to work on projects properly, so they end up being prepared by teachers who are responsible for them:

> It doesn't work because in my opinion they conceived the idea of the project in a wrong way………….

In conclusion, despite what school guidelines proclaim, pedagogy is not of constructivist nature. Teaching, as most teachers confess, is traditional based on the knowledge transmission model. It is remarkable that only one teacher stated that she uses collaborative methods whereas nobody mentioned meaningful activity as the centre of her/his teaching. From this point of view the SCS culture does not seem to facilitate internal regulation for learning.

Assessing learning

ST argues that there is no point in assessing people since they are not going to remember anything in a year's time. He assesses 'randomly' as he argues.

> … I've divided students in groups on the criterion 'who is friend with whom' and I give everyone in a particular group exactly the same assessment…………………..

LT believes that they can not only learn but they can also recall already known stuff and systematize it. ST, however, has a different opinion.

> These subjects (science) demand personal work, something students in ES and in SCS are not disposed to offer. ……Of course they learn something, but in one or two months they will not remember a thing. Here we offer the illusion that they learn.

SoT1 really wonders whether students really learn and confesses:

> Sometimes students surprise me when they recall previously taught knowledge…

On the other hand, TM believes that students learn because they are free to ask questions.

When I asked students whether the school has offered them the chance to learn, older students argued that it helped them classify things already known, whereas young ones alleged that studying in this school has been beneficial without being able to specify how in detail.

Hence, we could infer that learning is not easily traceable in the SCS either.

In summarising findings we can say that drop out rate in the SCS is low.

The age of students plays an important role in motivation and internal regulation for learning.

SCS were supposed to constitute an innovative learning environment and knowledge should be generated through open curricula and collaborative teaching methods.

However, teachers in many cases use traditional teaching methods and as a consequence whether learning occurs is a question.

It is remarkable that, as in the case of the ES as well as of mainstream education, teachers do not blame teaching methods or school culture for non-learning, whereas some of them seem to blame students for such an outcome.

Hence, one could infer that the SCS does not facilitate internal regulation of extrinsically motivated students.

5. Conclusions

Despite the small scale of this research and the need for further investigation we could infer that the particular SCS does not constitute a more motivating school environment in comparison to the ES under research.

 The age of students plays an important role in motivation and internal regulation for learning in both schools. Older students may be extrinsically motivated by distal goals but at the same time they might also be intrinsically motivated in order to make their unfulfilled dreams concerning learning come true.

Pre- specified curricula in the ES do not appear to meet the interests of most younger students, while they may satisfy older ones. The reason could be that older students are possibly satisfied with anything they learn while they are already familiar with pre-specified curricula from past school experience. Additionally, teaching methods in the ES are traditional following the principles of the knowledge transmission model. In general, in the case of the ES, as in the case of mainstream education, there is no room for teachers to develop initiatives towards a more student-centred pedagogy. As a

consequence, disappointed teachers appeared helpless to motivate unmotivated students and at the same time expressed their care for them by letting students pass at the end of the year. This peculiar situation, however, destroys any sparkles of motivation for learning in younger students.

On the contrary, the SCS culture encourages teachers' initiative and offers wider scope for motivating teaching, at least in theory. However, what happens in praxis is that teachers rarely use the chance to challenge traditional culture. While curricula in the SCS are open and what is taught might meet students' real needs and despite the fact that some teachers in the SCS might use up to some point collaborative teaching methods, this is not the rule in the SCS with adverse consequences on motivation and learning.

As for this study, findings should be considered with caution not only because of the bias its size might infer but also because of other factors:

Of course a certain amount of 'researcher bias' may be present in this study because, despite the fact that I presented myself as a researcher and explained the aim of the study, I have the impression that students might have thought that I was an administrator. Therefore, I fear that in some cases they might have exaggerated in praising processes or hiding bad sides. In the case of the SCS I have the impression that the relations between teachers and management might have resulted in further bias. Thus teachers might have overstressed good sides or reported only negative ones.

Despite the fact that I recognised these risks of bias and tried to reduce them as much as possible during interviews it is possible that they have affected the quality of data.

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An evaluation model of structural complexity in educational systems

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Introduction

Structural complexity was identified as a component of organisational structure (Hall, 1996 ; Hall, Haas, & Johnson, 1967) and has been under examination since the 1960s (Hage, 1965 ; Maguire et al., 2003 ; Wilson, 2003) as an element of the structural organisational subsystem compared to the two other structural characteristics, centralisation and formalisation.

Complexity as a construct in the field of Organizational Theory is presented by scholars who studied organizations in the post – weberian era. Theorists and researchers, who were solely based on the characteristics of Weber's bureaucratic organization, added it as a new characteristic in the bureaucratic organizational structure. Both scholars of the 1960's and 1970's (Hage,1965 ; Hage & Aiken, 1967 ; Hall et al., 1967 ; Pugh et al,1968 ; Blau & Schoenherr, 1971 ; Dewar & Hage, 1978 ; Hall, 1996), and those who came later, and studied in the field of business (Hsu & Marsh, 1983 ; Child, 1973) and public administration organizations (Wilson, 2003 ; Maguire et al., 2003 ; Maguire, 1997 ; Langworthy, 1986), refer to complexity as a *structural* and at other times as an *organizational* characteristic or dimension,

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without at the same time commenting on the distinction between the two adjectival definitions given to it from time to time. In fact, even in the cases that it is referred to as an organizational variable, this is examined – with few variations - based on the SC criteria, as presented in Hage's Axiomatic Theory (1965) and in the research of Hall & Aiken (1967) and Hall (1996). In this way, an impression is informally given that structure and organization have identical meanings or that one complex structure is enough for the behavior of an organization to be also characterized as complex. Lastly, does it suffice to check whether structure in an organization is complex or not to call an organization or a system as such?

From the definitions given from time to time to structural complexity, one can see a direct connection of it with *organizational size* – its enlargement and expansion – and for this reason its dimensions have been determined and measured in all cases quantitatively. Many case studies supported empirically the significance of size in the formation of organizational structure (Blau, 1970 ; Blau & Schoenherr, 1971 ; Child, 1972;1973). Hage (1965:294) refers that "the complexity, or specialization, in an organization is measured by the number of occupational specialties included and the length of training required by each. The greater the number of occupations and the longer the period of training required, the more complex the organization". Price (1968) gave a definition similar to that of Hage, placing emphasis on the complexity of knowledge: complexity may be defined as the degree of knowledge required to produce output of a system. The degree of complexity of an organization can be measured by the degree of education of its members. The higher the education, the higher the complexity" (26).

Hall (1996) and Hall & Aiken (1967) embrace Hage's definition on complexity, but make a more thorough analysis of the dimensions defining it, which may be interpreted with measurable indicators. Thus, Hall (1967:906 ; 1996:53) mentions the h*orizontal*

and vertical differentiation and the spatial dispersion as elements of complexity. Hall (1996:53) argues that horizontal differentiation refers to the ways the tasks performed by the organization are subdivided". He continues that "Vertical, or hierarchical differentiation is a less complicated matter than horizontal differentiation. Research into vertical dimension has used straightforward indicators of the depth of the hierarchy"(1996:55), the number of levels in the deepest single division" and the "mean number of levels for the organization as a whole (total number of levels in all divisions/number of divisions) as their indicators (1967:906).

Hall (1996:56) describes the final element in complexity, spatial dispersion or differentiation, as that "can actually be a form of horizontal or vertical differentiation. That is, activities and personnel can be dispersed in space, according to either horizontal or vertical functions by the separation of power centers or tasks".

It has been established from these first theorists that complexity refers to basic elements of the bureaucratic model and creates in fact a composite form of specific characteristics of the weberian theory of organizations: of the division of labor, of specialization and of the hierarchy of power. These three SC dimensions have been used in all the spectrum of research up to this day giving them different measurements depending on the nature of the organization, industry or company under examination (Wilson, 2003 ; Maguire, 1997; Maguire et al., 2003 ; Langworthy, 1986 ; Hsu & Marsh, 1983 ; Child, 1973). Structural Complexity was in no case examined systematically, not only as an enumeration of the elements forming and diversifying it but as a study of the connections formed amongst these elements.

Lastly, the recent study by Wilson (2003) on U.S municipal police organizations has been subversive. It came to the conclusion – through confirmatory factor analysis – that the four most common and most widely acceptable dimensions of complexity do not form one factor, and therefore do not form the interpretation of SC. In particular, he

states "the confirmatory factor analysis of structural complexity empirically supported Maguire's (1997) contention that complexity is not unidimensional and should not be treated as such. …spatial, occupational, hierarchical and functional differentiation were not indicative of a common, underlying construct. Therefore, …..is not appropriate for organizational scholars to create a 'scale of complexity' for use in their studies. A single, common factor does not determine these differentiation variables" (292). This conclusion explains to a degree the incompatibility of complexity dimensions when related to other organizational dimensions (Hsu, Marsh & Mannari, 1983 ; Child, 1972;1973). This creates, therefore, in relation to all that has been mentioned above, an intense doubt as to the way in which structural and organizational complexity has been defined and measured to this day.

Structural complexity has been commonly linked to the size or the expansion of an organization in a relationship of 'cause-effect'. Blau and his associates have been the major proponents of size as the primary cause of complexity. Hsu, Marsh & Mannari (1983) refer to a series of studies they have undertaken where they have also found consistently strong and positive relationships between organizational size and various components of complexity (Blau & Schoenherr, 1971 ; Blau 1970). Although substantial relationships between size and complexity have been found in many studies in different samples of organizations (Meyer, 1972 ; Pugh et al., 1968 ; Child, 1972) the issue of causality remain controversial (Scott, 1975 ; Kimberly, 1976). For example, Hall (1972) after reviewing recent literature , takes a very different view of the role of size "there are no 'laws' regarding size and other organizational characteristics….Size, which related to some important characteristics, is not as important as other factors in understanding the form organization take. When size (and growth) is taken in conjunction with technological and environmental factors, predictions regarding organizational structures and processes can be made" (139). Child and Mansfield (1972)

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found that size has a much closer relationship to the aspects of structure measured than technology.

In the field of Educational Administration, the study of school structure has been very limited. The on-line search under the key-word 'school structure', using search engines such as Swetswise and Ingenta (that concentrate the plenitude of relevant scientific journals) only produced seven articles out of 18.777.158 references in the field of Education. (Ready, Lee & Welner, 2004 ; Sinden, Hoy & Sweetland, 2004;Hoy, 2003;Yu, Leithwood & Jantzi, 2002 ; Hoy & Sweetland, 2001 ; Harper, 2000 ; Hoy & Sweetland, 2000). None of the above considers structural complexity as a component of educational organisations' structure.

At the same time, transferring and applying the criteria that measure structural complexity in businesses to educational organisations and schools specifically, appears somewhat problematic. That is because the evaluation of the division of labour, is a basic criterion of horizontal differentiation: namely, the enumeration of the occupational specialties in an organisation, the positions, job-titles and the length of training (degree of education) of the employees. Applying these criteria as such on educational systems –on primary education especially- would lead us to the oversimplified conclusion that not only schools are not complex organisations but also that their capacity to become such is limited. In primary education the logic of specialisation is from non-existent to very limited (e.g. in Greece and Cyprus), while the description of the teacher's post has in centuries remained the same in many educational systems, despite the changes in its content. Clearly, the appearance of new specialisations among the teaching staff, as well as the new postings in the administrative mechanism of education, constitutes elements of horizontal differentiation of the educational systems. To what degree however are we entitled to assume that elementary schools do not have equally or more complex structures compared to other schools, due to this deficiency?

Summing up the theory and research on SC, we conclude the following:

1. Structural complexity was examined (in contrast to its definition), as a simple and usual phenomenon. It was limited to conventional enumerations; it was limited schematically and became identified in many cases with the chart of a company or organization.

2. All the research mentioned above make large-scale quantitative measurements in order to generalize and mainly compare amongst the various types of organizations, having as ulterior purpose its establishment as a new dimension of organizational structure. There are no ethnographic studies and qualitative pieces of research, which could bring forward qualitative measurements and relations amongst the various structural component units. At the same time, they solely deal with the *formal dimension* of an organization, by-passing the *informal secret (or hidden) structural* aspect of it.

3. Lastly, what characterizes the way of controlling complexity is a deterministic reasoning. The study of SC is subject in all cases to the laws of determinism, a "cause-effect" reasoning, which mainly aims at splitting the structure to its components, examine them individually in order to be able to understand and relate it to other dimensions of the organization. It is a scientific approach, which fails to bring out the dynamic and polymorphous relations, which the organizational structures may put forward. This restrictive viewpoint might be one of the reasons that dealing with structures is today considered by many as outdated, while structural changes and restructuring are considered of limited significance (first order change) (Fullan, 1991).

4. Finally, recording or measuring structural complexity in school(s) *organisations* becomes impossible, as there are no criteria for evaluating the complexity in the

structure of schools or educational organisations, while the characterisation 'complex' is typically used arbitrarily or replacing the term 'complicated' (Wheatley, 2003). Meanwhile, the planning and functioning of educational organisations that differentiates them from business organisations, intensifies the inability to apply the quantitative measurement criteria of structural complexity in the field of education.

For these reasons, structural complexity is examined ethnographically and it is controlled as to its three dimensions (and not as to the criteria used to measure it) on a centralised bureaucratic system, as the one in Cyprus, and two cases of public elementary schools. In their effort to respond to the sudden changes in their environment (the presence of economic immigrants – transition from a single-culture to a multicultural condition), the schools under examination, get reconstructed differentiating in this was three basic elements of their bureaucratic structure – centralization, formalization and structural complexity. This article aims at presenting the changes that take place as to the third characteristic of the school structure, and create an assessment model for structural complexity adjusted to the field of education and in school structures especially.

Methodology

In doctoral study (Papaioannou, 2007), structural complexity is investigated as one of the three characteristics of educational systems structure along with centralization and formalization. More specifically, *the aim* of the doctoral study is to explore restructuring as *a homeostatic self-regulation mechanism* of school systems, operating when the latter confront important changes of their lingual-cultural homogeneity (presence of non-native speakers-NNS).

The doctoral study describes possible diffusion mechanisms of changes and of school policy at the micro- and macro-level, as well as such policy´s consequences for the system of employment, accountability, supervision and control of the educational system. In addition, it examines the *direction* of change and the impact of the school unit decisions on the process of educational policy-making for the function of state primary schools in NNS education. It is a holistic study of change effected by the multicultural condition at the three levels of the centralized and bureaucratic educational system of Cyprus: the macro-level, the meso-level and the micro-level of the school unit.

In a more concrete fashion, the study aspires to investigate the implications of multiculturalism for the basic functions of a school organism: *the enrolment and registration, the classroom and teaching organization, the management of the curriculum and the schedule of teaching, the teaching itself, and the school management.* It explores in time span whether the changes appearing at those five subsystems that constitute the basic functions of the school organism, **cause at the same time changes in the three characteristics of the bureaucratic structure of schooling:** *centralization, formalization and structural complexity*. Therefore, this research approaches restructuring as an *organizational-administrative* phenomenon in the light of Organizational Theory and not as an outcome of a national educational policy.

The investigation of structural complexity in two school case studies derives from the cross examination of data as:

- ❖ Content analysis of official documents of the Ministry of Education and Culture Archive: "Intercultural Education".

- ❖ Discourse analysis of the final representatives of educational policy in Cyprus (Minister of Education and Culture and Head of Primary Education),

the General Inspector of Primary Education (1), the Superintendents (4 persons) from the particular educational districts in the jurisdiction of which the two school cases belong to, as well as the Inspectors (3 persons) that are responsible for the particular two school cases.

❖ Discourse analysis of headteachers, the teaching stuff and parents-members of the school boards of the two schools

❖ Qualitive and quantitative analysis of registries of the school year of non-native speakers' presence in the school (1990/91 – 2001/02 for the school Frixos and 1986/87 – 2001/02 for the school Elli).

❖ Analysis of the personnel and parental council meetings

❖ Qualitative analysis of the observation sheets of daily school life and of the extra-curriculum activities of the two school for a whole year.

Basic guiding queries during the analysis process of the aforemetioned data, aiming at the examination of structural complexity in the two schools, was:

A) If and in which degree the operation of the two school case studies is differentiated compared to other monocultural public primary schools and the official institutional frame that regulates the operation of all state elementary schools in Cyprus

B) Which of the changes detected and deriving from as a result of multicultural composition of pupil population in the two schools, also constitute components of structural complexity in school organisms.

For the determination of those components concerning the emergence of a complex structure in both multicultural schools, the definitions of horizontal and vertical differentiation such as spatial dispersion, as determining by Hall (1996), are exploited as a frame; however, the mesurement criteria for structural complexity that have been used in quantitive studies, as show in bibliographical review of this article, are not exploited.

Lack of corresponding research in educational organizations renders case study the most appropriate methodological approach for the investigation of structural complexity. Case study give as the opportunity of an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence"(Robson, 1993:146) utilize flexibility as one of its basic characteristics (Robson, 1993:148). The necessity of a case study design for «what is going on in a novel situation» (Robson, 1993:149) renders it as the most valid methodological approach for the determination of phenomenon such as the structural complexity in educational systems.

Furthermore, it appears that the characteristics of horizontal, vertical and spatial differentiation that constitute the complexity of organisational structure as they have been studied in the field of business administration and other non-educational organisations (Wilson 2003 ; Maguire 2002 ; Langworthy, 1986;Hsu, Marsh & Mannari, 1983 ; Dewar & Hage, 1978 ; Child, 1972;1973 ; Pugh et al.,1963; 1968 ; Hage & Aiken 1967 ; Blau, Heydebrand, & Stauffer, 1966), do not cover completely the cases of educational systems and school structures/organisations for two reasons:

a)   The criteria can be applied only through quantitative measurements, which lead to the observation of significant deviations as well as demarcations from/as to what is evaluated as horizontal, vertical and spatial differentiation (Pugh, 2003 ; Wilson, 2003).

b)   Even in the case when the criteria are applied on educational organisations and schools especially, their content appears to be problematic and deficient, as they do not respond sufficiently to the special nature of the personnel and the work that takes place in an educational organisation

For the above reasons, the structural complexity of a school organisation is examined using quantitative and qualitative techniques. It is expected that qualitative

analysis will demonstrate all the elements that comprise the content of horizontal, vertical and spatial differentiation according to the definitions of the three characteristics that shape the general framework as it was set and used by the researchers in the field. Exploring the content of the three characteristics of structural complexity, give us the ability to set criteria and create an evaluation model for structural complexity in educational organisations.

Results

The results of the research appear to yield important information on the structural complexity of school systems and they stem from:

1. The factual analysis of every level of CES

2. The comparisons between the two case study schools, which are restructuring due to their transition from single-cultural to multicultural condition.

It would appear that multiculturalism and the consequences it has on the two public schools cause a intra-organisation polymorphy of the school structural systems. The *loose hierarchy and the indistinctness in the appliance of the [educators'] evaluation system* (Hall, 1996) mainly due to the absence of specialisation, are related to the initiatives, actions and newfangled choices that constitute the structural complexity of the two schools.

By examining all the changes brought on the basic operations of the school and education system of Cyprus due to multiculturalism, the ethnographic study collects the actions, decisions, choices as well as identifies the needs that altogether form the measurement criteria of the horizontal, vertical and special differentiation of the schools' structure. Tables 1, 2 and 3 analytically presenting the assessment indicators for the three dimensions of structural complexity, utilise the results of the comparative

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study between the schools Frixos and Elli and specifically the changes that occurred on the basic organizational subsystems of the schools as they appear on the Methodology section.

Horizontal differentiation for Hall (1996;1967) and Hage (1965) is mainly identified with the organisation's *specialisation* and the *degree of knowledge* that has to be present to yield specific outcomes. In the multicultural schools of our case study, specialisation in managing issues of multiculturalism and teaching in multilingual environments across all levels of the administrative hierarchy of CES, is identified as an immediate astute need and at the same time as an absent condition among the teaching and administration personnel in primary education. The need for specialised skills responding to the newly formed school reality, also surfaces out of the General Inspector of Primary Education (GIPE) statements which 'doubt' the certification that the higher education degree has provided until today, as the single criterion for appointment and as a verification of the educators' teaching skills, when it comes to matters of teaching in multicultural classrooms.

> "The supervision of the educators who teach in parallel remedial classes should be organized differently from the way it is currently organized. Fundamentally, we should control how the educators in those schools interact with the NNS and to what degree they have the skills to respond to the specialized needs of a multilingual school population. If those skills are absent, we should find ways to acutely support and train the teaching staff".

It is observed that the changes in the social environment not only differentiate the school's linguistic and cultural character; they bring forward questions of specialisation in new areas, influencing concurrently the evaluation, supervision and control systems in the field of Education.

The horizontal differentiation of the school organizations' structure is examined based on the definition provided by Hall (1996:53) as the way [in

which] such organizational tasks can be subdivided, the number of occupational specialties and the number of job-titles identified in an organization. Table 1 gathers the official (following the approval of Superintendents and the Director of Primary Education-DPE) and informal acts that the two schools have undertaken aiming at responding to the sudden and unscheduled change. As it emerges from the cross analysis of data, these acts shape the three forms of specialization that make up the criteria of horizontal differentiation that the structure of educational organizations presents under the influence of the change that multiculturalism brings in education.

Table1. *Evaluation Criteria of horizontial differentiation of school structures*

Actions of schools	Criteria of horizontal differentiation
Specialiazation of proffessional roles – new job titles Appointment of 'teachers for remedial teaching'. New informal specialties in elementary schools: Kindergarden teachers, teachers for children's with special needs supporting NNS, teachers responsible for multicultural affaires, bilingual teachers, foreigner teachers, teachers for homework.	**A. Specialiazation of proffessional roles – new job titles**
Work specialization: Teaching in remedial/support and reception classrooms, organizing classrooms and teaching on the base of knowledgeable criterion in stand of age (tracking), needs for specific teaching skills, development of teaching tools, differentiation of teaching tools and methods, curriculum development or restructuring in micro – level	**B. Work Specialization**
Knowledge Specialization: Use of multiple teaching tools, textbooks and software, need for specific criteria of teaching evaluation in multicultural classrooms, need for training in the fields of Intercultural Education, teaching Greeks as a second language and patterns of developing curriculum in micro-level. Design a new type of school (multicultural school).	**C. Knowledge Specialization**

From table 1 it appears that school structures present three criteria of horizontal differentiation: the *specialization of professional roles* and the existence of *new*

positions and job-titles, the *specialization of the work* that takes place in the school and the *knowledge* demanded for responding to the new more complex environment. As to the first criterion, the job titles and the specialization of professional's role can be placed in a single category. As we have already mentioned, this is due to the fact that, in Cyprus' primary education as well as in several other centralised bureaucratic educational systems, the teaching staff falls under a single category, described by the official title of the 'teacher's post'. It appears however that schools develop specialties based on the needs that arise, forming in this way informal specialized job postings with specific and distinct responsibilities. The need for knowledge specialization, as related to the teaching of Greek as a second language, and the curriculum development or restructuring on micro-level – seeing that the staff in all the schools deem the single-cultural national curriculum inadequate- puts in question the sole criterion for appointment (referring to diploma - BA) as sufficient qualification for teaching in multicultural classrooms. The new conditions demand new skills that cannot be acquired by the education and training educators receive for mono-lingual and national education systems. This conclusion directly emerges from the GIPE statements and indirectly from recognising the inability to organize teaching in the new classroom environment, an assertion that is emphasized by all those involved in schooling (Superintendents, Supervisors, Headmasters, teaching personnel).

Role-specialization is directly related to work specialization and the new working regime formed by the change in the schools case study. The teaching process takes place not only in regular mono-lingual classes where the official national curriculum and the national textbooks guide the teaching methods and practice, but also in remedial classrooms, individualised instruction, in mixed multilingual classes and in reception classes where the national curriculum is deemed insufficient. The new organization in multiple groups based on the criteria of the students' level of knowledge and their

spoken language, has each time different requirements from the teacher, as the national textbook and the national curriculum become inapplicable and inefficient provisions.

Finally, the work specialization, that consists an *inner condition* emerging due to the school's multilingualism and is not among the educator's direct aims (as it would happen in the case an innovative or intervention program was designed and practiced by the teachers themselves), brings forward the need for specialized knowledge, which is directly related to the school's new needs. Specialized knowledge concerns the management of multiculturalism, teaching Greek as a second language, developing a curriculum on a micro-level and bilingual teaching.

It can be observed that the three criteria of the horizontal differentiation of the school structure appear to be directly interconnected, which allows us to place them under the same factor.

Hall (1996:55) describes the vertical differentiation of organizations as the observed differentiation in hierarchy, the vertical allocation of positions of authority, the depth of hierarchy that the organization appears to have and the total number of hierarchy levels combined with the authority allocated in each. Apart from the formal positions of authority in the administrative mechanism, the expansion of levels and the presence of new positions of power could emerge through phenomena of "internal" distribution of power. The 'dual ladder' mechanism can be described as such a phenomenon. As Hall (1996:55-56) assesses, it concerns organizations that have arrangements, which allow the occupational and numerical promotion of the personnel within the description of the same job-title, without an actual change in their work or an increase in authority. In this case, the individuals acquire a wage increase without an active change in the nature of their work and their authority status.

Vertical differentiation as a formalized decision to create new administrative or other institutional bodies in CES is absent in the study of public elementary schools in

the light of the transition to the multicultural condition. To a large extent this is due to the debureaucratization and semiPautonomous function of the two school units, resulting from their homeostatic self-regulatory action and not from decisions coming from the 'center' (Papaioannou, 2007). The absence of the creation of new institutional bodies by CES, (e.g. Committee of Intercultural Education) as a central institutional body, is balanced by the direct action the school themselves take responding to the change, which results to the transfer of power to the bottom of the system. Table 2, presents the criteria for vertical differentiation in the structure of CES and the case study schools.

Table2. *Evaluation Criteria of vertical differentiation of school structures*

Actions of schools	Criteria of vertical differentiation
New Hierarchical lines of power: Constitution of a Inter-ministerial Committee Design of Multicultural Committee	A. **New lines of power**
Informal 'dual ladder' jobs Informal promotion of a teacher as an assistant headteacher (from the headteacher of school), teacher responsible for the multicultural issues of school (flow of information and specific regulations).	B. **Informal - 'dual ladder' jobs**

As it is observed, vertical differentiation is especially limited. This is due more to the absence of specific action by the Ministry of Education for the formation of a Committee or a Department of Intercultural Education that would clearly create new positions in the system hierarchy and in the multicultural schools as well. The absence of new lines of authority as a characteristic of structural complexity combines with the contradictory phenomena of debureaucratization and the semi-autonomous forms that the two schools of the centralized CES appear to have.

On a national level, the constitution of an Inter-ministerial Committee (Archive of "Intercultural Education", decision no. 46.201, 11/6/1997) appears as a new line of authority; from 1997 –2002 it determined issues related to the provision and utilization of Additional Teaching Hours (ATH) in School(s) of Non-Native Speakers (SNNS). Representatives of the Ministry of Education, the Programming Office, the Ministry of Finances and the Office of Public Administration and Personnel comprise this Committee. As a collective body, it is a new and of limited duration line of authority, because its members' power includes the right of decision-making, and it does not appear to have a pure consultative role (Saitis 1992:23). The formation of a Inter-ministerial Committee as a CES initiative, to gain the approval of benefits pack from the state budget, is a common act, and does not concern only the case of official approval for the funding of ATH that is provided to SNNS schools. In the case however of the particular committee, it appears that the activity of institutional non-educational authorities is expanding to decisions that concern the educational and instructive work of the school: representatives of financial and other services of the State who participate in the committee, draw up a document in which they suggest how should remedial teaching hours be distributed and evaluated as well as methods to distribute NNS students in the remedial teaching classrooms. Determining educational criteria for the organization, distribution and utilization of ATH determined centrally by the Committee for the activity of the schools, elevates it to a new line of power.

The planning of the Committee of Intercultural Education appears as a new hierarchical line. It regards an act that up until 2003, -the final year of data collection- had the form of a political design. It is referred to as a need for programming, in the statements of Nicosia's Superintendents, Inspectors and the headmaster of the school Frixos, who appears to be informally participating in its planning.

What is interesting to observe is the existence of informal- non-institutional positions of power within the school organizations, as a criterion of vertical differentiation in their structure. Two acts can be discerned in schools that constitute dual ladder mechanisms. The first case concerns the teacher's "promotion" to the position of assistant headteacher of the school, from the headmaster himself. This decision was taken because of the inability of the Cyprus Educational Service Commission (CESC) to centrally fill the vacancy of the assistant, due to educators denying to be placed in the aforementioned school. The decision of selecting the teacher to cover for the job of Assistant Headteacher was accompanied by a reduction of his teaching hours, so that he would be able to respond to his dual commitment as a teacher and a manager, for which the headteacher took sole and full responsibility. Similarly, older SNNS educators with experience in managing the condition of multiculturalism are appointed responsible for multicultural matters, holding responsibility for the programs that regard students who are NNS, the adjustment of new colleagues in the school's operational particularities and the collection and flow of information on issues of multiculturalism.

Both dual ladder cases differ from the way in which Hall (1996) describes this mechanism. The educators' new positions set them apart from the body of the teaching personnel, placing them informally on a higher posting through internal arrangements that take place within the school basis. However, the nature of their work and their authority status do not remain the same. Their workload increases as they continue to perform their teaching activities on top of their new responsibilities, while simultaneously they are recognized as persons with a higher status than the teachers' association. In the case of school organizations it would appear that this vertical form of differentiation signifies the promotion of the educators on a higher posting through

intra-organizational arrangements expanding at the same time the work and the role of those individuals.

The third dimension of SC - the spatial expansion of the organizational structure - presents the most significant diversities in the educational institutions, compared to other public institutions and the private sector. According to Hall (1996:56), spatial expansion of the organizational structure signifies that "activities and personnel can be dispersed in space, according to either horizontal or vertical functions, by separation of power centers or tasks". The spatial expansion is thus affiliated to the horizontal and vertical differentiation of the institution, and refers to the spatial expansion of specialization and positions of hierarchy. Researchers of the private sector (Hsu, March & Mannari, 1983 ; Child, 1972 ; 1973; Pugh, Hickson, Hinings & Turner, 1968) and of the public organizations (Hassell, Zhao & Maguire, 2003 ; Maguire, Shin, Zhao & Hassell, 2003 ; Wilson 2003 ; Maguire, 2002), view the spatial expansion in the same manner. The spatial expansion of the organizational structure in the case of the private sector, takes a more complex and differentiated form, with regards to the criteria determined, in the case of school organizations (Table 3).

The ethnographic study of the spatial dispersion of the educational organizations shows that we can interpret spatial expansion not only in the physical dimension of space – operational, geographical, population and building dispersion – but in the abstract dimension of space as well. The complexity of work and of the teaching organization and the population expansion that occurs in schools, are responsible for geographical – population and building dispersion, phenomena of the physical dimension of space. The aforementioned researches study spatial dispersion exclusively in its physical-external dimension. The educational structures present an internal dispersion, which consists of the expansion of the power of the individuals, and the

content differentiation of professional roles. These two criteria shape the abstract

dimension of space.

Table 3. *Evaluation Criteria of Spatial Dispersion of School Structures*

Actions of schools	Criteria of spatial dispersion and internal differentiation
	Physical dimension of space
Bulding dispersion Creation of new teaching rooms for remedial teaching and organization of support groups	**A. Bulding dispersion**
Operational dispersion Parallel education, daily use of two languages, multiple use of teaching rooms; all-day and extra-curriculum use of school grounds	**B. Operational dispersion**
Geographical dispersion Transfer of NNS in other schools of the same educational region; dispersion of the multi-cultural phenomenon	**C. Geographical dispersion**
Population dispersion – differentiation Increase of foreign language students, teaching personnel, and diversity in these two groups	**D. Population dispersion – differentiation**
	Abstract dimension of space – internal differentiation
Differentiation of power in non-educational institutional bodies Educational decision making by non-educational agents; (organization of classrooms, duration of remedial teaching, number of NNS per group, evaluation of language skills and of the apportionment allocation additional teaching hours **Differentiation of the power of headteacher's role** Shapes multicultural educational policy, legislates arbitrarily, replaces institutional bodies, take decisions free-willingly, deviates the institutional framework, take decision on political issues, takes social action and creates a network of donators and sponsors.	**E. Expansion of jurisdictions and power of the employees involved in the educational process**
Diversification of the teacher's role Contributes in the creation of educational political measures for the multicultural student body, decides the abolition of certain curriculum lessons, takes social action and expands the teaching role. **Differentiation of parental council's and local agents role** Formation of educational political measures concerning the course of study of NNS, intense social action – volunteering, participation in the decision making process of the school on organization and teaching matters, personnel hiring, creation of a network of contacts with local agents, creation of contractual relationships and aggregation of sponsors. **Differentiation of student's role** Bilingual Pupils engage in translation, when necessary, and help the integration of NNS (co-operative achievement). They support the teaching process and take actions to help the financial actions of the school.	**F. Expansion of the proffesional roles and the institutional bodies involved in educational process.**

The population dispersion or differentiations are incorporated within the criteria of structural 'physical' dispersion. That is to say, size is not considered an independent variable (as in afore-mentioned researches), but is amalgamated in the criteria of spatial structural expansion. Scholars of Organizational Theory consider the size of the organization an independent variable compared to Structural Complexity, and reach the conclusion that "as organizations grow, they become more complex" ((Blau & Scott, 1962 ; Blau, Heydebrand, & Stauffer, 1966 ; Blau, 1970 ; Blau, & Schoenherr, 1971). **Research in the educational institutions, however, shows that population expansion is not consistent with the complexity of the institution.** Between two schools – the range of changes and the SC criteria which the smaller in population school (Frixos) presents, is greater than those which occur in the second school (Elli), which also happens to present steady population growth. **In contrast, what appear to determine the degree of SC are the qualitative characteristics of the school and the degree of diversity within its pupil population and all of its operational levels.** This conclusion leads us to the decision not to examine the population expansion as an independent variable, but to consider it a criterion in the factor of spatial dispersion. Population expansion evaluates the degree of change in the school population.

To conclude, with regards to the criteria of the internal expansion of the structural subsystem, given the abstract interpretation of space, we discern that the people and the roles involved in the operation of SNNS - first and foremost the director's role- take action on different fields, **which either do not belong to the formal description of their role (expansion of power), either construe new fields of action, which in the majority of cases, are in clash with the conventional concept of their role** (expansion of role dimensions). The expansion of power is

characteristic in the case of the headteacher' role, as leaders of schools under research enjoy a high degree of autonomy for a range of decisions, which do not belong to their jurisdiction. The new fields of power (enrollment, co-education, curriculum development and teaching tools for teaching in NNS, arrangement of remedial classrooms) are needs which result from multiculturalism, institutional voids, and the established frame's inability to enforce certain cases of decision making. All these factors determine the director's autonomous action. The need for immediate decision making, due to constant and sudden changes which take place in school, projects headteachers, who legislate arbitrarily, replace institutional bodies (CESC), and decide free willingly. Meanwhile, headteachers also broaden their social and political action – despite the fact that they are not permitted to participate in Mass Media debates over conflict resolution, and to develop arguments for a socio-cultural policy, headteachers do so, due to immigrants presence in the area.

The enlargement of the content of professional roles is discerned in all the people involved in the operation of the school. The *parents* determine the content of political decisions of the Ministry of Education, take intense social action, take part in the school policy, and engage in contractual relationships with local agents and donors. The *educational faculty*, beyond the broadening of their educational role due to the specialization of their work, demonstrates social and volunteer action and makes decision making for the informal cancellation of particular lessons of the national curriculum. In addition, *students* are used in the support of teaching and the integration of new immigrant pupils, as well as in actions regarding the finding of funds for the coverage of school needs.

The study of **internal abstract spatial dispersion** of the organization, provides significant information regarding the role of persons, and their participation

in the decision making processes, the degree of power they possess or/ and enforce and the implementation of the established framework which determines their jurisdictions and the basic operations of the school.

Table 4 encompasses the dimensions and the criteria of the model which evaluate structural complexity.

Table 4. *The Evaluation Model of Structural Complexity in Educational Organizations*

Dimension of structural complexity	Structural complexity criteria
Horizontal differentiation	1. Specialization of professional roles – new job titles
	2. Work specialization
	3. Knowledge specialization
Vertical differentiation	4. New lines of power
	5. Informal, 'dual ladder' job
Spatial dispersion and internal differentiation	*Physical dimension of space –external dispersion*
	6. Building dispersion
	7. Operational dispersion
	8. Geographical dispersion
	9. Population dispersion – differentiation
	Abstract dimension of space-internal differentiation
	10. Expansion of the jurisdictions and the power of the employees involved in the educational process
	11. Expansion of the professional roles and institutional bodies involved in educational process.

The comparative study of the criteria of horizontal and vertical diversification and of the spatial dispersion reveals the relation of structural complexity to the other

two basic characteristics of bureaucracy: centralization and formalization. Diagram 1 demonstrates the relation between the three dimensions of school structure: centralization, formalization and structural complexity.

Diagram 1. Correlation of the three structural characteristics in educational organizations.
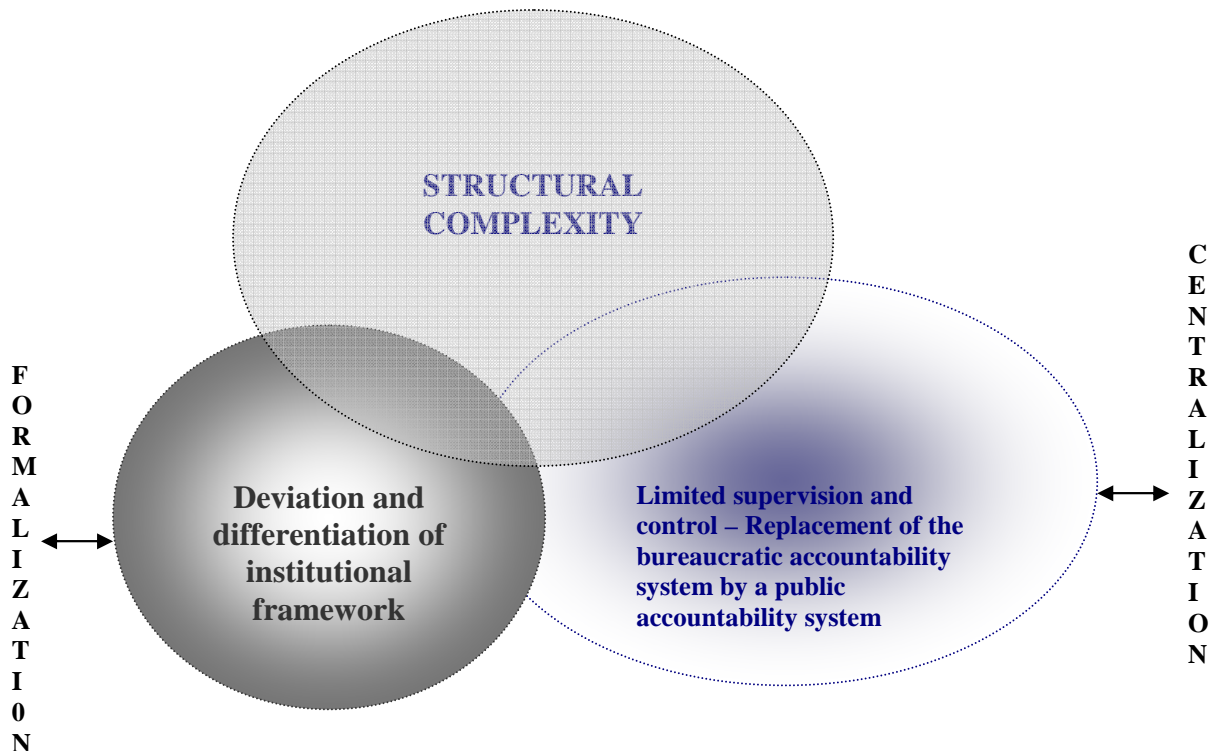
From the aforementioned analysis, we conclude that as the SC of the school structure increases, the degree of centralization is limited. The central supervision and control system is restricted and the bureaucratic accountability system is replaced by a market-public accountability system. Meanwhile, the increase of SC brings forth the deviation and diversification of the current formal institutional framework. The new emerging multifarious realities can not be covered by the current rules and regulations, which demand new immediate regulations, and as a result, parts of the institutional framework are automatically cancelled.

Conclusions

The ethnographic study demonstrates that the structural complexity of educational organizations is a phenomenon that occurs even in centralized bureaucratic educational systems. The two school case studies present evidence of a complex structure, even if they function within a centralized context, in which it is assumed that everything is determined by the pyramid of hierarchy, while meanwhile the operation of different types of schools (i.e. music, sport and multicultural schools e.t.c.) doesn't consist a reality for the Cypriot education. This conclusion, in combination with the significance of qualitative and informal characteristics which the school structures present – in juxtaposition to the significance which determines the size of an educational or school system- makes the study of SC significant in the understanding of the operation of educational organizations.

The context which the three dimensions of SC assume during the study of educational organizations is presented differentiated in comparison to the space of public organizations and companies. We notice phenomena as the interdependence of structural elements and the adaptability of school structures to the environmental changes. The aforementioned properties lead us to the basic principles of the Complexity Theory, "while he doubts about the meaning of objective reality placing emphasis on the meaning of the relation and the rejection of determinism" (Tsoukas, 1999:15). The in depth study of the structural subsystem demonstrates that besides the interpretive context of the three dimensions of SC, further properties appear, which appertain to the schools characteristics of a complex adaptive or dynamic system (CAS):

1. **Interconnectiveness:** The interdependence consists a property of CAS, "results from the interaction between the components or interdependent agents of a system – which are interacting with each other in a great many ways – and is manifested at the level of the system itself" (Cilliers, 1998: 2-3 ; Stacey, 1996 ; Waldrop, 1993:11). The criteria of SC reveal a relation of interdependence within each dimension and between the three dimensions. For instance, the specialized knowledge that is needed for the management of the new multicultural situation, brings forth the specialization of the task, forms new specialized work posts, but simultaneously creates new informal work posts in the school hierarchy (i.e. head of multi cultural education matters and sub-director). In addition, the specialization of the teachers' and the administrative executives' role in matters of routine multicultural management (horizontal differentiation), does not exist independently of the expansion of the faculty's role and the exertion of power in emerging fields (spatial dispersion).

2. **Emergence and sensitivity to initial conditions:** Kaufman considers the property of emergence primal to the understanding of the behavior of CAS: The complex whole, in a complementary non-mystical sense, can often exhibit collective properties, "emergent" features that are lawful in their own right" (Kauffman, 1996: vii-viii). The emergence, as property of CAS, deals with new behaviors and interactive forms of dependence, and thus creates novel evolving patterns. The interactive equilibrium amongst the system's agents, shapes emerging patterns that function in order (Seel, 1999).

Emergence is defined as the "process by which patterns or global – level structures arise from the interactive local – level processes. This 'structure' or 'pattern'

cannot be understood or predicted from the behavior or properties of the component units alone" (Mihata, 1977: 31); however, a holistic - systematic approach and study of the system is required.

The emergence appears as a property which characterizes the new structure which forms the case study schools. The study of SC in school systems presents a more complex framework of criteria, from those which the quantitative measurements taken from public organizations and companies, refer to. The new reality (presence of NNS), which destabilizes the usual operation of the school, gives birth to new needs, new fields of action, new tactics and decisions, and leads the members of the school to cultivate new models of school government: in essence, the current reality emits a new self-organizing structure. We are dealing with a 'circular structure', determined by multiple elements in an interdependence relationship, giving the impression of a tumult movement. The changes and decisions are not presented in the hierarchical levels of the educational system, but in a horizontal dimension, which, for the most part, moves within the micro level of the school unit. Thus, *recursive* symmetries appear: a turbulence may form small repeated tumults within other tumults (Tsoukas & Hatch, 2001:998). The changes which occur within the three dimensions of SC attribute to the system the impression of a nest, because the factors of the changes consist themselves complicated systems (Seel, 1992:2). This circular structure of the school systems creates the non-linnearities (Holland, 1995:5), which characterize the relationship between cause and effect.Thus, insignificant causes can create significant results and consequences to the system (Tsoukas & Hatch, 2001:988).

3. **Self-organization:** The emergence and self organization are the two basic interdependent behavioral characteristics of complex systems. Wheatley (1999:21) claims that the notion of self-organization does not imply the absence or the abolishment of hierarchy, but a distinct use of it. Self organization as a systematic behavior gives the opportunity to a complex system to behave in a new way, distinct from the previous one (Tsoukas & Hatch, 2001:989). The two case study schools demonstrate that the majority of structural differentiations that occur, regard the horizontal and spatial dispersion of the organization, and are less associated with the presence of new lines of power in the hierarchy of the system (limited vertical differentiation). The differentiations of this sort, occur for the most part within the micro level of the school unit, and simultaneously constitute non institutionalized / informal decisions. These actions arise from the initiative of the stakeholders, as an act of self-organization of the school unit. Consequently, the specialization of work, the content of professional roles and the dispersion of power in all of its forms, constitute a homeostatic self-regulation mechanism (Papaioannou, 2007). Schools change, present a more complex structural dimension as a result of a self-organizational action. This organizational pattern, with its volatile organic structures (Wheatley, 2003:52), is a consequence of the schools' autonomous actions, and exemplifies the behavior of school organizations, as complex adaptive systems and as learning communities.

To conclude, the study of SC in the field of education is significant, because it gives us the opportunity to study the particular operation and behavior of the educational organizations, as organic systems, and to evaluate the degree to which

they behave as CAS. The deeper knowledge of the behavior of the learning adaptive communities is beyond any doubt a condition for the educational policy reforms and long-term improvement programs in the field of education.

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The "new policy paradigm" in Higher Education: Interest groups, politics and the issue of implementation in the Greek case.

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1. Introduction

This paper attempts to approach the discourse for higher education policies posed in an supranational level of cooperation promoted by the Bologna Process while also by other initiatives such as the 'Tuning Project' and the Education and Training 2010'. These initiatives set a new policy paradigm for higher education policies called to be implemented within the participating countries but mainly introduced within the Higher Education Institutes. The changing conditions of societies and the new market paradigm of the knowledge based economy apply the need for higher education to be reaching the demands both of economic development while also of social cohesion. In such changing conditions institutions are called to be competitive and innovative as there is a need for enchasing their quality while also ensuring the competences of the future employees. Political action is set at the forefront while stakeholders are introduced in the decision process shaping this common objective set with the Bologna Process that of the European Higher Education Area. Within this context the Greek higher education system and institutes are reformed reflecting their specific characteristics within this broader shift on the policy paradigm.

2. The Bologna Process and its objectives.

The reality of the Bologna Process is an issue of an increasing and unquestionable impact over a numerous participating countries and their educational systems. The Bologna Process started officially in 1999 with the Bologna Declaration signed by the ministers responsible for Higher Education of 29 European countries[1]. The process has made already after eight years the objective for creating a European Higher

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[1] See, European Ministers of Education, (1999) The European Higher Education Area. Joint declaration, Bologna, June 1999.

Education Area a common objective to more than 45 European countries[2]. While Higher Education policy with the Bologna Process, even though this process is still under amplification set to complete in 2010, can be considered as the most distinct initiative dismantling higher education policies from the sole regulatory power of the state. With the bologna process higher education is set in an international level of cooperation mapping down several stakeholders on this policy area.

The Bologna Process officially is characterized as an intergovernmental process extending even the enlarged European Unions member states. Such a reality although seems that it wasn't the primary objective of the bologna process initiative. This consideration springs from the Sorbonne declaration signed one year earlier of the official ignition of the discussed process. The Sorbonne declaration signed in 1998 is considered to be crucial for the launch of the Bologna Process as it was then that the Ministers of 6 European member's states co-decided and set the policies for 'harmonizing the European higher educational systems'[3]. This meting is thought to be a focal point as the general guidelines set in this declaration were the first guidelines included in the Bologna declaration one year after. But the objective of the Bologna Process was not set to be the one of harmonizing the European educational systems but rather for creating of a ***European Higher Education Area***. As it is noted also in the Bologna Follow-up series of working papers called Trends the European systems of higher education were and are still characterized for their extensive diversification.

The realization of the extensive diversification of the European higher education systems seems to be one reasonable explanation for the abolishment of the objective to harmonize them. And from that starting point the Bologna Process was launched concerned also for a structural change in higher education but setting its aims in the ***comparability*** and ***compatibility*** of the European higher education systems so that ***mobility*** can be promoted within the European Higher Education Area and so on its ***attractiveness*** to the rest of the world. These three guidelines appear to be the three major objectives in quest by the Bologna Process so that the main objective can be

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[2] To be precise it will be 46 with the joining of Moldavia
[3] See European Ministers of Education, (1999) The European Higher Education Area. Joint declaration, Bologna, June 1999.

reached according to the Lisbon strategy for employability set in 2000 that of ***making Europe the most dynamic knowledge based economy worldwide***.

Indeed, any attempt to analyse the expediency of the new formation of a European Higher Education Area cannot overlook the effects of internationalisation and the emerging transformations in economy and labour market. As Haug argues: *"among the factors explaining why there was a change in the agenda for higher education in Europe, the following can be highlighted: first the emergence of a real European labour market, which was bound to shape major elements of the university offering and functioning in the forthcoming years. The trends the first report noted that it was unlikely that the combination of high rate of graduate unemployment and a shortage of qualified young people in key areas in many European countries would be accepted much longer by societies. The growing tension between an increasingly open and European labour market on the one hand, and exclusively national degree systems on the other, is certainly one of the core factors explaining the Bologna process"*[4].

In the context of both the major, mutual depended supranational initiatives (the Bologna Process and the Lisbon Strategy), Higher Education poses (in terms of research and innovation) as the trigger for promoting "***economic and cultural development and social cohesion in European societies***"[5]. What is evident is that for promoting all the above mentioned objectives the issue of quality and that of readability of qualifications are raised as key elements. And so, as the Bologna Process moves foreword, the policy agenda for quality assurance and all the relevant structural policies such as the ECTS and the Diploma Supplement gained the maximum of visibility.

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[4] See G. Haug, *The Bologna Process and the Lisbon Strategy,* Bologna Handbook, vol.1, A.3.1-1, September 2006, pp. 5-6.
[5] See European Ministers of Education, *The European Higher Education Area - Achieving the Goals. Communiqué of the conference of ministers responsible for higher education*, Bergen, May 2005.

3. Interest politics and the issue of implementation over the Bologna Process 'structural' policy agendas.

What is indicative of the Bologna Process is that it runs according to the new governmental procedure that of *'the open method of coordination'*. This method was also introduced in the Lisbon strategy mainly because it includes all the interested stakeholders on the policy area allowing them to be involved actively. Something quite indicative in the Bologna process as the stakeholders involved not only increased in number but foremost enhanced in role and authority[6]. The open method of coordination is classified as a soft law procedure mainly because the implementation of the policies is based on the fact that each participating country in this procedure, joints it willing.

The stakeholders involved in the Bologna Process are mainly apart from the governments the European Commission which role is considered of great importance to the extend that in the last ministerial meeting it was clarified that the Commission is not running the Process and that the process is an inter-governmental venture. Other stakeholders are the Council, the EUA which stands for European Universities Association, the European students union (ESU[7] or mostly known as ESIB), EURASHE which is the union for post-secondary institutes, ENQA the European Network for Quality Assurance, the ERIC-NARIC networks which are the representative body of the national agencies responsible for the recognition of degrees, the Unesco-Cepes which is the correspondent department for educational policies, the OECD, the World Bank etc. The intriguing thing is that even though there is a vast participation of several interest groups there is no diversification over the objectives set.

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[6] An interesting example is the involvement of the European Union Student's (ESIB) which was not at first, part of the Bologna Process entering the process in the second ministerial meeting held in Prague (2001).

[7] The change of ESIB's name to ESU was a very resent development market in the Bologna Process website hosted by the London presidency.

As mentioned previously the agendas of quality assurance and the agenda concerned with the readability of qualifications[8] are the two major policy agendas posed as a prerequisite for every other objective set to be actually reached. These agendas are related mainly because they promote a structural reformation that Higher Education Institutes are called to imply. So far a great progress can be marked introducing new policy agendas and enhancing them as the Bologna Process moved from the first Bologna Declaration singed in 1999, to the Prague Communiqué in 2001, to the Berlin meting in 2003, to the Bergen meeting in 2005 and finally to the last ministerial meeting held in 2007 in London.

What can be firstly acknowledge is that the policy agenda for quality assurance and all the structural policies were significantly enriched in the Prague's meeting[9] and in the Berlin meeting these policies started to reach the implementation phase already. While the main tools underlined within these policy agendas and in general within the Bologna Process is that *networking* must be enhanced and *good practices* should be acknowledged for the various participating countries to *benchmark*.

The most interesting development of the Process connected with the implementation stage is actually the guidelines set in the Berlin ministerial meeting as it is requested by 2005 all participating countries to have a quality assurance system setting a minimum structural framework for such a development. Within the Berlin Communiqué it is declared that *"…The quality of higher education has proven to be at the heart of the setting up of a European Higher Education Area. Ministers commit themselves to supporting further development of quality assurance at institutional, national and European level. They stress the need to develop mutually shared criteria and methodologies on quality assurance…Therefore, they agree that by 2005 national quality assurance systems should include:*
-A definition of the responsibilities of the bodies and institutions involved.
-Evaluation of programmes or institutions, including internal assessment, external review, participation of students and the publication of results.

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[8] EUA, (2002), ECTS Counseling and Site Visit Programme: The State of implementation of ECTS in Europe. A short survey carried out by EUA in co-operation with the ECTS/DS national coordinators, EUA Brussels office
[9] For the total objectives set in all policy agendas see Council of Europe, (2002), The Bologna Process: Achievements and Challenges, Steering Committee for Higher Education and Research, 13 August, Strasburg.

- A system of accreditation, certification or comparable procedures.

- International participation, co-operation and networking.

At the European level, Ministers call upon ENQA through its members, in co-operation with the EUA, EURASHE and ESIB, to develop an agreed set of standards, procedures and guidelines on quality assurance, to explore ways of ensuring an adequate peer review system for quality assurance and/or accreditation agencies or bodies, and to report back through the Follow-up Group to Ministers in 2005. Due account will be taken of the expertise of other quality assurance associations and networks...[10],,

The implementation phase was introduced while the stakeholders gained an important role to that. The case of the ENQA is evidential of the active role of the stakeholders to the Bologna Process. ENQA even changed its status from an association to an organization proving that not only the stakeholders influence the process but they where themselves influenced as gaining a serious authority on the agendas for higher education policies. What is also interesting is that ENQA has its own prerequisites for its members, accepted although by the Bologna Process and that all established national agencies for quality assurance they have to register[11]. All of these guidelines actually characterizes the turn of the Bologna process from the phase of setting the objectives towards the phase of implementing them.

Something to be confirmed also in the Bergen meeting in which it was stated that: *"Almost all countries have made provision for a quality assurance system based on the criteria set out in the Berlin Communiqué and with a high degree of cooperation and networking. However, there is still progress to be made, in particular as regards student involvement and international cooperation. .. We adopt the standards and guidelines for quality assurance in the European Higher Education Area as proposed by ENQA. We commit ourselves to introducing the proposed model for peer review of quality assurance agencies on a national basis, while respecting the commonly accepted guidelines and criteria. We welcome the principle of a European register of*

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[10] See European Ministers of Education, (2003) Realizing the European Higher Education Area. Communiqué of the conference of ministers responsible for higher education, Berlin, September 2003 p.3.
[11] See Thune, K., (2005), Standards and guidelines for quality assurance in the European Higher Education Area by ENQA, Helsinki, Finland, European Commission, DG Education and Culture, Socrates programme.

quality assurance agencies based on national review. We ask that the practicalities of implementation be further developed by ENQA in cooperation with EUA, EURASHE and ESIB with a report back to us through the Follow-up Group. We underline the importance of cooperation between nationally recognised agencies with a view to enhancing the mutual recognition of accreditation or quality assurance decisions[12]."

In last and very resent London meeting held in 2007 the quality assurance agenda seems to be implemented and the registration of the national bodies for quality assurance to the ENQA organization to be reaching serious progress[13]. As stated: *"The Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the EHEA adopted in Bergen (ESG) have been a powerful driver of change in relation to quality assurance. All countries have started to implement them and some have made substantial progress. External quality assurance in particular is much better developed than before. The extent of student involvement at all levels has increased since 2005, although improvement is still necessary...[14].*

But what is also interesting is that from the Bergen to the London meeting a new agenda seems to be taken in the forefront of discussion. The European Qualification framework which is mainly formed by the other structural policies that of the ECTS and the Diploma Supplement implementation is placed in the centre of discussion mainly because: *"Qualifications frameworks are important instruments in achieving comparability and transparency within the EHEA and facilitating the movement of learners within, as well as between, higher education systems. They should also help HEIs to develop modules and study programmes based on learning outcomes and credits, and improve the recognition of qualifications as well as all forms of prior learning.* While *"We see the overarching Framework for Qualifications of the EHEA,*

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[12] See European Ministers of Education, (2005), The European Higher Education Area - Achieving the Goals. Communiqué of the conference of ministers responsible for higher education, Bergen, May 2005.pp.2-3

[13] See European Parliament & Council of the European Union, (2006), Recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council on Further European cooperation in Quality Assurance in Higher Education, Official Journal of the European Union, 2006/143/EC.

[14]. European Ministers of Education, (2007), Towards the European Higher Education Area: responding to challenges in a globalised world, London May 2007, p 4.

which we agreed in Bergen, as a central element Quality Assurance and a European Register of Quality Assurance Agencies[15]"

The issue of creating quality assurance mechanisms confirms that the Bologna Process has caused serious reconsiderations and subsequently transformations over the participants' higher education systems. The policy agendas of higher education seem to be enhanced giving emphasis on the policies concerning quality assurance and the new subsidiary agenda of the qualification framework. To that direction there is a broader boost caused by other initiatives concerned also with higher education policies.

4. The spill over effect of the Bologna Process: the Tuning Project and the Education and Training 2010 initiative.

The guidelines and objectives of the Bologna Process can be considered as the first step towards the broader (re)contextualization of higher education policy agendas, something that is actually occurring by the spill over effect of the Bologna Process with the 'Tuning Project' and the 'Education and Training 2010' initiative.

What can be exacted from the process of the Bologna venture is that it opens the discussion of higher education policies in an international level emphasizing towards a structural dimension of reforms need to be implemented. But what is most interesting is that a shift can be detected in the emphasis given. Even though it started mostly between the ministers responsible for higher education the outcome of this process is to emphasize the role that higher education institutes are called to play. Institution's involvement is indicative to the Tuning Project funded by the European Commission following the steps of the Bologna process but widening the issues at stake. The issues of competences are posed in the center of the discourse. This new turn can be considered relevant or even as an answer to the broader acknowledgment that high skilled employees are in need with the emphasis posed on the discourse of the learning outcomes.

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[15] European Ministers of Education, (2007), Towards the European Higher Education Area: responding to challenges in a globalised world, London May 2007, p 3.

The Tuning Project that is running already its fourth working period seems as an initiative that follows this new trend emphasizing on learning Outcomes. Higher education institutes via academics are called to cooperate in mapping down the competences promoted within several study areas while also they are called to benchmark teaching methods for the maximum of competences gained. The competences are divided in two categories the generic competences and the subject specific competences. The cataloging of the competences promoted within the topics of scientific studies while also the benchmarking on teaching methods are called to be disseminated to the participating countries[16]. Moving that is, more in depth towards the discourse about learning outcomes setting the frameworks of this broader change occurring in higher education.

In the same perspective the 'education and training 2010' initiative started in 2002[17], maps down the total spectrum of the new paradigm not only in higher education policies but on educational policies. This initiative is directly connected with the Lisbon agenda and the objectives set concerning the broader agenda of educational policies emphasizing in vocational training as well in life long learning policies and of course on higher education[18]. The characterization of modernizing educational policies within Europe is indicative. The significance of this procedure is based on the fact that it includes much wider policy agendas. The Bologna Process seems to be considered as part of this newly established but broader on the spectrum of education policies.

All of these projects running at the same time evidence the new policy paradigm on Higher Education policies. This new mode over higher education policies can be connected especially in the stage of implementation with the broader mode that of the

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[16] EUA (2006), Tuning Phase IV: Curricular Reform Taking Shape. Learning Outcomes and Competences in Higher Education (2006-2008), European Commission, Brussels.

[17] For more information on Education and Training see European Commission D.G. for Education and Culture, (2006), Preparation of the 2008 Joint Interim Report on the implementation of the Education and Training 2010 work programme, Guidance Note for the 2007 national reports, 11 December 2006, Lifelong Learning: Education and training Policies, Coordination of Lifelong Learning policies. See also European Commission D.G. for Education and Culture, (2004), "Education and Training 2010 in the European Commission," in *Progress towards the Common Objectives in Education and Training: Indicators and Benchmarks*, c 73, Brussels.

[18] Also a very interesting development is the europass that is called to classify every kind of skilled gained either of an educated employee or of an uneducated, categorizing the qualifications at 8 levels.

new public management. What is also evidential is that the Bologna process seems to include the broader changes occurring in higher education policies with the other initiatives. Such a change is indicative in the most important policy agenda that of the quality assurance policy agenda and mainly on the policy agenda of the qualification framework considered as a subsidiary of the previous.

5. The Greek case of higher education under reform.

The issue concerning the nature and the extend of the participation of all related interest group can be considered crucial in the implementation phase of this policy process and that because the way they accept the reforms or resist to them, it could be considered as an indicator of their actual participation in the co-decision process. The phase of implementation sets a new arena for this co-decided policy agendas when applied as a reform act in national level. The implementation phase makes the Greek case interesting as it didn't had prior tradition to any of the proposed policies for quality assurance.

The most major reforming acts occurring in the last period can be highlighted in three major reforming bills. The first one introduced in 2000 concerned mainly with a structural reform of higher education. The Greek higher education was divided in two categories of higher education institutes, the so called A.E.I. (Universities) and T.E.I. (the Technological Educational Institutes). This previous division between existing since 1981 categorized the institutions in a hierarchical order[19]. The A.E.I. was considered to be better because their graduates were fully acknowledged of their professional competences while the graduates of the second category of T.E.I. professional skills were ambiguous[20]. So the first major reform was about to withdraw of the previous existing diversification of privileges and for sorting up the equivalence of the qualifications for the technological institution instructors.

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[19] For more information on the Greek history of higher education see Παπαδάκης, Ε. Ν., (2004), Η παλίμψηστη εξουσία. Κράτος, Πανεπιστήμιο και Εκπαιδευτική Πολιτική στην Ελλάδα, Αθήνα, Gutenberg.
[20] A simple example was the right to continue studying in a master program which till then the graduates of TEI didn't had.

This reforming act was considered as an outcome of the Bologna Process guidelines mainly involved in the policy agenda concerning the readability of degrees. The previous existing categorization created difficulties in the diversifications of rights of its graduates. This first Bologna driven reform, as it is acknowledged by most, caused a serious reaction of the two most related Greek stakeholders that is the academics of the Universities and of course the students of A.E.I.[21] declaring that it threats their status in the marked. The academics made a coalition claming that such a reform was against the constitution. Their main argument stated that there is a great gap between the educational standards of the A.E.I. and the ones existing on T.E.I.'s. They argued that the academics face strict regulations in order to be qualified as Higher Education teachers rather with the T.E.I.'s educational staff that they are not required of such strict procedures in order to be confirmed as teachers mainly because the market expertise was valued the same as owning a PhD. The reactions moved the discourse on the need to assure the quality of both Higher Educations Institute's categories.

The second most important reform was about the implementation of a quality assurance mechanism while also the ECTS and the Diploma Supplement.[22] This reform is the most evidential implementation of the Bologna Process. Even though one can think that this reforming act was welcomed due to the previous experience there was a big resistance on this also. The concern was about the standards and the quality assurance model to be actually implemented. The model of raking or otherwise expressed the fear of ranking, created a serious dislike on the total process of implementing a quality assurance mechanism. The argument was that higher education if it is evaluated it will be driven towards a market oriented philosophy causing a serious damage on the humanitarian and social studies which lack in market competition.

The mechanism was reinforced with some delay from the beginning of the discourse due to the extensive reactions mainly caused by the academics. Finally a model was introduced that set actually the minimum structural conditions of the Bologna Process

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[21] On the issue of interest politics in the Greek higher education see Λάβδας, Κ., (2004), Συμφέροντα και πολιτική. Οργάνωση Συμφερόντων και πρότυπα διακυβέρνησης, Αθήνα, Εκδόσεις Παπαζήση.

[22] Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Θρησκευμάτων, (2005), Νόμος για την διασφάλιση της ποιότητας στην Ανώτατη Εκπαίδευση- Σύστημα μεταφοράς και Συσσώρευσης Πιστωτικών Μονάδων-Το Παράρτημα Διπλώματος», ν. 3374/05.

in praxis. Each institution is called to run its own evaluation as well as external evaluations are confirmed. An independent public agency is called to guarantee the outcomes of the evaluation and publish them.

The third reforming act which is the most recent makes some more innovations mainly on the way higher educations institutes are managed[23]. Firstly it ensures that there are no categorizations between all Higher Education Institutes and secondly it requires from the institutions a four year planning of expenses as well as it introduces something that could be considered as a manager. It also changes the way students participate in the elections of chancellors making the voting a total right for all the students and not only for their representatives. Till now the representatives were elected from competitive student unions similar to the Greek parties. This reforming act also finding a great resistance[24] could be considered that it is called to ensure the Bologna's objectives but actually is more interested in solving or at least trying to solve some problems existing in the Greek Higher Education System, by trying to create a new framework for the institutions. Such a reform seems quite well connected with the broader mode of what called new public management.

Unquestionably the Greek higher education system is running under a major reform facing a great deal of resistance from major stakeholders as this reformation seems to reflect the new policy paradigm. This recognition poses a serious question concerning the characterization of the Bologna process as a bottom up policy initiative. Moreover a lot of questions are raised concerning the stakeholders actual interest representation. And these questions are posed taken into consideration the reactions expressed when implementing the co-decided policies in national level. One possible answer is that the diversification of the educational systems and the interests formed within each country are more diverse than expressed on international level. So either a democratic deficit can be detected on the way the various interests are expressed

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[23] Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Θρησκευμάτων, (2007), Νόμος για την μεταρρύθμιση του θεσμικού πλαισίου για τη δομή και λειτουργία των Ανώτερων Εκπαιδευτικών Ιδρυμάτων-ο νέος νόμος πλαίσιο για την Ανώτατη Εκπαίδευση, ν. 359/2007
[24] What is also very interesting is to mention the will of the governance to change the constitution in order for private Higher Education Institutes to be able to exist under the same conditions within the Greek Higher Education Institute. A proposition that was mainly due to the student's reaction postponed to the next constitutional change.

within the supranational formation of interest groups or maybe there is a substantial lack of representation[25].

6. Conclusions

As a conclusion the only thing noted is that the 'Bologna Process' as well as the 'Tuning Project' and mostly the 'Education and training 2010' initiative underline via the objectives they set their compliance with the Lisbon agenda. With these initiatives there is conducted a shift over the policy paradigm of higher education in accordance with the changed context of the so called post-industrial society. And the implementation of all these policies set Higher Education Institutes responsible for helping individuals and so on societies in the knowledge-based economy. So Higher Education Institute's (H.E.I.) potential contribution in employability and adaptability is getting actively clarified by:

- the increasing emphasis on the development of transferable skills that employers seek and HEI should assist students in developing, along with knowledge acquisition and data analysis competence[26],
- and the turn of discourse on Higher Education to the importance of the learning outcomes.

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[25] Such an example could be given on ESIB in which for instance the Greek students do not participate in mainly on their disability to acknowledge a general representative body.
[26]See Klemencic, M., (2006), *The Bologna Process and Students Expectations*, Bologna Handbook, vol.1, A.1.1-1, Septembar 2006, p. 11.

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A Greek Tragedy:
Higher Education Reform in Greece?

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1. The Scene

Athens, Greece. June 2006.

Temperatures rising. Temperaments rising. The riots in France several weeks earlier have given inspiration to the protestors – and not only for the slogan: *"It will become…..a France here"*[1]. But there is no need for inspiration; no need for imitation; no need for "a France *here*" as Greece's university community has mastered the skill - perfected it to art-form!

> *Greek universities are at a standstill as lecturers and students protest against a government plan to revise the constitution and end the state monopoly in university education. They also oppose abolition of the university sanctuary and the strict period of studies. Students blocked reform attempts in 1991, 1992, 1995, 1998 and 2002.*

> - Times Higher Education Supplement[2]

Mid-June the Minister withdraws the higher education bill promising to present it to Parliament in October[3]. But this does not pacify the protestors. University lock-outs continue and….increase. Protests intensify. Angry voices demand the higher education bill *never* to be presented to Parliament….and even angrier voices demand the immediate resignation of the Minister.

> *"I am protesting so that the [higher education] bill does not get passed [by parliament]. For me the most important thing that must be avoided is the privatization of universities".*
> - Daphni Tsiouni, university student[4]

June 20: Not optimistic that the riots will subside by the end of the month when the meeting of the OECD Education Committee on Higher Education is scheduled to take place in the center of Athens, at a venue located at the heart of the most aggressive

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[1] Translation of the Greek: «Θα γίνει της Γαλλίας εδώ».
[2] June 16, 2006
[3] And not during the summer as was the original intention.
[4] *Proto Thema* Sunday newspaper, June 18, 2006

riots, the Ministry of Education changes the venue to a location 40 kilometers from the city of Athens. Delegates are notified:

> *Dear Colleagues,*
> *You are registered to attend the meeting of the OECD Education Committee on Higher Education: Quality, Equity and Efficiency which will take place in Greece from 27 and 28 June 2006.*
>
> *For reasons of high security and to ensure the comfort and tranquility of delegates away from the possibility of student demonstrations, the Greek authorities have informed us that they have changed the venue of the meeting from Athens to a resort some 40 kilometers from Athens by the sea.*

- Excerpt of e-mail sent by OECD Education Committee Secretariat[5]

An otherwise idyllic location for a meeting of Ministers to discuss, to contemplate the issues on the agenda: *Quality, Equity and Efficiency of Higher Education in OECD countries*. Outside, a small but boisterous group of students make their way past the police blockades; raise their placards and their voices for the world to see, to hear.

> *At the same time when the Secretary General of the OECD, Angel Gurria, was announcing that the model by which Higher Education is funded exclusively by the state is inappropriate, about 500 [university students] clash with Special Police Forces demanding free education.*
>
> -TA NEA newspaper[6]

Quality, Equity and Efficiency? Ironic under the circumstances!

Friday, June 30: The last of the protests – for now. Protestors warn: "We'll be back in September!" Refreshed, energized ready to resume – protests, lock-outs, clashes with police, demands. At least the authorities don't have the element of surprise to contend with.

July, August: Two months *to be* – to allow the situation to work itself out - or *not to be* - to plan, to strategize, to prepare for what lies ahead?

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[5] From Sue.Lindsay@oecd.org to frances@hol.gr June 20, 2006.
[6] June 28, 2006.

2. The Setting

All social movements involve conflicts which are reflected intellectually in controversies. It would not be a sign of health if such an important social interest as education were not also an arena of struggles, practical and theoretical......the practical conflicts and the controversies that are conducted upon the level of these conflicts, only set a problem. It is the business of an intelligent theory of education to ascertain the causes for the conflicts that exist and then, instead of taking one side or the other, to indicate a plan of operations proceeding from a level deeper and more inclusive than is represented by the practices and ideas of the contending parties.

- John Dewey (1963:5)

If we attempt to explain the scene described above[7] in terms of cause and effect as recommended by Dewey (1963) we would conclude that the proposed higher education bill[8] (that the Government planned to present to Parliament in July), coupled with the proposed changes to the Constitution[9] so as to allow the operation of private universities in Greece, created sufficient dissatisfaction amongst interested parties and stakeholders, to warrant the protests that intensified in June and are due to resume in September. Furthermore, we might even conclude that *each* of the proposed changes[10] - separately and alone - would have produced the same results since not all protestors were rallying against changes to *both* the higher education bill *and* to the Constitution: some protestors were rallying against proposed changes to the higher education bill; some protestors were rallying against proposed changes to the Constitution to allow for privatization of higher education; and some protestors were rallying against *both* proposed changes[11].

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[7] See Section 1: The Scene

[8] The key changes proposed creating conflict were: limitation of duration of university studies; the university 'asylum'; accreditation; election of the university governing board.

[9] Article 16 of the Constitution prohibits the establishment of private universities in Greece. However, it should be noted that the two issues – that is, the higher education reform bill and the proposed changes to Article 16 of the Constitution - are unrelated. That is, one is independent of the other.

[10] That is, to the higher education bill and to the Constitution.

[11] Evidenced by newspaper articles and reports during the period from January 2006 to July 2006.

The question however is, to what extent are the protests (*effect*) independent of the proposed changes (*cause*)?   Dewey (1963:5) recommends *"proceeding from a level deeper and more inclusive than is represented by the practices and ideas of the contending parties"*. It is precisely *this* level that must not - and can not - be overlooked in the case of Greece if not only reforms to higher education, but any changes whatsoever to the existing status quo, are to have a chance of survival.

This *deeper level* then, is, I propose, the level of culture and of tradition. With regard to the protests described above[12], over the years I have come to realize that in Greece, it is not always what one is protesting about that is important but rather, the protest itself. It seems that there is some deeply rooted trigger in Greeks that once a political authority[13] announces, or even hints at in some cases, some reform measure or change especially with regard to higher education, this sets off a negative reaction resulting in protests and demonstrations - sometimes peaceful but more often than not, violent - with special police forces being called in by the Government to contain the riots, which in turn and without fail, triggers more negative reaction by protestors. It has become a predictable vicious circle. In fact, this *action-reaction* or *cause-effect* to change (especially in higher education) has become a 'tradition'[14]. Mandravelis (2006) appropriately notes in the Sunday newspaper *Kathimerini*[15] that not only can the handling of protestors by police be considered as 'traditional' but more importantly:

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[12] See Section 1: The Scene

[13] In particular, the Government.

[14] Tradition is here defined as information manifested in acts or practices brought into the present from the past, in a particular societal context, and repeated over a long sequence of time. Such acts or practices, once performed, generally disappear unless they have been transformed into some manner of communicable information.

[15] *Opinions*, August 20, 2006

> *The protest problem which afflicts Athens nine-hundred times every eighteen months, is a characteristic sample of the hang-ups which the post-dictatorship left on the country.....protests are a form of expression that was forbidden by the dictatorship and is being exercised with excess during times of Democracy.... However, over time, protests have taken on characteristics of "hard tradition[16]" (Mandravelis, 2006).*

Although Mandravelis (2006) may be exaggerating when he quantifies protests in Athens as "nine-hundred times every eighteen months", it surely must feel this way to shop-owners in the city centre where protestors congregate, whose profits drop between 51-75% on each day of protest, representing over 40 billion euro profit loss collectively each year, according to the National Association of Greek Commerce[17]. Mandravelis (2006) does however, rightly put the pulse on the situation. His reference to the "hang ups which the post-dictatorship left" are not only significant in understanding the 'tradition' of protests or 'protesting' in Greece and of police reaction to protestors[18], but more importantly, in understanding the cultural context within which any successful change agent is to achieve envisaged goals and objectives.

> *Ethical, politcal, and social problems do not occur in isolation but take place as conflicts in cultural contexts.*
>
> - Verne (1970:278)

In *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry*, Dewey (1938, cited by Verne 1970) notes that the cultural environment influences to a very large extent the ways in which human

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[16] Here, the word "hard" is a direct translation. However, in this context the connotation of 'hard' is more precisely translated as: *not so pleasant, aggressive.*

[17] *Kathimerini* newspaper, *Επιχειρήσεις.* August 20, 2006, p. 7

[18] Although the tradition of protests or protesting in Greece is a topic of special interest and concern warranting further investigation, such investigation is beyond the scope of this paper. The reference to 'police reaction' here has been to show how certain practices imprint upon a culture to become classed as 'tradition'. Police reaction to protestors has been an area of contention in Greece since the November 17 student uprisings of 1974 against the dictatorship, when university students were killed or injured by police and army forces storming the National Polytechnic University of Athens. Police brutality has been associated with right-wing political contexts and although the present rightist government of the New Democracy party, has not dealt with the protests any differently than the previous government of the socialist party, PASOK, did for 20 years that it governed, there seems to be a negative public association between the ruling New Democracy party and police forces controlling protests, riots, demonstrations.

beings respond to physical conditions. "[W]hat man does and how he acts is determined not by organic structure and physical heredity alone but by the influence of cultural heredity, embedded in traditions, institutions, customs, and the purposes and beliefs they both carry and inspire" (p.217). Karl Jaspers goes one step further when he talks of *historical assimilation.* "What is over and done with", he says, "nevertheless persists as a cultural element devoid of content. The panorama of the millenniums is like a region of beatific contemplation" (cited in Verne 1970, p. 254).

Much has been written about Greece and the Greeks. There are travel writings, guidebooks, literature, governmental reports, and academic papers (eg historical accounts and sociological discussions). A representative sample includes: Allison and Nicolaïdis (1997); Ascherson (1996); Broome (1996); Close (1995); Danforth (1995); Doumanis (1983); Dubisch (1986); Durrell (1978); Fermor (1958/1984; 1966/1983); Fiada (1994); Friedl (1962); Gage (1987); Glenny (1999); Greenhalgh and Eliopoulis (1985); Hadbegger et al. (2000); Hiestand (1992); Hirschon (1989/1998); Holden (1972); Kain Hart (1992); Kaplan (1993); Kazantsakis (1965); Keeley (1999); Kizilos (1997); Mackridge and Yannakakis (1997); Mazower (2000); OECD (1995); Papandreou (1996); Pettifer (1993); Poulton (1991; 1995); Powell (1957/1999); Rawlins (1997); Salmon (1995); Sanders (1962); Simpson (1968); Tannen (1982); Todorova (1997); and Triandis (1972). A common theme that always arises however is the *paradoxical nature* of Greece and Greeks. One writer describes this paradoxical nature as:

> *… a maddening mobile, elusive, paradoxical world, where nothing seems solid enough to grasp save splinters, yet where no part is less than the mystical whole and where past and present, body and soul, ideal and reality blend and struggle and blend again with each other so that the most delicate scalpel can scarcely dissect them (Holden 1972: p.34).*

Hadbegger et al. (2000), explain this paradox as the contrast between the burden that Greece must carry due to "the weighty baggage of much ancient honour past" (p.xiv), and the challenges it must attend to as a modern country. This historical paradox has been described by Glenny (1999) as "the schizophrenia of the Greek heritage: oriental and Byzantine on the one hand; occidental and romantic-revolutionary on the other" (p. 32). Still others believe that this paradox or schizophrenia is an innate feature of the Greek character. "The character of the Greeks, even at the time of Homer, could best be described as schizophrenic" writes Faida (1994:12).

Whatever the case may be, the propensity towards tensions that affect Greeks is a reality:

> ..... *Greek identity as a whole [is] best seen as a constant oscillation between just such opposites as these ... the spirit and the flesh, ideal and reality, triumph and despair, - you name them and the Greeks suffer or enjoy them as the constant poles of their being, swinging repeatedly from one to the other and back again, often contriving to embrace both poles simultaneously, but above all, never reconciled, never contented, never still. This perennial sense of tension between diametrically opposed forces is the essence of their existence - the one absolutely consistent feature of their identity since Greek history began ... (Holden, 1972: 27-28).*

Such tensions however, do not always carry the negative connotations outsiders attribute to them. For Greeks, they are a "way of life" (Broome 1994:114). Kazantzakis' *Zorba the Greek*[19] is probably the best exemplification of this paradoxical nature of the Greeks. Although Zorba shows a supreme appreciation for the richness of life and the inevitability of all its dilemmas, sorrows, tragedies, and ironies, his way is to "dance" in the gale of the full catastrophe, to celebrate life, to laugh with it and at himself even in the face of personal failure and defeat. In doing so, he is never weighed down for long, never ultimately defeated either by the world or by his own considerable folly. Perhaps this is why it is very easy for a Greek to be

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[19] Kazantzakis, N. (1962).

swept away by his own rhetoric, by his wild exaggerations, by sweeping generalizations that can easily mislead the unsuspecting. There may be some truth in what Faida (1994) says:

> …there are visitors who leave Greece firmly believing that the Greeks still worship the twelve Olympian gods (p.39).

However, although Greeks like to hear themselves speak, they have yet to master the skill of 'listening' – the most essential requirement for carrying out a *dialogue*. Observing Greeks having a *dialogue* is like watching a battle – a battle of personal opinions being shot out in the air – where all are survivors, all are victors since the end is neither to reach the truth nor to reach a conclusion; its end is as Broome (1996) notes: "the sheer enjoyment of vigorous speech" (p.71). Plato may have lifted his favourite instrument, the *dialogue*, to its highest splendour, but it seems that modern Greeks prefer the rhetorical style of the Sophist[20].

The notion of Greeks therefore, of undertaking or participating in a "dialogue" – a *public* dialogue at that – to debate or discuss proposed changes to higher education as hoped for by the Minister of Education, Marietta Giannakou, is not only nonsensical, but ludicrous. The inability of Greeks to grasp the notion of "dialogue", let alone to structure a "*public dialogue*" in order to achieve the democratic results hoped for by the Government through such a process, is distinctively important in understanding the finer, more subtle reasons behind the protests described above[21]. Not even the leader of the opposition party PASOK, George Papandreou, is capable of putting into practice the art of *dialogue* although paradoxically he maintains that the 'new' PASOK is built on the principles of 'participatory government' and 'participatory

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[20] A disorganized group of thinkers, who employed rhetoric to teach and disseminate their ideas, in the 5th century B.C in Athens. For Aristotle (384-322 BC), 'rhetoric' is the counterpart of 'dialectic'.
[21] See Section 1: The Scene.

democracy'[22]. Not only are the members of his party that disagree with him and the 'party line' exorcized from his party[23], but the PASOK representatives refused to participate in the intergovernmental committee for education[24] set up by the Government and started their own *public dialogue* campaign on higher education[25].

On January 21, 2005, the Minister of Education, Marietta Giannakou, launched the "National Dialogue for Education", in order to *"shape an all-inclusive national strategy for Education"* [26]. Six months later the representatives of the opposition party PASOK refuse to participate in this dialogue and a year later the opposition party PASOK launches its own *dialogue platform* for higher education reforms. A year and a half later, in June 2006, there are violent protests by students, faculty, parents and other stakeholders across Greece – all demanding "dialogue" on the proposed higher education reforms: some demanding "*dialogue*" because they believe *"there was no dialogue"*[27]; and others demanding *"a broader dialogue ...to start from zero"*[28] so that "*agreement can be reached*"(!)

Why is it that the "*dialogue*" and the process of such *"dialogue"* has not only become an issue of contention in the higher education reform process, but to a large extent, has also taken centre-stage? Is it because there has been no *"dialogue"* or is it that the concepts, perceptions and understandings of *"dialogue"*, its process, what it

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[22] See PASOK party web-site: http://www.pasok.gr/
[23] One casualty was former Minister of National Economy and of Defence, Giannos Papantoniou who was expelled from the PASOK party by its leader, George Papandreou on August 8, 2006, for not following the party line (ALTER News television broadcast).
[24] Ethnos newspaper, 2005. "Η κυβέρνηση συζητάει μόνη της για την παιδεία – Εθνικός Μονόλογος". June 1, 2005, p. 21.
[25] PASOK, «Εισαγωγική ομιλία της Μαρίας Δαμανάκη στη σύσκεψη του ΠΑΣΟΚ για το Νέο Πανεπιστήμιο. Τομέας Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού. http://www.pasok.gr
[26] See: http://www.forum-paideia.gr/message2.php
[27] G. Babiniotis, Rector, Athens University. *Kathimerini* newspaper, Πολιτική, July 9, 2006 (p.10).
[28] Το ΒΗΜΑ newspaper. Η Κρίση στην Παιδεία. July 9, 2006 (p. A37).

should comprise and what its outcomes should be, are beyond comprehension by Greeks? Is it that there are so many vested interests by the various stakeholders that reaching consensus is like a 'Midsummer Night's Dream'? And if so, should this not be taken into consideration by those attempting change within an already sensitive area of reform, such as higher education?

The role of the press in heightening actions and reactions to government reforms can not be overlooked in Greece. Greeks may not read much of anything else, but at least skimming the front page of newspapers hanging from kiosks for easily browsing, is a cultural 'tradition' that is intricately bound to stirring sentiment, especially when it comes to such issues as student protests. "Greeks", as Fiada (1994) so rightly points out, "easily catch the bug of fanaticism, which is fanned by the press to a degree unheard of in other countries" (p.57). Newspapers, and what is written or shown especially on the front page, constitute more than "the mental life of [the] day as the awareness of how things go with the masses" (Jaspers, cited in Verne, 1970:258). It is perhaps for this reason that reporters tend to gain unprecedented power when reporting on events that stir public opinion and sentiment (such as education and especially higher education); more often than not are on the pay-roll of political parties[29]; and very often move into politics themselves[30]. They are most definitely *not* "anonymous" as Jaspers (cited in Verne 1970:259) would have us believe. In Greece, the journalist does feel him/her self in "harmony with these powers" since:

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[29] According to the journalist, Makis Triantafyllopoulos as revealed on his television talk-show *"Kitrinos Typos"*, December 14, 2006.

[30] For example: the former Minister of Education, Mr. Petros Eythimiou; the current Government spokesperson, Theordoros Roussopoulos; the member of Parliament of the PASOK party, Sylvana Rapti; to name but very few.

Ideals usually play a very small part in choosing sides, although one will rarely hear a Greek admit it. Adherence to a particular party depends more on whether its leaders catches the public's fancy, on his powers of persuasion and on the effectiveness of his propaganda network, than on his programme or his performance. The decisive factor is always the personal benefit one may expect once the party of one's choice comes to power. (Fiada 1994:57-58)

The vested interests of Greeks individually rather than collectively, is a major hinderance to achieving consensus in order for change agents to accomplish their goals without having to be brought to the point of retreat by agreessive opposition such as that displayed in June[31]. Again, however, this is an aspect of Greek culture, Greek tradition that must be taken into consideration when attempting change strategies.

Other people have bureaucracies, the Greeks have 'connections'...in any given ministry or public service....These friends can speed things along, sometimes as a favour, other times for a kick-back commensurate with the importance of the service requested.... However, those who do not hold a key to the bureaucratic maze find things very different. This is because bureaucracy in Greece has been elevated to a form of art: the art of making enemies of the citizens. ...Getting entangled in Greek red tape makes Kafka's Trial look like a pleasant walk in the park.....
                                                                            - Faida, 1994 (pp. 58-59)

Nicolaidis in *The Greek Paradox: The Promise vs Performance*[32], points out that even though democracy was restored over two decades ago and solid democratic institutions were put into place, the political system remains ineffective and plagued by clientelism (p.2). She notes that:

Despite the watershed victory of the Greek socialist party PASOK in the 1981 elections, the situation perversely worsened. To be sure, PASOK's arrival at the pinnacle of power contributed decisively to the legitimization of Greek democracy through the integration into the system of whole strata of the population that formerly had been excluded. But this movement only served to intensify the paternalistic/particularist logic of the prior era under the euphemism of "compensatory justice," and to increase the inefficiency and corruption of the state-controlled sector." (p.5)

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[31] See above: Section 1 – The Scene.
[32] Allison and Nicolaidies (1997)

This may, to some extent, explain why education – and especially higher education – there is so much resistence to change within higher education eventhough there is public agreement about its shortcomings. The paradox however, is that despite all the shortcomings of the present education system, the concept of *paideia*[33] remains as important to today's Greeks as it was to their forefathers Plato and Aristotle[34]. Education is always at the forefront of Greek society – it is intricately bound to culture and tradition. Harvard University Professor, Bruce Fuller, speaking at the conference/workshop on "Greek Higher Education – Prospects for Reform"[35] expresses is amazement at the figures evidencing this fact: "10.9 per 10,000 inhabitants was the enrolment rate in Greek education in the year 1892, and 2.7 per 10,000 inhabitants was the enrolment rate in the presumably more modern country of France in the year 1892", he says, and goes on to characterize this situation as: "a robust social demand for education, one obviously rooted in its history and culture". Even for example, in 1974, when crowds spontaneously demonstrated to celebrate the fall of the military junta, the triality demanded of the new regime was:

> *Psomi! Paideia! Democratia!*
> *(Bread! Education! Democracy!)*

Education however is considered a means to an end – that is, to get into university and attain a university degree. Family pressure is high; the demand for higher education is even higher[36]. Not surprisingly then, changes in any aspect of higher education result in insecurities that manifest themselves in a denial or fear of any change. One

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[33] That is, 'education'.

[34] As expressed in Plato's *The Republic* and Aristotle's *Politics*.

[35] Harvard University, USA, May 22-23, 1996.

[36] University enrolment in Greece grew from about 30,000 students in the early sixties to nearly 200,000 in the nineties - with approximately 40 percent of these students characterized as "dormant" (Lambropoulos, 1996)

reason for this is that more often than not, the existing system is used to engineer social mobility. As Close (1995:8-9) notes:

> *For peasants prepared to finance their children's education, as many were, state employment offered a means of upward mobility for the family ... The emphasis of secondary and tertiary education on rote-learning gave an opportunity for success to children prepared to slave their way to a certificate which would earn them a white-collar job.*

The gulf that exists between the rational/intellectual approach to human organization and the frequently irrational facts of human nature must be seriously taken into consideration. Parkinson (1957) reminds us that:

> *Aristotle may have been an academic but he was also a practical scientist, and in contrast to Plato, his ideas were based on a sound understanding of what people were really like and how they could be expected to behave under particular circumstances."* (p. 10)

It is this essence of culture and its effect on behaviour that Hall (1973) captures in the *The Silent Language*, in just one sentence: "Culture", he says "controls behaviour in deep and persisting ways, many of which are outside of awareness and therefore beyond conscious control of the individual" (p. 25). It is this 'essence' that change agents need to take heed of in order to better assess possible reactions to proposed actions.

3. The Tragedy

This essence of culture and its effect on behaviour is ultimately the *tragedy* of the Greek nature. Although Aristotle in *The Poetics* gives to the world 'tragedy', it is Nietzsche in his famous early book, *The Birth of Tragedy*http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Birth_of_Tragedy, who introduces an intellectual dichotomy that characterizes Greek nature even today – that is, the

dichotomy between the Dionysian and the Apollonian[37]. Nietzsche claims life always involves a struggle between these two elements, each battling for control over the existence of man. For the Greeks, this seems to be intricately bound to their culture which in turn, has effected their behaviour. In Nietzsche's words:

> *Wherever the Dionysian prevailed, the Apollonian was checked and destroyed ... wherever the first Dionysian onslaught was successfully withstood, the authority and majesty of the Delphic god Apollo exhibited itself as more rigid and menacing than ever.*
>
> - Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*

It is perhaps this struggle, this dichotomy in Greek nature that 'equalizes' any attempt at change or reform[38]. Noel McGinn (1996), Harvard Professor of Higher Education, speaking at a workshop on Greek higher education reforms notes that:

> *Most of the current issues relating to higher education in Greece have been suffered for a number of years. Despite frequent complaints and a voluminous body of research, however no fundamental changes have been made in the root causes of these problems. Nor are changes likely without a shift of the social and political actors who determine the course and nature of higher education.*
>
> - Noel McGinn[39]

Dimaras (1995) and Kazamias (1995) nicely put it when they each on separate occasions note: *"The more Greeks talk about change, the more the system stays the same"*. Unfortunately, reality does not contradict this otherwise, unequivocal generalization. A quick scan of some of the newspaper articles and reports in a cross-section of the press over the past 15 years shows that the same issues with regard to higher education – reforms necessary for public universities, whether or not private universities should be allowed to operate, and the need for a *'public dialogue'* in order to have a consensus about change – have been addressed as areas of contention since

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[37] Reality undifferentiated by forms and like distinctions as opposed to reality as differentiated by forms, or the forms themselves.
[38] Since both sides, the Apollonian and the Dionysion, are of equal strength.
[39] Conference/workshop on "Greek Higher Education: Prospects for Reform", Harvard University, May 22-23, 1996.

1990 with absolutely no progress whatsoever in terms of change or at least a step in

any direction:

> **All newspapers during the two-year period 1990-1991 are plagued with articles and reports discussing the legality of private university/college operators in Greece and whether or note the Constitution should be changed to allow for the operation of private universities.**
>
> **TA NEA newspaper, October 4, 1990**
> *The then Minister of Education, Kontogiannopoulos, talks of the development of a new legal framework for the operation of universities that will give them autonomy of administration. Interestingly, the proposals put forth for reforms in higher education in 1990 are similar if not identical to the proposals put forth by the Ministry and the National Council for Education in 2006!*
>
> **TO BHMA newspaper, December 2, 1990**
> *The conclusion of the four-day conference about Higher Education is reported as: "Higher Education is clinically dead". A proposal is put forth that: "This is a big opportunity for a real and fruitful public dialogue on Education."*
>
> **APOGEYMATINH newspaper, March 17, 1991**
> *Even though the political platform of the New Democracy government elected to power a year ago, clearly states that private universities will be allowed, the new Minister of Education, George Souflias, decides that the discussion around private universities is a sore point and causing endless protests, and refuses any discussion on this topic. The legal restriction of the word "university" is enforced and those private operators that continue to call themselves "universities" are taken to court.*
>
> **Times Higher Education Supplement, June 25, 1993**
> *Greek university principals warn the government they will resign en mass unless it takes steps to solve the financial problems faced by their institutions.*
>
> **TA NEA newspaper, November 7, 1994**
> *The then Minister of Education, George Papandreou tries to address the: "Byzantinism and civil servant attitude of universities" by calling on the OECD for an evaluation of the Greek education system in order "to get an objective base for public dialogue of reforms necessary".*
>
> **TO BHMA newspaper, June 11, 1995**
> *The then rector of the National Polytechnic University of Greece, Prof. Nikos Markatos, in his article entitled "Higher Education in Greece and the disadvantages of its privatization: Higher Education - A Social Benefit or Merchandize?" concludes that the solution is to be found in the upgrading and the quality provision of higher education, and in the improvement of it administrative organization".*
>
> **TO BHMA newspaper, October 8, 1995**
> *The issue of private universities is brought to the forefront (again) and Greek law rebuked as being contrary to EU legislation since article 16, paragraph 5 of the Greek Constitution does not permit the establishment of private universities.*

APOGEYMATINH newspaper, April 4, 1996
It is reported that the OECD in its evaluation of Greek higher education, recommends the establishment of private universities. This rekindles the discussion about whether or not private universities can be established in Greece and whether they should. It also brings about more protests and public unrest on the topic.

EXOUSIA newspaper, June 30, 1997
The High Court of Greece give the 'green light' for the recognition of degrees awarded by the pseudo private universities operating in Greece, regardless of the restrictions placed by the Constitution.

TO BHMA newspaper, May 17, 1998
In an article entitled "The University in between the "public" and the "private" notes that the discussion around the establishment or not of private universities "is one of the few points of disagreement in the open procedure for the changes in the Constitution". Also noted is "the need for deep rooted reforms in higher education".

TO BHMA newspaper, August 9, 2001
The Ministry of Education announces that it will not recognize the degrees awarded by branches of foreign universities (through franchise and licensing agreements) operating in Greece, even though the European Commission has threatened to take Greece to the European Court.

KATHIMERINH newspaper, January 20, 2002
Headlines: Universities in Decline – Without vision, goals and administration.

TO BHMA newspaper, January 13, 2004
Government spokesperson, Protopapas (PASOK) notes: Papandroeu has been outspoken about his views on the matter of non-state not-for-profit universities since 1996 when he was Minister of Education. He believes that non-government organizations should have the right to provide higher education studies and public university should decentralize, become independent and be closer to Greek society.

KATHIMERINI newspaper, August 29, 2004
Manolis Drettakis (former Minister) questions whether the national dialogue for education reform that the Government has announced will be able to reach common agreement and implementable proposals to solve the many problems faced by Greek education system, since similar dialogues in the past have failed to bring about any results. He notes that a national policy needs to be developed that won't change every time the government changes or even when Ministers of Education change.

TO BHMA newspaper, October 10, 2004
The Minister of Education, Marietta Giannakou, notes that private universities are not allowed by the Constitution. Therefore, until the Constitution is changed there can not be any private universities.

HMERISIA newspaper, December 11-12, 2004
Universities warn of all-out strike – one reason is the potential establishment of private universities. University professors believe that private universities will lead to the degrading and debasement of titles given by public universities.

KATHIMERINI newspaper, January 16, 2005
Article discusses the perennial problems of universities in Greece – absent faculty, not enough classrooms, over-registration of students in certain classes, not well prepared university entrants, no system/curriculum (for example, a student can take final exams for Physics III without having passed Physics II), no research, political party control.

ETHNOS newspaper, June 1, 2005
PASOK withdraws from participation in the National Dialogue for Education and has decided to undertake its own initiative for dialogue with all the stakeholders concerned with education in order to discuss with them the issues and find solutions and make proposals from the beginning.

TA NEA newspaper, August 22, 2005
The European Commission is threatening to take the Greek government to European Court over the issue of non-recognition of degrees awarded by European universities through collaborative ventures with Greek partner institutions. The Greek Government has objected since the Constitution does not allow private universities and therefore, it does not intend to recognize the titles awarded by the private colleges in Greece.

TO BHMA newspaper, September 25, 2005
A study reveals that approximately 18,000 students are registered at private Greek university/colleges with collaborations with foreign universities.

TO BHMA newspaper, December 25, 2005
The article entitled "The Legal Framework for the Universities is Cause for WAR" warns that the first draft of the proposed legal framework of universities presented by the Nation Council for Education will be the cause for protests that will climax in the coming summer (2006).

KOSMOS TOY EPENDITI newspaper, December 30, 2005/January 1, 2006
The Government announces its intention to change Article 16 (par. 5, 6, 8) of the Constitution to allow the operation of non-state, not-for-profit universities.

KATHIMERINH newspaper, August 20, 2006
A report states that "there is neither a plan, nor a vision that would provide the bases for real reforms in education, which seem to be moving according to the logic of the 1960's".

In addition, there is a plethora of literature, policy documents, political statements, evaluation reports and the like (Athanasopoulos, 1990; Bonikos, 1996; Dimaras, 1995, 1996; Drettakis, 1998; Hellenic Parliament, 1990; Kazamias and Kassotakis, 1995; Kazamias, 1995, 1996; Kintis, 2001; Kyriazis, 2006; Lambropoulos, 1996; OECD, 1995, 1996, 1997; Nea Democratia, 2004; Papadopoulos, 1994, 1996;

Papandreou, 1996; PASOK, 1997; Pezmazoglou, 1996; Psacharopoulos, 1996, 2002, 2003; YPEPTH[40], 1995, 1996, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003;) all, without exception, stating and restating the same *problems* and the same issues[41] troubling higher education in Greece. However, the inability of *the actors*[42] to move from the level of *stating* them, to actually *doing* something about them, seems to be one of the *tragic flaws* of our scenario for change and reform.

Even George Papandreou, former Minister of Education[43] and one of the protagonists in favour of system-wide reforms in education, who in 1995 commissioned the OECD to undertake an evaluation of the Greek education system in order to use the outcomes of this evaluation as the basis for public dialogue, was unable to move beyond the level of *stating* the problems to actually *solving* them. His description in fact, of the Greek education system in the Preface of the OECD Review (1996) as:

> *……extremely centralized and inflexible, bureaucratic and insensitive to the changes.……in total isolation of the economic, social, and international realities, unable to respond to the needs of society, of youth……*

is predictably similar to the description of the Greek education system presented in the OECD (1980, 1982) reports over 15 years earlier when apprehensions about the implementation of educational modernisation and democratisation in Greece is expressed as "arduous" - not only because these are difficult tasks to accomplish in any liberal society, but more so, because Greece is "a country with deeply entrenched traditions, very limited resources, conflicting ideologies and a history of educational conservatism, as well as frequent political changes"[44].

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[40] Hellenic Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs.
[41] For example, whether or not private universities should be allowed to operate.
[42] That is, those in a position to *solve* the problems and deal with the issues which plague higher education.
[43] And currently leader of the opposition party PASOK.
[44] Cited in OECD 1997.

Papandreou also sought kudos for reforms in higher education through a workshop on "Greek Higher Education: Prospects for Reform" held at, and organized in collaboration with, Harvard University, Graduate School of Education, on May 22-23, 1996. Again, Papandreou, in his key-note address at the workshop, noted the age-old challenges facing the Greek education system:

> *"The first is how to get beyond the dilemmas of our past....For Greece, our educational system is bound up with this past. It has been obscured by a number of social political changes over the years....*
>
> *"Another issue that has imposed a mental set on our thinking is our experience with regard to foreign intervention and the influence of new ideas coming from outside. Foreign intervention is alternately seen as the panacea for everything, or a reason for resisting everything foreign. It is in short a false dichotomy, a transfer of responsibility; either all that is "bad' comes from the outside, or all that is "good" comes from outside.....we have a tradition of adopting education models form other countries....*
>
> *"Of course, there is also the dilemma of Greece's war heritage. Greece experienced a civil war that created a highly polarized political situation, which has in turn led to a very strong desire for central control on our education system and to a very centralized, rigid, bureaucratic and homogenized type of system; centralized in that most control lies in the minister's office or the Ministry of Education, or other central bodies....Our political heritage is characterized by a tradition of "clientelism" – or what we call 'rousfeti' or clientelistic relationships between the politicians and the citizens.*
>
> *"One of the major obstacles to the success of educational reform in Greece has been the discontinuity brought about because of political changes, including changes of Ministers of Education even within the same government.*

Nevertheless, the groundwork for reforms that had been laid by Papandreou was in vain. Political changes in October 1996[45] with new *actors* in place ensured that any traces of the OECD Review, along with the preparations that had been made for wide-spread *public dialogue* on reforms, were eliminated[46]. This, of course, is another *tragic flaw* of our scenario. In the last 15 years, there have been 7 different Ministers

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[45] After the death of Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou.

[46] All copies of the OECD Review that had been translated in Greek for ease of reference by the Greek public, were put in storage at the Ministry of Education, and no reference made to continuing Papandreou's effort by the new Minister of Education, Mr. Gerasimos Arsenis, who happened to also be of the same political party – that is, the governing party at the time, PASOK.

of Education[47], accompanied by sweeping changes within the Ministry of Education to political appointees, advisors, directors, and other staff. There seems to be a tradition in Greece that each new Minister *must* disregard the work of the previous Minister and start afresh – even if the new Minister happens to be from the same political party! It is in fact, a one-step forward, two-step backward, reform process.

Sadly, little, if anything, has changed in Greece in the last 15 years in terms of attitudes to change. This is not surprising since the status quo is a tightly-guarded sanctuary and the privilege of those 'connected' to the ruling party. Papandreou's *book of thoughts*, "The Tree and the Forest" (1996) is an admission of how the political system worked against progress in the decade 1985-1996; and which continued as such until the 2004 when PASOK lost the national elections. Some reflective quotes from Papandreou's *book of thoughts* which exemplify the extent of the Greek tragedy include:

> *"...PASOK has shown to be unable to cut the Gordian Knot with the centralization, the clientelistic relationships and bureaucracy, those models that came to us from on the one hand from a dogmatic centralized communistic party and form the other from the logic of a centralized nation with its clientelistic relationships"* (p.18).

> *"We found ourselves incapable therefore and instead of changing these foundations of governance we used them. And these absorbed us and weakened us"* (p. 19).

> *"Instead of freeing public strengths...since 1985 we have enclosed the public within narrow political walls with biases and slogans, consolidating the immobility, the balances of indifference, the power relationships"* (p. 20).

This acknowledgment by Papandreou is significant because this attitude and approach to politics and governance became entrenched in Greek society over the 20 years of

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[47] Kontogiannopoulos, 1990; Souflias, 1991; Fatouros, 1993; Papandreou, 1994; Arsenis, 1996; Eythimiou, 2000; Giannakou, 2004.

rule by PASOK from 1985 to 2004[48]. Changing the *status quo* in any way that risks

upsetting *loyalty networks* – especially in the area of higher education which forms

the backbone of Greek society - is therefore, as difficult as moving a mountain. As

Hall (1973) points out:

> *Meanings must be found in the context of hundreds of years of history.....diplomacy and political strategy can be seen as a kind of debate where the words cover years.....The language of politics and the language of culture are a long way apart, yet each subsumes the other.(pp.99-100)*

One consequence of this need to maintain the status quo that serves as an added

obstacle to achieving *catharsis* within our *Greek Tragedy* is what I shall call the

"recycling of characters" or the *"familiar face syndrome"*. That is, the protagonists

of our Tragedy – whether they be political protagonists (the decision-makers), or

whether they be protagonists with a political voice (those that influence the decision-

makers) are "recycled"[49]. Of course, this "recycling" could be justified as

"experience"; but does this otherwise value instrument *'experience'* not serve to

maintain the *status quo* of loyalty networks?   Can *catharsis* be achieved if the

characters maintain the plot of our *Greek Tragedy*?

4. The Catharsis

All good tragedies end with what is known as *catharsis* or purification. In the

Aristotelian sense, the purpose of *catharsis* is to provide balance to the emotions

raised during the tragedy, through meaning and understanding. Looking back then

over our 'Greek Tragedy', one cannot help but wonder: **what** is the meaning of the

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[48] With a brief spell in opposition from 1990-1993.

[49] If one looks at the names of the characters influencing policy and formulating policy, or in key positions (e.g. rectors of public universities; president of educational research institutes; directors of non-governmental educational bodies) over the past 15 years, it is immediately evident that it is the same pool of people being recycled with little, if any, new 'blood' being circulated within this tight network. Of course, since the re-election of the New Democracy (ND) party in 2004, 'familiar faces' from the period 1990-1993 (when ND ruled for a brief period) and the early 1980's (when ND governed for a much longer period) have started to resurface.

*higher education reform policy-process within the Greek context; **why** is the higher education reform policy-process within the Greek context so difficult; and **how** can the higher education reform policy-process within the Greek context be effectively implemented.*

> *There is no art that hath been more canker'd in her principles, more soyl'd and slubber'd with aphorising pedantry than the art of policie.*
> - John Milton[50]

For any country, the implementation of significant policy change is challenging (Crosby, 1996), but for a country such as Greece with a very low expectation[51] (Iwai, 1981) of the policy change process (and especially that of education, and even more, that of higher education[52]), implementing major policy shifts poses special challenges. In such a case, the ability to understand and respond to the *human dimension* of change will ultimately be the determining factor in implementing and sustaining successful change (Farmer, 1990).

> *Change always carries with it a sense of violation. It thus invites resistance……Social organizations are by their nature conservative and protective. Social structures have been created to guard against disturbing changes (Farmer, 1990:7).*

The inability to understand the way in which an organization's culture will interact with various contemplated change strategies may therefore result in the failure of the strategies themselves. As Tierney (1988) notes: only when administrators possess a "full, nuanced understanding of the organization's culture" can they communicate effectively with its different constituencies and cultivate their support, thereby

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[50] Cited in Parsons (1995).

[51] According to Iwai (1981) after incorporating all the relevant information from the past into one's subjective model of reality, an individual has no choice but to anticipate the future events by extrapolating the existing subjective model into the future. When an individual reaches "expectational equilibrium" there remains no incentive for the individual to change the existing routine pattern of forming expectations about the future. It seems that Greece has reached this level of "expectational equilibrium".

[52] Resistance to change is particularly intense in higher education because faculty members are instinctively hyper-conservative about educational matters (Farmer, 1990:7).

implementing decisions effectively (p.5). In other words, when dealing with human systems – and especially, *complex* human systems with deeply ingrained traditions and tempestuous personality traits (such as those possessed by – *or possessing* - the Greeks[53]), it is not enough to try and enact change by simply re-stating *'what is'*[54] in terms of *'what should be'*[55] – as has been the case with regard higher education reform proposals in Greece up to now[56].

A system is a little black box, Of which we don't unlock the locks,
But find out what it's all about, By what goes in and what comes out.
- System Engineer's Anthem[57]

If we use the 'black box' analogy of the system engineer it seems that policy-makers in Greece have been trying to control the outputs of the system from *outside* the 'black box' through the process of control by feedback (Romizsowski, 1981). They have spent their time building a shared vision of the future, but vision without *system analysis*[58] ends up painting lovely pictures of the future with no deep understanding of the forces that must be mastered to move from here to there (Senge, 1990). Not surprisingly then, they have failed to achieve desired outputs - in this case *change*. But what are these *forces that must be mastered*?

It seems that the greatest obstacle to effecting reform in higher education in Greece is the cultural dimensions within which the policy-maker must operate. It would follow therefore, that if change is to be effected, either the cultural dimensions need to change (or be changed), or at least the policy-maker must *acknowledge* the

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[53] Hall (1973) refers to these conditions as "the hidden rules that govern people" (p.32). "Culture", he says, "controls behaviour in deep and persisting ways, many of which are outside of awareness and therefore beyond conscious control of the individual" (p.25).
[54] The situation as we know it – in this case, the higher education system in Greece.
[55] The situation as we would like it to be – in this case, the higher education system in Greece.
[56] See pp. 18-19 of this paper.
[57] Cited in Romiszowski, 1981 (p. 7).
[58] That is, opening up the 'black box' or the system and looking *inside* in order to understand what makes the system work.

implications of these cultural dimensions within the change strategy. Setting out to *change culture* per se may of course be a disheartening challenge since it is doubtful that anyone ever really changes culture (Hall, 1973). However, as Hall (1973) notes:

> *If a person really wants to help introduce culture change he should find out what is happening on the informal level and pinpoint which informal adaptations seem to be the most successful in daily operations. Bring these to the level of awareness. Even this process can only accelerate change, not actually control it in the manner desired by men of action. This is because the out-of-awareness nature of the informal is where all changes start (p. 96).*

Bringing the cultural dimensions to the level of awareness therefore, may indeed be a good place to start for the policy-maker in Greece, not only because policies are formed against the backdrop of the culture and as such can serve to reshape it, but perhaps more importantly, because the policy-maker does not stand apart from the people affected by his policies (Scheffler, 1985:117). Policy-making and reflexivity therefore, must go hand-in-hand. The following extract from *Of Human Potential* (Scheffler, 1985) nicely sums this up:

> *Understanding his own action in terms of his purposes and beliefs, his norms and the ideals he sets for himself, he seeks a parallel understanding of others……The policy-maker concerned to understand people, as indeed he must, needs thus to view them as subjects – active beings whose field of endeavour is structured by their own symbolic systems, their conceptions of world, self and community, their memories of the past, perceptions of the present and hopes for the future. Treating people as carbon copies of oneself, without taking the trouble to enter into their cultural environment, or – worse still – treating them as mere instrumentalities for, or hindrances to, the realization of a preconceived plan is a formula for policy failure…. They are to be seen not simply as comprising a field of application for policy, but as a resource for its origination and evaluation. This attitude takes their reaction not merely as promising facilitation or defeat of policy but as offering occasions for the review of policy. The policy-maker's advance rationale is not sealed off from scrutiny by those, and communication with those for whom his policy is intended. His initial intentions are vulnerable to change, in principle, through interaction with the intentions of others (p. 102-103).*

But I suppose, this is the stuff of good leadership – the "art of leadership" as Max DePree (1989) calls it and which encompasses "liberating people to do what is required of them in the most effective and humane way possible" (p.1).

The first responsibility of a leader is to define reality. The last is to say thank you. In between the two, the leader must become a servant and a debtor. That sums up the progress of an artful leader (p.11).

- DePree,'Leadership is an Art' (1989)

Plato, in *The Republic* admits that only a tiny fraction of the population possessed the natural endowment which would make it possible to transform them into leaders – or what he called *philosopher-kings*, and later even dismissed this as an impossible dream. Perhaps this is an impossible dream as Plato would have us believe; perhaps not. What is certain, however, is that ineffective or 'bad' leadership does add to the burdens of strategic organizational change. Father Theodore Hesburgh, former President of Notre Dame University, once said:

The very essence of leadership is [that] you have to have a vision. It's got to be a vision you articulate clearly and forcefully on every occasion. You can't blow an uncertain trumpet.

TIME, May 1987[59]

It is precisely this *"uncertain trumpet"* that revealed the *tragic flaw* of the Minister of Education, Marietta Giannakou, when pressured by the student protests in June, she withdrew the draft higher education bill. I doubt that Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1983) would have considered her a *"Change Master"*[60].

In conceiving of a different future, change masters have to be historians as well. When innovators begin to define a project by reviewing the issues with people across areas, they are not only seeing what is possible, they may be learning more about the past; and one of the prime uses of the past is in the construction of a story that makes the future seem to grow naturally out of it in terms compatible with the organization's culture.

The architecture of change thus requires an awareness of foundations – the bases in "prehistory," perhaps below the surface, that make continued construction possible. And if the foundations will not support the weight of what is about to be built, then they must be shored up before any other actions can take place (p. 283).

- The Change Masters, Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1983)

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[59] Cited in Peters (1987), *Thriving on Chaos*.
[60] *Change Masters* according to Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1983) are: "Those people and organizations adept at the art of anticipating the need for, and of leading, productive change".

If Giannakou had better prepared for leading the higher education reform process in Greece, would she have been driven to withdraw at the last minute the draft higher education bill? Afterall, the proposed draft higher education bill was supposedly in the making for over a year and had supposedly undergone, during this time, its *democratic* process of public dialogue! If the answer to the above question is *yes[61]*, then does the *tragic flaw* lie in the democratic process?

Interestingly, when William Riker (1986), one of the most influential political scientists of the theory and practice of democracy, applied Kenneth Arrow's (1950) impossibility theorem to politics, he found that democracy was chaotic, arbitrary, meaningless, and impossible. A less extreme view of democracy, but at the same time, questioning its implications, is that of Gauchet and Swain (1999), who in *Madness and Democracy* use, like Foucault (1967) before them, the history of innovations in the theory and treatment of mental illness, as an analogy for the meta-analysis of modern democratic society and the relationship between individuals and collective life on the one hand, and freedom and power on the other. Gauchet and Swain's conceptual framework is influenced by the ideas of democracy espoused by Alexis de Tocqueville (1966), who accepts democratic society but worries deeply about its implications; Foucault's by Friedrich Nietzsche (1967), who rejects it as a disguise for the rule of the weak. Nevertheless, both Gauchet and Swain, and Foucault, agree: what joins the history of insanity and its treatment to the history of politics and democracy is the question of human subjectivity. One of the central arguments moreover, that Gauchet and Swain share with Tocqueville is that:

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[61] That is: no matter how much Giannakou had prepared for leading reforms in higher education in Greece, she still would have been driven to withdraw at the last minute.

…democratic ideas are risky, even dangerous ideas, opening the way to new and more insidious forms of domination.….The totalitarian potential in democratic culture is the other side of the autonomy it institutes, since the society that recognizes no powers outside itself is the one that allows nothing to stand between its organized common force and the lives of its members. Collective autonomy and individual vulnerability to social power are two sides of a single configuration. But the threat to freedom this poses is only realized where the power that stands for the whole aims to reduce individuals to a mass, effacing their differences in the name of some kind of pure sociality (p. xvii-xviii).

- Madness and Democracy[62]

Although these interpretations of democracy may be considered as "erroneous" and "problematic" by some (for example, Mackie, 2003), perhaps there is (a little) room for *such* interpretations within the Greek context - even if they might be turning the father of democracy, Aristotle, over in his grave!

5. What next?

"……given the circumstances of the parties, and their knowledge, beliefs, and interests, an agreement on these principles is the best way for each person to secure his ends in view of the alternatives available"

- Rawls, 1999 (p. 103)

Rawls may present a logical way forward for our *Greek Tragedy*, but it is unlikely to be the way forward. What lies ahead? Without doubt, more protests, more conflict, more turmoil, until exhaustion or some catastrophe[63] naturally brings closure. The Plea of Nikos Maziotis (1998), a self-proclaimed anarchist, to the Athens Criminal Court[64] is self-evident:

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[62] Gauchet and Swain (1999).

[63] Previous demonstrations about higher education reforms have resulted in loss of lives (e.g. in 1990-1991)

[64] http://www.spiritoffreedom.org.uk/profiles/nikos.html

After that we have the students' movement of "90-91 which was a grand one in my opinion. It managed to subvert the law of the Minister of Education Kontogiannopoulos, who finally resigned. The right-wing government, in its effort to repress the movement, had mobilized its thugs in order to smash the school occupations, resulting in the murder of a teacher, Nikos Temponeras, inside an occupied school in Patras. ………..Responding to the murder of Temponeras there was a demonstration of thousands of people…….. There were conflicts with the police, the Polytechnic was occupied once again for two days. Flames, barricades, damage…. There was also another crime those days, on the 10th of January "91. During the riots, tear-gas bombs thrown by the police caused a fire in the building of K. Marousi, a shopping-center on Panepistimiou street. Four people died there due to this fire. For this crime nobody has yet paid, nor did "justice" say anything. It was covered up.

- Nikos Maziotis (1998)

In seeking reflective equilibrium[65] about the prospects for higher education reform in Greece, all I can do is hope. Like Martin Luther King, Jr., I too have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of[66]….. democracy, of dialogue, of education ….as passed down to it by its ancestors.

"If a sound system of nurture and education is maintained, it produces men of a good disposition, and these, in their turn, taking advantage of such education, develop into better men than their forbears.."

-Plato, *The Republic*

Perhaps, Plato in *The Republic* did envisage a utopia where philosophers ruled, but the significance of his views on education, and especially university education, can not be disregarded as utopian and are as contemporary today as they were then. Perhaps, our Greek tragedy is that we have not yet learnt to control our past - and until we control our past, we cannot control our future. As George Orwell once warned:

Whoever controls the past controls the future. Whoever controls the present controls the past.

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[65] 'Reflective equilibrium' is the end-point of a deliberative process in which we reflect on and revise our beliefs about an area of inquiry, moral or non-moral. (Daniels, 2003).
[66] From Martin Luther King Jr's memorable 1963 speech to a civil rights march on Washington, DC.

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