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The social conditions of educational changes. The case of primary education in Greece 1878-1880

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Abstract
The conviction that the educational system reflects the interests of the ruling classes and serves their ideology, drives to the conclusion that any changes to the educational system derive from other general changes in the society, especially concerning the economy and the politics. As a result, the directions of the educational changes depend on the social forces, their power and their relation at any time. An example that has been ignored from the projects concerning the Greek educational system is the changes in the primary school, which took place between 1878 and 1880. The present project searches through the changes in the primary school at the period that has been preannounced, especially as far as the method of teaching, the structure and the contents of teaching and the level of teachers’ education are concerned. All these are related to the changes that took place and the demands that are formed in the society at that period. Such changes are the economic development and the need of improvement of the professional skills of the people through education, the political development and the need of improvement of the level of people’s education, in order to use rationally their political liberties and finally, the problems concerning ethnical issues and the need of reinforcing the ethnical conscience of the citizens.

Keywords: Primary Education, educational reform, society, politics, nation

Introduction
The educational institutions - as ideological state apparatuses - reflect the dominant ideology, serve the ambitions of the dominant social layers and contribute to the reproduction of power relations. This leads to the assumption that the changes in education derive from economic and social changes, political and social conflicts and changes that take place in the correlation of social forces, within the state. However, educational institutions do not reflect accurately the economic and social relations. On the contrary, they possess a degree of autonomy. This happens because historical and cultural factors and attitudes of teachers and students intervene with the configuration and operation of the educational institutions. Moreover, in the “dark box”, which is the interaction between teachers and students in the classroom, there is always space in order students to come in touch with values and beliefs different from the dominant ones.
Finally, education, as a social institution, is influenced by the overall economic and social organization. Moreover, the educational changes are related to changes in the correlation

of social forces.
One example - overlooked in all of its dimensions by the studies in Modern Education - are the changes achieved in primary education during the years 1878 - 1880, when greek state had already initiated changes in economic, social and political level.
The purpose of this article is to investigate the economic, social, political and national circumstances during the third quarter of the 19th century which "imposed" changes in primary education and correlate these circumstances with the views concerning education (which means the arguments of the Ministry of Education and of other persons and unions, who contributed to these changes).
The method used is historical – interpretive and comparative. It is used for observing the correlation between social reality on the one hand (economy, society, politics, etc.) and the educational institution and the views about educational changes on the other hand.

1. The primary education from 1834 to 1880.

Greek educational system was founded by the Bavarians between 1834 – 1837, with the transfer of European standards. Its basic characteristic was the classicist orientation. The law on primary education, which was providing long and compulsory education with theoretical and practical character, was not implemented. With the prevalence of "allilodidaktiki" method, the "compulsory" education was limited in duration and content, acquired this classicist orientation and was transformed into a basis for secondary education, serving the needs of those who would be enrolled in secondary education.

The structure of the educational system remained virtually the same until 1880. Most of the changes that took place (prohibition of teaching together boys and girls in elementary school in 1852, teaching of the grammar of ancient greek language in elementary school in 1855, abolition of the Teachers’ School in 1864) constituted a conservative turn. These changes were adverse to a rational modernization of education, which should be orientated to the needs of life and to the economic development of the country. These changes expressed a romantic nationalism, the rise of which substituted the democratic nationalism, emanating from the Enlightenment.

The organization of primary school was based on the "allilodidaktiki" method until 1880. This method, except that it was considered economical and quick for somebody to learn the first letters, it guaranteed absolute uniformity and consequent control of the educational process. Moreover, it achieved the acceptance of new forms of power within the national state.

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2 The "Nomos peri dimotikon scholion" ["Law on Primary Schools"], 6/18 Feb. 1834, provided a seven-year compulsory schooling and, in addition to theoretical courses, it provided practical agricultural courses or handicrafts (Articles 2-3, 6).
3 "Allilodidaktiki" was a method of organizing school, where older students were teaching to the younger ones. In English we can define it as "mutual learning method". The opposite of "allilodidaktiki" is "syndidaktiki" method, in which the teacher explains and transmits the new knowledge directly to students.
In 1864 I.P. Kokkonis, the promoter of the "allilodidakti" method, died. However, the use of this method will continue for one more period. In 1866 was organised a competition for writing a new Guide (manual). The committee of the competition approved the Guide of G. Constantinides, which was reissued in 1873. The adoption of "allilodidakti" method as the officially accepted teaching method for primary schools was the precondition for the republication of the Guide in 1873, despite the negative reviews that had already begun to circulate.

2 The reform of primary education.

A few years later (1879) the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and of Public Education changed its perspective and was expressed negatively for "allilodidaktiki" method. It consulted teachers to reject this mechanistic teaching method and to adopt a simple and natural one. A teaching method, in which knowledge and experiences will be pleasurably transmitted to students, who will understand the teaching contents and the moral will of the students will be shaped.

The reason for the change of the ministry's attitude towards the method was the findings of special inspectors who were sent to observe school classes. According to their findings, memorization was causing the ineffectiveness of education, concerning the cultivation of national spirit and of religious feeling. However, the findings of the inspectors were only an excuse. The main reason for the change of the ministry's attitude was the already taken decision to reform primary education.

An essential prerequisite for achieving educational changes was the preparation of teachers. Thus, a year ago, in 1878, the new Teachers’ School, which trained future teachers in a new teaching method, was established. One year later (1880) "allilodidaktiki" method was abolished and a new teaching method, called "syndidaktiki" was introduced. Moreover, the primary school was transformed into a school of four years of attendance.

So, we have some settings – teachers’ education (1878), changing of the teaching method (1880) – which contribute to the reform of primary education.

Now, criticism to "allilodidaktiki" method will be more direct and harsh. In a following instruction from the ministry to prefects, we can read that the old method rendered the same the aim of education invalid. How could a teacher educate students and mould their personality with the help of children which were responsible for the guidance of the younger students?

Curriculum and training of the already working teachers also needed in order the reform of the school to be completed. Thus, the practical guidelines for teachers, written by M.

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7 Egk. no. 7639, Sept. 12th 1879, "Peri diorthoseos ton plimelion en ti didakalia" ["On the correction of deficiencies in teaching"].
10 Egk. no. 7639, ibid.
Petridis, inspector of primary schools, were adopted as the official curriculum I, as they included the purpose of education, the purpose and the contents of the courses, guidelines for teaching and curriculum for the four-level primary school\textsuperscript{12}.

For the internal order of the school, the duties of teachers and the behavior of students, teachers should take notice of the instructions of Moraitis S., which were included in "Didaskaliki"\textsuperscript{13}.

Although training of the already working teachers in the new method was provided by Royal Decree in 1881, it took place three years later, in 1884\textsuperscript{14}. Moreover, due to huge demand for teachers, deriving from the new organisation of schools – three new Teachers’ Schools were established: The Teachers’ School of Peloponnese, of Ionian Islands and of Thessaly\textsuperscript{15}.

3. The legislative mobility in period 1870-1880.

We notice, therefore, that a change in primary education was taking place. However, the legislation concerning the changes on primary education was not an unexpected event. During the decade 1870 -1880 several bills, which were trying the reform of the basic education, were submitted in the Parliament. In 1870 the minister G. Vakalopoulos proposed to the Parliament bills that provided Kindergarten of two years of attendance and Primary School of six years of attendance. In 1874, the minister I. Valasopoulos submitted a bill, which proposed the inclusion of primary schools in the Church. In 1877, the bill of G. Milisis proposed the organisation of school levels in this way: "Grammatoscholio": 3 years, Primary School: 4 years and "Astiko school": 6 years, depending on the size and occupational stratification of the population of each place. The same project was also proposed by the ministers Deligiannis (1877) and Augerinos (1880). All these bills proposed the change of the structure of primary school, but also included provisions for the education or qualifications of teachers. The establishment of the new Teachers’ Schools, the change of the teaching method and of the school organisation and the training of men and women teachers in the new method were three of the many statutes of this period, which were enacted or adopted and implemented.

4. Collective activities and demand for educational reform.

The educational bills and changes to primary education were promoted in a climate of

\begin{itemize}
  \item Tzikas, Ch., (1988) "I isagogi tis syndidaktikis methodou kai to proto episimo programma tou dimotikou scholioo" ["The introduction of syndidaktiki method and the first official program of primary school"], in: Andreou. A. - Tzikas, Ch., Programmatata Dimotikou Scholiou, Analytika kai Orologia, Vivliographia – Arthrophagia gia ta programmatata tou dim. Scholiou, [Primary School Programs, Curricula and Timetables, Bibliography - Reporting for the programs of primary school], Tekmiriosi II, [Documentation II] (Thessaloniki: Aristotle University of Thessaloniki - Department of Primary Education), pp. 40-80.
  \item Tzikas, Ch., (1996) ibid., p. 37.
\end{itemize}
collective movements, unprecedented for the Greek society. A number of associations were acting to help to the improvement of educational attainments of people and often suggested or implemented changes to the existing educational system.

Between the years 1865 and 1874 were established the following associations: "Athenaios", the members of which were freely teaching lessons of their own choice, "Didaskaliki Adelfotita" ["Brotherhood of Teachers"], the first teachers' organization, aiming to the improvement of the teaching and to the nursing of its members, the Literary Association "Parnassos", which founded schools for Poor Children in Athens, Corfu, Kalamata, Syros, Thebes, Chalkis16, "Eteria filou tou laou" ["Society of the Friends of the People"] in order to educate working classes through organizing lessons, printing books and establishing libraries. However, through its action, it intended to discipline people. In 1869 it published a book (Egkolpion tou ergatikou laou i symvoule pros tous chironaktas [Handbook of labor people or advices to manual workers], Athens: Lazaros D. Villaras, 1869) with advices to workers to be working and prudent, not to resort to strikes and not be affected by catastrophic outlandish ideas. In 1869 was founded the "Syllogos pros Diadosin ton Ellinikon Grammaton" ["Association for Dissemination of Greek Letters"]. It tried to achieve its purpose by establishing schools and by writing, publishing and distributing useful books. In 1872 was founded the "Syllogos kyrion pros gynekian pedeuisin" ["Association of ladies for female education"]. Its purpose was to establish educational institutions for poor girls, to publish books, to train nurses and maids, to establish laboratories for poor women.

Next year (1873) was established the "Hellenic Didaskalikos Syllogos" ["Greek Teachers' Association"], in which participated teachers of all levels. Its purposes were: a) the amelioration of education, b) the foundation of a Teachers' School and c) the economic help to the outgoing members of the association due to their old age or illness. In 1874 was founded the "Filanthropiki Eteria" ["Benevolent Society"] in Piraeus, aiming to establish a school called "Pedagogion", for orphans and destitute children.

Such associations had been established in many enslaved Greek areas. Here we confine ourselves to present the educational activity of some of these associations, which acted within the state and contributed to the maturation and realization of educational changes in period 1878-1880.

Aiming to contribute to the improvement of education, the "Syllogos pros Diadosin ton Ellinikon Grammaton" ["Association for Dissemination of Greek Letters"] announced a series of competitions. The theme of the competitions were the condition of education, means to correct the deficiencies, language teaching, books, teaching methodology and education of teachers17. The proposals made on these themes were actually trying to develop a proposal for educational reform. The first competition resulted in proposals for the organisation of education and the language teaching. Some of the proposals which saw the light in that period and referred to the reorganisation of education and language teaching were created due to the competitions of this association18.

17 (1869) O Pros Diadosin ton Ellinikon Grammaton Syllogos ["The Association for Dissemination of Greek Letters"], Programma Diagonismou peri tis Ellinikis Glossis, [Program of a Competition on the Greek Language], pp. α'-β'.
18 Mavrocordatos, D., (1872) Ypomnimation peri ekpedeuseos tou laou [Proposal on education of the people].
The other major activity of this association was to finance youths to do pedagogical studies in Germany. The main aim was to be educated the young teachers who would manage the Teachers’ School, which was about to be established. The need for renewal of the educational institutions drove the persons who were trying it again to Europe, in search of patterns.

Thus, the Association sent Sp. Moraitis, P. Economou and Ch. Papamarkou (who all had won in a competition), in Germany for pedagogical studies. After their return, the three scholars published educational texts, tested the new method in practice and trained the first teachers at the expense of the Association. This happened in the "Pedagogio" of Piraeus and in the Teachers’ School of Thessaloniki. The whole offer of this Association and of its scholars in primary education was important and supported the decisions of the state.

Another association that also tried to influence state educational policy was the "Hellenic Didaskalikos Sylogos" ["Greek Teachers’ Association"). In public discussions of this association, the subjects of teachers’ education and teaching method were dominant for many years. The establishment of a Teachers’ School thought to be the only way to render teachers qualified. As a result, the method could become more pedagogical and school courses could exceed. In the meeting proceedings of the association and its committees were published their decisions concerning the education of the teachers. The same association launched competitions for writing children’s books, held discussions and established study committees, in order to research on the teaching methods and the teaching of specific courses.

The action of the associations presented above and the overall action of all associations promoted an educational change. Therefore, the changes in primary school are not simply the result of the legislative mobility of the decade 1870-1880. On the contrary, both the legislative mobility and the educational changes were affected by collective educational initiatives and demands expressed by the middle social class (which established the associations) and by a part of intellectuals. Thus, it should not be considered surprising that educational changes coincide with the expressed views of the associations or even with the successful implementation of educational initiatives.

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5. The socio-economic developments and the views about education

Which, however, are the socioeconomic conditions, under which requests and attempts for an educational change were formed? And which are the conditions that these conditions posed and education had to serve?

In the third quarter of 19th century the signs of the changes that were occurring in the greek social formation were obvious. The agricultural development and the transition from self-consuming in merchant production were achieved during the decades 1850 to 1870, through the expansion of the export-oriented agricultural production.

The state showed stronger interest for agriculture, by establishing new institutions in order to strengthen and enhance it, such as Agricultural Councils and Agricultural Companies. Moreover, the state facilitated the import or manufacturing of agricultural tools. Finally, in 1871, the distribution of national land took place. This means that the small farming lot will remain the dominant model, but there was opened the way for the transmission of the land into a saleable commodity, for the increase of the borrowing capacity of farmers and for the improvement of the production.

Although not all of these efforts were successful, the final result was positive. The production of grapes, from 57 million "Enetikes litres" in 1851, exceeded 150 million in 1871. The cotton output in 1850 was just 400 tons, while in 1864 came to 5.250 tons. Tobacco production, estimated at 767.000 "okades" in 1856, it reached 3.650.000 "okades" in 1876.

These developments led to the expansion of the transport system. From 1870 to 1880 were constructed more than 2.600 km of vehicular roads, not counting here the roads of Cyclades and Ionian islands. Sea transport was also developed, by the transformation of the sailboats into steamboats. Moreover, in this period (1870-1880) was initiated the design or implementation of major infrastructure projects, such as the opening of the Canal of Korinthos, the construction of the railroad and the drainage of the lake Copais.

These conditions created the prerequisites for industrial development. In the decade of 1870, the first mobilization of human work and financial resources from agricultural to industrial sector took place. Between 1868 and 1875 we can locate what has been symbolically named "the takeoff" of the greek industry. In 1868, the units that could be characterized as industrial did not exceed the number of 30, including 23 that used the steam. In 1875 the number of these units has reached the number of 150, of whom 107

26 "Enetiki litra" and "oka" were means of measurement.
used the steam. Finally, the number of industrial workers increased from 1,000 in 1867 to 5,000 in 1875.\(^{30}\)

The process of economic transformation was associated with the inflow of funds to Greece. In 1870, part of the capital of the Greek bourgeoisie in the Balkans and Russia began to flow and be invested in the country, mainly in trade, shipping and banking, namely the tertiary sector, where they could collaborate rather than compete with Western powers.\(^{31}\)

The population of the cities also increased. During a decade, Athens increased the population per one third (from 44,510 inhabitants in 1870 to 63,374 in 1879) and Piraeus doubled it (from 10,963 to 21,055). The number of inhabitants in Patras increased from 19,641 to 25,494 and in Tripoli from 7,020 to 10,057. Less growth took place in other cities, while the population remained virtually unchanged in Ermoupoli and Corfu. In 1879 urban population was the 28% of the total population of the country, while in 1853 was only the 8%.\(^{32}\)

However, how did the opinions supporting changes in education reflected the relation between educational changes on the one hand and new economic situation on the other hand?

Firstly, we must note that in the debate – which took place that period– concerning the development of the decades 1860 and 1870, was often underlined (along with the request for improvement of the economy) the neglect of transmitting agricultural and technical knowledge to youth through education and the need of inserting more practical knowledge in curricula.\(^{33}\) Moreover, the purpose of the school expanded and included, apart from the moral and religious education, the acquiring of knowledge useful for the production. So, for first time, education was related with economy. The new citizen should be educated both as a member of the Church and society and as an able worker with a basic body of knowledge concerning his job.\(^{34}\) Furthermore, "Odigies" [Directions] of Petridis include in the purpose of school the shift to the practical needs of life, apart from the moral, religious and national education in school.\(^{35}\)

Such an expanded and oriented to economic needs purpose of school had been already posed by intellectuals and collective bodies. In the committee's report of 1872, on the competition of the "Syllogos pros Diadosin ton Ellinikon Grammaton" ["Association for Dissemination of Greek Letters"], we can read that the purpose of education is not most of the people to become wise but the harmonious development of physical, mental and moral forces of the children and the teaching of useful and practical knowledge. The

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\(^{30}\) Agriantoni, C., (1986), ibid, pp. 111-112, 117-118. Svoronas estimates that the total number of factories augmented from 168 (1867) to 199 (1874) and industrial workers reached the number of 7300 in 1870, Svoronas, N., 1988, *Episkopi tis neoellinikis Istorias* [Review of Modern Greek History, Athens: Themelio, pp.101-102, apparently involving to his measurement smaller production units. Statistics of that period calculate that the industrial units were 765, including perhaps any labs, Demathas, N., 1876, "Peri vioniichanikis proodou en Elladi" ["On the industrial progress in Greece"] in: *Attikon Imerologion* [Attic Calendar] 1877, Athens: Ed. Eir. Asopiou, pp. 409-427).


\(^{32}\) Svoronas, N. (1987), ibid, p. 245.


\(^{34}\) Egk. no. 7876, ibid.

\(^{35}\) Petridis, D. (1881), ibid, p.4.
same year was published the "Egchiridion stixiodon gnoseon ek ton epistimon, ton technon kai tis viomichanias, pros chrisin ton par imin proatarktikon scholeion" ["Manual of fundamental knowledge of science, arts and industry, for preparatory schools"], translated by M. Lambrou, and it met the approval of the same Association. The ministry accepted that there was a period when the transmission of the minimum knowledge mechanically to children was enough for them, to face the needs of life. But in last decades of 19th century this condition changed. Under the new economic and social conditions of global competition, when the findings of natural sciences begun to be applied in production, the school had to provide students with strong spiritual and moral skills and to enable the country to keep up with other developed countries. Thus, the views of collective bodies and of the ministry of education, concerning the turn of education to the provision of knowledge useful in production, reflect the need for the country to keep up with the international situation.

So, in this period were taken measures such as examinations for admission to the level of "Greek" school, strict internal and graduation examinations in middle education and educational fees. These measures aimed to control the flow of students to the superior general education and university. The establishment of professional schools, such as schools for sailors, naval officers, telegraphers, farmers, etc. from 1867 onwards, aimed to turn the student population to technical education.

Apparently, a technocratic approach to formal and informal views about education begun to be obvious in this period. These perceptions, however, did not only coexist with ethnocentric cultural perceptions concerning the role of education, but were overlapped by them.

6. The modernization of the political system and views about education

Despite the fact that statistics of 19th century disagree, it is certain that in the decade of 1870 the image of the country begins to change. Cities grow, and new bourgeois social layers appear. These layers are seeking for a different political context within which to express themselves.

The political change of 1862 created the conditions which enabled bourgeois and lower social classes to be the legitimizing basis of the political system in which the king reigns.
and the people - through their representatives – rule. However, the intervention of the king in political life by appointing minority governments and riots that took place in that period (called "stilitika") led to unrest and pressure from bourgeois forces for modernization of the political system. In 1875 was established the "archi tis dedilomenis" (1875), the application of which increased the dependence of government on parliament. In 1877 was promoted the universal suffrage (1877). Thus, during this period, a tendency for stabilization of the political context was appeared and the conditions for the action of liberal forces in the political arena of the country were created. The main exponent of these forces was Charilaos Trikoupis. The transition of the political system to a two-party system was considered a political modernization. The two prevailing parties had ideological contrasts: one party, Deligiannis’s party, expressed the old conservative families and the system of political client. The other party, Trikoupis’s party, attempted to rationalize the institutions and to establish a state governed by laws. It expressed the urban strata that appeared during this period and were getting more and more enhanced.

The establishment of the "archi tis dedilomenis" and of universal suffrage facilitated urban strata not only to be represented through elections, but also to acquire political power. However, all citizens had to make "rational" use of their political rights. This is the point where the school had to play a serious role. On the one hand, people needed to understand the functioning of the state institutions, the rights and duties of citizenship and to escape from political patronage. On the other hand, they should be integrated, they should accept and not confront the political and social system.

In 1865, G. Papadopoulos had already written that it is compulsory to be included in primary education basic and simple knowledge on civil and political obligations of the citizens and on the organization of the state. The journal of the Teachers’ Association "Plato" hosted an extensive article written by Kazazis, Professor of University, titled "Dimotiki pedeuisis kai katholiki psifoforia" ["Primary education and universal suffrage"]. Education is, on one point of view, a mechanism for achieving consensual integration of citizens, but, on the other, the knowledge that students acquire offers to them the right of civic participation, through voting. Universal suffrage without education becomes an organ of damage. Those who are aware of the social problems and do not feel their social responsibility, can easily be manipulated or swap their votes for personal benefits. Therefore, education of citizens is a key issue for the proper use of voting rights and civil liberties. Since education is the necessary precondition for the function of democracy and

43 "Archi tis dedilomenis" is a principle according to which the king instructs the party which occupied the first position in the elections to form a government.
46 Svoronos, 1988, ibid, p. 102.
the participation of the citizens, the state is entitled to compel people to attend primary school. Finally, Kazazis suggests the prohibition of the right of voting to everyone who does not know reading and writing because when much of the population does not know writing and reading is incapable of thinking and is totally away from civilization and progress. Complete liberalization will inevitably provoke destruction.

The expansion and improvement of primary education is directly related with the "proper" use of political freedoms. According to an instruction of the Ministry of Education, there was a period when farmers, labourers and merchants did not have civil rights. But now, knowledge is essential to production and also moral and spiritual skills, which are offered through education, are necessary for right use of the political freedom and participation to public issues. Moreover, the new curriculum contained elements of civic education, along with elements of culture. The most important of them was the knowledge concerning the political system and the powers of the State.

7. The aesthetic and linguistic reorientation and the views about education

The decade 1870-1880 is a turning point for a part of the intellectual and cultural life in Greece. Although a direct relationship of the intellectual and cultural life with the settings in education is not apparent, however, it is part of the canvas on which views about education are formed. The decline of Romanticism, the birth of the folklore science, the support to the vernacular language, the emergence of the New Athenian School and the wider shift in contemporary greek culture are few of the signs of the incipient change in the cultural and aesthetic level.

In 1871 was published the work of N. Politis "Meleti epi tou viou ton neoteron Ellinon" ["Study on life of modern Greeks"], which will mark a turn to the study of modern greek culture. In 1873 and 1875 N. Konemenos published the projects "To zitima tis glossas" ["The language issue"] and "Kai pale peri glossas" ["Again concerning language"], defending the vernacular language. The judgments and awards for poetry competitions after 1873 reflect anti-romanticism and contribute to the shaping of the climate for the renewal of the literature.

In 1876 begun the publication of literary magazines, such as "Estia" ["Fireplace"] (1876), "Rampagas" (1878), "Mi xanesai" ["Do not get lost"] (1880). These magazines represented the literature of the new period, of the "Generation of 1880". In fact, a new phase of the controversy concerning language was starting.

This 'language movement' did not yet have direct impact on education. The Ministry of Education in this period was contrary to any shift towards vernacular language. According to the "Odigies" ["Directives"] of D. Petridis, the Bible and the Iliad by translation were defined as course books, while the grammar proposed was the grammar of

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48 Kazazis N., (1879) "Dimotiki pedeusis kai katholiki psifoforia" ["Public education and universal suffrage"], Plato, Year B, pp. 12-15, 70, 79.
49 Egk. no. 7876, ibid.
50 Petridis, ibid, pp. 98-99.
52 Dimaras Th. K. (1968d) Istoria tis Neoullinkis Logotechnias, Apo tis protes rizes os tin epochi mas [History of Modern Greek Literature, From its first roots to our time], (Athens: Ikaros), pp. 346-349.
"kathareousa" ("the language of scholars")\textsuperscript{53}. However, a shift towards modern Greek culture and language begun to be distinguished. In the opinions of many scholars was observed a shift from the ideal of resurrection of the ancient language towards the use of "kathareousa". Trikoupis reportedly stated to poet Malakassis: "\textit{Time along with scientific effort affect the development of a language, according to the circumstances and needs}"\textsuperscript{54}.

The authors of the essays in the competition for language teaching (which was organized by the "Syllogos pros Diadosin ton Ellinikon Grammaton" [Association for the Dissemination of Greek Letters]), proposed the simplification of the language and distinguished the ancient language from the "new" one, which was probably a mild form of "kathareousa". "Zografio" Teachers' School and "Zarifio" Teachers' School, which were established with the responsibility of the "Ellinikos Filologikos Syllogos Constantinoupoleos" [Hellenic Literary Association of Constantinople], had established two model primary schools. The purpose of teaching the language course in these model primary schools was the adequate understanding of the official language by the student and the acquaintance of the capacities of speaking and writing, using this language\textsuperscript{55}.

Matthew Paranikas, committee member of the same association, wrote the rules and curricula of the Teachers' Schools and model schools. In one of his speeches to the Association, he proposed the teaching of modern literature along with the teaching of the ancient one: the studying of modern authors like Melas, Goudas, Trikoupis, Paparrigopoulos, etc. \textit{should be introduced in middle schools}. In poetry he proposes even vernacular language: \textit{"In poetry we can teach Soutsos, Zalokostas and others along with Homer. We can also teach Zampelios, Valiarits, Vernardakis, Vlachos along with tragic poets and, finally, Solomos, Ragavis, Zalokostas, Christopoulos and many others along with opera. We can propose the reading and memorising of the best of folk songs"}\textsuperscript{56}.

The educational bill "\textit{Peri Dimotikis kai Gymnasiakis Pedeuseos}" ["On Primary and Middle Education"], which was written by G. Milisis, proposed the teaching of modern Greek language in the 4-classes primary school and in the 6-classes "astiko" school. Moreover, Modern Greek language was proposed to be taught in Middle Education, per two hours a week, to all of the six high school classes\textsuperscript{57}.

According to the notice for the school textbooks in 1882, the texts for reading, for the third class of primary school, should be able to make a strong impression on the soul of the child, through vivid descriptions taken from the nature, from the history and from the folk poetry\textsuperscript{58}. Finally, the curriculum of the "Greek" school in 1884 included the teaching

\textsuperscript{53} Petridis, ibid, pp. 62-65.
\textsuperscript{58} (1882) [\textit{Prokrixis}], "\textit{Peri teleseos diagonismou pros syntaxin didaktikon vivlion tis mesis kai katoteras ekpedeuseos}" ["On the realization of a competition for writing textbooks for the middle and primary education"], November 23rd.

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of texts of modern writers and poets of 18th and 19th century, such as Theotokis, Voulgaris, Korais, Trikoupis, Peraivos. It also included the teaching of poets of the mature Romanticism and also poets like Zalokostas and authors of the "era of transition", such as A. Paraschos, Vikelas and even Valaoritis. However, the texts chosen were always written in "kathareuousa". Only in the manual "Modern Greek Readings", written by G. Drosinis -G. Kasdonis, were carefully included a few "kleftika" ("thieving") folk songs.

The "shift" from Romanticism to realism and to vivid language (even if it was the "kathareuousa") and the shift of education towards the needs of life are simultaneous phenomena. They are both related to the strengthening of the bourgeoisie and the development of a bourgeois society. This "shift" does not mean removal from the standards of the classical antiquity. According to intellectuals like Kazazis and Pamamarkou, the revival of the genuine spirit of antiquity and the greek education are the basic foundations of education.

8. The national issue and the views about education

Mobility in educational issues in the decade 1870-1880 must be associated with the impasse of the national issue. Every aspect of political and social life was related to "Great Idea", which occupied a central position in Greek society during 19th century. "Great Idea" connected most of the Greeks or Greek-speaking Orthodox people, inside and outside the Greek state. However, the precise meaning, the content and implementation progress of the "Great Idea" varied and were related, each time, to international circumstances and to political and social forces that dominated within the social formation. From the third quarter of 19th century, along with the emergence of new bourgeois forces, the perception that economic growth is a prerequisite for resolving the national issue started to gain ground.

After the Crimean War, the national issue comes into a new phase. However, 1870 was a turning point. The disappointment derived from the failure of the Cretan revolution was followed by the recognition of the Bulgarian Exarchate and the establishment of an autonomous Bulgarian state and, thus, the emergence of a strong opposing nationalism in Balkans.

The doctrine of "ellinothomanismos" supported that the peaceful coexistence with the Ottoman Empire, the power of Greek intellectual tradition and the economic influence of Greek merchants who lived outside the Greek state were the best means to transform the Ottoman Empire, to address rival nationalisms and to defense national interests. This doctrine did not last for a long way in the Greek state. From 1875, a new crisis in the

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Balkans resulted in the Russian-Turkish war and the Treaty of San Stefano and highlighted the Macedonian issue as a major national issue. Despite the official neutrality, that Greek governments followed, Greece took only the minimum benefits at the Congress of Berlin. All these lead to frustration and bitterness, caused protests, ideological hardness in society, intensity of rivalry in the Balkans, need for national readiness and systematic organisation of the army.

In opinions for education, expressed in that period, the Greek culture, the brilliant Greek history, the national homogenization and the national uplift occupy prominent position. "Allilodidaktiki" method had failed to form a strong national sentiment, as it provoked sedation of the religious feeling and depression of the national spirit. The minister of Education A. Avgerinos, in the explanatory memorandum of the educational bills concerning primary education, gives special attention to national homogenization. He believes that education is the cohesive power of modern societies and the mysterious laboratory of modern nations. It is the force that unites many different peoples in a single compact national organization.

The formation of an enthusiastic patriot needed most profound influence that could be achieved through educational contact, through direct contact between students and teachers. In "Elementary Practical Directives..." of D. Petridis are consistently repeated expressions such as "Through awareness of the greatness and the glory of their ancestors, they become good men, obeying to laws and characterized by restless activity, bravery and high morale, from which stems the contempt for material wealth and for death towards freedom and duty (...). Overall conclusion of this instruction is that each individual must contribute to the happiness and glory of the nation, in which all goods are enclosed".

9. The ideology throughout views for education

The educational changes during the years 1878-1880 were referred to the education of the people and aimed to shape the "new" citizen and serve the basic social needs, created by the new circumstances. The "new" citizen could no longer be shaped by mechanical transfer of basic knowledge. On the contrary, the "new" citizen should be morally affected and become conscious member of the society. He must improve production by implementing the findings of
science, make the economy competitive and become a supporter of national ideals. Moreover, the power relations in society should be accepted by consensus. Until now these relations were directly imposed. However, now, discipline, acceptance of the dominant ideology and ensure of social cohesion will take place through "kivernitiki" (regulation of school space, time and behavior of students), through "kyrios agogi" [main education] (model of a good teacher and direct relationship between teachers and students) and through teaching. Now, students should actively internalize values, standards and the dominant perception of the organization of the society, through the new pedagogical process.

The point that the capacity of the lower social strata to participate in electoral process should be ensured, requires the social and ideological integration of these lower social strata, through education. This means that lower social layers have to accept the class division of the society and their own social position. Kazazis, in the article mentioned above, argues that "universal suffrage without education, without citizens having the same conscience (...) and dominance of the absolute democratic idea, which is a consequence of the materialist theory, means danger not only for culture, art, science, but for the whole society". In his explanatory report on the educational bills that he brought in parliament (1880), the minister of education A. Avgerinos writes: "It has been supported that, freedom and universal suffrage without education lead to anarchy and destruction", because people at school learn "that collective and individual interests of each person are fulfilled when freedom goes along with tranquility". Only in schools we can find the ideal of equality. In schools selfish spirit is limited while modest spirit, due to poverty or other cause, is congratulated. Only in schools there is no distinction based on origin or wealth and the child learns tolerate the moral or spiritual superiority.

Thus, citizens learn - since they were students - that differences in social status are not due to social determinations, but due to individual differences and innate capacities. Therefore, they must accept class differences.

In that period, social stratification was redeployed (which means emergence of new bourgeois and working social layers), while ideas of equality had begun to circulate and strikes to take place. That time a major challenge was the ideological integration of the masses and the maintenance of the social cohesion. This would happen if lower social classes would accept their position as a "natural" state. The Minister of Education, A. Avgerinos ascribes political and social importance to education, in the educational bills mentioned above. He fears that through emancipation of the large and poor social classes and prevalence of the principle of universal suffrage, inequality in wealth and intellectual development in favor of the upper social classes can crack the social body, something that is not harmless without the help of education. Having apparently taking into account the example of the Commune of Paris, the minister added: "the bad results of this terrible danger have began to appear in other countries". Education, however, is a bulwark against threats to social status and ensures social harmony and cohesion.

The unifying power of the system of social stratification (which allows the formation of a unified consciousness of a whole, in which all participate "equally"), is the faith and the

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66 Kazazis, ibid, p. 76.
67 Avgerinos, ibid, p. ύλης.
68 In 1872 the history of the Commune of Paris had been published by K. Stavridis, (Stavridis 1872).
69 Avgerinos, ibid.
devotion to the national homeland. This ideology must, above all, be cultivated in school, because this ideology renders the nation stronger and, of course, maintains the current social system.

According to "Odigies" [Directives] of Petridis, children must understand that the duty towards society and homeland and the glory that follows the fulfillment of this duty is a common feat of all citizens, of each social class. In this way is cultivated to children the love for homeland and for common good and there are generated moral relations between citizens, which are the power of the nation\textsuperscript{70}.

Education had to play an important role in achieving these goals. The whole project, however, should be invested with neutrality, which conceals the social dimensions of the organisation and operation of education. This could only be achieved by scientific objectivity, i.e. a pedagogical method that would result from scientific research into human development and ensure objective results in the minds of students.

One of the promoters of the new pedagogical method gives us its potential. This is the director of the Teachers’ School, S. Moraitis, who taught and first applied Herbart’s teaching method. In his speech, in the first examinations of the Teachers’ School, he argued that, apart from the external organization and administration of the class, teacher, by using the new method, learns the purpose of human life and the process of man’s perfection. Teacher also learns which of the physical and spiritual forces can be trained and in which way they should be exercised, what kind of exercises and means should be used and at what age can these forces be exercised, in order the purpose of human to be achieved\textsuperscript{71}. Moreover, he believes that the new method was asked for as salvation from illiteracy and its consequences\textsuperscript{72}.

So, we talk about a pedagogical method that had a specific purpose (establishing ethical will), a scientific background (the “parastatiki” psychology), a procedure (stages) and tools (supervision and evolving dialogue). This was Herbart’s pedagogical method, which was expected to form the citizen who would respond to the new economic, social, political and national conditions of the country.

10. Conclusion

Closing the outline of the development of certain aspects of Greek society in the transition from the third to the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century and the correlation between these developments and the prevalent views concerning education, we understand that the new economic and sociopolitical conditions that were shaping required a different type of citizen, as well as a different way of integrating population to the dominant ideology.

The arguments of the ministry of education, of intellectuals and authorities as far as the need for a reform of education concerns, were based on socioeconomic and political changes that were occurring in the greek state.

However, the reorganisation of primary education and the introduction of Herbart’s method did not resolve the educational issue, did not virtually turn primary education in

\textsuperscript{70}Petridis, ibid, pp. 104-105.
\textsuperscript{71} Lefas, Ch., (1942) \textit{Istoria tis Ekpedeuseos [History of Education]} (Athens: OESV), p. 120.
\textsuperscript{72} Moraitis, ibid, p. γ'.

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preparing students for facing the necessities of life. The westernized concepts for education based on science and for use of these concepts in production interwoven with notions of the unbroken continuity of the nation, the uniqueness of Greek culture and Orthodoxy. The last perceptions were related to the national issue, to the strengthening of the national identity and to the confrontation with the Balkan nationalism. Liberal ideas and values of the early 19th century had been weakened since the mid-century and their relations with antiquity had transformed them into a fertile love for ancients. The condition of the schools continued to present a gloomy picture because an important issue, the funding of schools, remained unresolved. Many features of education, such as verbosity that was cultivated by "allilodidakti" method, would remain its permanent characteristics. Language teaching would remain dominant at all levels of education and later would become the main issue which ruptured society, as there were different conceptions for language and education. The argument that continuing the studies in classical secondary education was the best way for upward social mobility for all social classes remained strong.

So, we see that education is related both with production and dominant ideology. However, it is not directly connected with economic needs and interests of the ruling classes, but is mediated by history and characteristics of the social formation, social and political conflicts. At that time, intellectuals, the new urban social layers and the political forces that represented them played the major role in an attempt to change education. In the last two decades of the century, the continuing changing of two parties in government, (the party of Deligiannis, which expressed old perceptions and preserved the political system of clienteles, and the party of Trikoupis, which attempted to rationalize the institutions and establish a bourgeois state, based on law) did not allow sovereignty of the newly minted urban strata at the political level. Thus, the views about education would not find full implementation in practice. Education would continue to serve the dominant ideology, the discipline of the young members of the society and the cultivation of the religious and national conscience, through putting emphasis on the brilliant - especially at language level- ancient and Christian past.

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