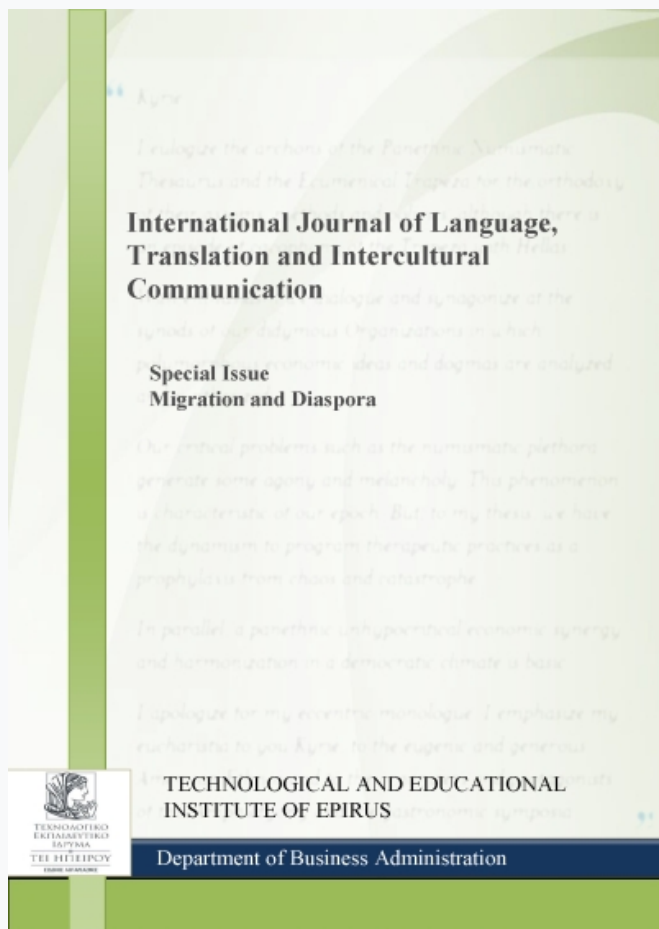


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## Discourse critical analysis of the Dictatorship educational policy (1967-1974) about the Greek-speaking education of the Greeks abroad

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## **Discourse critical analysis of the Dictatorship educational policy (1967-1974) about the Greek-speaking education of the Greeks abroad**

**Evaggelia Kalerante**

### **Abstract**

The present paper is concerned with the Dictatorship legislative texts (1967-1974) related to issues about the Greek-speaking education of the Greeks abroad.

The legislative texts about education are presented as discourse in which the cultural and political practice is articulated; and is also composed by other cultural and political practices conducive to its dialectic association with other dimensions of society. The critical analysis of the Dictatorship legislative texts focuses on the discourse verbal practices and the ideological scenario. Thus, an attempt is made to depict: a) discourse practices and b) broader social and political structures and standpoints in the legislation which are related to the broader theoretical frameworks of the democratic regime and, particularly, special issues about the nation-state definition.

The fact that should definitely be made obvious is how the discourse practices in legislation are conducive to the reproduction of political-educational standpoints of the Greek nation-state in association with the Greek population abroad on the basis of a broader political framework of dictatorship. Norman Fairclough's discourse critical analysis was chosen because there is interest in: the linguistic characteristics of the text and how they are attuned to the regime's political practice. The critical analysis in use serves the political discourse which is developed throughout dictatorship. Emphasis is placed on verbal references, ideological contexts and political significations. Therefore, throughout the discourse educational levels, in which legislation is introduced, the regime's structure of ideology is elevated.

More specifically, the research was based on three pivots: the first pivot was concerned with the selection of the research problem, namely the educational legislation, during the period mentioned before, about a special form of education, the Greek-speaking education of the Greeks abroad. The legislative texts were deemed verbal practices so that questions could be posed about how the particular educational legislation is differentiated from other previous periods of democracy and whether the ideological principles and standpoints of dictatorship are reflected by the specific legislation. The second pivot was concerned with the association of the Greek-speaking education, indicatively, with other educational laws so that verbal interpretations of identity or variation are elevated. In the third pivot, emphasis was placed on the interdisciplinary incorporation of various theories interpreting dictatorship as a political system and the Greek dictatorship, during the specific period, as a particular political system.

The research findings are considered to be important in providing new data about the dictatorship educational policy in the particular issue, namely the Greek-speaking education of the Greeks abroad while there is a concurrent integration of this policy into the broader education policy of the period. The comparative approach of the dictatorship political discourse, its broader political objectives and the concentration on how a non liberated regime is projected through a legislation on the basis of a

legislative language in order that channels of communication are constructed outside the nation-state through verbal practices aiming at the reinforcement of the relations with the Greeks abroad as well as the political acknowledgement-legalization of the regime are pursued by the discourse critical analysis in the legislative texts.

**Key-words:** dictatorship educational policy (1967-1974), discourse critical analysis, Greek-speaking education, political legalization, ideological principles

## Introduction

The period of dictatorship (1967-1974) was characterized as one of the democratic principles refutation (Alivizatos, 1995) and was articulated by the introduction of two constitutions (Papachristos, 2001: 138-140) confining the Greek people's rights<sup>1</sup>. As regards the educational policy implemented a panoptic supervision of all educational grades was observed while educators were used to exclusively serve the preservation of the regime (Philis, 1984: 160). The dictatorship<sup>2</sup> was concentrated on the projection of religious symbols<sup>3</sup> and the reinforcement of anticommunist propaganda. Political education emphasizing the projection of nationalism<sup>4</sup> and Christian religion in contradiction to communism were the new subjects included in the school program.

The morning prayer, the national anthem and the regime political symbols were incorporated in the students' school daily activities as part of the educational model. At the same time national events, which were generated by the regime towards the projection of struggles against communism, were added. All publications were severely monitored by the regime while special books and magazines projecting the regime's standpoints<sup>5</sup> were suggested.

Schools on a local level are monitored both by the police and army while citizens are also monitored through this supervision. Their participation in the regime's political events is mandatory as the choice of not participating or formulating a different viewpoint results in disciplinary prosecution. The educators' monitor and supervision by the regime is characteristically escalated through its successive instruments the

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<sup>1</sup> See (indicatively) it was reported by the European Committee for Human Rights that in April of 1967 the regime unjustifiably violated human rights. Sweden Denmark, Norway and Holland held a denunciation against the inhuman treatment of the people thinking differently. The regime reacted immediately. In December 1969 the Minister of External Affairs Pan. Pipinelis withdrew Greece from the Council of Europe (Clogg & Yannopoulos, 1972).

<sup>2</sup> See (indicatively) about the organization and structure of dictatorship regimes, their idiosyncratic composition and how they form structures which, under political terms, refute the citizens' rights (Schmitt, 2013).

<sup>3</sup> See (indicatively) about the political composition of dictatorship with emphasis on religion in which the national symbols in combination to the corresponding religious ones form a reference framework (Toplin, 2006).

<sup>4</sup> See (indicatively) about the association of nationalism and dictatorship on a theoretical level covering political and sociological areas of societies composition with emphasis on collectivities formed in non-liberal societies (LaVine & Campbell, 1972).

<sup>5</sup> A document of the Prefecture, register number 48006/16-7-1968. Topic: "subscribers' registration in the magazine "Standpoints and Ideas". Circ. of the Prefecture Documents, signed by the Prefect Dion. Kritselis. The annual subscription is Drs. 120. It is a quarterly magazine. More specifically the order nr. 2854/p/6399/18-6-68 of the Minister of Presidency is notified by the Ministry of Education under nr 109820/14-8-68 about the issuing of the magazine and its mandatory supply by the educators. See Annex, text 21 (Kalerante, 2006: 120).

role of which is to monitor even the educators' private life. The latter are forced to behave as the regime's "propagandists".

In particular, reference is made to a monitored group which is very difficult to diversify. It is noteworthy that among the disciplinary offences, according to the civil servants' Disciplinary Law of 1970, the following is mentioned as an offence: a) "[...] the intention to subvert or undermine the existing state or social status as well as any form of manifestation for principles and programs of parties that have been dissolved or set illegal or organizations that have been dissolved by a court decision and b) every action of political nature which has the form of a public manifestation of political beliefs or the exercise of political conversion [...] and f) the oral or written critique over the actions of the head authority showing disrespect towards it [...]"<sup>6</sup>.

In the present paper concentration is placed on a particular legislation related to the system of the Greek-speaking education abroad<sup>7</sup>. This type of education is deemed a different one as the collaboration with the corresponding countries where Greek-speaking schools or special departments of single Greek-speaking education is imperative to implement this form of education. The manner in which the dictatorship regime functions in relation to this particular education, how the educational legislation is formulated, namely the educational discourse addressing the Greeks abroad as well as the citizens of other countries being interested in learning or teaching the Greek language to their children was considered of being particularly interesting. Therefore, in this particular case, the educational legislation about the Greek-speaking education is addressed to an expanded audience, off the Greek nation-state. As a result it is subject to inter-state educational conventions and to the democratic principles tied to the organization and function of the educational systems in those countries'.

## **Methodology**

The focal point of the research was the educational legislation about the Greek-speaking education for the Greeks of the Diaspora. Concentration is particularly placed on the educational legislation of dictatorship (1967-1974). A discourse critical analysis of the legislative texts about the Greek-speaking education abroad was carried out aiming at the examination of the structure and content of the educational policy as this is formulated during dictatorship. In particular the following pivots are under examination: a) discourse practices and b) broader issues tied to the educational issues to which reference is made by the particular legislation. The legislative texts were deemed verbal practices articulating the regime's specific standpoints and principles towards this type of education and are integrated into specific and broader policies that transcend the confining educational framework.

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<sup>6</sup> During this period and with reference to the civil servants' disciplinary issues a book is published by the Ministry of Internal Affairs under the title "Civil servants' Disciplinary Law", A. Sakkoulas publications, 1973. Ministry of Internal Affairs, Administration of Direction, d. 68112/5/9/1973. (Katsikas & Therianos, 2004:175).

<sup>7</sup> The research concerns only the Greeks abroad and not the Greeks from Cyprus. More specifically, reference is made to the Greeks of Diaspora and the corresponding legislation to teach them the Greek language.

N. Fairclough's<sup>8</sup> discourse critical analysis which was chosen serves to study the linguistic verbal dimensions of the legal linguistic code as it is presented in the legislative texts. The parallel dialectic sequence with the parallel political and social domains is also pursued through the discourse critical analysis. The study of the educational policy related to the Greek-speaking education abroad during dictatorship is actually the study of the integrated practical structures tied to the institution of this type of education in the foreign countries. At the same time procedures towards the projection of the ideological approach of the regime about the organization of this education are to be spotted.

More specifically concentration is placed on the linguistic features of the legal texts being the political discourse that renders meaning to the policy of the particular political system. The legal discourse, being the political discourse of dictatorship, is incorporated in the specific discourse form-order of the educational services and particularly of the Ministry of Education and External Affairs.

One of Fairclough's main standpoints is that discourse, the discourse of legislation in particular, is a form of political-social practice<sup>9</sup> tied to the political environment to which it refers. In this sense the relations of authority aiming at the preservation or change of a system are elevated. Throughout the study of the educational legislation for the Greek-speaking education two major legislative decrees about the form and content of the education provided were the centre of consideration. In particular, reference is made to the L.D. 695/1970<sup>10</sup> and L.D. 154/1973<sup>11</sup> both of which form an analytical representation of the educational policy for the schools abroad.

The analysis is concentrated on: a) the text linguistic features, b) the processes tied to the text production and consumption and c) the broader linguistic practice incorporated in the text, namely the linguistic legal code. As regards textual analysis focus is placed on the lexical features: vocabulary, grammar and syntax while further concentration is placed on the association between the verbal practice and the ideological and political perspective of the regime. While studying both legislative texts, concentration was placed on how the specific regime organizes the texts about the Greek-speaking education abroad; that is, how the discourse and political contexts are constructed so as the differentiated discourse of dictatorship is highlighted.

## Data analysis

The analysis focuses on two legislative texts about the educational policy tied to the Greek-speaking education abroad. Lacking an introductory report is a major limitation of textual analysis because there are not any extended reports about the ideological

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<sup>8</sup> In the context of N. Fairclough's theory the model of discourse analysis and its dynamic version as a political linguistic code defining the relations of authority and formulating fields of enforcement was utilized (Fairclough, 2010; Fairclough, 2001). The researchers were also based on the theoretical and practical principles which are also present in the work "Discourse in Late Modernity" which was written in collaboration with L. Chouliaraki (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999).

<sup>9</sup> According to Fairclough's terms social practice is tied to the political practice based on the political environment. Dictatorship, in the form of a political system, reforms social practices through the promotion of political standpoints which impact social attitudes and behaviors.

<sup>10</sup> L.D. 695/1970 "About the education of the Greek students abroad" Gov. Gazette A'

<sup>11</sup> L.D. 154/1973 "About the substitution, supplementation and modification of the stipulations of L.D. 695/1970 about the education of the Greek students abroad" Gov. Gazette 219A". They are signed by the "President of the Republic" G. Papadopoulos, simultaneously signing as the "Prime Minister of the country".

content of the regime. Four sets of texts analysis were formed depending on the political standpoints of the regime about: a) form of the regime, b) national characteristics, c) religion and d) typical – educational regulations.

The legal discourse in the texts is typical and a reiteration of former educational regulations. Given the grounds that foreign services are addressed there is a general desire to maintain that kind of discourse which is suitable for legislative texts and, at the same time, not challenging to the political standpoints of democratic countries. Therefore, the lack of the introductory report is intentional resulting in lack of references about the form of the regime or any other data which point to the dictatorship in Greece.

As regards national characteristics, the relationship between the country of origin and the Greeks abroad is underlined through extensive reference to issues of operating, organizing and supervising education. Even though religion was included as a special set in the primary assumptions, no reference is made to it. This is because the specific text addresses democratic countries where religious tolerance is foreseen by the Constitution. Thus, the interconnection among country – religion – family is promoted in Greece only whereas the text which is sent to foreign services focuses on bureaucratic procedures for regulating educational issues.

In the legislative texts of dictatorship emphasis is placed on the fourth set which concerns the analytical presentation of educational regulations, namely selection of personnel, organization of the Board, operation of directorate services as well as the form and content of supervision. Individuals' selection criteria for schools and administration offices are intentionally hidden.

## **Discussion**

The question whether the order of educational discourse, as it is depicted in the legislation, is diversified on the basis of the political situation, dictatorship in particular, is of special interest and consideration. Therefore, emphasis at this point is placed on the ideology, namely the construction of meaning. This is actually the diversification from the Marxists, in terms of ideology articulation and not merely an abstract values system.

As foretold, the present research is based on Fairclough's model of Discourse Critical Analysis containing a brief list of all phases of concepts: a) selection of research question – the topic of the research is the educational legislation during dictatorship and the objective is to elevate the wrong representations tied to the issue, b) formulation of research questions. As long as the legislation is incorporated in the disciplinary domain of policy legislation, the specific disciplines will be studied as well as the fact that reference is made to educational policy. Thus, issues of education and policy in relation to education and Diaspora are examined. Verbal practices are associated to the broader social, political and educational practices and structures including the political scene of dictatorship, c) formulation of research questions – the issue under question is whether the specific educational legislation for the Greek-speaking education is conducive to the projection of the dictatorship political standpoints in comparison to other laws of the same period, d) analysis on the basis of the following separation: 1) verbal practice, 2) text and 3) social practice. As regards verbal practice analysis for which legislative texts form the empirical material, the points to be scrutinized are intertextuality that is the association among each other for

the specific legislation and interverbality that is although the laws concern education how they are tied to laws of other domains and other political discourse.

The concepts of transitioness and modality are of special interest. In transitioness the association between the particular educational policy for the Greek-speaking education and the projection of dictatorship on the basis of the specific legislative texts is examined. Modality is concerned with the entire verbal construction of truth reinforcing the concepts of law and regime.

The legislative texts corresponding to the Greek-speaking education abroad<sup>12</sup> are observed to lack a preamble. In other words the regime avoids any explicit reference to the objectives of this education and is exclusively concentrated on the form of organization. The ideological content is apparently missing and the text is automatically engaged with the listing of issues related to the organization of education.

It could be expected that a dictatorship regime projecting national and religious symbols appropriated under its own terms would extensively refer to ideological issues associating its policy to religion and nation by pinpointing principles and standpoints. These are referred to in special legal, educational texts in contradistinction to the communist principles condemned by the regime which also contradicts any democratic principle, too.

The legal language of the text, under educational terms, renders a content of policy concentrated on general pivots without any special references. The selection of educators is of special interest. Without any reference to their national belief in the L.D. 695/1970 their action is included among their qualifications (art. 2. 3b). By studying the broader legislation of the period and especially the L.D. 651/1970 (art. 36.4) it could be perceived that the issue of action refers to the national action and especially to attitudes and political support of the regime.

In the legislation of 1970 for the Greek-speaking education abroad it is evident that the careful articulation conceals a practice tied to the selection of educators to work in those schools. Their selection was based on political criteria. In other words, even though emphasis is placed on knowledge and language cognition by the legal text, the major criterion for their selection is the political alignment with the regime. Therefore, educators expressing democratic principles are rejected.

The concealment of the regime's true political standpoints is more evident in the L.D. 695/1970 in which, regarding the Greek schools abroad, emphasis is placed on the Greek language, Religious, History and Geography. The subject of the Citizen's Education, that would depict the regime's principles and standpoints and would eventually generate ambiguities or would encourage the change of the political situation, is not mentioned.

In 1973 the regime is faced with legalization problems as reactions are generated both in Greece and abroad. The legislative text for the education of the Greeks abroad is more expanded and more fully detailed in relation to the function, organization and supervision of this type of education. The prerequisites about the educators on detachment in the Greek schools abroad are maintained while their economic status is improved through the increasing salary.

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<sup>12</sup> See generally about education during dictatorship with special reference to the constitutional texts (Doukas, 2004:114).

In order to fully monitor the educational personnel of the Greek-speaking schools abroad disciplinary punishments are foreseen. These educators are generally faced with the same punishments as their colleagues in Greece. At this point the legislative text seems to be insufficient and a comparative approach to other political texts should necessarily be carried out so that it is evident that educators are released, exiled and incarcerated due to political reasons. The composition of the educational council, that would evaluate the educators' attitude working in the Greek-speaking schools abroad, is foreseen by the legislative text (art. 6.2).

The council consists of an education counselor, being a member of the Supreme Educational Council, a headmaster of education for the Greek students abroad and Foreign Schools and a supervisor of Intermediate or Elementary Education. It is characterized as an educational, typical act which, under legal terms, could be perceived as one meeting the prerequisite of the harmonious function and organization of the educational system. Under political terms, the composition of this council is not conducive to the reinforcement of the educators' policy of rights. In other words, the selection of the entities to evaluate the educator's work or actions is not conducted by an instrument chosen under transparency criteria but under the regime's political criteria. Thus, it comprises of the regime's major executives contributing to the implementation of its political principles and defense.

To recapitulate, the educational legislation of dictatorship is observed to be a legal, educational discourse based on the pre-existing systems from which elements are derived. These elements are re-constructed so that they meet the broader political content of dictatorship while the introduction of discourse or forms from other orders of the political or social discourse is observed. In this case reference is made to the educational discourse for the particular issue, the Greek-speaking education, in which the political discourse of dictatorship reflects a different organization of the legislative political discourse.

An explicit intertextuality is observed in the specific legislative texts, namely words or phrases which have been used by other legislative texts of different periods are derived. Therefore, the concept of intertextuality (an intertextual chain) is apparent. Should the political texts of dictatorship for the specific education of the Greeks abroad not be studied in comparison to the broader policy of dictatorship about education and its practices, the non liberal regime and the retrogression of the period 1967-1974 can not be projected in the policy of the citizens' rights and particularly in the policy of rights about education.

## **Conclusion**

The dictatorship propagandistic discourse seems to be confined in the Greek nation-state. As regards the Greek-speaking education abroad and on a legislative level, the educational content of laws is not diversified from the one of the governments prior to dictatorship. The particular legislative texts are in accordance with the structure and content of the legislative texts, namely the legal, linguistic code. The typical discourse is reiterated while the external features of legal conventions are maintained. In this respect a harmonious function of the Ministry of Education and the government, in general, is presented in terms of form and content through the concealed structures and organization of the non liberal regime.



No preamble tied to the educational objectives has been noticed in the two major laws for the regulation of the Greek-speaking education abroad as it would be expected that emphasis would be placed upon the national nature of the Greek-speaking education and on national issues of anticommunist propaganda. Through the preservation of a balance policy the regime seems to pursue support from the Greeks abroad and from the societies of the countries where Greek-speaking schools function. The provision of Greek-speaking education, as depicted in the laws, is associated with the subjects of Language, Religious and History. Nevertheless, no reference is made to the Citizen's Education, which is a propagandistic subject in Greek schools.

The government is concerned with the acceptance of the regime abroad and its efforts of persuasion about its democratic nature, justifying the "suspension of some forms of freedom" is not accidental. The elucidating lecture circulated throughout the educational institutes is an attempt to clarify the regime's policy of the cast of features while a justification about the suspension of rights<sup>13</sup> is pursued. It is highlighted that the article 15 of the Declaration of Human Rights was used by "the revolution" to prevent the complete destruction of the nation and freedom. In any case the regime did not avoid the penalties posed by the Council of Europe<sup>14</sup>. Thus, through decision 361 it was announced that Greece was not deemed a member of the council until the restoration of the legal constitution<sup>15</sup>.

Through the laws about the Greek-speaking education abroad the regime is presented as a democratic nation under collaboration with the educational carriers towards the even function of this type of education. Despite the fact that emphasis is placed on the selection of the suitable educational personnel to work in this type of education, the educators' sever monitoring and supervision as well as the disciplinary penalties, in case of articulating beliefs against the regime, are concealed.

At the same time the overall non liberal function of the regime in all the domains of social and political life is concealed by the legislative texts. A lack of correspondence in relation to the structure and organization of the dictatorship regime is apparent – that is of the concentration on national and religious symbols and the contradiction to communism. This lack is also evident in the typical processing of the Greek-speaking education and could be deemed a continuation of the educational policy implemented by the previous governments.

Through the educational policy about the Greek-speaking education the objectives of the regime seem to be attained, namely to be "politically invisible" by concealing its true political principles, functions and structures. The specific legislative texts could be deemed insufficient to interpret the political situation in Greece in this particular case. However, they are sufficient in the formulation of a policy, in terms of discourse and content, presented under different principles from the real ones. This is actually the discourse dynamics, the legal discourse in particular, which can be confined to a typical formulation by maintaining the features of legal typology. This is attained through the use of schemata, legal symbols and signs which render meaning to the real content of a policy projected and imposed upon the citizens' societies.

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<sup>13</sup> Ministry of External Affairs, Register nr. G. 195-74/5-7-1968. Topic: "Day of the United Nations". See Annex text 20 (Kalerante, 2006:117-119).

<sup>14</sup> See generally about the attitude of the Council of Europe against the Greek issue during the period of dictatorship (Konstas, 1976).

<sup>15</sup> See (indicatively) Perrakis, 1997; Vegleris, 1975.

A general consideration is formulated, being the outcome of studying the Greek educational texts during dictatorship, about the masks behind which the authoritarian regimes are presented and how dangerous they can be when selectively copying democratic principles which are transformed and incorporated in their non liberal and opaque policies. Not only does the discussion about the structure and function of dictatorship regimes value their historical continuation and organization, but they should be further studied so that the domination of extreme right political schemata is prevented, as the utilization of parliamentary structures is conducive to establishing non liberal policies through violence and cancellation of the policy of rights<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup> See generally about the rise of extreme right throughout Europe (Milza, 2004; Mudde, 2007) and especially in Greece the role and dynamics of “Chrisi Avgi”, an extreme right formation, the policy of which is characterized by extreme violence and disrespect towards the democratic principles (Kousoumvriss, 2004; Kalerante, 2013a; Kalerante, 2013b).

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