

# VII ICCE

7<sup>th</sup> International Conference  
on Critical Education

## Rethinking Alternatives to Neoliberalism in Education

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Conference Proceedings

### Organizing Institutions

Department of Primary Education  
National & Kapodistrian University of  
Athens

Department of Primary Education  
Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

Department of Applied Linguistics  
University of Massachusetts Boston

The Hellenic Educational Society

The Institute of Education Policy Studies, UK



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Gounari Panagiota  
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Pavlidis Perikles



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**“Rethinking Alternatives to Neoliberalism in Education”**

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EDITED by: Gounari, Panagiota, Liambas, Anastassios, Drenoyianni, Helen & Pavlidis, Perikles

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Gounari Panagiota  
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**Introduction to VII ICCE**

We live in times of crisis; An economic crisis, where education is under siege by neoliberal capitalism and by neo-conservatism and aggressive nationalism, where teachers and academics are being proletarianized, youth is being criminalized, societies are being stripped of welfare, benefits, and rights, and schools and universities are turned into commodities. In such a time, critical education as a theory and as a movement, that is, as praxis, is not only relevant, it is, in fact, needed. International communities of critical educators and activists are working together, and along with other movements to build active resistance to these processes and are engaged in fostering educational and social change leading to a more just, equal and fair society.

Critical educators in schools in the context of a counter-hegemonic pedagogy, as organic intellectuals of the oppressed and the exploited, humanize the pedagogical relationship and expose the normative discourse of the school embedded in the culture of the school apparatus. This normative discourse is embodied in school knowledge, pedagogical practices, behaviors, gestures, thoughts, explicit and implicit rules, customs, authority, the design of school buildings, establishing and perpetuating relations of domination and obedience, competitiveness and individualism, educational inequality and exclusion. Therefore, students develop into critical agents with the support of critical education intellectuals, who help them develop class consciousness through an awareness of their class position and of the dominant relations and ideas. Students, further, become aware of the diversity of conflicts in capitalist society and their manifestations in daily life, as well as the capacity to intervene and take action towards radically transforming social relations.

Critical educators intervene and take action in trade unions of education workers and working-class organizations, and make an impact on the lives of parents, students, and communities, by focusing on the education of the oppressed and exploited classes both inside and outside schools and universities, in various spheres of social life and action.

Critical educators struggle to counter the imposition of capitalist control, paternalistic and hierarchical relations, and engage in ideological critique of practices that contribute to social reproduction. Their primary concern is the holistic development of the students' potential, listening to their voices, as well as those of the teachers who defend their existential needs. Critical educators also strengthen their ties with communities to ensure the public provision of social goods, and the democratic functioning of the school with the participation of teachers, parents and students.

This collection of papers brings together different voices of educators who work in the critical pedagogy framework and who try to illuminate and critically engage with different aspects of education and schooling.

**Panagiota Gounari**  
**Tassos Liambas**  
**Helen Drenoyianni**  
**Periklis Pavlidis**



## Negotiating Anger, Violence, and Punishment in the Context of Critical Literacy in First Grade

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### **Abstract**

*Teaching literacy in the first grades of primary school for many years has been focused on the development of decoding in order to help children “break the code.” During the last decades, literacy has been changing as a result of the increasing gaps between rich and poor, and children who have experienced war, migration and poverty (Comber, 2013). In this framework, a major question and challenge simultaneously is whether critical literacy can be introduced and sustained in the first primary grades. As critical literacy is focused on power relationships and language (Comber, 2013; Lewison, Flint, & Sluys, 2002), it is often seen as not suitable for young children, while it is considered more appropriate for adults and older students. The aim of the present paper is to show that critical literacy can be embedded in early childhood curriculum, driving the focus of literacy teaching away from “learning to read” to “reading to learn, “where the essential elements of critique, dialogue, and reflection are included (Harwood, 2012). Based on Luke and Freebody’s (1997) four resources model of reading as social practice, critical literacy in the first grades of compulsory education evolves the recognition and mobilization of children’s analytic resources, the examination of existing texts, and the opportunity for children to encounter new discursive resources (Comber, 2001). This paper presents the implementation of a thematic unit concerning anger, violence, and punishment in a first-grade classroom. In this classroom, the teacher did not use the official textbooks for literacy teaching and organized her teaching on the basis of thematic units. Different texts, including literature, were used in relation to children’s experiences, and children produced both oral and written texts where they critically negotiated anger, violence, and punishment in their social context.*

### **Keywords**

critical literacy, first grade, teacher’s work, teaching practices

The study of literacy development over the last fifty years has contributed a remarkable body of research and theoretical concerns that have led not only to a better understanding of this development and the learning process, but have also changed the way literacy is defined and taught. Taking into account the basic assumption that literacy development is an everlasting process, what is implied is that for children of pre-school and primary-school age, the same literacy framework that is adopted for all age groups can be applied in which the acquisition of knowledge and skills are part of, and not just related to, the broader context of literacy.

The use of the term “literacy” in Greek literature in recent years marks the adoption of a broader content in what was formerly called “alfavitismos” (Charalambopoulos, 2006). According to Chatzisavidi (2003), the term literacy does not mean only the



individual's ability to read and understand a written text, but also the ability to understand, interpret and critically address the different types of discourse, to be able to produce a variety of discourse and, in general, to be able to communicate in different contexts using written, spoken language and non-linguistic texts. (p. 189)

Baynham (2002) reveals that the dimension of critical literacy is important for the definition of literacy as it highlights the ability of individuals to challenge powerful social processes. According to him, the definition given by the Australian Council for Adult Literacy is contextually sensitive and combines the two dimensions of literacy, functional and critical. In this definition, literacy refers to hearing, speaking, reading, writing and critical thinking; it also includes numeracy. It involves cultural knowledge which makes it capable of a speaker, writer or reader to recognize and use appropriate language in different social situations. For a technologically advanced country like Australia, the aim is an energetic literacy, that allows people to use the language to increase their ability to think, create and challenge, so as to participate effectively in society. (Baynham, 2002, p. 21)

A simple reading of the general objectives set out in the curricula of different countries for the teaching of language effortlessly leads to the conclusion that they focus primarily on the acquisition of skills and less on the social practice of literacy (European Commission, 2011; Hannon, 2000). However, literacy development cannot be limited simply to learning and properly using words and grammatical features, but needs to familiarize pupils and students with a variety of semiotic means used in the classroom for the presentation and understanding of meanings (Kostouli, 2009). The interpretation of acts of literacy as semiotic operations is supported by Hassan (2006) when she defines the initial phase of literacy as skill signification. She distinguishes two different routes in the development of literacy. The first route is considered natural as it relates to what transpires throughout daily activities. The second route refers to the controlled activities in formal education, and is thus considered specialized. Although the second route follows the first one, it has been considered to be more important despite the fact that it is connected with social discrimination and has led to the popularly adopted view that written language has greater value in comparison with spoken language.

The aim of this paper is to demonstrate the potential to use critical literacy practices in the first grade of primary school. The first section is an attempt to present an overview of the concept of critical literacy in order to give the application framework and the corresponding practices in preschool and primary-school age. The second section presents the scope of critical literacy practices in the first grades of primary school in an attempt to answer the question as to whether such a framework is applicable. The last section presents an attempt to apply this framework in a first-grade classroom.





### Critical Literacy

Critical literacy pedagogy is an important approach – if not the most important approach – to language teaching in the context of literacy education. Linguistically, it is based on the work of M.A.K. Halliday (1976; 1978; 1985), who developed the systemic functional linguistic model of language. Pedagogically, it is based on the work of Paulo Freire (1977), whose influential work, *Pedagogy for the Oppressed*, was the basis for the critical pedagogy movement in the United States.

The persistence of Freire (1972; Freire & Macedo, 1987) that literacy could, and should, lead people to assert their rights, and his emblematic phrase, “read the word, read the world,” has prompted many teachers to deal with critical literacy (Edelsky, 1999; Giroux, 1993; Lankshear, 1994; Luke, 2000; Powell, 1999). Critical literacy has been described in various ways by teachers, theorists, and linguists, and, consequently, it is not easy to give a generally accepted definition. Furthermore, the definition of critical literacy is opposed to its key assumptions associated with debate, dissonance, and difference with local dependencies in a dynamic repertoire of practices that are negotiated in different situations (Comber, 2001; Comber & Simpson, 2001; Kamler & Comber, 1996; Luke, 2000, 2012; Luke & Freebody, 1997). Teachers of critical literacy are dealing with various issues, such as feminism, racism, critical discourse analysis, multiculturalism, social justice theories, and so on. According to Luke and Freebody (1997), critical literacy marks a “coalition of educational interests committed to engaging with the possibilities that the technologies of writing and other modes of inscription offer for social change, cultural diversity, economic equity and political enfranchisement” (p. 1).

A review of several definitions that exist in the literature by Lewison, Flint, and Sluys (2002) resulted in a synthesis of these definitions that leads in four key dimensions of critical literacy. The first dimension is associated with the disruption of stereotypes and the effort to see everyday life in a different light. In this way, language and other sign systems are used to identify implicit ways used in the perception of our experiences and to examine different frames through which we understand them. As a result, critical literacy leads to the reflection on everything under study and to the understanding that existing knowledge is a product of history. In addition, the texts are analyzed in relation to how they place the reader, while the folk tradition and the means of communication are embedded in the curriculum both for pleasure and for analyzing the ways that individuals are placed and structured by television, games, comic books, and so on. Finally, the language of criticism and hope is developed, and the language is studied in relation to the ways that it builds identities and cultural discourses, and supports or disrupts the status quo (Fairclough, 1989; Gee, 1990; Luke & Freebody, 1997; Marsh, 2000; Shannon, 1995; Shor, 1987; Vasquez, 2000). This dimension is associated with a radical attitude of teachers as it weakens their traditional role as transmitters of knowledge



as well as the curriculum imposed from above, and leads them to a perspective of advocacy regarding their roles and responsibilities.

The second dimension refers to the examination of multiple views of both the experiences and the texts in order to understand the differences between various concepts, which are simultaneously examined. The ability to compare our own view with others' leads to reflection on the basis of multiple and conflicting views, but also to the examination of texts from the perspective of people who are designated by the text, as well as the views of people who are missing from the text, many times intentionally. Hence, this often leads to paying attention and to seeking the views of those who either are not given the opportunity to state their view, or have been marginalized. The aim is to highlight the differences through both the examination of competing texts and the composition of texts that oppose the dominant discourses (Harste, Breau, Leland, Lewison, Ociepka, & Vasquez, 2000; Lewison, Leland, & Harste, 2000; Luke & Freebody, 1997; Nieto, 1999). This contrasts with the traditional view of there being a right answer, as it allows students and teachers to reach different conclusions.

The focus on socio-political issues relates to the third dimension of critical literacy. Taking, as a starting point, the assumption that teaching is not a neutral form of social practice but is interwoven and inseparable from socio-political systems, power relations, and the language used, it is important to consider texts not necessarily as products of individuals per se, but as products of the socio-political systems in which we live. This can be achieved through the use of literacy for involvement in day-to-day politics: by questioning the legitimacy of unequal power relations through the study of the relationship between language and power with the aim of redefining literacy as a form of cultural citizenship and policy, helping marginalized social groups to participate in society, and as a perpetual act of conscience and resistance (Anderson & Irvin, 1993; Fairclough, 1989; Gee, 1990; Giroux, 1993) in order to understand how the socio-political systems are shaping our attitudes, responses and actions.

The last dimension of critical literacy is associated with action to promote social justice. Participation in actions for changing the world, and the use of language to exercise power to enhance daily lives and negate practices that are associated with privileges and inequalities, are the essence of critical literacy. This can be achieved through the analysis of language in order to understand how language helps to maintain power, and how marginalized social groups can gain access to dominant linguistic forms while dissolving the barriers between the social groups so there is camaraderie and mobility (Comber, 2001, 2013; Freire, 1972; Giroux, 1993).

### **Critical Literacy in the Early School Years**

Critical literacy, the relatively recent introduction to literacy teaching in the first grades of primary school, is usually associated with three basic pedagogical practices: the identification and mobilization of resources for analysis, analyzing



existing texts, and trying to develop young children’s excursive resources (Comber, 2013). The Four Resources model of Luke and Freebody (1997) for critical literacy can form the conceptual basis for the understanding of critical literacy as pedagogical practice (Comber, 2013; Leland, Harste & Huber, 2005). This specific model for reading as social practice involves four resources/sources of knowledge that are important for the process of literacy acquisition, which are encoding, pragmatics, semantics, and criticism. These run parallel to the four roles of the reader.

The first role is the reader who attempts to “break the code.” According to this view, the decoding capability is essential in the teaching of literacy and is dominant in the curriculum. The second role is the reader who attempts to understand the importance of the text. The practices employed on the basis of this view are associated with the development of the reader’s ability to use not only personal information, but also information from the text to capture the full meaning of the text. The third role is the user of the text, who both analyzes the language used in the text and examines how the information from the text can be applied to everyday life. The last role is that of the analyst of the text, which is associated with the implementation of critical literacy practices. According to this view, it is necessary for the reader to understand that reading is not a neutral form of cultural practice, and that the texts function to construct reality and place the reader in specific ways that he or she should be able to recognize.

The question that emerges on the basis of this model is whether children of pre-school and primary-school age can cope with all four roles, and especially the latter, as the framework of critical literacy historically refers to secondary education and to adults (Comber, 2013). In recent years, it has been suggested that questions about power, language, and the representations of the world can be addressed to children of primary school as well (Comber, 2013; Dyson, 1997). Teaching practices through which critical literacy is achieved have shown to do the following: incorporate the interests of children and the materials that children bring to the classroom for negotiation; consider the benefits that specific texts bring to young children; incorporate and compare an array of texts with conflicting views; include optical and electronic texts as well as hybrid multimodal texts of everyday life; explicitly deconstruct and reconstruct the elements of texts; examine the historical and cultural context for the arguments used in the texts; compare the vocabulary and grammar used in different texts as they are read in juxtaposition; and examine how readers are placed by the ideologies of texts, among other strategies (Comber, 2013; Janks, 2005; Vasquez, 2004). There are various examples in the literature for applying critical literacy practices in the early school years.

The work of O'Brien (for example, O'Brien & Comber, 2000) focused on the representation of men and women in families that are presented in texts as kings, queens, princesses, mothers, fathers, and other typical gender roles, and looked at the representations of the family and family members in literary texts, including



children's reading books as well as texts from everyday life. In the attempt to deconstruct these texts, children were asked to identify members of the family in terms of power or kindness as they were presented in the texts, and to identify the behavior of these individuals and the words that the author of the text used to present these persons. There were questions about the less important members of the family and the ways in which the author of the text leads children to understand that these members are less significant, and also about their own experiences concerning the importance of family members. Vasquez (2004) dealt with issues of social justice focused on the school and family life of her students. In her application of critical literacy practices, children raised questions about the exclusion of people from events (specifically parties), the representations of men and women in the media, and the rights of people when it comes to different cultural preferences and practices, among others. Vasquez's work showed that even very young children, when they are given the opportunity to challenge and explore situations that relate to their interests, can bring out important issues of social justice.

Another example mentioned in the literature for critical reading of texts is the opportunity that is presented by the reading and processing of fairy tales, such as *Cinderella*, for the development of critical literacy (Harwood, 2011). According to this example, in addition to the pleasure that reading fairy tales brings to children, it can also provide them the opportunity to understand the social structuring of these texts. Hence, it provides children the opportunity to examine gender roles in fairy tales, the marginalization and exploitation of the working class, and the comparison of the contents of fairy tales with similar images shown in commercials, television programs, and other texts (Harwood, 2011). Through discussions based on fairy tales that take place in primary school classrooms, children from the first primary-school grades are likely to recognize issues related to gender, language, power, and privilege.

### **Negotiating Anger, Violence, and Punishment in Critical Literacy Practices**

The first-grade class in which the teaching intervention took place consisted of 24 children (12 boys and 12 girls) from a variety of socioeconomic levels, and was organized in groups of 6 students, which were reorganized periodically. From the beginning of the school year, lessons were organized by thematic units using authentic materials, mostly literature books but also other kinds of texts, such as newspapers, magazines, brochures, posters, and invitations, which replaced the official textbooks for language. Because the issue of cooperation between the school and children's parents was considered of great importance, the teacher decided to inform the parents about these different teaching practices and to request their active participation. There were both individual and group activities based on children's prior knowledge and experiences.

**Topic.** During the last week of the school year in October, the topic was related to negative emotions and behaviors, anger with violent behavior in particular. This





topic had emerged in previous classroom discussions during which the children were relating it to their daily experiences both at school and at home. Teaching practices centered on several aspects of language, such as oral language production and comprehension, and reading comprehension and written text production, as well as enhancing the children's understanding of anger and violent behaviors. The basic material used was the book, *The Grumbling Little Elephant*, by E. Trivizas. This book was chosen because of its theme of negotiating the relation of anger with violent behaviors and punishment, and the topic of behaviors related to exclusion based on physical appearance. In particular, the story is about a naughty little elephant whose mother punishes him by pulling on his trunk. As a result, his trunk became very long and his friends made fun of him. At the end, the little elephant decided to leave his home, and he went to live in a different place where he became very popular because his long trunk was used to solve many difficult situations the inhabitants dealt with. In addition, the book's illustration, the plot of the story, the language used, and the length of the text were considered appropriate for children at this age as well as for the objectives that were set. In addition, the book, *I Will Love You Whatever You Do*, by D. Gliori, was chosen during the intervention as its contents gave a different view in addressing negative behaviors. Teaching was organized according to the following seven main objectives: topic knowledge, oral comprehension, oral text production, reading comprehension, written text production, knowledge of the language system, and classroom organization and functioning. All seven objectives were interrelated in the practices used.

**Objectives.** For the objective of topic knowledge, the aims set from the beginning were focused on (a) eliciting children's experiences associated with negative emotions and behaviors, (b) helping children identify the relation between negative emotions and behaviors in the texts with the minimum of personal involvement, and (c) expressing their ideas and concerns about the ways different persons or the story's main characters dealt with these negative emotions and behaviors. For the oral comprehension objective, the aim related to the understanding of the text structure on the basis of grammar. In particular, the aim was for the children to understand the context of the story in relation to the place and time, the role of main characters' emotions and actions, the starting event or the problematic situation, the temporal succession of episodes, and the emergence of causal links between the episodes and the final solution. In addition to the knowledge of text structure, another major aim involved the comprehension of the criteria that enables the retelling of a story to be understood. In particular, the activities of story retelling showed that it was important for the children to understand the integrated presentation of elements in story retelling, with a focus on maintaining the time succession and causal links.

In the production of oral texts objective, the aims were to produce the story based on the pictures of the book before the initial reading by the teacher, to retell the story, and to express their personal experiences related to the book story. The



reasoned commentary of story retellings was an extension of the story retelling aim, which resulted from children's retellings, and it was combined with the understanding of the important elements of a story that allow a story retelling to be understood. The presentation of alternative scenarios of the story was also related to the story retelling, and emerged through children's considerations of the story's plot. For the reading comprehension objective, the aims set were understanding the title of the book, the captions regarding the characteristics of the main characters, the problem, and the action in the episodes of the story. The production of a diagram and pictures that depicted the episodes of the story in order to expose causal and time relations between the actions of the main characters was the main goal of the written text production objective. These were accompanied by written punch lines and captions for the heroes, the problem, and the action of the story. In addition, it was decided that different versions of the story would be produced based on the discussion about "what I will change in the story," related to a concern developed in the classroom with regard to alternative scenarios of the story for overcoming anger and violent behaviors.

For the knowledge of the language system objective, the aims set were combined. The first aim concerned the knowledge of the alphabet and the development of the ability to decode, including the consolidation of grapheme-phoneme correspondences and the distinction of uppercase and lowercase letters. The second aim was related to the recognition of the story's keywords and phrases and their transcriptions. The third aim was related to the development of intuitive recognition of the syntactic structure of sentences in the text, and the production of sentences with simple syntactic structure. Recognition of masculine, feminine, and neutral articles was the fourth aim of this objective, while the final aim was the autonomous writing of small texts based on the students' attempts to produce different scenarios of the story or punch lines and captions for their drawings. Finally, for the organization and functioning of the classroom objective, the aims were related to the recognition of negative attitudes experienced and/or expressed by some children, especially during the break time, and which affect the climate in plenary sessions, in an attempt to strengthen positive forms of communication among children during whole-classroom, group, pair, or individual work.

**Activities.** Twenty-seven teaching activities were implemented during the two weeks that this thematic unit lasted. Twenty of them were related to the book, *The Grumbling Little Elephant*. Five introductory activities were used to build up to the main topic of anger and violent behavior. Commenting on the cover of the book, including analysis of the title and the image of the main character of the story, was the starting point. This was followed by a first attempt to hypothesize what the story was about, which ended up with the collective creation of an oral story based on the illustration of the book. The book was then read by the teacher, with the children commenting on the story, in which they compared this story with the story they produced on the basis of the book's illustration. The children also produced drawings



of the main character accompanied by punch lines and captions, and there was a first attempt at a collaborative retelling of the story.

A series of activities was used, based on comments in these introductory activities, which were concentrated on the main characters, the problem the main character confronted, and the plot of the story. Activities related to the main characters of the story included a discussion both of the notion of the main character in general, and the main characters of the present book in particular, including the order of appearance, their characteristics as they were presented by the author, their emotions, and their actions. Children worked in groups to produce written captions and drawings of the story, which were then presented to the whole class, followed by a second effort at a collaborative story retelling accompanied by comments related to behaviors that led the main characters to perform certain actions. This discussion allowed children to comment on and understand the starting point, or the main problem of the story and the main characters' actions, or the episodes that followed. In this context, causal and time relations between episodes were emphasized, and the children, working in groups, tried to depict them in their drawings and the written text that accompanied them.

In response to the problematic situation presented in the story, a discussion followed that addressed the actual negative attitudes expressed by some children at school and at home. This discussion led to the next activity, which was the teacher reading the book, *I Will Love You Whatever You Do*, followed by children's comments. In this story, a different approach to dealing with negative behaviors was presented, and it was connected with the discussion on the problematic situation of the first story. However, the discussion concentrated on the children's real negative behaviors at school or at home. The last group of activities dealt with summarizing and reflecting on several aspects of the story. This group of activities included collaborative text readings, group story retellings, and producing alternative scenarios based on "what I would change in the story." These scenarios were presented to the whole class by each group, followed by comments on the reasons for the changes and the consequences of these changes for the plot of the story.

These activities aimed to highlight experiences, and link them with negative feelings and attitudes, in an attempt to have the children reflect on different ways of dealing with negative behaviors. The objective relating to the organization and functioning of the classroom was emphasized in all these activities, and there were many suggestions for different forms of organization of the classroom. The objective pursued a greater emphasis on the treatment of negative behaviors in order to reinforce positive forms of communication among children.

### Discussion

On the topic knowledge objective, children identified a bidirectional relationship between negative emotions and behaviors as well as the opposite bidirectional relationship between positive emotions and behaviors. The decisive role of

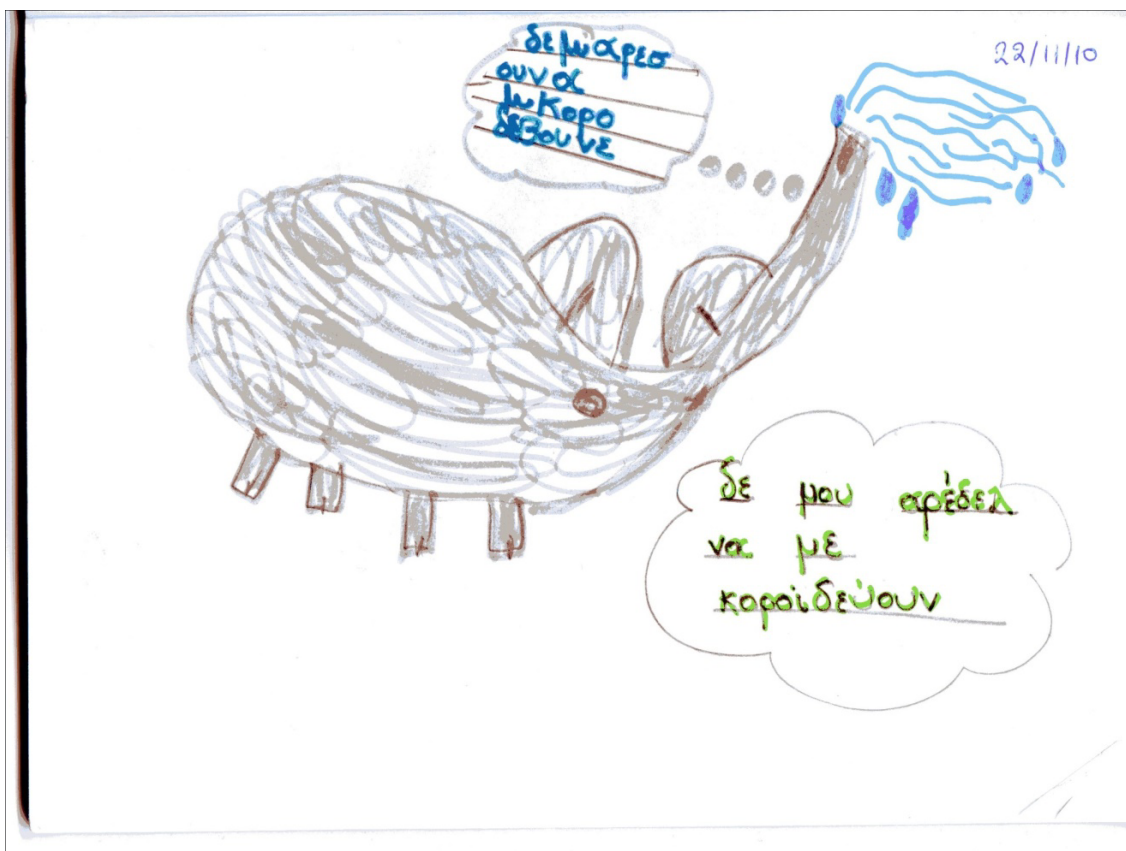


friendship and acceptance was also emphasized. These relationships emerged gradually. Initially, during the introductory discussion, these relationships were based merely on the story: children identified that the main character's annoying behavior was related to his mother's feelings of anger and violent behavior that resulted in a physical deformity, a very long trunk. This physical deformity was also related to the teasing that the main character was experiencing in the school environment, which, in turn, caused feelings of sadness and disadvantage, which led him to isolate himself from his classmates and, ultimately, to leave his home.

Various concerns and questions were raised by the children in the discussion following the reading of the story. For example, a child commented on the contrast between the main character's original feeling of sadness due to the fact that his classmates did not accept him, and the feeling of happiness he experienced due to his acceptance by others in a different place. This comment led to the question of what the outcome of the story would be if the little elephant had not experienced such negative behavior by his mother, and whether he would be happy. Based on this question, a different end to the story was produced, where the negative relationship with the mother was resolved and the little elephant did not leave his home. Some children noted the importance of friendship for the positive outcome of his life, stating that they doubt whether there was a real friendship between the main character of the story and his classmates, stating that real friends do not make fun of one another and they protect one another. However, other children disputed their comment, which led to a very interesting conversation between the children about what friendship is. Based on this discussion, the teacher raised a question about the possibility of transforming negative relationships between classmates into friendly relationships. The majority of the children claimed that this cannot happen.

In order to reinforce the children's understanding of the story, and in their attempt to approach the story from a critical view, a group of activities surrounding the structure of the text were conducted. Text comprehension activities were cooperative, and they were conducted both in groups and as a whole class. Based on the commentary that followed the first hearing of the story, and the details of the story the children recalled in their attempt to retell the story, it was concluded that the children concentrated on particular parts of the story. These included the problematic situations, the first episode (onset of action), some happy moments of the main character with the second main character, and the end of the story (last episode, resolution). The main problems identified in this first retelling of the story, in relation to the elements of the story, were the omission of characters, temporal and causal links, and episodes.





In their commentary during the retelling of the story, most of the children recognized some of the missing elements of the story, especially that some episodes of action were skipped and that there was repetition of temporal words. The intervention activity that followed was related to the main characters of stories and their role in the succession of action. To help children understand the concept of the main character, they were given instances of main characters in films and fairy tales. Then, all the characters of the book were presented, their characteristics were described, and their role in the story and their relationship with the main character were pointed out. This presentation of the characters of the book was followed by comments on their order of appearance in the story, which helped the children understand and remember the order of episodes and the temporal and causal links between them.

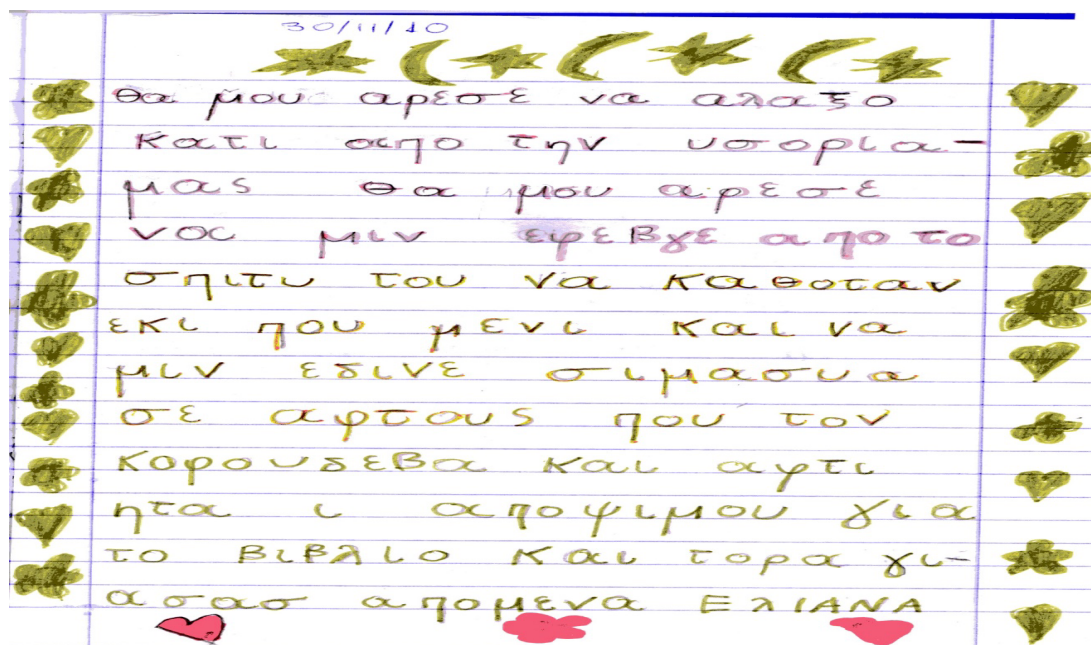
As the children's comprehension of the story increased, they returned to their discussion on the relation between negative emotions and behaviors. There were two main considerations that dominated their discussion. The first one was related to the story, and especially to the relation of negative emotions with behaviors of non-acceptance in comparison to the relation of positive feelings with attitudes of acceptance. The second one was more general, and it was related to the view that negative emotions and behaviors can be thought of as a continuum, having a domino



effect. In addition, some children presented personal experiences of violent behaviors in their family that they had either suffered or witnessed, and in some cases, practiced themselves.

Despite the above considerations, in their reflections on possible ways of dealing with negative behaviors, two different and almost successive trends were recognized. Initially, the views that prevailed in the discussion of the story, in an attempt to find alternative ways to deal with the negative behavior of the main character, were based on punishment, with a small number of children advocating an effort to dialogue. A similar pattern was obvious in the discussion related to finding ways of dealing with actual negative attitudes expressed by children of the class. However, after listening and commenting on the book, *I Will Love You Whatever You Do*, a trend of tolerance appeared in the children’s proposals for the ways to deal with the facts of violence, offering a different approach to dealing with negative behaviors.

These considerations were more obvious in the written production of texts based on "what I would change in the story." Texts were individually written after the discussion on alternative scenarios of the story. Most of the children claimed that they were changing the initial action of the story concerning the problematic situation of the main character, i.e., the daily punishment from his mother that resulted in his physical deformity and his negative feelings due to his friends making fun of him. Some children added the return of the main character to his family



I would like to change something in the story. I would like him [the main character] not to leave his home, staying where he lived and not bother with those who made fun of him. This is my opinion for the book.



environment, attempting to resolve conflicts with his mother and saying that it is very sad to be away from your home and family. Some children added new episodes in which the loneliness that the main character experienced when left his home was emphasized. Finally, other children did not suggest any change to the story, because they thought that the resolution of the story, the main character finding a new place to live where he was popular and had a lot of friends, was satisfactory.

With regards to the children's own negative behaviors, especially during breaks, a slight but insignificant improvement was observed. However, the connection between their violent behavior and their negotiation of the story was brought to their attention, and from then on were discussed together in attempt to resolve them as a class. As a result, the children's influence on the climate and functioning of the classroom was minimized. There was a noticeable shift from the negative attitude of demanding punishments to a greater tolerance combined with dialogue practices. Tolerance and dialogue helped to strengthen the positive interaction among the children of the class, which resulted in improved cooperation among groups and in decision-making processes for the activities and overall functioning of the class.

Oral comprehension and production of texts were mostly used during teaching practices, while there were fewer activities focused on developing the children's knowledge about the language system. In relation to the topic selected, it was more important to highlight the relations between negative and positive emotions and their corresponding behaviors. In particular, the children realized that behaviors of non-acceptance due to divergence from what is thought of as "normal" are associated with feelings of anger, sadness, loneliness, and disadvantage, while joy and creativity are associated with attitudes of acceptance and real friendship. The latter seemed to be what helped the children raise the question of what constitutes true friendship, and whether there is a possibility to transform negative relationships into friendly ones in real life.

Although this concern emerged in the children's discussions of the story, and they were clearly in favor of accepting the character despite his initial negative behavior, they had difficulty proposing similar alternative practices of acceptance when it came to their own experiences as receivers of negative behavior from their classmates. However, the children showed a greater tolerance when dealing with the negative behavior of their classmates. Hence, the children proposed that these considerations constituted a good basis for future work on the topic of friendship in relation to acceptance and diversity, which could, perhaps, be the topic of a future thematic unit.

In relation to the organization and functioning of the classroom objective, it was clear that negative attitudes could not be addressed directly. Time and continuity are needed for the accomplishment of this effort. However, the considerations expressed by the children weakened their intensity. This happened because the children showed that these negative attitudes were not confronted with hostile and



punitive responses from the other children while they were listening to the effects of their actions from the other kids and talking about their own motives and feelings in the classroom. In addition, the children who were the recipients of these actions also had the opportunity to express themselves. In this way, a mutual understanding between the two groups of children was fostered. To further strengthen positive interaction among the children, it is important that this practice be continued.

The teaching intervention that was designed and implemented in this classroom was greeted with great response and excitement from the children. It appeared that a complex subject like anger, violent behavior, and exclusion met the interests of this age group and triggered interest, participation, and interaction among them. This topic provided many opportunities both for the cultivation of oral language and dialogue and for the functioning of written language. The variety of materials and activities used in the process allowed the children to discover and explore, which helped them to systematize their knowledge of letters and the conventions of writing. In addition, it brought the children into contact with different communication codes, and offered them the chance to experiment and reflect. At the same time, they were sensitized and experienced critical social issues, and improved cooperation among themselves as on many occasions they worked together toward a common purpose. Finally, it helped them escape from the daily classroom routine through the use of a variety of texts and activities.

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## The Issue of Housing in Second Language Education: Creating a Neoliberal Fairytale

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### Abstract

*The purpose of this paper is to analyze in what way neoliberal ideology, transformed into the new common sense of our times, finds expression in second language textbooks. More precisely, this study examines the topic of housing in a sample of Catalan language textbooks in relation to neoliberal economic practices and values. Catalan language textbooks are mainly addressed to foreign adults living in Catalonia, most of them belonging to the working class. Texts propose a task-based communicative approach through situations that learners supposedly find in their everyday lives. The results suggest that textbooks emphasize the commodification of housing, especially through the central role of banks in the residential sector, and the naturalization of mortgages as the only possible solution to providing decent housing. On the other hand, textbooks do not give any reference to the causes and effects of the Spanish housing bubble and its collapse in 2008, such as the eviction of thousands of insolvent mortgage debtors, most of them workers. Furthermore, tasks and activities often prepare students for the roles of consumers and bank clients in Catalan society. The study concludes that Catalan textbooks arise as disseminators of neoliberal ideology, in a similar way to that in which the great majority of Western foreign language textbooks today align with the values and practices of neoliberalism.*

### Keywords

language education, political economy, neoliberalism, housing, textbooks, Catalan

This paper seeks to contribute to the call for a turn to political economy in applied linguistics and, particularly, in second and foreign language education. As Block, Gray, and Holborow (2012) explained in their book, *Neoliberalism and Applied Linguistics*, “one blind spot in the interdisciplinarianism of applied linguistics has been political economy and in particular a detailed critique of neoliberalism as the ideology driving the practice of economics by governments and international organisations today” (p. 1). For that reason, they propose to reorient interdisciplinarity in applied linguistics in such a way that the economic and material bases of human activity and social life “become central to discussions of a range of language related issues” (Block, Gray, & Holborow, 2012, p. 4). With this in mind, the purpose of this paper is to analyze in what way neoliberal ideology, transformed into the new common sense of our times, finds expression in second language textbooks. More precisely, this study examines the topic of housing in a sample of Catalan language textbooks in relation to neoliberal economic practices and values. As an introduction to our study, we will take a look at the recent turn to political economy in applied linguistics and, particularly, the studies that focus on foreign



language textbooks. Then, we will explain our understanding of neoliberalism. Later, we will present the corpus and the methodology of our analysis. Finally, the results of the content analysis and the conclusions of the study will be discussed.

### **Political Economy and Applied Linguistics**

In these last decades of globalization under a neoliberal economic system, interdisciplinary approaches in applied linguistics have focused on concepts such as interculturalism, gender, or identity, but omitted an analysis and discussion of the economic organization of societies and related key constructs, such as ideology or social class. However, the situation is slowly changing with an increasing number of scholars introducing questions of political economy and references to neoliberalism in their applied and socio-linguistics research (see Block, 2017, for a broader review of research on language and political economy).

The call for a political economy turn in applied linguistics means applying themes arising in political economy literature to the study of language-related issues (Block, 2017). Within this paradigm, neoliberalism has become a point of reference in several language studies, mainly in relation to the marketization of language teaching and learning (Bernstein, Hellmich, Katznelson, Shin, & Vinall, 2015; Kubota, 2011), the commodification of language skills (Duchêne & Heller, 2012; Heller, 2010) and the widespread use of corporate language in public discourse (Fairclough, 2002; Holborow, 2015).

In the realm of foreign language textbooks, different studies by Gray (2010a, 2010b, 2012) that have focused on neoliberalism and global English Language Teaching (ELT) textbooks should be highlighted. Gray argues that these materials present the English language (and cultures) in a selective way, associating it with a series of values like consumerism, cosmopolitanism, and individualism that are in line with the values proposed by neoliberalism. Based partly on interviews with the publishers of these materials, Gray explains how students are seen mostly as consumers or clients that have to be entertained with non-problematic content and through an attractive visual presentation. In addition, according to Gray (2012), the consumerist ideology in ELT global textbooks is reinforced with the rising presence of celebrities. For Gray (2012), fame-related content serves to promote the “aspirational content,” which is centered on the following aspects: “spectacular personal and professional success, celebrity lifestyles, cosmopolitanism and travel” (p. 87). In another one of his studies on ELT global textbooks, Gray (2010b) focuses on representations of the world of work. He argues that representations of this world, associated with mobility, flexibility, freedom of choice, individuality, and the full realization of the self, coincide with the values and practices of neoliberalism. He also points out that the negative consequences of the neoliberal practices in the world of work, such as labor insecurity and stress, are not shown. The loss of a job, for example, is seen as an opportunity. Moreover, Gray argues that the textbooks analyzed promote the





transformation of the individual into a brand (like any other commodity) in order to survive and be visible in the new neoliberal society.

In a more recent study about global ELT textbooks in the last decades, Gray and Block (2014) detected a superficial treatment of the working class, and, above all, the progressive disappearance of characters, practices, or topics related to the working class, which happened at the same time as the rise of neoliberalism in the 1990s. From the 1990s onwards, the characters and topics related to the working class are rarer and more insignificant in textbooks, with working-class characters presented mostly as entrepreneurs or self-entrepreneurs, a characteristic of the neoliberal work order. The authors conclude that this disappearance of the working class and the emphasis on the cosmopolitan characters of successful upper classes is not a unique phenomenon in commercial English textbooks, but should be considered in a wider context – that of neoliberalism – which aims to reconfigure society to make social class become a redundant concept. In a similar vein, Copley (2017) presents a comparison between current global English textbooks and earlier ELT materials published between 1975 and 1982. He examines the content in relation to the main tenets of neoliberal ideology, such as individualism, consumerism, and the erasure of social class. One of the main insights of this study is the sharp contrast between the emphasis on collective problems and class solidarity in earlier textbooks and the individualization that appears in neoliberal textbooks today. Unlike earlier materials in which working-class and social problems were addressed, the current English textbooks tend to portray only privileged characters, without social concerns, economic limitations, or difficulties of subsistence.

Finally, one of our earlier studies (Bori & Petanovic, 2016) should be mentioned, in which we analyzed the world of work in a sample of Catalan as a Second Language textbooks. The findings of our study suggest that:

Catalan textbooks present a type of worker with self-entrepreneurial features, that is, a flexible, self-responsible and branded worker who is engaged in risk management and lifelong learning. Through the positive reactions of the characters to their constantly changing working conditions, Catalan textbooks tend to present the neoliberal work order as desirable and the entrepreneurial individual as the ideal worker. (Bori & Petanovic, 2016, p. 169)

Taken together, what all the critical studies from an economic perspective reviewed here show is a positive valorization of neoliberal values and practices in textbooks. This study aims to add something new to the literature on neoliberalism and language teaching materials, with a focus on the issue of housing in language textbooks. We find that the study of the issue of housing in language textbooks addressed to foreigners can shed light on how the current economic system and this part of the content for learning languages intertwine, and in which way a very important topic, such as housing, can be used as a vehicle for introducing neoliberal values and practices into language curricula. Before going further into the research, the term, “neoliberalism,” must first be defined.



## Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism is a term used today mainly by its critics to designate the latest phase of capitalism, which began in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In the first instance, neoliberalism is an economic policy paradigm based on a theory which holds “that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade” (Harvey, 2005, p. 2). Its theoretical roots can be found in the works of the Austrian political philosopher, Friedrich Hayek, in the 1940s, and of the Chicago School of Economics in the 1950s, with Milton Friedman as its key figure. The characteristics of neoliberal economic policy are free trade and deregulation of financial markets, privatization of state enterprises (including energy, water, health, education, housing, and transport services), reduction of public spending on welfare, and tax cuts for the rich. It promotes a flexible work market, the decline of worker unions, and consumption through debt. Another key feature of neoliberalism is the “extension of market-based competition and commodification processes into previously insulated realms of political-economic life” (Brenner, Peck, & Theodore, 2010, p. 329), such as education, health, or housing.

In the 1980s, neoliberal policies began to be implemented at the center of the capitalist system under the governments of Reagan in the United States and Thatcher in Britain. Especially after the collapse of state socialism in Eastern Europe in 1989 and the disappearance of this strong alternative to capitalism, neoliberalism became the dominant economic doctrine around the world. American-dominated financial bodies, such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, played a highly active role in the global spread of neoliberalism through the imposition of the dictates of what was known as the “Washington Consensus” in developing countries that received the loans they issued. Apart from massive environmental destruction, the implementation of neoliberal policies worldwide in the last decades have brought greater socio-economic inequalities, a greater concentration of wealth, and increasing levels of poverty (Harvey, 2005). Class inequalities have further increased since the current global economic crisis began in 2007-2008. The richest 1% of the world’s population now owns more wealth than the rest of the world combined, according to a recent Oxfam International (2016) report: “In 2015, just 62 individuals had the same wealth as 3.6 billion people – the bottom half of humanity. This figure is down from 388 individuals as recently as 2010” (p. 2). From the Marxist standpoint, neoliberalism should also be understood as an ideology: “This understanding maintains that elite actors and dominant groups organized around transnational class-based alliances have the capacity to project and circulate a coherent program of interpretations and images of the world onto others” (Springer, 2012, p. 136). One of the key concepts of the neoliberal ideology is that (free) markets are the answer to all human and societal issues. For neoliberals, “the market is the most efficient and moral institution for the organization of human affairs” (Springer, Birch, & MacLeavy, 2016, p. 3). Drawing on the Gramscian notion of hegemony, Harvey (2005) suggests that neoliberalism “has become incorporated into the common-sense way many of us interpret, live in, and understand the world” (p. 3).

Finally, at a deeper level, neoliberalism has also involved a sharp reversal in the ways we conduct ourselves in our public and private lives, in the sense that competition and entrepreneurial mindsets now govern the behavior of many people and institutions. In this regard, Foucault (2008) understood neoliberalism as a rationality



that determines both the ways governments manage people’s actions and the ways people conduct ourselves. With this in mind, Dardot and Laval (2013) explain that neoliberalism has become “the form of our existence” (p. 8). According to these two authors, neoliberalism is the norm that shapes the mode of our living, our relations with others, and even the ways we represent ourselves.

### Corpus and Methodology

The corpus of the present study consists of 18 Catalan as a Second Language textbooks from 6 publisher houses from Barcelona. We decided to focus on Catalan textbooks for several reasons. First of all, course books for a “medium-sized” language have rarely been studied from a critical perspective that investigates neoliberalism’s impact on their content. Secondly, they are the materials we know best as a result of our experience as Catalan language teachers to foreigners. Finally, the study of Catalan textbooks allows us to compare them to international (dominant) language textbooks, such as those in English, to explore the similarities and differences that might exist between a minor and a global language in the age of neoliberalism.

We decided to analyze the following: (a) beginner- to elementary-level textbooks since they are the ones most frequently used in classrooms; (b) textbooks that are recent (published between 2005 and 2015); and (c) textbooks for general Catalan (we excluded materials for specific purposes or addressed to specific target groups). The corpus includes the following books: *Veus 1, 2, 3* (Mas & Vilagrassa, 2005, 2007, 2008); *Curs de Català Bàsic B1, B2, B3* (Center for Linguistic Normalization of Barcelona [CNLB], 2008a, 2008b, 2011); *Nou Nivell Bàsic 1, 2, 3* (Guerrero, Mercadal, Roig, & Rovira, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c); *Nou Nivell Elemental 1, 2, 3* (Anguera, Roig, Tomàs, & Verdugo, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c); *Passos 1* (Roig, Padrós, & Camps, 2011); *Passos 2* (Roig & Daranas, 2011); *Català Bàsic* (Esteban, 2012); *Català Elemental* (Campoy, Esteban, & Sagrera, 2011); *Fil per Randa Bàsic* (Vilà & Homs, 2013a); and *Fil per Randa Elemental* (Vilà & Homs, 2013b). We began our analysis by identifying neoliberal practices and values in housing-related content, such as the following:

- The commodification of housing (Rolnik, 2013)
- The celebration of home ownership (Glynn, 2009; Ronald, 2008)
- Taking out a mortgage
- The bank as the main actor in the housing sector
- The rise of consumerism

After that, following a qualitative approach, we examined the value (positive or negative) texts attach to these neoliberal features. In other words, we analyzed the perspective from which these neoliberal values and practices are represented in housing-related texts and activities, taking into account the voices of the authors or the characters that appear in texts, the experiences and results that are explained,



the types of activity and tasks the textbooks give to students, and visual content (if artwork was included).

### Results

Housing has become one of the major topics in language learning textbooks ever since the beginning of the 1970s. In those days, linguists working on the changes concerning how second languages are taught decided that the more traditional ways of learning languages, which consisted of grammar and translation, had become obsolete. The reasons for this are manifold. One of the reasons could lay in the fact that from the 1970s onwards, big changes occurred in capitalist economy; with the growth of the immigrant population and tourist industry, especially to Western countries, learning foreign languages became one of the most important means of helping newcomers and tourists get by in their daily lives and resolve everyday situations in a faster, easier, and more practical way. Hence, topics like work, housing, travel, entertainment, and situations similar to the ones people find in their everyday lives – like buying food or going to the airport – became a major focus in language-learning curricula. The concept of residence in modern language curricula is mainly used to practice vocabulary, such as parts of the house or the furniture, and basic communicative acts related to the home, like housework or leisure activities. More importantly, content related to housing almost always includes scenarios like buying, selling, or renting a house, which are practices linked to one of the postulates of a capitalist society: ownership of private property.

The study of Catalan language textbooks is particularly interesting because Spain is a paradigmatic example of the transformations of housing in recent decades. Spain is a country that suffered “one of the highest boom and bust in the housing and credit market” (Akin, Montalvo, Villar, Peydró, & Raya, 2014, p. 224) in the capitalist world. During the first years of this century, the construction of new dwellings in Spain was higher than the total number of new builds in France, Germany, and Italy put together (Akin et al., 2014). The economic recession, which started in 2007-2008, meant that thousands of families were not able to pay their mortgage debts due to mass unemployment, and were consequently evicted from their homes. It is also in Spain where one of the strongest social movements against neoliberal housing policy has emerged in recent years: The Platform of Mortgage Victims (PAH), which started in Barcelona in 2009 and expanded rapidly throughout Spain. The PAH concentrates its energies on giving practical and moral assistance to mortgage victims, confronting and stopping evictions, changing legislation concerning evictions, and – last but not least – raising public awareness of the social injustice of the current housing situation in Spain. With all this in mind, in the following sections, we will comment on the ways in which the neoliberal values and practices in the world of housing appear in current Catalan as a Second Language textbooks.

**The commodification of housing.** Since the late 1970s, there has been a significant transformation in the politics of housing, which has benefitted the powerful capitalists with property and goes against the interests of the most vulnerable



classes in society. As a result, having a place to live is seen through the lens of having real-estate value or “as an investment asset” integrated into the global financial market system (Rolnik, 2013, p. 1059) rather than as a home, a social good, a basic human necessity, or a fundamental right of every human being.

*Veus 1* explains the problems that today’s Catalan youngsters face when looking for a home under the title, “Finding an apartment for the young population: A problem with solutions:”

There are several factors that cause this situation, but the most important one is the difficulty young people have in finding a house to suit their needs and their budgets. Rental apartments have impossibly high prices, and they are scarce. To buy an apartment (here everybody wants to buy because of the thing about “you pay but in the end it’s yours”) one usually needs a mortgage of up to 30 or 40 years. And, as everyone knows, to obtain a mortgage one must have a stable job or the help of parents... This is all typical, since people in Catalonia generally devote 66.9 per cent of their income to housing expenses and, in the area of Barcelona, 82.4 per cent!!!<sup>1</sup> (Mas and Vilagrassa, 2005, p. 72)

According to this textbook, it is “typical” for a young person from Barcelona to spend almost all his/her revenue on housing expenses. The textbook authors express surprise over this situation using exclamation marks at the end of this excerpt, but they consider it natural to apply for credit from a bank and pay for it over three or four decades. Moreover, the text above contends that to own a flat is a commonplace practice in Catalonia (“here everybody wants to buy”). In this regard, it should be recalled that the lack of rental apartments this text mentions did not occur on its own, but it was the result of a specific economic policy that fiscally rewards private property ownership and does not favor the renting of a home. In addition, the construction bubble stimulated the further accumulation of debt and speculation in real estate, since many investors bought properties in order to sell them shortly afterward at a higher price. The exercise that follows the reading of this text asks the learner to supply definitions for a series of terms, such as *mortgage*, *revenue*, *expenses*, *rent* or *savings* (Mas and Vilagrassa, 2005, p. 73), which are terms related to the world of modern housing and integral to capitalism.

In Catalan textbooks, affordable housing is very rarely addressed as a fundamental right (only one reference to this point in all textbooks), but this study identifies a lot of examples of the conception of housing as a commodity with many texts

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<sup>1</sup> Original text in Catalan: Hi ha diversos factors que provoquen aquesta situació, però el més important és la dificultat de trobar un habitatge adequat a les necessitats dels joves i les seves possibilitats econòmiques. Els pisos de lloguer tenen uns preus impossibles i pràcticament no n’hi ha. Per comprar (aquí tothom vol comprar per allò de “vas pagant però al final és teu”) normalment necessites hipoteques de 30 a 40 anys. I ja se sap, per obtenir una hipoteca s’ha de tenir una feina estable o l’ajuda dels pares... Tot això és normal, ja que la gent, en general a Catalunya, dedica 66.9% dels seus ingressos a les despeses l’habitatge i a la zona de Barcelona, un 82,4%!!!





and activities related to buying, selling, or renting a house. There is also a great deal of attention paid to the concept of the house as an investment asset, and especially to real estate agencies, with many dialogues between customers and real estate agents and advertisements of real estate agencies. In *Nou Nivell Elemental*, for example, there is a text with detailed information about the purchasing of a house (Anguera et al., 2010a, p. 46). It explains different kinds of real estate purchase agreements and includes an extensive list of expenses related to selling or buying a property. Meanwhile, *Fil per Randa* dedicates a whole unit to real estate agencies (Vilà & Homs, 2013a, pp. 176-87). On the opening page of this unit, there is a drawing of a real estate agency in which six people are working as telephone operators giving information about the property they sell or rent. Almost all the dialogues in this unit are between people who want to buy or rent a place and a real estate agent. One of the activities involves checking a real estate agency's website, commenting on its content, and answering questions such as "Is it better to buy or to rent a house?" (p. 183). In the final task, students are asked to create a radio advertisement for a real estate agency.

Furthermore, the textbooks' authors propose activities in which students are treated as potential experts in the real estate business, where they should discuss, for example, the points that are considered important before buying or renting a property, or to write an announcement for a real estate agency. For example, one of the textbooks asks learners to read a part of an apartment rental agreement and to answer questions related to the duration of the agreement, the names of the contracting parties, and whether the flat is furnished or not. Students are also to read the whole contract at the end of the textbook, which includes sentences such as the following ones:

All general expenses for the suitable maintenance of the condominium, its services, taxes, fees and other costs that are not incurred by the individual rental unit, and, in general, those that correspond to the flat leased according to the participation fees under the terms of the 'horizontal property' law, are to be charged to the tenant.<sup>2</sup> (CLNB, 2008a, p. 189)

With this text and these kinds of activities, the textbooks' authors clearly opted to present to beginner students of Catalan a very specialized language related to the market aspects of housing. Likewise, *Català Elemental* also dedicates a whole unit to housing in which students are treated as potential experts in the real estate business (Campoy et al., 2011, pp. 25-40). The unit begins with a series of questions posed to students such as:

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<sup>2</sup> Original text in Catalan: Les despeses generals pel manteniment adequat de l'immoble, els seus serveis, tributs, càrregues i responsabilitats que no siguin susceptibles d'individualització, i, en general, les que corresponguin al pis arrendat d'acord amb la seva quota de participació en règim de propietat horitzontal, són a càrrec de l'arrendatari.



What do you consider best for a young couple: to take out a mortgage and buy a large house and not think about the matter further or to begin with a more modest purchase with the confidence that in the future they will be able to finance a larger and more expensive house? [...] What percentage of a family’s revenue do you think should be dedicated to monthly mortgage payments? Thirty per cent? Fifty per cent? More?<sup>3</sup> (p. 26)

Later, students are asked whether they are aware of the most important questions related to finding an apartment and if they are already familiar with the vocabulary from the real-estate sector. One of the main activities in this unit proposes a series of questions the students are to elaborate after they are divided into three groups. The first group should debate which questions are important to prepare before contacting a real estate company. The second is asked to write about the most relevant details that should be taken into account when visiting a house. The third group is to discuss the questions one should ask before buying or renting a property. The textbook’s authors help students to elaborate on the points that are considered important, such as the value of the apartment: “[I]f the real value of the house is less than the asking price, the buyer loses and the bank, if it is involved, will not grant a mortgage for the asking price, but only for the actual value of the house” (Campoy et al., 2011, p. 33). Once again, this advice suggests that the authors assume that students of Catalan as a Second Language are knowledgeable in the field of real estate and its vocabulary.

**Home ownership.** In most countries, as Ronald (2008) explains in his book, *The Ideology of Home Ownership*, “the status of the homeowner has become a social ideal;” the owners are considered “a better type of citizen” while “renters and renting have become heavily stigmatized” (p. 2). In Catalan textbooks, there are many dialogues between friends about the buying of a house. In *Nou Nivell Elemental*, for example, there are three dialogues about the buying of a house in an exercise to practice Catalan pronouns (Anguera et al., 2010a, p. 42). In the first dialogue, a girl explains to her friend that she has just bought an apartment with a mortgage. Despite the implications of this decision, the girl says that she did so “without giving it a lot of thought.” The friend congratulates her and suggests throwing a party to celebrate the decision. In the second dialogue, a character recommends that a friend buy a house as quickly as possible because there is always the possibility that somebody else will buy it first. In the third dialogue, two friends are also discussing buying a house in a similar way. When talking about buying a house, one friend says, “It must have cost you a lot of money!” and the other friend answers, “Yes, indeed it has, but we don’t regret it at all. We couldn’t wait to buy it.”

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<sup>3</sup> Original text in Catalan: Què consideres més convenient per a una parella jove: que s’hipotequin amb un habitatge ampli per no haver de pensar-hi més, o que comencin amb una compra més modesta i confiïn que en el futur ja podran finançar un habitatge més gran i més car. [...] A l’hora de pagar la quota mensual d’una hipoteca, fins a quin percentatge dels ingressos d’una família creus que s’hi pot destinar? El 30%? El 50%? Més?



In these three dialogues, we can identify a minimization of the problems of buying a house (such as spending a lot of money or taking out a mortgage) and, above all, the celebration of home ownership.

We also identified a great emphasis on private property in the series published by the Center for Linguistic Normalization of Barcelona (CNLB). These textbooks, for example, refer to a supposed Spanish cultural tradition of owning houses (CNLB, 2011, p. 41), which would be congruent with the values that neoliberalism proposes for the organization of society. However, this tradition is imagined, because until the mid-twentieth century, the majority of Spaniards lived in a rental home. In fact, home ownership is a practice promoted by a concrete economic policy that rewards the buying of a property and penalizes the renting of a home. This policy also boosted the private construction sector to the detriment of public housing (Pereda, 2013). The origins of this policy can be found in the last two decades of the Franco dictatorship in Spain, which aimed to promote private property above class solidarity (Sola, 2014). Franco’s Housing Minister, José Luis Arrese, synthesized the spirit of this policy in 1957 with a sentence that over time would become famous: “Queremos un país de propietarios, no de proletarios” (We want a country of [home] owners, not proletarians) (Sola, 2014, p. 107). After Franco’s death, the idea of creating a society of homeowners continued with the housing policies of the various Spanish governments. The so-called Boyer Act, passed in 1985 with the Social Democratic party in power, made home renting an expensive and precarious option (Delgado, 2010). Later, neoliberal policies, such the 1998 Land Act, passed by a Conservative party government, sped up the construction of private houses and apartments. In addition, the incorporation of Spain into the globalized economy made it easier for families to take out a mortgage as a means of owning a house.

In this same textbook, there is also a reading of a text that includes statements as the following ones: “To be a homeowner is one of the most common aspirations for personal satisfaction and financial profit.... If the house is sold after some time, it has usually gained value and can bring a saving when paying taxes”<sup>4</sup> (CNLB, 2011, p. 41). With this text, the textbook presents houses as commodities (in the sense that they are investment assets), rather than as homes or as a fundamental right of every human being. This idea of a home as an investment became very popular in Spain during the period of the real-estate bubble. In those years, some wealthy individuals “were able to take advantage of the bubble and improve their financial investments in the process” (Daily & Zarco, 2015, p. 40). During this period, the control over the housing sector moved from public administration to private corporations, and taking out a mortgage became a very common practice for many Spanish people. However,

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<sup>4</sup> Original text in Catalan: Ser propietari d’un habitatge és una de les aspiracions més comunes, per la satisfacció personal i els beneficis financers [...]. Si es ven al cap d’un temps se solen obtenir guanys i pot suposar un estalvi a l’hora de pagar impostos.



in 2011, the year of publication of this particular textbook, the bubble had already burst with devastating effects for the most disadvantaged classes of society. However, this is not mentioned in this book – nor in any others belonging to the corpus.

**Taking out a mortgage.** The most frequent practice that we identified in housing-related content is acquiring a mortgage. Most characters in textbooks decide to take out a mortgage in order to buy a house. The general trend in all textbooks is to present taking on a mortgage as a natural and necessary practice for buying a house in Catalan society. The presentation of this practice is positive, taking into account that buyers often highlight the good deal they negotiated with the bank, or friends congratulate them enthusiastically for having bought a flat on a mortgage. Some textbooks also include specialized vocabulary concerning taking out a mortgage, such as in one dialogue between an employee of the Housing Office and a person that wants to buy a house with a mortgage, where we can pick up on concepts such as a “variable-rate mortgage,” “fixed-rate mortgages,” “the differential,” “the index the mortgage is tied to,” and so on (Anguera et al., 2010a, p. 47). Following this dialogue, in a matching activity, students are to answer whether statements such as the following are true or false: “Hybrid mortgages are best because the rate of interest does not change during the period of the payment of the mortgage” (Anguera et al., 2010a, p. 47). According to the activity presented in this example, it seems that the textbook authors expect to prepare and encourage learners to take out a mortgage. On the other hand, the many risks behind this capitalist practice, especially with the housing boom and bust in Spain, are not mentioned in textbooks. Instead, taking on a mortgage is generally treated as a given; a practice which is normal, natural, and inevitable.

**The bank as the main actor.** Private financial institutions are among the main stakeholders of the majority of the biggest Spanish companies, such as the oil company, *Repsol*, the natural gas company, *Gas Natural Fenosa*, the telecommunications firm, *Telefónica*, the energy provider, *Endesa*, the airport operator, *AENA*, or the *Abertis* motorway concession company. In recent years, banks have also become the main agents in the neoliberal organization of the Spanish housing sector, not only because they have specialized in the concession of housing mortgages for families and loans to construct buildings, but also because banks are the largest real estate agents in Spain since the housing bubble burst.

In content related to housing, and especially in that dedicated to mortgages, textbooks give a great presence to banks – and always in a positive light. There is no reference to the controversial role played by the banks that led to the 2008 financial crash by inflating the giant bubble of easy credit and using it to fund their own speculative gambling in what was known as “casino capitalism.” Obviously, there is no reference either to the massive public money injected into the Spanish financial system to rescue its failing banks, which resulted in a further reduction in public spending, because the 100-billion-euro Spanish bailout was passed in 2012, when



the textbooks from the corpus had already been (or were in the process of being) published.

A paradigmatic example of the chief role of banks in Catalan textbooks is the unit titled, “Let’s Get Married to the Mortgage” (Roig & Daranas, 2011, pp. 89-96), which belongs to the series, *Passos*. The main character of the unit is Rosa from Ecuador. She came to Catalonia four years ago and has had many different jobs, especially in hotels and restaurants. After finding a more or less secure job taking care of elderly people, the first thing on Rosa’s mind is apparently to buy a house, and the only way to do so is to get a mortgage from a bank, as the textbook will show. Before moving to the (more complicated) bank loaning stage, the authors choose to explain the easier steps for getting to know bank-related issues. Learners are asked for examples of which documents are necessary to open a bank account or what the difference is between a credit and a debit card. In another activity, students are invited to learn how to use ATMs. Another way of introducing the banking system practices as something routine, necessary, and unquestionable is the dialogue in the bank between two friends. From this dialogue, we learn that in order to buy a house, and even clothes or textbooks for the children, it is necessary to owe money to the bank because “it is impossible to do it in any other way.” This assertion from one of the characters resembles the famous slogan, “There is no alternative,” used by Margaret Thatcher to rebut any challenge or alternative to neoliberal policy.

The following activity in the textbook series, *Passos*, includes four radio announcements all related to buying things on credit. The companies announcing their services all offer some advantages to attract clients. After listening to these announcements, students are to imagine themselves as bank promoters, inventing slogans for a bank that wants to attract young people to contract its services to initiate the process of owning a house. The final task in the unit is called “We have to take on a mortgage: Let’s do the math” (Roig & Daranas, 2011, pp. 95-96). Using the modal, *have to*, the authors again highlight the imperative need for this practice, as there are no alternatives. The task consists of helping Rosa from Ecuador and her boyfriend buy an apartment on a mortgage in a city near Barcelona. Students are asked to choose an apartment for the young couple and to calculate their monthly mortgage payment through a table that presents the interest rates and the years they have to pay off the mortgage. On the other hand, since the textbook does not propose any activity to consider Rosa’s background or the situation of housing in Spain, the opportunity to develop critical thinking among students is lost. For example, learners could discuss Rosa’s approach to finding a home since she has a profile very similar to the main group of students learning Catalan as a Second Language. Furthermore, it would also be interesting to present and discuss the fact that a very high percentage of homeowners lost their homes due to mortgage default, and a high percentage of these “failed” homeowners were immigrants with low-income jobs (Human Rights Watch, 2014), such as Rosa from Ecuador.





**The rise of consumerism.** Consumption related to housing does not end with buying an apartment or taking on a mortgage. Textbooks also include other consumer practices, such as renovating a house or buying home products. In *Nou Nivell Elemental*, for example, after dedicating extensive space to mortgages, there are two pages dedicated to home renovation (Anguera et al., 2010a, pp. 48-49), in which students are to compare the renovation budgets explained in a listening activity.

The series, *Fil per Randa*, presents the entire housing industry and related services, from the efforts of looking for an apartment to rent or buy, to those who support those efforts: the real-estate agencies as intermediaries and consultants, the banks that are responsible for lending credits or loans, and finally, the construction companies and contractors in charge of home renovations. Last, but not least, there is also the whole furnishings and appliances business that also profits from buying, renting, and decorating the home. In *Fil per Randa Elemental*, for example, after presenting several dialogues between real-estate agents and customers, taking on a mortgage appears in an e-mail Martina writes to a friend where she explains that she has decided to take out a mortgage to buy a flat. Martina asks her friend for the information about the mortgage process: “You took out a loan or a mortgage a year ago, didn’t you? You told me you were very happy with it! Which bank was it? How much commission did you pay? What were the interest rates?” (Vilà & Homs, 2013b, p. 94). This e-mail, apart from including vocabulary related to the banking system (*loan, mortgage, commissions, interest rate, etc.*), also presents the strong reliance on a friend’s previous experience with mortgages that was positive in the past, and explains mortgages as a natural practice that everyone engages in. Later in the book, there are various advertisements that offer home renovation, furniture, and home decorating products that students should comment on (Vilà & Homs, 2013b, p. 165). After that, learners are asked to imagine that they want to renovate their kitchen and to write down all the things needed for the new kitchen (Vilà & Homs, 2013b, p. 166). In another unit in the same book, students are to imagine their ideal home, list and describe the furniture and appliances, read advertisements for renting a place, and then listen to dialogues between people that have just bought their houses or apartments (Vilà & Homs, 2013b, pp. 32-41). The unit ends with ideas to save energy in the home and a final task in which the students are to imagine a proposal of measures to save energy in the building where they live. The necessity to save energy is aligned with the promotion of individual responsibility in late capitalist societies that frequently appears in mainstream media reports, corporate-backed science, and in political discourses and documents. According to neoliberal logic, individuals increasingly must take responsibility for the common spheres of society since public administrations are less and less engaged in them and have transferred such responsibilities to private companies. In the particular case of the energy sector in Spain, the government privatized it in the mid-1990s with the argument that the change would promote competition among companies and the prices of electricity would go down. Since then, electrical companies have experienced a multimillion-



euro profit, electricity bills constantly rise, and hundreds of thousands of working-class families have enormous difficulties paying their monthly electric bills (LibreRed, 2015). Instead of commenting on this huge problem, *Fil per Randa* opted to focus on the individual's responsibility to save energy, and how to do so.

According to textbooks, the only solution to finding decent housing, as mentioned above, seems to be requesting a loan from commercial banks, which tends to be presented as a positive practice. By providing learners with the vocabulary and discourses on obtaining housing, the writers probably feel that they are mitigating in some small way the difficulties that low- and middle-class groups of society face when searching for a home.

### Discussion

The present study has shown that neoliberalism has a big impact on the content of Catalan language textbooks. An important part of housing-related content emphasizes consumer-centered issues like buying, selling, or renting a house. The increasing commodification of housing appears as a natural phenomenon and is presented, generally speaking, in a positive light. In some textbooks, banks have a central role, especially in content related to taking out a mortgage. Through the activities proposed, textbooks teach students expert knowledge about the world of finance and the real-estate sector, without any mention of the consequences of the Spanish property bubble, the collapse of which affected hundreds of thousands of people from working- and middle-class backgrounds. In this way, materials often prepare students for roles as consumers and bank clients in Catalan society. In brief, Catalan textbooks emerge as disseminators of a neoliberal fairytale, presenting the topic of housing mainly from a positive perspective and concealing the negative impact on working classes over the last decades due to the neoliberalization of housing policies. The results of our study show that the contents of Catalan textbooks are similar to the neoliberal content of global ELT textbooks as described by other critical studies (Copley, 2017; Gray, 2010a, 2012).

Before we conclude, we would like to add some additional final thoughts and recommendations. On the one hand, authors and editors should be aware that language textbooks should not be tools for the reproduction of the status quo, but pedagogic tools that encourage critical thinking in students and help them to grow intellectually. On the other hand, it is also very important that teachers participate in the language learning process as active subjects who do not passively accept the proposals of textbooks, and who are aware that textbooks (as all language teaching processes) are determined by a bigger socio-economic context. This could be achieved by introducing critical theory, critical pedagogy, and other relevant approaches and theories from social and economic sciences in relation to applied linguistics, and incorporate them in future language teachers' university curricula.

Obviously, neoliberal values and practices promoted by ruling classes do not emerge exclusively in the content of textbooks and in education in general. They are



dominant and are disseminated throughout society at large. Hence, in order to fight against existing injustices, inequalities, and contradictions, it would be necessary to transform the economic, social, and political structures in today's capitalist societies.

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## Unemployment in the Light of Psychology and Education

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### **Abstract**

*Unemployment is a timeless feature of capitalism, increasing significantly over the past 7 years due to the economic crisis, therefore requiring social, economic, and psychological analyses. Our study aims mainly at highlighting the reasons for, and analyzing the phenomenon under, the aforementioned threefold approach. The first section describes unemployment as a dangerous and destructive experience. Unemployment could lead a person to significant mental disorders, such as schizophrenia, depression, phobias, and psychoneurotic. In sociological terms, the individuals who do not have access to work are excluded from full participation in society and are thus marginalized, which can lead to serious issues like addiction to alcohol and toxic and hallucinogenic substance abuse. The second section presents alternative socio-economic policy proposals against unemployment with emphasis on addressing the psychological impact, as well as the impact on education. In the third and concluding part, there is a discussion on neoliberalism with respect to the significance of the educational system. Considering the aforementioned psychological and social effects on the one hand, and the relevant literature on history and the concrete situation of pedagogy (according to pedagogy of liberation and critical pedagogy) on the other, this study critically discusses the present deregulation of the Greek educational system with respect to sustainable increase of employment.*

### **Keywords**

unemployment, mental disorders, education, neoliberalism, education

This bibliographic research is a summary of my overall dissertation, "Unemployment as a Social Issue and the Mental and Social Impact." The presentation will be divided into four sections:

1. The concept of unemployment
2. The reproduction of unemployment through education
3. The consequences on mental health and society
4. The proposed solution for education

### **Unemployment in Greece**

In Greece today, according to European Statistics Office (2016) surveys, the highest unemployment rate is being observed throughout the European Union. In 2014,



according to the Greek Statistical Office's report, in the third quarter of that same year, the official rate of unemployment was 25.5%, or 1,300,000 people unemployed. The percentage of long-term unemployed reached 74.5%, and the newly unemployed, 24%. For ages 25 to 29, the number of unemployed was 39-40%, and 24.7% for ages 30 to 44. One in two young people was unemployed, and among the unemployed aged 15 to 24, the rate has since risen to 49-50% (Avramidou, 2015). According to the latest official statistics, unemployment in Greece in the first quarter of 2015 reached 26%, with the unemployment rate for women at 29.6% and the youth unemployment rate at over 50% (Theleritis, 2017).

### **Unemployment and Education**

The main cause of the reproduction of unemployment through education is dropout rates among young people who interrupt legally defined attendance at school and do not acquire the basic knowledge required by the modern production system (Eurostat, 2014). The factors of occurrence and intensification of school dropout are associated with immediate social and economic problems. School dropout is a result of the intensification of education and the internal functioning of the school framework. This assumption would only be correct if the students' contemporary social environment were taken into account in order to find the real causes of development and, at the same time, the solutions to address it (Planet SA, 2007). In modern institutions, school failure is closely related to school dropout, that is, students leaving school before completing the requirements set by the educational system. The pupils are released from their schooling and are subsequently forced into surviving in un- or low-skilled, low-wage work, placing them just on or below the poverty line, or – to a large extent, as is currently the case – enduring unemployment (Fakiolas, 2006). The results of an independent study at the Technical Education Institute, KAVALAS, showed that as early as 2012, those who left school experienced an unemployment rate of 35.8%, which was higher in secondary education, at 26%, and lower in tertiary education, at just 16% (Engin, 2012).

For decades, international organizations, such as the European Union, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OOSA), the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the United Nations (UN), have gained plenty of ever-increasing overdrafts. Their main aim is to reform the ideological basis and political direction of educational systems and institutions in terms of targeting cognitive and educational content, as well as the main organizational and structural functions based on neoliberal social ideology (Grollios, 2004). When the needs of the market create a "scientific aristocracy" that will lead and control society, it produces people who are resistant to competition. At the same time, it generates production and labor needs, which, in essence, do not produce the necessary wealth but keep workers in the "rat race." These principles shape education, cultivating the vision of profitable jobs for its graduates. However, the accumulation of graduates in non-specialized employment increases the unemployment rate. Unemployment is used



by the market as a tool for necessitating more training and promotion through governments that support legal entry into the sector and profit absorption. This is also based on the attempt to degrade school and university education, at the level of standardized knowledge, so that the prospective worker is consumed in an endless demand for skills/knowledge exclusively in a cognitive-work subject, or super-specialization (Therianos and Katsikas, 2008).

In the age of neoliberalism, and with the socio-economic crisis, the basic principle of reforms in Greek education is based on the shift of education to a simple service provider and on the increase of venture capital gains in this sector. The impact of neoliberalism on education aims to create a large proportion of low-paid and "flexible" workers. This will be achieved by focusing curricula and the educational process on the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the European Union's mandate to acquire skills and crowding out broad scientific knowledge and methodology. Of particular importance, which should not be omitted, is the evaluation of the teachers and their scientific training, which will lead to the depreciation of the educator as a person and as a public servant (Skordoulis, 2016).

### **Social Consequences of Unemployment**

The current crisis has inflated suicide rates and "assists" in many other social and psychological impacts. The unemployed person is not only experiencing the loss of his/her work, he or she is experiencing the loss of social identity. This creates person-to-person management problems, such as meeting their everyday needs, as well as at a socio-interpersonal level, such as the needs of their family and their obligations towards the social groups to which they belong. As the unemployed struggle to survive, they suffer a loss of self-esteem and dignity (Avramidou, 2015). Anagnostopoulos and Soukakis (2013) conducted a survey during which a sudden deterioration in the mental health situation, especially in a wide range of vulnerable populations, was evident due to economic dyspraxia. These effects on mental health concern mainly depression, anxiety, insomnia, alcohol abuse, and suicidal tendencies. Unemployment and precarious work, inequalities, and lack of social cohesion are emerging as the main risk factors for mental health. The study by Madianos, Economou, Alexiou, and Stefanis (2011) reports a strong correlation between unemployment and low economic potential with major depressive episodes (Thelirite, 2017).

The implementation of neoliberal politics is directly related to the survival of the political-economic system, which, in order to exist, has to create and maintain alienated, passive, social citizens. In addition, the decentralization and de-concentration of responsibility for addressing health problems would seriously damage the system. The passivity and alienation of individuals, as a central choice of capitalism, creates conditions for the accumulation of power and financial resources



in political and economic management centers, as the person being alienated fails to take over the fortunes of political and economic affairs (Zafiridis, 2009).

**Drugs.** Unemployment, as a structural component of the particular system, can lead the individual to adopt destructive habits, such as drug use, in an effort to relieve him- or herself of the psychological pain of job loss. Unemployment has also been associated with high levels of stress and depression, resulting in a positive propensity for suicide attempts, a tendency that could be associated with drug abuse (Shortt, 1996). The Greek Documentation and Monitoring Centre for Drugs (EKTPN), in their 2009 survey, concluded that users aged 15-64, with heroin as the main substance of addiction, totaled 20,181 people. By comparison, the number of users in 2007, totalling 20,146 people, is not a significant increase, which reveals that Greece has the lowest percentage of problem users in Europe (EKTPN, 2009). In today's current socio-economic crisis that capitalist society is experiencing, there is an endless continuum in the use of, and dependence on, psychoactive substances. Taking into account the prevalence of individualism and bioethics in the predominant scientific narrative as a cause of dependencies – a narrative that is now reproduced by the numerous social totals – the reason is perceived as being because chronic users are prone to violent practices. The explosion of violence is a symptom of the social exclusion that these people endure (Lainas, 2007).

The drug addict is a person with unsurpassed communication problems and unmet emotional needs. His or her dead-ends and internal conflicts cause intense psychological pain, internal tension, and anxiety. By extension, drug use is utilized for self-healing. The development of modern capitalist society parallels the development of the problem of abuse of psychotropic substances. The alienation, labor intensification, competition, and unemployment of the current model, and the illusion of happiness through money and power, seem to be a big part of the problem (Zafiridis, 2009, 2015). The roots of the problem should be sought in social structures, the quality of interpersonal relationships, quality of life, and, in general, the current economic development model. This model deliberately transforms the individual into a passive receiver, dispelling his or her psychological needs and linking human existence not with freedom and spiritual values, but with money and power. All defenses are destroyed and the person's vulnerability to mental illnesses and tendencies to “soothing” substances increases. This is because the absence of meaning in life is responsible for the feeling of alienation, and the alienated person who suffers from serious psychological problems is prone to serious dependency, pharmaceutical or otherwise. The life of the individual seems to work through invented consumables of capitalism and, of course, of the culture he cultivates, while the indicators of psychosocial problems are increasing (Zafiridis, 2009, 2015).

**Suicide.** Today in Greece, in the so-called economic crisis, unemployment and poverty are being presented as levers of widespread social exclusion. Unemployment leads to an increase in daily alcohol consumption and in suicide rates due to the increase in depressive disorders. Poverty is then responsible for the



emergence of diseases due to the deterioration of the social environment and the exclusion of people from quality food and living. Unemployment, and especially the long-term, is associated with suicide, and is directly related to the social class of individuals, namely the working class (Malliarou & Sarafi, 2013). The data examined were provided by the Hellenic Statistical Service, and included a survey based on reported suicides from 2008 to 2013. The results of the record reveal 2,659 suicides in 2008 and 2,439 in 2013. Unemployment, as well as poverty, are deemed to be dominant causes of suicide. It should be critically noted, therefore, that these specific causes (unemployment and poverty) lead to a diametric change in social statuses and dynamics in almost all societies (Mantzaris, 2016).

### **Education as the Proposed Solution for Unemployment**

Education has to function as the individual's social emancipation from the over-specialization and the division of labor required by the capitalist mode of production. The main purpose of education is to enable people to "diversify" their manifold potential for the benefit of society (Pavlidis, 2011). According to Makarenko (1977), a scientific method should be set up to provide young people with the opportunity to develop the unique characteristics that each person possesses without affecting his or her individuality. This would have been impossible if pedagogical science were not combined with a Marxist view. Such a method is capable of combating the sterile understanding of the bourgeois state and individualism. It can cultivate a sense of social duty, conscience, and dignity, but also of constructive attachment to the class interest. Cultivating culture requires that the social go beyond the individual, and for work to no longer be considered a means of subsistence, but a means of offering in order to promote morality and a sense of unity and cooperation among the workers (Makarenko, 1977).

The development of human and anthropocentric culture, and of its corresponding education, creates the need for a post-transducer of the particular cultural idea. This role calls for the individual to become "a creator of civilization." Consciousness is the reflection of the external reality as it is, and is perceived by the individual via the particular mental mechanisms he or she possesses. Social consciousness reflects the individual as an entity undergoing the pedagogical process of the educational system, i.e., school (Skordoulis, 2016). Society is perceived in the light of one's individual totality, so that one's actions depend on, and are guided by, the awareness of one's social role. Consequently, social perception develops in the individual as a subject who can deliberately transform the objective conditions of his or her existence (Skordoulis, 2016). At the same time, knowledge becomes a means of challenging the dominant social structures and perceptions, and this can be accomplished by transforming the existing dominant educational scientific concept (Skordoulis, 2016).

School teaching, as well as the pedagogical vision included in teaching, should focus on the understanding of social reality, exploiting the versatile scientific knowledge





from the students' point of view, while at the same time developing distinct substantiated argumentations and analyses for each situation they face. This means that teachers should concentrate on, and contribute to, developing students' skills associated with metacognitive awareness. This particular goal, in turn, implies the release of teachers from the mechanical transmission of cognitive science, which promotes formal curricula (Grollios, 2016). School planning and the curriculum should be structured on the basis or direction of radical social transformation, with the central political objective of socialist transformation, and with the corresponding educational goal of spiritual liberation, by overcoming and critically processing empiricism. This would support pupils' perceptions in relation to "social reality," and then link them to knowledge at a theoretical and practical level. This process will have to make a decisive contribution to the exploitation of all Marxist ideas for polytechnic education, as well as the connection of scientific theory and practice to the productive process, to leverage cooperation, solidarity, and social supply on the road to socialist social transformation (Grollios, 2016).

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## Investigating Greek Computing Teachers' Curriculum Ideologies

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### Abstract

*Primary Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in Greece may be described in pedagogical terms as a highly demanding subject that is currently taught throughout the country by computing teachers, most of them being software engineers and computer science professionals with high university qualifications, but with little – if any – education in pedagogy and the primary school context. As a result, computing teachers appear to be called to implement ICT in alignment with their personal, professional and pedagogical dispositions. Yet, what are these dispositions? What are the educational philosophies and ideologies which underpin teachers' conceptions and practices in the primary ICT subject? Within this framework, and on the basis of the theoretical perspective of Michael Schiro (1978, 2008, 2013), this paper attempts to describe the results of a small-scale study investigating Greek computing teachers' curriculum ideologies. For the needs of the study, four different lesson plans have been designed and constructed, all concerned with the process of teaching the concepts of robots and robotics. In turn, 33 semi-structured interviews were conducted with a proportional quota sample of computing teachers in which they discussed the contents of the four lesson plans. The results of the study seem to illustrate a predominantly neoliberal, socially efficient preference regarding the process of teaching and learning.*

### Keywords

ICT, primary education, computing teachers, curriculum ideology

### Introduction

The introduction of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) into the Greek primary school curriculum has a long history that dates back to 1996-1997 and is directly associated with the establishment and evolution of all-day schools. A subject titled “Introduction to Computer Science” was initially introduced in 1997, which was to be taught in the afternoon session of a limited number of all-day schools, operating with an extended timetable, in which a variety of afternoon subjects and activities are added to the compulsory curriculum and taught by subject specialist teachers. In 2003-2004, the initial “Computer Science” subject was renamed “New Technologies in Education,” and in 2010 acquired the title “Technologies of Information and Communication.” Since 2010, the subject has maintained this title, yet a number of alterations have been promoted with respect to its status and arrangement within the primary school curriculum.

In accordance with the 2016 legislation (Ministry of Education, Research and Religions, 2016), almost all primary schools throughout the country have been transformed into a “unified” type of all-day school, following the same compulsory



program of studies. In this unified school, the ICT subject is taught for one hour per week in all primary school grades within the compulsory morning session of studies. Furthermore, according to the latest curriculum edition (Ministry of Education, 2010, 2011), the primary ICT subject appears to be differentiated from notions of computer science; it defines ICT and ICT literacy as aiming predominantly at developing students' digital competencies (knowledge, skills, and attitudes related to ICT), as well as at enhancing students' learning capabilities through the use of digital tools, services, and equipment.

Regarding the subject matter of the primary ICT curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2010, 2011), students from grades 1 to 4 are expected to gain familiarity with digital technology, and to use drawing, word processing, presentation, concept mapping tools, and other simple digital applications, and to communicate using a variety of Internet technologies and services. In grades 5 and 6, primary pupils are expected to use spreadsheets, to learn about text, image, sound, and video processing, to program using a Logo-like environment, to acquire information-seeking and processing and evaluation skills, to create multimedia presentations, and to develop simple multimedia applications using Web2 tools, among others.

With respect to curriculum delivery, it is clearly and unambiguously recommended that the teaching and learning activities supporting the primary ICT subject be drawn from the context of the whole primary program of studies. They should be based on progressive and learner-centered teaching approaches and which, in many cases, should take the form of small, medium, and large-scale research and development projects (Jimoyiannis, 2011; Piliouras, Simotas, Stamoulis, Fragaki, & Kartsiotis, 2010). On the other hand, the ICT subject differs significantly from all other primary school subjects in that its delivery is not supported by a uniform and compulsory school textbook. To date, there are few officially recommended teaching and learning materials, and there is no student textbook or workbook that could support the process of conveying the subject. In addition to this, the primary ICT subject is currently taught throughout the country by computing teachers, most of them being software engineers and computer science professionals with high university qualifications, but with little – if any – education in pedagogy and the context of primary education.

Within the above framework, primary ICT may be described in pedagogical terms as a highly demanding subject that is required to be taught by not always adequately trained teachers, a fact that has been explicitly noted in the latest report by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2017, p. 67). As a result, computing teachers appear to be called to implement this pedagogically demanding subject in alignment with their personal, professional, and pedagogical dispositions. Yet, what are these dispositions? What are the educational philosophies and ideologies which underpin teachers' conceptions and practices in the primary ICT subject? In the context of these questions, and on the basis of Schiro's (1978, 2008, 2013) theoretical perspective on curriculum theory, this paper attempts to describe



the results of a small-scale study investigating Greek computing teachers' curriculum ideologies.

### Method

The study reported here represents part of a larger research project concerned with Greek computing teachers' conceptions of the primary ICT subject, as well as their teaching and learning practices in its delivery. For the purposes of the investigation, a proportional quota sample of 33 computing teachers serving in permanent primary school posts throughout the country have been selected to participate. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with all 33 of them, lasting for approximately 2 to 3 hours each. Due to their time-consuming character and the study's design, discussions with computing teachers were implemented in two different and somewhat discrete phases: Phase A and Phase B.

In Phase A, teachers were interviewed with the aim to examine their views on the primary ICT curriculum, their conceptions toward ICT literacy and its relation to Computer Science, and finally, their perceptions and practices toward the contents, the methods of teaching, and the assessment of primary ICT. In Phase B, which represents the focus of this paper, discussions with teachers were aimed at exploring their general pedagogical dispositions and curriculum ideologies. In order to achieve this research purpose, an appropriate research tool was developed and used to grasp teachers' main pedagogical inclinations and preferences. Following Schiro's (1978, 2008, 2013) theoretical and research framework on curriculum ideologies, four lesson plans were created, all concerned with the process of teaching the concepts of *robots* and *robotics*. Each lesson plan represented the basic assumptions entailed in each of the four curriculum ideologies proposed by Schiro (1978, 2013). These four lesson plans were provided to all 33 computing teachers at the end, or just after the end, of interviews taking place in Phase A, with the purpose to explore and review their contents. After 2 to 3 weeks, teachers were contacted again in order to discuss their perceptions, views, and preferences concerning the contents of the four lesson plans.

### Schiro's Curriculum Framework and the Lesson Plans Developed

Schiro's (2008, 2013) curriculum classification scheme is explicitly described and analyzed in his book, *Curriculum Theory: Conflicting Visions and Enduring Concerns* (2008). His framework proposes the existence of four main visions of what the curriculum should look like, which have emerged from the analysis of the work of American curriculum developers during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and which are compared and aligned with the schemes developed by nine other recent curriculum theorists (see Figure 1). These visions are based on four "curriculum ideologies—or curriculum philosophies—that advocate very different purposes for schooling and very different methods of achieving those respective purposes" (2013, p.1). The titles given to





these four visions are the “scholar academic” ideology, the “social efficiency” ideology, the “learner-centered” ideology, and the “social reconstruction” ideology. Each one of the four ideologies has a long history and has been known by a variety of names. Yet, each one embodies distinct beliefs about the type of knowledge that should be taught in schools, the inherent nature of children, what school learning consists of, how teachers should instruct children, and how children should be assessed. Each vision has its own value system; its own purposes of education; its own meanings for words. (Schiro, 2013, p. 2)

**The scholar academic ideology.** This ideology defines curriculum through an academic, discipline-based approach to education: the purpose of education is to help children learn the knowledge of our culture in terms of the academic disciplines. Thus, school knowledge represents a simplified version of the individual academic fields found in higher education departments; it is selected and provided by university scholars. Teachers are seen as the transmitters of this knowledge, which the students should receive and “digest,” while assessment is based on standardized testing. In alignment with this ideology, the first lesson plan created placed significant emphasis on the acquisition of objective, scientific, and neutral knowledge with respect to the concept of robots and the interdisciplinary academic field of robotics. It also fostered the understanding of the relation between substantial terms and concepts of science (e.g., mass, torque, energy, and work) with the process of designing and constructing robots. The teaching process was based on the deductive method of reasoning, and student assessment was conducted by means of objective testing procedures.

**The social efficiency ideology:** This ideology promotes a scientific management approach to curriculum design and a behavioral approach toward the teaching and learning process. The purpose of schooling is to produce contributing members to society by training learners to meet the needs of society. Society appears to play the role of the client while students are perceived as the products of the public-school system, the latter having to efficiently prepare, and effectively construct, in such a way that it serves the future needs of the client (society). Within this view, the teacher may be seen as a behavioral engineer, who manages and sequences learning experiences and provides the necessary stimuli to students in order that the latter change their observable behaviors and achieve mastery of a set of predetermined and standardized skills. In accordance with this ideology, the second lesson plan was based on the formulation of behavioral learning objectives and placed emphasis on the acquisition of neutral and useful knowledge and skills related to the identification of the characteristics of robots and the attainment of programming skills. Student assessment was criterion-based and was designed to measure students’ competence to perform specific tasks, and to ensure observable mastery of a variety of skills (e.g., programming, construction, choreography of robot, cooperative skills, etc).



Figure 1: Comparison of Curriculum Classification Schemes

Schiro (2013)	Eisner (1974)	McNeil (1977)	Schubert (1996)	Fenstermacher & Soltis (1992)	Posner (1992)	Zeichner (1993)	Joseph et al. (2000)	Ellis (2004)	Kliebard (2004)
scholar academic	academic rationalism	academic	intellectual traditionalist	liberationist	traditional & structure of the disciplines	academic	constructing understanding & connecting to the cannon	knowledge centered	humanist
social efficiency	technology & cognitive processes	technological	social behaviorist	executive	behavioral	social efficiency	training for work and survival		social efficiency
learner centered	self actualization	humanist	experientialist	therapist	experiential & cognitive	developmentalist	developing self and spirit	progressive & learner centered	child study
social reconstruction	social reconstructionism	social reconstructionist	critical reconstructionist			social reconstructionist	confronting the dominant order & deliberating democracy	society centered	social-meliorist

Note. From Schiro, M. S. (2013). *Curriculum theory: Conflicting visions and enduring concerns* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., p. 11). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage



**The learner-centered ideology.** This ideology focuses neither on the needs of the society-client nor on the academic disciplines; rather, it promotes the needs and concerns of individuals. The goal of education is the growth of the individual in harmony with his or her own unique intellectual, social, emotional, and physical attributes. As such, people are viewed as the source of content for the curriculum, while their ends are considered to be the appropriate ends for the curriculum. Thus, curriculum is not divided into subjects or academic disciplines, it is learner-driven and co-created by teacher and learners. Within this viewpoint, learning is perceived as a social process in which every learner constructs meaning through his/her interactions with people, things, and ideas. Teacher role is that of facilitator, creating contexts, environments, and units of work in which students can make meaning for themselves. Following this framework, the third lesson plan could not be described as a typical lesson plan; it may be characterized as a lesson guide describing the methodological process, which a teacher could follow, in order to co-create and co-construct with his/her students an authentic learner-centered project on the theme of robots and robotics. The guide provides a variety of ideas on the process of using formative and descriptive forms of self-assessment, which may help students consider their personal growth and progress.

**The social reconstruction ideology.** This ideology views curriculum and education from a social perspective, and stresses the idea that the purpose of education is to facilitate the construction of a new and more just society. As such, schools are seen as institutions of social and political change having the responsibility of preparing youth to create said better society. Teachers seem to perform a role similar to that of the learner-centered ideology, yet they are also perceived as agents of change, who guide students in taking action against anti-democratic and unjust social practices. Curriculum is often project-based and problem-based in the sense that it is co-constructed and co-developed by teacher and learners around social and contemporary issues. These issues initially begin as problems or concerns from everyday life and community experiences that students bring to school, which the teacher also recognizes and identifies as fertile and productive project themes that touch students' lives and help them understand that no subject matter of any kind is actually neutral or apolitical. Within this view, the fourth lesson plan could be characterized as a project guide that emphasized a value-laden approach towards the use of robots, and focused on the challenging social and political effects of their use in the areas of economy and manufacture, science and health, security and defense, transport, and everyday life. The project described involves cycles of research, discussion, analysis, and action through which students learn necessary school knowledge about robots and robotics, and acquire skills related to their construction and programming. Nevertheless, the orientation is different, striving toward the pursuit of social meaning and the adoption of a moral and critical political stance. In this lesson plan, evaluation is understood as a subjective process and is perceived as a negotiating exercise through which students should be brought

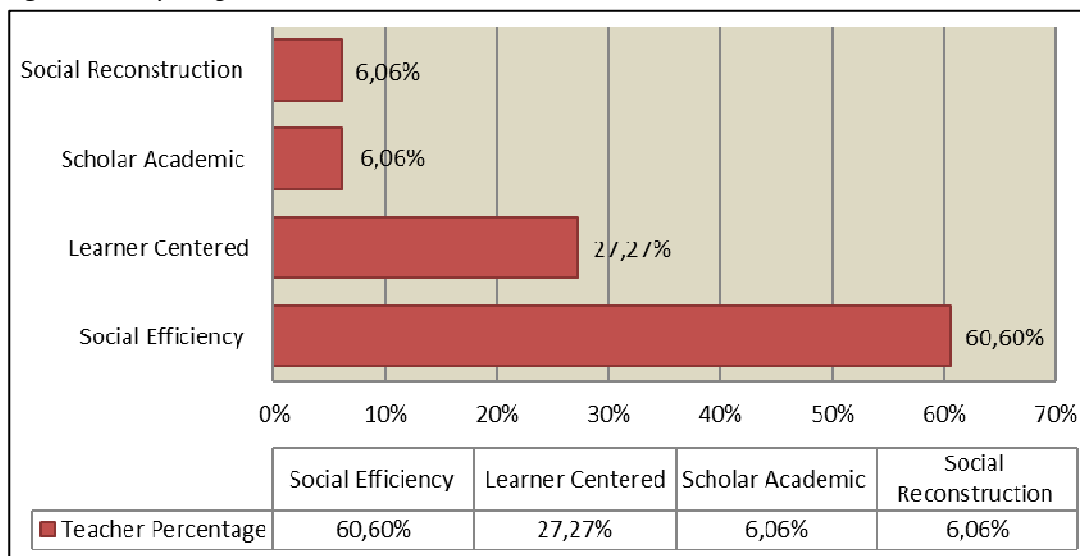


to a level of comprehension where, under different circumstances, assessment standards may change, favoring different student measurements each time.

### Results

As has been already noted, discussions with computing teachers were conducted in two consecutive phases. Each phase was aimed at different, yet related, research purposes. In Phase B, discussions with teachers shifted from their first-hand perceptions and practices toward the processes of teaching and learning primary ICT, and to the gist of their broader pedagogical beliefs and visions for education and schooling. To enable and facilitate this major shift in discussions, four ICT lesson plans were developed, each representative of a certain vision for education, or “curriculum ideology,” in Schiro’s (1978, 2008, 2013) terminology. Teachers were asked to examine and think them over, comment upon them, and point out their positive and negative attributes. Additionally, they were asked to list them in order of preference and to choose the one that they would like most to teach. Figure 2 illustrates the computing teachers’ most favorable preferences.

**Figure 2:** Computing Teachers’ Most Favorable Preferences



Over 60% of computing teachers (20 out of 33) chose the “Social Efficiency” lesson plan as their most preferred. Nine other teachers (27%) listed the “Learner-Centered” lesson plan as their most preferred, while 2 teachers chose the “Scholar Academic” (6%) and the “Social Reconstruction” (6%) lesson plans, respectively, to be first in their list. When teachers were asked to justify the reasoning upon which they decided that the “Social Efficiency” lesson plan is the one they would like most to teach, they suggested a number of supporting arguments, ranging from the lesson’s high degree of structure to its clear process and explicit learning objectives.



As they pointed out, this particular lesson plan was well structured and carefully directed, and had explicitly defined goals. Comments included the following:

*“I like the second one because it is very much directed, yet it also provides a degree of freedom.”*

*“I think the second one surpasses all the others because it is complete... It has a structure that we can follow in class; it is quite interesting.”*

*“I like the second one because it has objectives; I like it because it has working sheets for pupils.”*

Another set of arguments for the “Social Efficiency” lesson plan was directed toward its “practical or functional content” and the use of teaching methods. As teachers commented, it was useful and practical in terms of content, and had interesting methodological elements. A third collection of positive comments was concerned with its perception as understandable, reachable, and “close to what I do:”

*“In the second lesson plan I liked [the emphasis] on the input, output and process, which is a conceptual triple that touches on informatics and robots [alike].”*

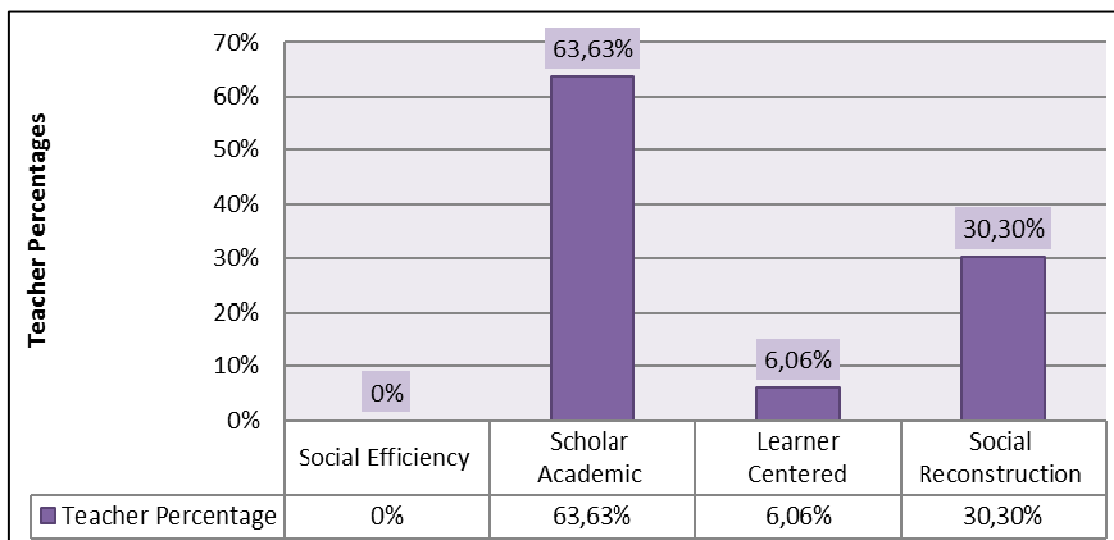
*“Additionally, in the second lesson plan I do see the use of the evaluation rubric in a good light. It is clear in the way it is explained, and its criteria are measurable and pre-defined. Evaluation is one of the advantages leading to the selection of this scenario.”*

*“I could do the second one. I would prefer it... because I know I can do it. It is closer to what I do. If I ever did any of all these, I would do the second one... I can do [it] now within the current situation and with little effort on my part.*

*With the existing infrastructure, number two is feasible.”*

Teachers’ preference for the “Social Efficiency” lesson plan was further reinforced by an additional finding. None of the participating computing teachers (0%) selected it as their least preferred (See Figure 3).

**Figure 3:** Teachers’ Least Preferred Lesson Plan

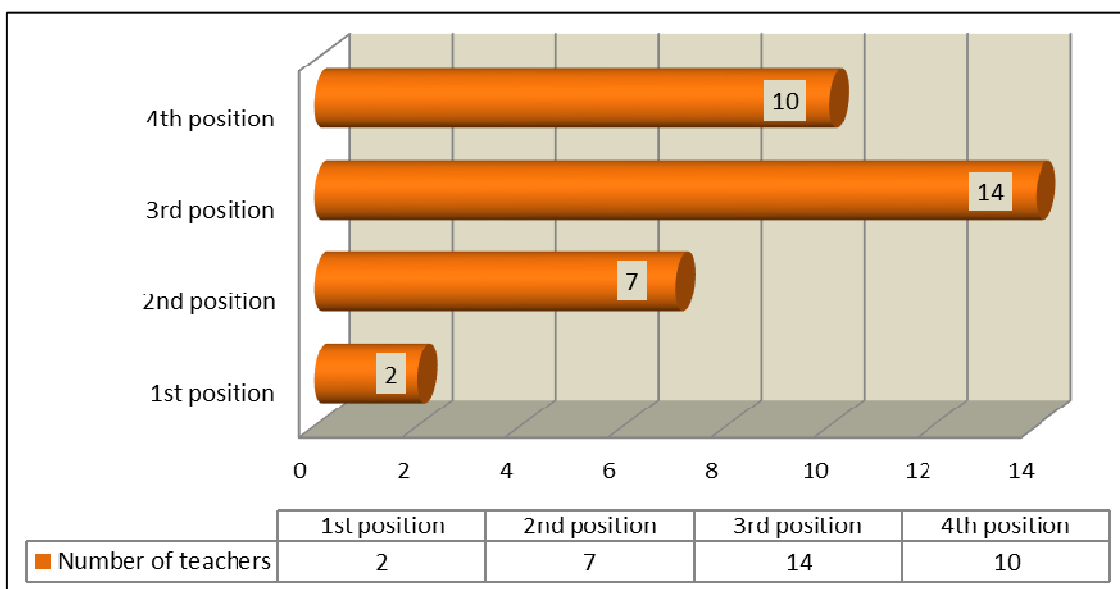






Notable in Figure 3 is the fact that 21 out of 33 teachers (63.3%) seem to distance themselves from the scholar academic perspective. On the other hand, a significant number of participants (10 teachers, or 30%) also appear to comment that they would place the “Social Reconstruction” lesson plan in the fourth and last position of their personal and professional preferences. In addition to this, another 14 (42%) ranked the “Social Reconstruction” lesson plan as their third choice (see Figure 4). In total, 25 teachers (78%) put the “Scholar Academic” lesson plan in either the third or the fourth position, and 24 participants (72%) did the same with the “Social Reconstruction” lesson plan, a fact that actually illustrates that both lesson plans were perceived as end points or extremes, similar to the extreme right and the extreme left, which may represent two poles of the political system.

**Figure 4:** The Position of “Social Reconstruction” in Teachers’ List of Preferences



In particular, and with respect to the “Social Reconstruction” lesson plan, 20 teachers (61%) expressed explicit negative concerns about it, which may clarify the plan’s ranking position. Their arguments against it could be summarized in four main categories of concern. Firstly, the lesson plan was perceived by 12 teachers (36%) as not appropriate in terms of student age and maturity. As noted, it was not suitable for primary school pupils as it presupposed self-direction, self-discipline, student participation, and higher-order thinking abilities that younger learners do not possess. Comments included the following:

*“It is very good, but too participatory.”*

*“It is for older children. I don’t think that there will be teachers in primary schools who could implement these.”*

*“...digital activism... These are advanced concepts for primary school children....”*



*“It demands lots of critical thinking from students.”*

*“...as for evaluation, it has the word ‘negotiation’ in it. Negotiation is a little bit dangerous at these ages. The teacher should be very experienced in order to know where to put the limits.”*

Secondly, the plan was too theoretical with no practical, hands-on tasks for the students, meanwhile requiring a lot of philosophical discussion between teacher and students (according to 7 teachers, or 21%). Three teachers (9%) noted that it did not have the structure, the clear description, and the definite learning objectives that the other plans contained. Finally, another 5 teachers (15%) pointed out that such a scenario would require a lot of time to be implemented and that it was atypical in the sense that it deviated a lot from what they do at school or from what they had experienced as teachers. Comments included:

*“It is a bit theoretical; it leans a lot toward society and I don’t know how much pupils can delve deeply into societal issues, how [robots] can be used socially and what effects their use may have.”*

*“What could we talk about, if we cannot form objectives? Some objectives should exist in order to build the lesson based on them, and there should be an evaluation at the end.”*

*“Yes, we can discuss robots, but we also have to present a table with similarities and differences. Philosophical discussion cannot meet the challenge of these ages.”*

*“What relation can exist in between robots and social action? ... Do the children know what social action means? ... Shouldn’t somebody teach this?”*

*“It would take a lot of time to implement it, and probably this would be at the expense of other subject matters....”*

*“It is weird and abstract.”*

Despite the many negative comments made, it should also be noted that there were 19 teachers (57%) who made some positive remarks pointing out a number of interesting and challenging characteristics that the lesson plan possessed. In particular, 13 computing teachers (39%) stressed in a favorable way the high level of student participation and involvement in the formulation of teaching content and methods of delivery and assessment. In addition, the fact that there was no predefined course of action in terms of the teaching and learning process was perceived in an approving way. Another 8 participants (24%) seemed to acknowledge the plan’s unquestioned emphasis on the social aspects and the impact of using robots and robotics in science, economy, security, and everyday life:

*“I liked the fact that it did not have a predetermined goal from the beginning, and the course of teaching and learning was evolving in parallel with the students’ will and preferences.”*

*“I like that the teacher proposes evaluation methods and students express their views and suggestions, that this is being taken into account, and that evaluation methods are re-formed on the basis of these suggestions.”*



*“I like the fact that pupils decide together with the teacher the evaluation scheme... as well as the activities.”*

*“It does give this social extension that children need to think about.”*

*“It is advantageous for children because they form a perception about their social environment.”*

Finally, there were 3 teachers (9%) who commented in a rather ambiguous tone that such a plan would presuppose, and require the existence of, a new kind of school or educational establishment:

*“The fourth one is the most advanced; it does not conform to the system that we have. It fits together with a school that would be based on a different set of criteria.”*

*“The school does not have the maturity or the foundations to implement such advanced methods.”*

*“I think that the fourth lesson plan, if it were implemented on a regular basis at school... would have more educated and thorough people. They would have learned how to think, how to regulate themselves, to have more concrete and structured thinking.”*

## Discussion

The purpose of this paper was to describe the initial results of a small-scale study investigating Greek computing teachers' curriculum ideologies. For achieving this purpose, a theoretical framework based on the work of Michael Schiro (1978, 2008, 2013) was utilized, and four different lesson plans were created, each of which represented a different “curriculum ideology.” In turn, these lesson plans were discussed with a proportional quota sample of 33 Greek computing teachers serving in primary schools throughout the country. According to the study's results, computing teachers' most favorable educational paradigm seems to align with neoliberal approaches toward teaching and learning. The “Social Efficiency” lesson plan was conceived as adequately structured, sufficiently directed, feasible, accessible and understandable, with measurable learning objectives and a clearly defined evaluation. Certain minor elements of alternative, progressive, and critical paradigms of education have been pointed out as interesting and challenging. This may be detected in the positive comments that some teachers made, yet these comments appear to be fragmented, not recognizing the wider philosophy and attributes of these paradigms. A minority of teachers appear to understand the holistic, democratic, and value-laden “picture” of the educational establishment that critical pedagogy supports and suggests, yet even these teachers did not vote for it and distanced themselves from it. Their perception of the critical curriculum ideology as “something that does not fit to the system,” “[something that] it is out of what we do,” or “out of primary children's level” may be contrasted with their least favorable lesson plan, that of the rigorously conservative scholar academic ideology. Apparently, both lesson plans have been perceived as the edges, the poles, or the



extremes of a continuum. Adversely, teachers' preferences appear to concentrate and cluster on the "safe," well-known, widely recognized, and highly promoted center: the social efficiency and the learner-centered ideologies, with a clear and undeniable inclination toward the former in comparison to the latter.

On the other hand, evident in the discussions with teachers was a lack of substantial, consistent, and broad pedagogical thought. Teachers' views were predominantly focused at the micro-level of the teaching process, and came across as statements of an unconscious incapacity in thinking and discussing "out of the box" of particular students or individual school circumstances. The process of envisioning a view of schooling, different from everyday Greek school experience, sounded almost impossible as discussions were persistently concentrated on comparing the lesson plans presented with teachers' specific professional settings and personal and professional abilities and skills. As a result, teachers kept commenting on the degree of feasibility of each lesson plan by placing its implementation within the current school setting in which they worked. Additionally, the narrative data collected illustrated a picture of a rather chaotic and inconsistent understanding of pedagogical terms and approaches. Within this frame, constructivism seemed to equate to the use of behavioral learning objectives and the provision of practical programming tasks to students, collaborative learning was aligned with simplistic team work, negotiation over assessment and critical thinking were conceived as risky processes, and digital social activism was considered inappropriate for primary education that had to be taught by some other teacher.

The aforementioned interpretations of the study's results appear to lead toward two main and interconnected directions. On the one hand, the lack of broad and sophisticated pedagogical thought in teachers' comments, perceptions, and views is directly related to the indisputable lack of education in pedagogical theory and practice of the great majority of secondary school teachers (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2011, 2014, 2017) and primary specialist teachers in Greece (Androulakis, Emvalotis, Mponidis, Stamovlasis, & Kaklamani, 2006; Grollios & Liambas, 2012; Konstantinou, 2007). As a result, many computing teachers appear to feel insecure, insufficient, and inadequately trained for fulfilling their role in primary education (Papageorgakis, Pliassa, & Georgakouda, 2011; Tziafetas, Karakiza, & Alempaki, 2013). Furthermore, they feel confused regarding the orientation and the demands of the curriculum, the dimensions of their role, and the characteristics of effective teaching (Tziafetas et al., 2013; Vaggelatos, Foskolos, & Komninos, 2011). Nevertheless, for such inadequacies, it is not the teachers who should be held responsible; the decision to recruit non-pedagogically qualified personnel for doing the job of a highly skilled education practitioner – who has acquired sophisticated knowledge of all subject matters taught in all primary grades – was a policy decision taken by the country's educational authorities.

On the other hand, these same authorities appear to offer teacher training opportunities in which the neoliberal perspective on the theory and practice of



teaching is presented as the only possible one. This supposedly “modern,” “fresh,” and “contemporary” perspective is continually set against the rigid, conservative, and traditional approach of educating, which computing teachers in this study rapidly recognized and rejected in the form of the “Scholar Academic” lesson plan. However, the promotion of neoliberal ideas about teaching and learning in almost all formal and informal types of professional development, and in books, articles, conferences, and publications about education, is further exacerbated by the fact that the neoliberal perspective presented and widely supported is consistently smeared with bits and pieces of progressive and critical elements. These elements are usually de-contextualized from the original pedagogical theory and the authentic educational vision that underpins them. In turn, they are transformed into all sorts of adaptations, which comply and fit within the neoliberal framework.

There is no doubt that this layer of fake progressivism and false radicalism creates confusion with respect to the authentic conceptual understanding and original use of a great variety of educational terms, ideas, methods, and approaches. An unavoidable result of this confusion is for teachers – and especially pedagogically non-qualified teachers, who also feel vulnerable and insecure about their posts and status in primary education (Drenoyianni, 2014) – to understand, conceive, and recognize in the neoliberal perspective the appropriate learner-centered ideology and the suitable social reconstruction ideology. After all, these are the versions of learner-centeredness and critical constructivism that teachers hear in most conferences, read in almost all publications, and have been taught in teacher training. In addition, these are adaptations which may fit perfectly into the school context where teachers work and which do not disturb daily routines, are not demanding on the part of the teacher, and can be easily supported because they are “close to what teachers already do or can do at school.” In other words, they are part and parcel of the only feasible vision for future education: that of the social efficiency ideology.

In conclusion, as this study suggests, the political forces behind the social efficiency ideology appear to have achieved defining the contemporary purpose of schooling within the public-school setting, and tug on educator beliefs, the neoliberal way of thinking, teaching, and educating. However, it seems also necessary to add that our study cannot, and should not, finish at such a pessimistic conclusion. It is our belief that through this study, these 33 teacher-participants, despite their proffered pedagogical dispositions, had the opportunity to become aware of views and visions regarding education that are quite disparate from the widely promoted one, i.e., the neoliberal one. Their surprised and puzzled reactions to these unknown, almost exotic ways of teaching – that bore no resemblance to any lesson plan they had come across before – coupled with teachers’ astonishment at the great many differences that could exist in the four ways of teaching about robots, may be understood as a necessary and significant step forward, that may cause a minor, yet crucial, crack to the brightly illustrated and modernized presentation of the “good





old” status quo. It disrupts the false and misleading idea that there is only one proper way of teaching and one way of schooling, and may empower teachers and pupils to discover for themselves that there is good “life” and better education “out of the box” into which they had been put.

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## Teacher Empowerment and the Hidden Curriculum: Contradictions in Educating Victims of War

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### Abstract

*The inclusion of children exposed to war in national educational systems is turning into a central issue in many European and North American countries, as well as in Australia. This kind of education should be governed by certain principles, and what is supposed in the current work is that these principles pertain to the framework of critical pedagogy. The necessity to provide education to the aforementioned children is documented, and the framework suggested is thoroughly analyzed. The notions of trauma and agency, which are closely related to the issue of children of war/refugees, play a central role in critical pedagogy. Focus is given here to two major contradicting factors which influence such children’s education in many countries, with Greece being a case of special interest: one is that the negative impact on their education is the hidden curriculum, and the contradicting factor, which can hamper the consequences of the former, is teacher empowerment. The hidden curriculum is thoroughly examined as a key term in critical pedagogy, along with its historical evolution and its current context. The main opposing force to the hidden curriculum, proposed in the current work, is that of teacher empowerment. The roles of teachers and teachers’ associations or unions become highly important. Teachers have the duty to intervene in the curriculum and the daily school routine, and to modify them for the children, who are victims of war. It is concluded that only active and critically trained teachers can affect the negative impact of hidden curricula all around Europe—including Greece – to embrace these children in the educational system of the reception country, respecting their unique differences, ways of thinking, and ways of life.*

### Keywords

teacher empowerment, hidden curriculum, critical pedagogy, war, refugees

As conflicts break out in certain areas of the world and wars ensue, with the Middle East as an example, more and more families are obliged to abandon their native lands in traumatic and hurried ways, having no choice but to relocate and settle in countries that are considered “safe” (Castle, de Haas, & Miller, 2013). As a result, over the last six years, Europe and North America have been faced with one of the largest waves of refugees since World War II, most of them coming from Syria and Afghanistan, and to a lesser extent, from Iraq, Kosovo, and Eritrea.

In 2016, there were more than 1.2 million people who applied for asylum in European Union (EU) countries (Eurostat, 2017). Among the hundreds of thousands of families seeking shelter across Europe, there were inevitably thousands of school- and pre-school-aged children. It has thus become necessary for these child victims of war to be absorbed into educational systems to continue – or start – their schooling in the host country. Such a necessity stems from pedagogical, psychological, social,



and biological reasons (Fazel, Reed, Panter-Brick, & Stein, 2012). The children had an abrupt interruption of their education, or they never start edit, and they are now obliged to live in a country whose language is unknown to them in a society totally different than their own, and whose way of life they know nothing about. Due to severe psychological and emotional damage from the war in their native country, they must not stay out of education for a prolonged time.

The need to provide education to refugee children is different in Greece than in other EU countries. One major factor that makes it different is that in Greece, and possibly Italy, the number of refugees is significantly higher than in other EU countries, so educational settings must necessarily be designed differently. A second major reason for their different educational needs is that for most of the refugees, Greece is a transit country, used as a passage to their countries (Düvell, 2012). Refugees normally do not stay long in Greece, or they do not wish to stay long in Greece, so the education provided to them should be adapted with this in mind. With the current situation in Greece, thousands of children of varying age are gathered in the refugee camps (“concentration areas”), the so-called “hot spots,” and the greater majority of them are deprived of any education. Only some of them have been assimilated in local schools (mainly primary schools) in the villages and towns where the hot spots are located. Yet these children ought to be included not only in the Greek educational system, but in the larger society. However, these children face linguistic and cultural barriers, as is the case for refugees settling in other European and North American countries.

### Critical Pedagogy

This paper argues that the most appropriate framework for providing education to refugee children is critical pedagogy (Aliakbari & Faraji, 2011). Critical pedagogy was founded through the work of Paulo Freire (2000), which, first of all, states that education should be inclusive, serving students of all colors, religions, and cultures (McLaren, 2009). Secondly, critical pedagogy is dialectic in that it asserts the contradiction of revealing *difference* while, at the same time, aiming to reduce it. Thirdly, teaching in critical pedagogy contexts is a highly political act (Giroux, 1997), strongly involving the learners and the political conditions and choices, such as war or a civil war, which brought them to their current situation. In addition to these, critical pedagogy nowadays perfectly embodies the notion of trauma (Zembylas, 2012), possibly more than any other pedagogy. According to Zembylas (2012), this relies on a pedagogical approach that draws on Jansen’s (2009) concept of troubled knowledge, i.e., knowledge coming from the “profound feeling of loss, shame, resentment, or defeat that one carries from his or her participation in a traumatised society” (Manca, Atenas, Ciociola, & Nascimbeni, 2017). Trauma (e.g., post-war trauma or political prosecution-generated trauma) is addressed in various frameworks within critical pedagogy curricula and contexts. Trauma in critical pedagogy (Cities of Peace, 2016) initially means learning about trauma,



acknowledging its existence, and responding to it in both action and curriculum. Furthermore, critical pedagogy suggests a student-led teaching style that lends itself to reversing the trauma that the children face collectively by creating restorative practices while furthering participants' learning. In deeper analysis, trauma-informed critical pedagogy means acknowledging the role trauma has played in the lives of both students and teachers when creating curriculum, and building educational spaces that center on healing in a variety of ways, including the following: healing through the understanding of each other's cultural backgrounds and experiences, healing through the teaching of culturally relevant histories, healing by using educational spaces to interrogate systems of power that cause harm, and to work toward transforming those systems. Critical pedagogy praxis means centering practices of compassion and love in everything that people do.

Since all forms of oppression are united through the shared traumatic experience of being oppressed, trauma-informed critical pedagogy can be seen as a means of teaching with strong considerations for the effects of that trauma on the participants, as well as paying specific attention to not re-traumatizing the participants and dismantling/reducing the effects of the trauma on the physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual body. Trauma-informed pedagogy means creating a classroom environment for the refugees' children that is founded on healing practices and validates student's lived experiences. Yet the ways in which the behavior of "others" (the refugees), as well as "our own" (the receptor country's teachers), shaped by trauma are easy to miss. Often, trauma is perceived as an effect of a catastrophic event – physical violence, war, street violence, or horrific accidents – which perpetrates the idea that trauma is something that only rarely occurs. Sometimes, students are already facing the challenges that come with these kinds of perceptions, and are thus not expected to have anxiety issues since they "have nothing to worry about." Trauma-informed pedagogy breaks away from this narrative by focusing on validating students as individuals capable of experiencing trauma. It also activates their agency by showing them the ways in which they can process these experiences in a positive manner, and then asks them to use critical thinking skills to observe the society in which they live.

A final reason for choosing critical pedagogy as the framework for educating victims of war is that it strongly suggests the role of agency (Giroux, 1983, 2004; McLaren, 2016). Thinking about critical pedagogy in these terms is to think of it as both a way of understanding education and a way of highlighting the performative nature of agency as an act of participating in shaping the world in which we live. Pedagogy is always political because it is connected to the acquisition of agency. As a political project, critical pedagogy illuminates the relationships among knowledge, authority, and power. It draws attention to questions concerning who has control over the conditions for the production of knowledge, values, and skills, and it illuminates how knowledge, identities, and authority are constructed within particular sets of social relations. Similarly, as Giroux (1983, 2004) states, critical pedagogy draws attention





to the fact that pedagogy is a deliberate attempt, on the part of educators, to influence how and what knowledge and subjectivities are produced within particular sets of social relations.

### **Major Obstacles in Applying a Critical Pedagogy Framework**

In Greece, there is no formal inclusion of aspects of critical pedagogy in the curriculum, or in parts of it, on behalf of the state and the educational stake-holders. Only individual educators apply it as an educational methodology, in certain educational formations, and within limited settings, mainly in tertiary education (Darder, Mayo, & Paraskeva, 2016). This situation poses initial difficulties in applying it in the education of refugees. Additionally, “child refugees” and “victims of war” are used as umbrella terms for children who come from a diversity of backgrounds and experiences. For example, these terms may refer to children from Syria and Afghanistan (wars or civil conflicts), children from Albania and Russia (mostly economic refugees), or children from Pakistan and Lebanon (politically prosecuted families), among others. However, each case is different, with each learner bringing his or her own unique characteristics and coming from distinct circumstances.

What is more, it is doubtful whether Greece and the other European countries possess any concrete curriculum at all for the education of refugee children, making it more difficult to transform the latter to a critical pedagogy curriculum. The situation currently existing in Greece is that the reception classes (“takseis ypodochis”) for refugee learners are divided into two broadly sketched categories:

- A. Reception Classes of Type I: The children placed in these classes speak very little Greek (practically none at all) and have not been in Greece for long. Usually, these are Syrian refugee children of primary school age, though some are of junior high school age.
- B. Reception Classes of Type II: The children placed in these classes are those whose parents have already lived in Greece for some time, and these children possess some knowledge of the Greek language. For instance, this category includes Albanian children in junior high school.

It should be stressed that for neither of the two categories does a compact educational curriculum exist; there is only curricular content in specific areas like mathematics, language, Information and Communication Technology (ICT), and others. An initial effort is now being made to build a curriculum for the two categories of classes. A further restriction on the application of a critical pedagogy curriculum for refugees of war is the clear lack of a unanimous agreement in Greece (both in the cities and provinces) that child refugees and victims of war should be educated in the first place. Fascist and ultra-right groups in many countries have created local and nation-wide movements to actively protest the inclusion of such children in the educational system. In all countries, such groups use arguments against refugees that are known to be proven, such as “clarity” of the educated



population, additional expenses spent on education, and decreasing educational attainment due to the inclusion of refugee children. Despite the fact that many educators and theorists have stood against and confuted such arguments, these groups tend to affect parts of the local populations and branches of the government, thus making it even more difficult to create critical pedagogy-based curricula for child victims of war.

Technical and material difficulties are of no less importance. The issue of location for the instruction of child refugees and victims of war is crucial. The children live in concentrated areas, or hot spots, and instruction should thus occur in these paces, or nearby, or there should be a way to transport students to proper educational settings (classrooms) in local schools. Furthermore, a drawback for applying a critical pedagogy-based curriculum is that the basic needs of these people (food, water, and clean clothes) are perpetually unmet, coupled with their lack of basic goods, such as writing materials, chairs and even toys. Their needs should be met on a regular basis, prior to educating them. Setting these issues aside, as they are addressed in other research, the present study focuses on critical pedagogy for child victims of war as a theoretical framework involving the contradictory notions of hidden curriculum and teacher empowerment.

### **Hidden Curriculum**

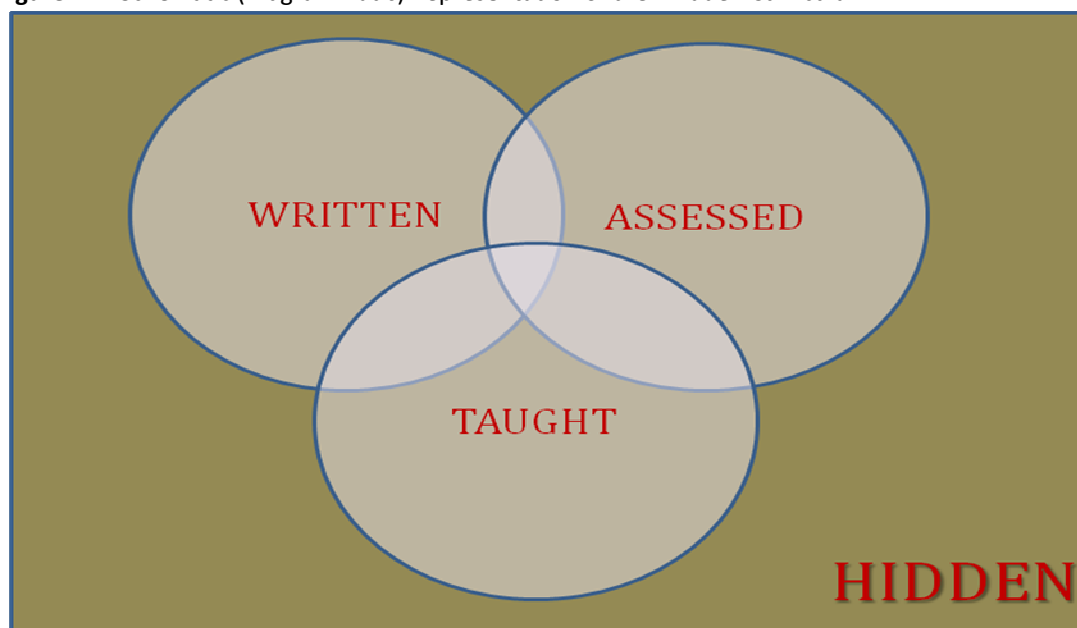
First introduced by Jackson (1968), the concept of hidden curriculum has been addressed in educational literature for many years. In an attempt to merge the varying definitions that exist into one comprehensive definition, a hidden curriculum could be said to comprise all the ideas, concepts, assumptions, and propositions that are not included in the formal curriculum (i.e., articulated in writing). It is a curriculum that concerns the relation among learners, the relation between them and the instructors, and that of daily life and behavior in the school setting. It also includes character traits, competencies, skills, and abilities that the learner is supposed to acquire, but it is not stated in the official, formal curriculum of the country. In other words, the hidden curriculum is a form of informal curriculum, lying under, around, above, and beyond the formal curriculum, as is depicted in Figure 1. Obviously, the term hidden curriculum has both positive and negative connotations, but in critical pedagogy contexts, the negative connotations definitely prevail. According to a well-known definition by Giroux (1983), the hidden curriculum consists of the unstated norms and values that students learn through school and classroom routines and relationships. Thus, the critical pedagogy-related definitions of hidden curriculum are treating it as something imposed on the learners, similar to a definition of schooling given by Noam Chomsky (1988): “The school system is designed to teach obedience and conformity and prevent the child's natural capacities from developing.” The general aspects of a hidden curriculum from the critical pedagogy point of view are the following (Giroux, 1988; Giroux & Penna, 1979):



- a. A curriculum not officially taught or assessed
- b. A curriculum passing through the lines and transferring or reproducing the existing norms, i.e., the existing distribution of power
- c. A set of rules informally imposed on students, directly affecting their lives
- d. Existing worldviews and political views concerning education and its participants

According to critical pedagogy, for every curriculum there is a certain hidden curriculum *behind* it, *underlying* it, *diffused through* it, or *around* it. The hidden curriculum silently enforces discrimination against students based on class, color, gender, etc., and it points out the relations of power between the teacher and the learners as well as the power-related production of knowledge (McLaren, 1995). It imposes strict norms on the life and school achievement of the students, ignoring their individual differences.

**Figure 1:** A Schematic (Diagrammatic) Representation of the “Hidden Curriculum”



*Note.* From Hutten, M. (2016). Explaining the “hidden curriculum” to children on the autism spectrum. *My Asperger’s Child*. Retrieved from <http://www.myaspergerschild.com/2016/02/explaining-hidden-curriculum-to.html>

### Implications of the Hidden Curriculum

With regards to the education of child victims of war, the hidden curriculum implies that these children are taught with complete neglect of their specific cultural background, namely as products of the Arabic civilization. The hidden curriculum also introduces (unintentionally and/or silently) discrimination against these learners based on their skin color (Kincheloe, Steinberg, Rodriguez, & Chennault, 2000),



gender, race, class, wealth, and other factors. Moreover, educators of the host country neglect their students’ psychological trauma due to the terror they had lived in the war and, consequently, teach these children as if nothing had happened to them. As such, educators try to socialize them into the typical educational system of the West, specifically Greece, and even blatantly ignore their cultural particularities like reading from right to left. This also means that nothing is being taught concerning the reasons that brought these children to their current situation, the most important ones being financial and social issues, and the role of smugglers who transported them to their destination. In Figure 2, a comparative table is shown (Beltran-Figueroa & Ty, 2011) in which the first two columns illuminate the point of view that the hidden curriculum leads citizens of the host country, as well as the refugees, to adopt. The third column shows what the ideal synthesis of these two views could be, upon limiting the effects of the hidden curriculum.

**Figure 2:** Views on Refugees and the Host Country’s Citizens According to the “Hidden Curriculum”

<b>Perspectives Issues</b>	<b>Hegemony</b>	<b>Othering</b>	<b>Alternative or The Third Way</b>
<b>1. Views</b>	<b>Us</b>	<b>The others</b>	<b>All of us</b>
<b>2. People</b>	<b>White citizens</b>	<b>International refugees</b>	<b>Unity in Diversity</b>
<b>3. Roles</b>	<b>Service Providers</b>	<b>Beneficiaries</b>	<b>Partners</b>
<b>4. Basis of Services</b>	<b>Hidden curriculum in training</b>	<b>No knowledge, skills and values</b>	<b>Prior knowledge, skills and values</b>
<b>5. Immigration</b>	<b>The Others’ Assimilation to the Hegemony</b>		<b>Integration</b>
<b>6. Power &amp; Privilege</b>	<b>Powerful</b>	<b>Powerless</b>	<b>Empowerment of Refugees</b>
<b>7. Side</b>	<b>Insiders</b>	<b>Outsiders</b>	<b>Together</b>
<b>8. Culture</b>	<b>Dominant Culture</b>	<b>Marginalized Culture</b>	<b>Multiculturalism</b>

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*Note.*From Beltran-Figueroa, M., & Ty, R. (2011). Weaving together the lives of refugee women. *Proceedings of the Midwest Research-to-Practice Conference in Adult, Continuing, and Community Education, USA.*

### **Teacher Empowerment**

Teacher empowerment (Giroux & McLaren, 1986; Sleeter & McLaren, 1995) is a notion of critical pedagogy that can decisively overturn the negative impacts of the hidden curriculum on refugees’ education. Teacher empowerment refers to the ability and the stance of every educator, but also of educators as a whole, to



overcome the limitations of the curriculum and transform it according to his/her educational visions and his/her students' needs. It also describes educators' potential to use emancipatory instruction (Shor, 2012) and praxis to release their students from oppressive backgrounds, relations and surroundings, as well as to introduce children to critical thinking and provide them with tools: explanatory tools for the situation they find themselves in, but also tools to invent ways to alter the latter situation by themselves. Teacher empowerment is also closely related to the fight to stand against teacher “de-professionalization” (Kincheloe, 2012; Kincheloe & Tobin, 2009).

According to Kincheloe (2008), teacher “de-professionalization” is also a central notion in critical pedagogy, and refers to the (negative) idea of the teacher being shaped by the dominating educational system, which wants the teacher to:

- Simply apply the curriculum based on the given guidelines and instructions
- Avoid being dialectic in recognizing the differences among the students and, at the same time, helping them to be shaped as a whole in the classroom
- Accept hierarchies and rules of power as well as accept knowledge stemming from, and being transmitted through, normative frameworks of power
- Always be a positivist

All these aspects of teacher “de-professionalization” are strongly refuted by teacher empowerment, resulting in the educator becoming a “transformative intellectual” (Giroux, 1985; Gramsci, 1971) who helps students change their attitude toward the world and think independently, thus bettering their lives.

### **Methods for Introducing Teacher Empowerment**

Within a teacher empowerment context, education of refugee children and child victims of war can be very much improved when principles of critical pedagogy are introduced. But certain methodologies should be applied and actions performed to achieve it (Shor, personal communication, 2012). Firstly, refugee children can display different psychological effects of their terrible flight from their homeland. Teachers developing a curriculum for refugee children could consult child therapists and child psychiatrists to educate themselves and the other teachers about what to expect and what to look for in dealing with various aspects of trauma. There is vast literature on this (Carswell, Blackburn, & Barker, 2009; Kirmayer et al., 2011), which can be integrated in to critical teacher education in all countries. Steinberg (2017) states that discourse on refugees should be reframed in such a way that they are not seen as victims but as contributing members of society, since the “deficit” notion of refugees as victims invokes the view that they are helpless rather than simply needing help. The role of critical pedagogy is to welcome and guide refugees when they arrive.

Furthermore, teacher education in EU countries could also include studies on the national and ethnic backgrounds of the refugee children to be taught. Knowledge of



the everyday lives they left behind would be useful for the teachers to understand. Another key idea is that teachers could also study the specific situation of these children within the host nation so as to develop a preliminary socio-cultural map of current conditions. Freire's (1970) “literacy teams” did this before starting literacy classes in any location (which were destroyed by the military coup in 1964) by studying the everyday lives and languages used by the prospective students, from which the teams derived generative themes and words. Additionally, since the victims of war in this case are children, the empowered teacher would preferably include a lot of art, music, singing, dancing, and drawing in the curriculum, as well as field trips outside their immediate camps, so that the children make contact with the environment whenever possible. The immediate material needs of learners would also be addressed – such as food, clothing, shelter, and medical care – in order to create the conditions for critical pedagogical instruction.

In another aspect of teacher empowerment, the teacher could try to recruit some of the children themselves as peer teachers in the program who would help the adult teachers in addressing the children. The educators could also ask the children themselves what cognitive or academic knowledge they need in order to help their transition to the new society.

Other suggestions include:

- The use of specific materials (e.g., science) together with discussions among groups of children to introduce terms and concepts and overcome the language barrier (Schweingruber, Shouse, Michaels, & National Research Council, 2007)
- The use of technology, such as computers, to help children create groups and communicate among themselves and with the instructors
- Local and national movements of teachers can override the so-called citizens’ movements to exclude and send away victims of war (these movements are usually of neo-Nazi and fascist origin existing in Greece and in other parts of Europe)
- Encouraging teachers to get involved in the displaced persons’ camps (called “hot spots” in Greece, with tremendous and negative connotations) and by supporting them in various ways to improve their quality of life (covering needs such as food and medical care, among others)

### Conclusion

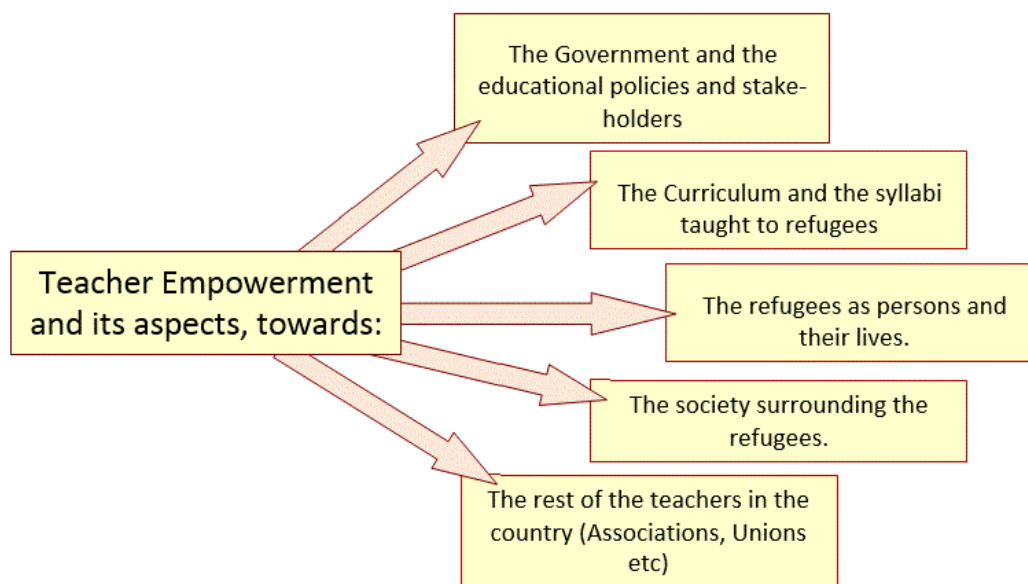
Critical pedagogy as a framework, and especially its specific characteristic of teacher empowerment, is capable of overcoming all negative barriers and circumstances when it comes to the education of child victims of war in developed countries and specifically in the EU (see Figure 3). What is more, educators who implement critical pedagogy are in a position to override the negative impact and restraints of the hidden curriculum on refugees’ education. Under these views, a way of





incorporating all these children successfully into each country’s educational system can be proposed without negatively affecting the child refugees’ lives and beliefs.

**Figure 3:** *The Various Levels of Agency that Teacher Empowerment Can Bring About for Refugees*



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## **Creativity and Learning: Supporting Students’ Creativity by Integrating Arts in Literature Instruction**

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### **Abstract**

*Creativity is an important ability for all individuals to possess in order to fulfill their personal goals and lead a purposeful life. Certain pedagogical theories promote teaching approaches that help students develop their creative thinking skills. Students’ engagement with the arts during the learning process has a crucial role in this direction. The use of imagination, the joy of creativity, the efficiency of expressing thoughts and emotions, certain problem-solving abilities, and collaborative skills are only some of the benefits students gain in such innovative learning environments. In this paper, the development of students’ creativity via the use of art is discussed from a teaching perspective. To begin, pedagogical background that encourages students to use their creativity in the teaching act is presented. Then, the focus shifts to the integration of the arts in literature instruction with the use of some student-centered teaching methods and didactic approaches. Certain conclusions are mentioned about the learning environment promoted by such an instructional view, its impact on students’ creative productivity, and the assessment procedure.*

### **Keywords**

creativity, arts, learning, literature instruction

In order to meet their personal challenges, students should be equipped with skills and abilities that will enable them to lead a purposeful life. The teacher should foster those special abilities, such as creativity, which have traditionally been overlooked in school. Additionally, self-esteem and motivation are essential to building a strong character. By doing so, students gain confidence in their abilities and are more easily motivated to engage themselves in new efforts. On the grounds that all young people have a repertoire of related abilities, the teacher could assist them in cultivating and maximizing them so that students may reach their fullest potential (National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education [NACCCE], 1999). The integration of the arts in teaching helps teachers enliven the classroom environment and support all students’ engagement in the learning process, even in the case of struggling students. In such innovative learning environments, students have multiple opportunities to engage their senses, interact with new types of stimuli, learn to pay attention to detail, and feel the joy of exercising their creativity. Furthermore, “art attributes to the production and development of intelligence in children” (Fox, 2001, p. 5), and art can be a part of each of the eight intelligences (Gardner, 1983) as individuals creatively engage in incorporating art into education,



language, bodily movement, or musical interpretation. Particularly before age 10, production activities ought to be central in any art form. Children learn best when they are actively involved in their subject matter; they want to have the opportunity to work directly with materials and media, and in the arts, these strengths and inclinations almost always translate into the making of something.

In her study, Robinson (2013) reports that “of the five studies on visual arts integration, there was one moderately strong causal design study that was well implemented and had 16 positive effects [...] and no studies reporting negative effects” (p. 200). Furthermore, “these findings suggest that visual art integration is a potentially positive practice in increasing reading/math achievement, writing, and empathetic behaviors for disadvantaged students” (Petersen, 2007, pp. 5-6). Additionally, in a study conducted by Chappell (2005), a connection was found between the art-integrated element and the improvements seen in students’ attitudes toward, interest in, engagement with, and involvement in visual studies and other disciplinary inquiries. In fact, these intents and outcomes are reciprocal. Because of their improvement, this shows the arts-integrated element to be fundamental. Chappell (2005) also noted that students were better equipped to synthesize inquiry knowledge not only visually, but through writing and verbal avenues as well. “It seems that this research supports a conclusion tying student success to the integration of the arts” (Long, 2014, p. 16).

Students can use their imagination when exploring different areas of knowledge, actively practice new cognitive and social skills, and boost their self-confidence. As for their school performance, they may develop persistence and discipline when working on demanding projects, upgrade their standards for their work, enhance their intrinsic motives for learning, and improve their academic achievement (Catterall, Chapleau, & Iwanaga, 1999; Deasy, 2002; Eisner, 1999, 2002; Fiske, 1999; Greene, 1995; Harland, Kinder, Haynes, & Schagen, 1998; Smithrim & Upitis, 2005; Winner & Cooper, 2000). The efficiency of expressing thoughts, ideas, and emotions, creative thinking, problem-solving capabilities, and collaborative abilities are only some of these beneficial skills (Burton, Horowitz, & Abeles, 1999). In the classroom, when students respond aesthetically to a work of art or create their own, they engage in complex mental acts like visualizing, goal-setting, technique selection, evaluation, and revision (Fowler, 1996). Like artists, they use higher-order thinking skills that support their creativity, a characteristic which refers to two distinct functions: the mental process of the brain to generate ideas and the outcomes of mental processes (European University Association, 2007). Thus, students’ cognitive development is supported as creative thinking constitutes a type of human intelligence, according to current psychological cognitive theories (Gardner, 1993; Stenberg, 1985, 1997).

Another benefit of integrating arts in instruction is that it involves students in a procedure that promotes their awareness about themselves and the world around them, as well as developing their social skills. A work of art can constitute a means of





expression or a pretext that makes young learners present their thoughts, ideas, and feelings. As a result, some of their essential emotional needs are satisfied (Fowler, 1996) and their emotional development is promoted (Goleman, 2005). Taking into account the contribution of the arts toward students' general growth – and especially in the field of creativity – the discussion should focus on the constructive integration of art during the daily school program. At present, students in Greek schools encounter art during independent courses (e.g., music). However, we strongly believe that educators should find ways to incorporate art as often as possible during the teaching of other subjects, such as mathematics (Hickman & Huckstep, 2003), or combining one type of art with another. The last goal may be promoted during the instruction of literature. According to contemporary literary theories (Rosenblatt, 1969, 1994, 1995), readers – and students, by extension – should take an actively creative role during the interpretation of the literary work, while current didactic approaches promote the use of other art during the creative approach to fictional texts (Cornett & Smithrim, 2000).

### **Creativity in Education**

**Instruction.** Since creativity is tied to the constructivist process of thinking, Piaget's (1969, 1973) cognitive constructivism about learning could be suitable for teaching creativity. According to him, certain actions happen due to the intellectual dynamics of schemata, which are formed gradually. In other words, when a child observes an object, the formed schema is the intellectual structure supportive to observation. Observation is the reaction to a certain stimulus, and consequently, the stimulus, along with the surrounding conditions, form the content of the schema. Therefore, the schema is associated with actions and its content is associated with the conditions. Together, all the schemata form the individual's intellectual structure, which defines perceptions and actions. The individual's reaction to stimuli was called "assimilation" by Piaget (1969, 1973). The second intellectual function that contributes to learning is "formulation," namely modification of existing schemata to receive new experiences. The third intellectual function is "consolidation." It is the outcome of the two previous functions, and is related to the individual's adjustment to the environment. All three functions work toward the individual's intellectual development (Piaget, 1969, 1973).

According to Davis (1982), the development of creativity occurs in four stages. Awareness is the first stage, in which individuals are assisted in increasing their consciousness and readiness for creative thinking. The second stage is concerned with understanding, which is related to having a comprehensive idea about the topic of creativity. Forming techniques is the third stage, when there is a blending of personal and "standard" strategies for thinking. The fourth stage deals with self-actualization in the form of taking initiative to reach the best possible result. As creativity emerges in the process of trial and consequential failure until a solution is reached, Thorndike's (1921, 1928) theory about trial and error – derived from a



behavioristic perspective – may also contribute to learning creativity. He carried out a number of experiments, and concluded that learning proper behavior may be achieved through a series of interactions between trial and error in which the solution to problems, namely proper behavior, is a random outcome. More specifically, the behavior which led to solving a problem and the consequent generation of positive emotions is assimilated by the individual; therefore, the possibility of performing the same behavior increases and the association between stimulus and response is significant. His theory includes a series of laws relevant to learning (Thorndike, 1921, 1928). The principle of multiple action, namely an individual's ability to put into force all responses available when faced with a problem, the principle of predisposition, and the principle of response based on similarity or analogy, are some concepts of his theory that also provoke an individual's creativity.

Another thing art in education does is allow students to acquire knowledge of present-day artistic and cultural diversity. This takes place both in school and via regular interaction with the outside world. Through art, children learn to open their minds; they observe paintings and sculptures, they listen to music, and they enjoy language and movement. Art also encourages students to appreciate cultural and artistic works of expression in the world around them. Furthermore, they learn to express themselves using the means linked to the artistic domain, such as color, form, space, texture, and composition; they make drawings and three-dimensional works, and they learn songs and use rhythmic instruments to support their singing. With art, they also have the opportunity to play and move around. Art can be used and linked with other subjects, so education becomes more cohesive and, therefore, more meaningful for pupils. Above all, the authentic contribution made by the use of art in education is to stimulate children in their development. Pupils learn to use images, language, music, games, and movement to express their feelings and experiences and communicate ideas. They also learn to reflect upon their own work and the work of others. In this way, pupils acquire knowledge about, and learn to appreciate, aspects of “cultural heritage”(Arts and Cultural Education in Europe, 2009).

There is extensive literature about how creativity is developed among individuals throughout the course of their lives. In this respect, it has been argued that the ability of creative thinking could be developed through direct teaching (Torrance, 1963). Other scholars (Karnes et al., 1961) suggested that creativity can be maximized when educational programs are flexible enough to allow participants to utilize both convergent and divergent thinking. Moreover, teachers who are divergent thinkers are more likely to create the best possible classroom conditions to encourage creative thinking. Creativity can also be developed through inquiry-discovery, an indirect method of teaching problem-solving skills. According to Treffinger (1980), creativity is associated with the discovery process. In other words, new experiences support and reinforce learning, which, in turn, strengthen creative



thinking and acting. The inquiry-discovery approach also includes flexibility, originality, and elaboration. To develop students' creative skills, the teacher should implement a number of steps. To begin, students are provided an experience that stimulates their interest and elicits the topic through exploration to spot an idea, concept, or problem. Afterwards, they are provided the necessary materials for exploring the topic further. When students pose questions, the teacher should be ready to answer them all while supporting students throughout the process. Time is another important issue, and it should be wisely allocated to allow students the time to think, experiment, try new possible routes, fail, and finally, succeed. The teacher should listen carefully to students' proposals or ideas and direct them accordingly. Finally, when students succeed in finding solutions, the teacher should praise and acknowledge their efforts to boost their self-esteem and encourage their creative performance (Fasco, 2001).

Creativity is multifaceted by nature, so the teacher should not expect creativity only in art or music, but in all disciplines. Furthermore, the teacher should plan and lead a variety of differentiated learning activities, acting mainly as facilitator. He or she should also listen carefully to what students want to say and have a positive disposition towards them. As a result, students will feel that their learning takes place in a secure environment. Additionally, the teacher could encourage his or her students to actively participate in the processes of learning and decision-making. When students feel that their role is important to the development of the lesson, they consequently feel more responsible for their behavior and actions. Needless to say, the concepts of participation and involvement should be highlighted by supporting students' ideas and proposals. Renzulli (1992) suggests that creativity can be developed when students are able to seize learning opportunities, which occur when related to their interests. Learners' interests can function as sources of creative thinking; when an individual has many interests, he or she is more likely to engage in creative thinking. To make this situation feasible, the curriculum should be characterized by flexibility in terms of how students can cultivate their abilities, expand their interests, and adopt personalized learning styles. Accordingly, the teacher's role is redefined and reshaped into the role of mentor or role model who inspires his or her students.

**Curriculum.** The term "curriculum" entails a selection of subjects aiming to help learners know and understand the world around them. It underlines the skills and competences one must possess in order to integrate into society and work as well as to seek personal growth. A curriculum reflects the characteristics of the kind of society that is desired in the future (Williamson & Payton, 2009). Significant changes, primarily in policymaking and curriculum design, should take place in order to foster creativity in students. The existing ones do not seem to be radical enough to encourage students to be creative. However, when changes are implemented, they should be done so in great detail, cautiously, and gradually over time. Such changes should focus on the students' needs to display their unique abilities. Moreover,



curricula should be assessed and re-assessed to ensure that they are suitable for specific purposes. As such, the new curriculum should keep up with the times and reflect the emerging reality of political and social changes in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In order to promote creativity in students, certain changes should also take place in structure, content, organization, and assessment. Flexibility is another important factor in making these changes feasible. In this direction, the new curriculum should provide opportunities for students to develop an inquisitive mind and to be able to think rationally, especially when questioning or arguing. It should also support them in developing a broad understanding of their future adult life in a continuously changing world (NACCCE, 1999).

Creativity can be established when academia marries the concepts of know-how and know-why, which presupposes taking risks in trying to come up with an innovative idea. Within the school environment, creativity can be enhanced when the school system regards learning as a natural process and a love of learning as a normal concept. Furthermore, the curriculum should be reformed so that posing questions is encouraged and providing mere answers for a grade is eliminated, while also taking individuality into account. According to a survey conducted by the European University Association (2007), many teachers believe that creativity should be applied to all subjects and not just to drama, music, or art. The fact that in the present curriculum, subjects are not interrelated is a serious obstacle to creativity. In addition, each subject consists of a certain set of content that must be covered throughout the academic year. As a result, students –overloaded with content – are limited to a certain mode of learning that does not promote creativity, and little room is left to engage with other activities to promote in-depth understanding.

The current curriculum focuses mainly on what should be taught, and not on how it could be taught. Creativity thus remains a potential concept, as the reality is that it is absent in schools. In order to design new curricula, pedagogical theories that promote creativity should be considered. The teacher should internalize such theories, reflect upon his/her role, and become the key figure in the classroom leading students to unfolding their creative skills. Therefore, in order for teachers to encourage students' creativity, they should implement innovative techniques and practices in instruction. Furthermore, their attitude should be to help students understand that creativity is one of their fundamental abilities and the most powerful tool for coping with life and future work situations. Another reason for limited creativity among students is that the educational system is structured in such a way that it has students preparing for national exams throughout nearly their entire adolescent life. The assessment system does not take creativity into account (European Commission, 2010).

A transformed curriculum could provide teachers the opportunity to think and act freely in terms of innovation in their practices. It should concentrate on creating successful learners: individuals with high self-esteem and responsible, active citizens. More emphasis can be placed on the learners' personal ways of exploring knowledge



and their individual ways of thinking. After all, these are the prerequisites for being active and participatory future citizens. In this respect, independent inquiry, creative thinking, reflective learning, teamwork, self-management, and effective participation should be highlighted and encouraged to help learners develop all these competences (Williamson & Payton, 2010). As students' understanding of the world around them becomes increasingly more complex and their intellectual curiosity widens, the research indicates that art assignments can become increasingly sophisticated, perhaps overlapping into other subject areas. Recommended music practices include introducing practice strategies involving repetition and mastery of skills, and possibly the inclusion of computer software that allow students to further hone their skills. Theatre-based instruction can enhance students' understanding of story structure, cause and effect, and ability to write creatively and with detail. Recommendations for several disciplines involve the use of reflection and critical thinking in artistic activities; for example, visual art teachers are encouraged to conduct guided conversations about selected works of art with students, using strategies meant to increase their observation and critical-thinking skills. Interestingly, the research also reinforces the value of open-ended exploration and improvisational play; although student assignments may be increasingly structured, classroom instruction should allow for student improvisation or exploration with materials and processes. In the earliest stages of this age range, parents and teachers are often the most important individuals in a student's life, but by ages 5-7, friendships within students' own peer group gain increasing social importance as well. Learners at this stage are very social and talkative, and experiences with art are often primarily social experiences. In the visual arts, students are often very interested in "re-telling" pictorial accounts to peers and adults, especially as their images become more representational. Students are beginning to explore the relationship between themselves and the world around them, and may begin working in small groups or participating in full-class activities in theatre or dance instruction, fostering their cooperative skills and communication abilities. The arts have value in helping students to make sense of their world, making connections between disparate ideas and between the self and others. This social and emotional value of experiences with art is emphasized in every discipline and at every level, whereas concrete links to specific aspects of cognitive development appear to vary somewhat among disciplines and grades.

There is an interesting overall balance between the importance of structure and experimentation and the importance of learning tools and techniques aspiring toward ever more sophisticated practice, while simultaneously encouraging experimentation and risk-taking in developing one's own personal voice. Art fosters creativity and learning through a kaleidoscope of practices and ways. Although certain disciplines had more research to draw on in the creation of these literature reviews, it is interesting to note that this does not necessarily correlate with a richer store of recommendations for art educators;



The music literature review, for example, places a much greater emphasis on the acquisition of technical skill, whereas the recommendations for dance, theatre, and visual art offer a wider range of expected outcomes of arts practice and related instructional strategies. (College Board, 2012, pp.23-25)

Creative students always pose a number of questions as they are curious to learn a great deal of things. They usually do not follow the rules while developing connections and associations among things that could not be traditionally connected. They also seem to have and employ extraordinary perspectives about things and situations, and can view alternatives to them. They are capable of exploring various ideas, modifying them to reach the best possible results. Finally, they also reflect critically on ideas, actions, and outcomes. They follow a constructivist route when they are invited to criticize using much of their feedback.

### **Integrating the Arts in Literature Instruction**

**Literature and creativity.** Creative writing represents the most obvious connection between literature and creativity. In the teaching act, when students use writing to express their ideas, thoughts, and feelings in an imaginative way (Dawson, 2005), they virtually use literature as a means of creative expression; a basic aspect of creativity is promoted. Moreover, the belief that children are incapable of making complex or creative thoughts belongs to a finite viewpoint of childhood. Therefore, an evolution is observed in the content and format of contemporary fiction books for children and young adult readers. Postmodern books bear no didactic tones and have a more attractive form than the traditional ones, such as printed fictional hypertexts (Dresang, 1997). As a result, they help young readers cultivate certain abilities of creativity, like their perceptiveness. For instance, when reading a picture book, young children have the opportunity to carefully observe its meaningful pictures that work as an integral part of the text (Norton & Norton, 2010).

In addition, nowadays literary work is perceived as “a linguistic event which projects a fictional world that includes speaker, actors, events, and an implied audience” (Culler, 1997, pp. 30-31). This point of view represents a basic aspect of contemporary literary theories, such as reader-response criticism (Thompkins, 1980): the active role of the reader during the interpretation of the text. Rosenblatt (1969, 1994, 1995) also points out the “transaction” between the reader and the literary work. When an individual aesthetically reads a work of fiction, the words “stamp” in his/her thoughts and emotions, while he/she “structures” their meaning. Therefore, teachers can help students get engaged creatively in the interpretation of the text as long as they choose a student-centered method that allows young readers to “produce” its meaning. This approach differs significantly from the traditional teaching methods based on text-centered literary theories, such as new criticism (Richards, 1956). Young readers are not encouraged to “discover” the one possible interpretation of the literary work, but they participate in the creation of its meaning according to their reading responses.





Students' creativity is supported when they try to cover the reading "gaps" of the literary work, namely some indefinite blanks of the meaning that lead readers to some assumptions about the storyline (Iser, 1974, 1978). The readers try to figure out what is missing in the story, connect different separated parts of the text, and predict the plot's development. As the aesthetic reading evolves, the readers confirm or refute their initial assumptions in a procedure of trial and error. This process has great significance for the students according to Thorndike's (1921, 1928) behavioristic perspective about the development of their problem-solving skills.

**Instruction.** The integration of other types of art during literature instruction can work as a helpful tool for students to complete the interpretation of the literary work, present it in the whole classroom, and practice their creative-thinking skills. A student-centered and reader-response approach is necessary in the teaching of literature. "Literature circles" and the "project Method" are two instructive approaches, which can be used for this educational goal. According to Daniels (2002), "literature circles are small, peer-led discussion groups whose members have chosen to read the same story, poem, article, or book" (p. 2). The definition above emphasizes two key elements of the method: the function of peer-led groups in the classroom and the implementation of the principle of independent reading. In other words, students have the opportunity to choose the books they would like to read from a proposed book list and they form small, heterogeneous, mixed-ability groups (of 4-5 members) based on their book choices. The groups meet regularly according to a predefined schedule during the school timetable program until they complete the creative approach of the whole chosen book. Usually, the book choices differ from one group to another and the groups are reformed when a new "circle" begins. During every 1- or 2-hour meeting, each individual reads some pages of the chosen book, writes down his or her personal reading responses, and discusses them with the other group members. At the end of the meeting, one member of each group undertakes the task to announce the basic elements of the group discussion to the whole class. The teacher serves as facilitator; namely, he/she just observes and evaluates the groups' discussion without having the authority to guide or interrupt its flow (Daniels, 1994, 2002). In case the teacher detects some practical problems, it may be necessary to approach the group with the whole class during an imminent, independent mini-lesson (Daniels & Steineke, 2004). Students discuss naturally without pressure, as if they were with their friends outside the classroom. However, they take on the responsibility of finding the discussion topics based on their reading responses, offer the appropriate feedback to each other, and talk only about the books.

Students' autonomy from the teacher's guidance is one essential principle of the method. Therefore, adequate training is requisite (Daniels, 2002). Before forming the literature circles, students should have developed the appropriate cognitive and social skills in order to interpret the literary works without the teacher's intervention. In particular, they must learn to identify and express their reading



responses using the appropriate interpretive strategies. Of course, the “transaction” between a reader and a literary work is a unique “event” that occurs in a certain place in a particular moment between one individual and a specific text (Rosenblatt, 1994). Therefore, it is possible for different readers to respond to the same literary work in a different way, while the same reader may express different responses when reading a different text or rereading the same one. Consequently, in a school classroom, the same book will emerge with different interpretations as the students differ from each other in many ways, such as gender, personality, and social-economic background (Karolidis, 1997, 2000). However, there are certain responses that the readers often express while interpreting a text. The connections between their personal experiences and the literary work, the visualization of the story, the predictions about the plot’s development, the causal and temporal relations between the fictional facts are only some of them (Probst, 2000, 2004). During the stage of training, students should also internalize certain group roles, such as facilitator, organizer, recorder, and reporter, and develop some collaborative skills in order to work as a team. When the groups complete their meetings within the literature circles, they engage in creative activities that result in being able to present the content of their books to the whole class (Daniels, 2002). At this point, the teacher – alone, or in collaboration with other colleagues – may integrate in the literature instruction some other forms of art. For instance, a group of students may transfer the book to a theatrical play and present it through dramatization. Another group may create a collage out of the major events of the book in combination with their most important responses, while some students may write and compose a thematic song relevant to the story (Cornett & Smithrim, 2000).

The project method is a novel teaching model, relatively new in the Greek educational system. It is based on the experiential theory, according to which knowledge is better assimilated and consolidated through experiences acquired through problem solving. In this manner, students develop a sense of responsibility and independence, while, at the same time, their social skills are cultivated and their democratic behavior is developed and consolidated. According to Bruner (1999), children learn better and more substantially through self-actualization and initiative-undertaking, and not through the offer of ready knowledge by the teacher. Education has been evolving due to the tremendous changes of globalization, the rapid spread of new technologies, the internationalization of economy, and the ongoing demographic shifts. In this context, the concepts of the individual and the collective acquire a new dimension through their reformation and adjustment to new realities.

Through the implementation of a project, students assume the role of young explorers as they are involved in searching and finding bibliographies and photographic and audio-visual material, all under the teacher’s guidance. At the same time, they assume responsibility in managing the material and composing the final product. In this respect, lifelong learning is reinforced as the skills developed



are necessary throughout their entire social and professional lives. It is noteworthy that, apart from the cognitive, the affective domain is also enhanced due to the fact that students learn to respect their peers and their demands, and develop tolerance for error, while values and the important democratic skills of co-operation and negotiation are cultivated (Matsaggouras, 2011). Therefore, the school as a micro-society serves as a means for students to gradually perceive the function of social structures. In addition, through the implementation of a project, a school opening toward society is ventured as students are able to come closer to the broader society, both to carry out their work for which research in local libraries, associations or museums is required, and to present the end product in a special school show, to which parents and representatives of local authorities will be invited to attend. On the grounds of this contact, students' learning is correlated with broader social forms and functions with which they will more profoundly deal after their graduation.

The project method is also beneficial in terms of linking different subjects of the curriculum on the basis of being interdisciplinary and cross-curricular. As a consequence, students approach knowledge from the various cognitive fields in a holistic manner through their interconnection and the multilateral comprehension of concepts. Focusing on the implementation of the method in literature-based instruction using other arts, students could work on certain concepts reflected through literature and other artistic means in a certain era. For instance, they could search selectively, and present via a project, how the figure of “mother” is presented by some Greek novelists, playwrights, filmmakers, painters, and musicians during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Alternately, they could present their projects in different artistic forms, like the ones we recommended in the case of the literature circles.

The method has also a great impact on the students' emotional needs, as through the aforementioned process, they develop a sense of belonging in a group in which rights and responsibilities are intertwined. This is achieved through group-collaborative teaching, which is also the prerequisite to successfully complete the project. Groups are formed on the basis of the classroom sociogram so that homogeneity, in terms of academic performance and interpersonal relations, is avoided (Hollander, 1978). Students are expected to work and collaborate toward interdependence, interaction, and mutual understanding and respect, which are all necessary for a cohesive group (Zogopoulos, 2013).

The teacher's role, which is re-adjusted, is also of particular importance as a shift from the teacher-centered to the student-centered instruction model is observed. More analytically, the teacher, as a source of information and transmission of knowledge, is diverted to students as discoverers of knowledge, while the teacher guides them toward the right outcome and solves, under pedagogical terms, any differences or conflicts arising in the groups. The teacher's detailed training is imperative as he/she is no longer the only source of knowledge for students due to the plethora of sources. Given that students are familiar with scientific research, the



teacher should be able to orientate them properly in terms of finding, evaluating, and utilizing the necessary material as well as the construction of questionnaires, and guide interviews according to the project requirements. Furthermore, the teacher assumes responsibility in initiating students into the area of democratic principles and values.

Students could engage in creative activities that combine the literature with other types of art regardless of the implementation of the teaching methods above. On one hand, as already mentioned, students could use other artistic means of expression in order to respond to literature, or use other artistic works as supportive tools when approaching the context of the fictional texts. For instance, teachers could encourage students to select a song representative of their feelings about the book they read. On the other hand, according to the transactional theory approach (Rosenblatt, 1994, 1995), students could use other means of art in order to prepare for the literary work they are about to read. Rosenblatt (1995) emphasizes the fact that students have different cognitive, psychological, and family backgrounds that affects the way they interpret the literary text. Therefore, as a pre-reading activity, students should have the opportunity to comment on another piece of art with the same theme, and bring to light some of their individual characteristics that will guide their personal connections with the fictional text. For example, they may watch a part of the film adaptation of the novel they are about to read (if there is one), or enjoy a song that sets the mood for the upcoming literary work.

### Conclusion

In order to establish a suitable classroom environment that supports creative thinking, Feldhusen and Treffinger (1980) suggest a series of tips to be followed by the teacher. In the first place, the teacher should support any unusual ideas or comments made by the students. Mistakes could be addressed in a positive disposition so that students get feedback and try again according to the set standards. The teacher should be characterized by adaptability regarding students' interests or ideas. This way, students gain self-esteem and confidence in their beliefs and attitudes.

In literature instruction, teachers should respect the originality of their students' responses during the interpretation of the text, as well as the artistic means they will choose to use for expressing their viewpoints. This attitude does not imply that teachers let students develop misinterpretations or misunderstandings of the selected literary work. Working as facilitators, they should encourage students to review their responses with the prospect of their enrichment or their revision. The group discussion may have a great significance at this point in the lesson (Daniels, 2002).

Allocation of time to students is also important as each individual needs a certain amount of time to build his/her thinking and come up with fresh ideas. Mutual respect, acceptance, and tolerance should be established from the first moment and



dominate in the classroom for both students and teacher. This way, the former feel liberated and more eager in expressing themselves. Student-centered methods, like the ones presented above, which promote the function of peer-led groups in the classroom, may work as a valuable tool for this purpose. An innovative learning environment, in which the arts are integrated, motivates students' creative expression. Their engagement with music, drama, writing, and other expressive arts may support their imagination and their creative productivity (Jalongo, 1990). The integration of the arts in the learning process is usually done with other subjects under the umbrella of a common theme; for instance, drama activities can be used in history (Isbell & Raines, 2013).

Research in the field has shown that there is a significant correlation between the study of arts and creative-thinking skills (Moga, Burger, Hetland, & Winner, 2000). Through the arts, students gain great knowledge, skills, and attitudes, some of which are related to their attention span, the symbolic representation of their input, the understanding of themselves and others, and the development of their aesthetic criteria. Moreover, through art, students find new avenues to detect and express their ideas (Isbell & Raines, 2013; Manitoba Education and Youth, 2003).

When teachers try to assess their students' creativity through different activities in the classroom, they cannot use traditional forms of evaluation, such as comprehension questions. One practical way is to predefine the creative skills they would like to promote through the integration of the arts in the learning process, and observe whether their students use them satisfactorily during the lesson. Taking an example from literature instruction, if the teacher aims to help students foster problem-solving skills, he or she could set the interpretation of the literary work as the "alleged" problem. Then, the teacher could assess whether the students approach the literary work from different perspectives and if they review their responses prompted by the different viewpoints of their peers. Alternately, educators could set some other criteria like assessing students' ability to come up with an idea, as well as their fluency and flexibility to produce a diversity of ideas. They could also assess some characteristics of the given concepts, such as their novelty and originality. Finally, they could assess the "products" obtained through the learning process as a total synthesis of seemingly different components (Besemer & Treffinger, 1981; Torrance, 1969). Observation and recording could help teachers fulfill this task successfully, and, in the process, have students self-assess their participation. In any case, educators should keep in mind that their ultimate educational goal is to give their students appropriate feedback.

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## The Educational Policy of the SYRIZA/ANEL Government in Greece

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### **Abstract**

*Over a year ago, SYRIZA (that stands for “Coalition of the Radical Left”) won the national elections and formed a new government in alliance with the conservative political party “Independent Greeks” (ANEL). Neither party had agreed with the two Memoranda signed between previous Greek governments, the European Union, the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund (the so-called Troika) in the period between 2010 and 2015.*

*After six months of negotiations and despite the great victory of “No” to the proposals of European Committee for a third Memorandum in the Referendum of July 2015, the SYRIZA/ANEL government signed the third Memorandum and provoked new national elections. The new victory of SYRIZA in the September elections opened the way for a new SYRIZA/ANEL government that is now trying to implement the third Memorandum.*

*My paper aims to discuss the relations between the aforementioned political developments and the educational policy of the SYRIZA/ANEL government. More specifically, I will analyze the changes that these governments implemented in education correlating them with the changes implemented in the economy and society, in order to understand the character of the educational policy of the so-called “first-time left” government in Greece.*

### **Keywords**

Educational policy, SYRIZA/ANEL, OECD

We can divide the educational policy of the SYRIZA/ANEL government in two phases. The first begins with its victory in the national elections of January 2015 and is extended until the Referendum of July 2015.

The new government was supported by a strong popular majority that opposed the two Memoranda signed between previous Greek governments and the Troika in the period between 2010 and 2015. These two Memoranda constituted the answer to the 2008 economic crisis given by the coalition between the Greek dominant capitalist social class and the international institutions that mainly expressed the German and U.S. interests in Greece. But this answer had not been accepted by the popular social classes.

That is the basic explanation for the rise of SYRIZA after the weakening of the massive popular movements against the two Memoranda between 2010 and 2012. The weakening of popular movements was promoted by SYRIZA in order to become the left alternative governmental solution in the national elections of June 2012 when it received nearly 27% of the votes.



SYRIZA tried and succeeded in integrating people’s radicalism in the context of an exclusively parliamentary struggle and cultivating a belief that all economic and social problems would be solved by a left government, without people’s action and without challenging main elements of the status quo. Also, it tried to make alliances with persons who participated in bourgeois political parties (mainly PASOK and DIMAR) and supported the implementation of the two Memoranda (Rinaldi, 2016, p.20-21, 27, 119, 154).

Two and a half years later, SYRIZA reached more than 36% of the votes in the January 2015 elections.

The two Memoranda had been implemented for nearly 5 years with tragic effects. According to Nikos Bogiopoulos, some of these effects include:

1. In 2009, the Greek national debt was at 129% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). After the implementation of the two Memoranda the national debt had climbed up to 178% of the GDP. In other words, the two Memoranda had increased the debt instead of reducing it.
2. After the international economic crisis of 2008 and until the end of 2013, the Greek banks had received 145 billion Euros from the Greek governments in various forms. This huge amount is equal to the 80% of the Greek GDP and was given in order (a) to give enough time to German and French banks to sell the toxic Greek derivatives they owned and (b) to convert the private banks’ debt to public debt.
3. At the end of 2014, more than 6 million Greeks had been living at the threshold of poverty, 1.5 million had lost their jobs and 686.000 children were not well-fed. In the same time, 559 Greeks owned fortunes that reached 76 billion dollars corresponding to the 45% of the Greek GDP. 140 billion dollars of Greek interests had been invested in Switzerland’s offshore banking. The wealthier 10% of the ten million population of Greece had owned the 56.1% of the national wealth when the same rate in 2007 was 48.6% (Bogiopoulos, 2015, p. 15, 23-25, 52-54, 68-69).

In education, until the national elections of 2015, the state budget had been reduced at a rate of 35.6%. A new parallel network of schools had been established in the name of excellence. Students had to pass special examinations to attend these so called standard-experimental schools. Teachers’ salaries were cut down, some districts in the secondary education were abolished and their teachers have been suspended. New autocratic laws regarding teachers’ behavior and effectiveness had been established. In service education for teachers has been diminished. In the Universities, heavy financial cuts forced their administrators to find private funds from corporations or to impose fees for postgraduate students. A new law established a much less democratic system for the elections of Universities’ administrations, pushed for competition between Universities’ departments and established short programs of study in order to make Universities more flexible for the needs of businesses (Panagiotidou, 2015).

According to official data, between 2010 and 2014, 2.437 schools merged to 1.122. At the same time there was no decrease in the number of students. Hence, the





number of students in each classroom had increased and the teachers' work became much more difficult. The number of permanent teachers was reduced at a rate of 20% (Katsikas, 2015a).

After the national elections of 2015 and until the Referendum of July 2015, the SYRIZA/ANEL government did not raise the state budget for education that was only 2.47% of the Greek GDP, did not reestablish the schools that had been closed down or merged and did not raise teachers' salaries that had been severely cut down.

At the same time it kept in their positions many educational executives who supported the autocratic laws regarding teachers' behavior and effectiveness (Bourgoutzis, 2015, Tassiopoulos, 2015).

Also, the SYRIZA/ANEL government accepted the operation of the so called standard-experimental schools (60 schools, 1.150 teachers and 12.000 students) preserving its distinct management. So, it did not dispute the elite character of this parallel network of schools that had been established in the name of excellence during the first years of Memoranda in order to serve some families of small bourgeois social class that could not send their children to private schools because of the economic crisis (Droggitis, 2015, Tourna, 2015).

It did not dispute and allowed the fulfillment of the OECD's Program for International Student's Assessment (PISA) that mainly assesses students' skills in order for them to be more competitive, but does not assesses their knowledge and critical consciousness (Strani, 2015)<sup>1</sup>.

It did not intervene in the function of private education and legitimized the policy of the previous ministers of education who promoted the interests of private school owners. It did not institute a new adequate system of in service education for teachers. It reemployed those teachers who had been suspended, but it did not employ any permanent teachers in all education, using provisional teachers with flexible labor relations.

It did not implement the autocratic law for teachers' assessment, but it also did not repeal this law and the appointed special board (named Independent Authority for Securing Quality in Primary and Secondary Education) by the previous government (Kalimeridis, 2015), as well as the connection of teachers' assessment to their salaries.

Based on the aforementioned, we can conclude that the SYRIZA/ANEL government negated in part some extreme elements of the neoliberal educational policy of previous governments, but it did not touch its basic pillars. It did not have any coherent alternative policy against neoliberal educational policy. This fact can be explained if we focus on its economic and social policy.

After the national elections of January 2015 and until the Referendum of July 2015, the SYRIZA/ANEL government adopted a discourse of cooperation between social

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<sup>1</sup> For a broader critique on PISA see Mavrogiorgos, 2015.



classes in the name of national reconstruction and economic development. Of course, this discourse was closely connected with SYRIZA's perspective that the European Union can be reformed by progressive political parties of the democratic left that will win the elections in their respective countries and implement reforms against the right wing neoliberal agenda. Only one month after the January 2015 elections, at a Eurogroup meeting, the SYRIZA/ANEL government accepted the Debt Contract that actually was the foundation of the two Memoranda. This way, the SYRIZA/ANEL government abandoned any commitment to the abolishment of the two Memoranda. Every legal act of the Greek government should be approved by the Troika. Therefore, the SYRIZA/ANEL government gradually moved from the "clear solutions" that meant the abolition of the two Memoranda and the end of austerity, to Minister of Economics Yanis Varoufaki's "creative ambiguity", the statement that the 70% of the two Memoranda is good and the concept of "fair austerity". It moved from the defense of salaries, pensions, workers' rights and public property to a dialogue with the Troika regarding the fifth evaluation of Greece on the basis of the implementation of the two Memoranda and the payment of installments of the national debt even if the national reserves downscaled. Also, the SYRIZA/ANEL government did not make any action that could be considered as an insult against the interests of Greek capitalists (Bogiopoulos, 2015, p. 192-195, 223-224, 239-241, 247).

The SYRIZA/ANEL government did not enforce public control on the banking system and did not change the tax system on the basis of the interests of the popular social classes. Also, it staffed the negotiation group with Troika and state mechanisms with persons that served previous bourgeois governments and selected Prokopis Pavlopoulos, a former minister of right-wing governments, as President of Greek Republic. In the first days of June, the SYRIZA/ANEL government made a proposition to the Troika that included austerity, privatizations of ports and airports and more indirect taxes. The Troika proposed a heavier program of economic adjustment with stricter austerity and more taxes, as well as brutal restrictions for pensions. The SYRIZA/ANEL government declared a Referendum regarding Troika's proposition for the 5<sup>th</sup> of July 2015. The bourgeois political parties (Nea Demokratia, PASOK, Potami), the mainstream media, the Greek Association of Manufacturers, the Greek General Association of Workers and part of the Orthodox Church of Greece supported "Yes". The Bank of Greece closed all banks for a few days and imposed capital controls. But all those who supported "No", mainly members of SYRIZA and ANTARSYA, organized a great rally in Athens (the Communist Party of Greece supported invalid vote). The "No" vote took 61.3% of the votes. After seven days, the Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras signed the third Memorandum at the Summit of European Union changing the great popular victory of "No" to an embarrassing "Yes". After the sanction of the third Memorandum in the Greek Parliament and the withdrawal of the "Left platform" of SYRIZA from the party, Tsipras announced new national elections on September 2015. SYRIZA won these elections with nearly 36%



and formed a new coalition SYRIZA/ANEL government (Laskos & Papadatos – Anagnostopoulos, 2016, p.14-19, 37, 41).

That was the end of the illusions concerning the possibility of abolishing the two Memoranda without any confrontation against the mechanisms of European Union and the Greek bourgeois state, implementing a policy that had at its core the logic of compromise and surrender, a policy that promised to fight neo-liberalism, but not capitalism and imperialism and did not set the goal of social transformation in a socialist direction. These illusions were the cornerstones of SYRIZA’s ideology and politics, because of the reformist Euro-communist origins of its leadership until the Referendum of July, a Referendum that the same leadership probably preferred to lose, in order to blame the Greek people for signing the third Memorandum.

The end of these illusions signaled the end of any attempt to reject in part some extreme elements of the neoliberal educational policy of previous governments without touching its basic pillars. Since SYRIZA/ANEL government’s main general purpose was to implement the third Memorandum and to pass Troika’s evaluations, Minister of Education, Nikos Filis, had to focus only on the management of the existing educational system and make some moderations in order to save money promoting a neoliberal agenda for education.

Within the same lines, the second SYRIZA/ANEL government used the tactic of distraction. It announced the so called National–Social Dialogue for Education and appointed two committees that had the responsibility to organize this dialogue. Filis, in his inaugural speech for this Dialogue, declared that 20.000 teachers will be hired, there will be no further decrease in educational funding and a new twelve–year school will be established. However, these promises were related, by Filis himself, with the report of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) for the evaluation of Greek education and, as the President of the first committee, Antonis Liakos said, with the obligations of Greece that stem from the third Memorandum. At the same time, there is a lack of thousands of teachers at schools, many more live between unemployment and flexible work, the Greek universities live under the yoke of hard austerity and are forced to be corporatized while skills, apprenticeship, antagonism and individualism are promoted as the new educational ideals. As a result, it is obvious that the National–Social Dialogue on Education is unquestionably not genuine. The only purpose of this dialogue is to legitimize the policy of the SYRIZA/ANEL government, that serves the bourgeois domination promoting the capitalistic reconstruction of Greek economy and society at a time of crisis. The limits of the National – Social Dialogue on Education are pre-determined on the basis of the cooperation of Troika with Greek capitalists (Grollios, 2016).

The third Memorandum binds the SYRIZA/ANEL government to align the ratio between students and teachers and teachers’ working hours with the so called “best practices” of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), according to which Greek classrooms have a small number of students and Greek



teachers do not work enough hours. Therefore, it proposes, among other things, school mergers, increase of teachers' working hours and a system for teachers' assessment that is similar to the system that previous governments legislated but did not manage to implement, because of teachers' opposition (Katsikas, 2015b).

The second SYRIZA/ANEL government legitimizes the TINA (There Is No Alternative) dogma of neoliberalism giving a breath to Greek capitalists and the Troika and organizing a new round of capitalist reconstruction via salaries' reduction or stagnation, massive worker dismissals, pensions' reduction, public property privatization and people's addiction to low expectations. It converts Greece into a protectorate of debt that mortgages the main assets of its public ownership for 99 years. It embarrasses the name of the Left, because the failure of SYRIZA negatively influences any kind of left party in Greece and in Europe. But, the popular social classes, as well as the anti-capitalist Left in Greece have not said their final word.

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## The Importance of Analyzing Education as a Political Phenomenon for Critical Pedagogy

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### Abstract

*The political character of education and its positioning within the network of social relations has always been debated due to the very role it plays with regards to social change. However, the prescribed role of education has become ever more prominent with neoliberal capitalism. On the other hand, criticism of neoliberalist education made by political analysis, and educational practices coming out of it, also elicit a more burning need for those who build alternative educational dreams. Therefore, this paper will discuss the effect of political analysis of education under neoliberal conditions on the subjectivity of pedagogues and liberation of students with an aim to address its importance regarding critical pedagogy.*

### Keywords

neoliberalism, political analysis of education, critical education

Today, mass education, as organized institutionally in the form of schools, serves to shape individual and social process in societal reproduction of labor with an aim to improve the quality of labor. Accordingly, the form and content, institutionalism, and prevalence of education have been shaped in line with societal needs. Because education is defined within the context of said social and historical processes, no essential definition thereof that is ever valid could be provided. Education has been defined in diverse ways: for example, as a process to change behaviors, as a social and cultural process of transference, or as creating the environment that will ensure the development of individuals. Moreover, each definition creates a different "educational" approach and practice since education is not a thing or a state independent of its social context, but functions as a process of political and social construction. To Freire (Mayo, 2012), there is no "neutral" education: education may either "domesticate" or "liberate" (p. 12). This attribute provides education with a political character. Its characteristics of not being a natural process or phenomenon, but being a process of relational and contextual construction, make it subject to being changed by the will of people. Conflicts and rapprochements that are experienced, including the hegemonic relation of the teacher-learner that is inevitably political, render education a political and relational reality. Therefore, the present study aims to address the political character of education in the context of liberation of the student and the teacher's/pedagogue's process of becoming subjects.





In this study, the possible effects of analyzing education as a political phenomenon will be discussed in the context of neoliberal capitalism concerning both subjectivation of the pedagogues and the emancipation of the students. As a result of this discussion, the importance of education as a political phenomenon for critical pedagogy will be revealed. It should be noted that the source point of this study is not to rehash the findings and criticisms of critical pedagogy thinkers that already exist; in other words, the present paper does not aim to simply reiterate or rediscover the results and arguments that have already been suggested. Rather, it seeks to remind once again and put on the agenda the importance of critical pedagogy for providing an analysis of education under neoliberal conditions as a political phenomenon.

In the study, first, a discussion will be held on what is understood as "education" in the historical development of capitalism, and what education means in relation to neoliberal capitalism, in order to clarify which education is subject to political analysis. As a second step, the questions, "What is political, and what is education as a political phenomenon?" will be discussed. Relating to the above question, "What can be the fields of liberation and subjectivity in which students and pedagogues analyze education as a political phenomenon?" will then be investigated. Finally, the conclusion will emphasize the importance of political analysis of education for critical pedagogy and the fields of subjectivity and emancipation brought to pedagogues and students. Accordingly, a methodology of literature review was used to answer research questions of the present paper. Hence, the main and sub-research questions that will form the themes of the paper can be listed as follows:

- What is the importance of a political analysis of education for the purposes of critical pedagogy in the era of neoliberal capitalism?
  - Education under capitalism vs. neoliberalism?
  - What is “political,” and is education a “political” phenomenon?
  - What are the subjectivation and liberation fields that may be introduced by a political analysis of neoliberal education for the pedagogues and students?

These questions will be assigned as section headings, and the same sequence will be followed in the study.

### **Education Under Capitalism vs. Neoliberalism**

The beginning of one’s education or human learning activities begins with the socialization of the human being. However, in the sense that it will be emphasized here is the result of the concentration of capitalism: mass and publicized education. Capitalist development increased the need for qualified labor, which in turn made education public and open to the masses. Therefore, the definitions that have been provided for education are based on the extent to which an individual changes to meet the needs of society. Regarding this, Rikowski (2011) reveals how the processes and institutions that increase the labor force as human capital in contemporary



society, namely education and its institutions, have realized the social labor-power production in capitalism. Here, the production of social labor power means that the quality of labor of the individuals is developed in line with societal needs. This production occurs most commonly in schools. In relation to this issue, Giroux (2007) suggests that even the pioneering educational theorists, such as John Dewey and Paulo Freire – who discovered the relationship between education and democracy – would not foresee how the dominant neoliberal capitalist culture has transformed into the most significant educational power via schools. Indeed, education and educational institutions are the most important means of ensuring social transformation and continuity. Capitalism both raises the labor power it needs and assures the transfer to, and domination by, the ruling cultures within schools. Because capitalism has not viewed education as merely a social and cultural transfer or means for economic development, how capitalism possessed education to become such a powerful and effective process should be considered. At the same time, education has been organized, institutionalized, mass produced, and perpetuated by capitalism as an organizational structure and, essentially, as a network of factories that maintain capital accumulation, or as a military force that protects its borders.

Education successfully assumed the functions of an “ideological state apparatus” (Althusser, 2006) and “cultural invasion” (Freire, 1995) on behalf of capitalism. Capitalism has succeeded in transforming education into an “ideological state apparatus,” according to Althusser (2006). He notes that in this way, it is not only increasing the reproduction and quality of the labor power, but also abides by the rules of established order and reproduces the dominant ideology in schools (p. 51). Freire (1995) describes the cultural dimension of this situation with the concept of cultural invasion:

In cultural invasion, it is essential that those who are invaded come to see their reality with the outlook of the invaders rather than their own; for the more they mimic the invaders, the more stable the position of the latter becomes. (p. 153)

In this way, those who are subjected to the invasion are alienated from themselves and reproduce invaders. Education, therefore, becomes “more and more functional for those who hold political and economic power” (Giroux, 2007, p. 13). Undoubtedly, this situation becomes more apparent when the neoliberal policies of capitalism begin to be implemented.

It is possible to define neoliberalism simply as the last stage of capitalism or contemporary capitalism (Hill, 2014). However, education under neoliberal capitalism differs considerably from the classical liberalism that existed before or the education applied in the conditions of social state capitalism. Because of this, neoliberal capitalism can be also defined as “immiseration capitalism” (Hill, 2016). First of all, this difference is found in the positions of the individual, the state, the labor power, and the economic market, which are essential elements in education. The role of these elements in the system, the place they hold, and their relationship



to each other also change drastically. This change is portrayed in detail by Mark Olssen (1996, in Apple, 2002). According to Olssen, in classical liberalism, the individual has a free character and enjoys the potential for free action. State intervention on an individual is considered negative. The neoliberal state, on the other hand, aims to foster competitive and entrepreneurial individuals so the market can develop and strengthen, and it enacts laws and institutions to that end. Here, the state intervenes in the individual, whereas in classical liberalism, individuals protect their interests by making rational decisions based on universal egoism, invisible hand theory, and the *laissez-faire* principle. However, in neoliberalism, the individuals are forced to transform from the *homo economicus* subject state in classical liberalism to an individual as oriented and manipulated by the state. Here, Olssen says that the individual who acts for his/her own interests does not disappear, but that he/she is formulated as the desired neoliberal individual through methods like promotion, control, observation, and performance. As a result, as Apple (2002) has pointed out, Olssen (1996) describes the situation very well: “The state will see to it that each one of us makes a ‘continual enterprise of ourselves’” in a process that can be defined as “administering without an administration” (p. 340). Hill (2016) also states that capitalism has three plans for education. The first plan is to produce labor, citizens, and consumers who are compatible with the dominant ideology, and to ensure their continued reproduction. The second plan is to remove any obstacles from the environment in order to profit directly from education. The third is a global plan that aims to profit from the privatization of education companies, brand leasing, and marketing activities (Hill, 2016, p. 228). Therefore, we can say that the first is related to both classical capitalism and neoliberal capitalism, but the other two can be evaluated as the prominent qualities of neoliberal capitalism. In addition, according to Marxist theory, individual differences are valued in capitalism, but it is only cause and purpose: “the production of surplus value (profit) which is the special purpose, sum and essence of capitalist production” (Marx, 1987/1967a, p. 298, as cited in Hill, 2016, p. 93). Otherwise, it is not intended to develop the individual or educational processes. Thus, both liberal capitalism and neoliberal capitalism share the same goal of maximizing the surplus value.

From all these statements, the following conclusion can be drawn: neoliberal capitalist education is aimed at raising individuals who can govern the state, manage it, and remain committed to their interests. Consequently, education in neoliberal conditions would have the same goal as the neoliberal state. Moreover, those who support critical education policies and practices cannot reach their goals without understanding that neoliberal power relations have been building and rebuilding social spheres (Apple, 2002). For this reason, Apple (2002) emphasizes that a wide and adequate analysis should be executed with the “pessimism of the intellect and optimism of the will,” as suggested by Gramsci, and without losing hope (p. 27). Here, the reason for the emphasis on pessimism and the challenge of neoliberalism policies in the field of education is not easy, and the optimism in the irrational sense



can credibly imply that the field of education has always had a strong potential for change and transformation. In this way, pessimism suggests the tough struggle against neoliberalism in the field of education. In addition, optimism of the will suggests the belief that education has always involved a strong potential for change and transformation. At the same time, that belief will always cherish hope.

### **What Is Political? Is Education a Political Phenomenon?**

Since education is a phenomenon defined in the context of societal and historical processes, there is no agreed-upon definition available for education. Rather, each definition refers to a different education in practice. Namely, education is shaped by form and content, depending on how it is defined. It can be defined as a process of changing behavior, a process of social and cultural transference, or as creating an environment that allows personal development, with each definition creating a distinct “education.” This is because education is not independent of the social context in which it develops, but functions as a process of political and social construction. According to Freire (Mayo, 2012, p. 12), there is no “neutral” education: it may “domesticate” or “liberate.” This provides education with political characteristics. However, to unpack the reasons and the basis of these characteristics, the following questions must be answered: “What does being political mean?” and to qualify a phenomenon or event as political, “What characteristics should it have?” Therefore, in this section, the concept of “being political” will be emphasized, and efforts will be made to assess whether education is political and a political phenomenon.

The state of being political refers to a relational reality, which is social but not individual. It requires conflict in social relations as experienced in the presence of parties, and involves the goals of seeking power and hegemony. In other words, the thing which is political is not individual, nor natural. Also, it is open to change by human will and must contain conflict. The feature of being political is a reality that can be defined relationally and contextually; the conflict and tension between what it is and what it should be are the criteria for being political. Therefore, there is not a political essence; political being represents a relational reality, not something or a situation. At the same time, within this relational reality, there are also conflicts based on hegemony and power, or on the power of decision-making. The parties of political relations may be positioned as oppressor vs. oppressed, decision-maker vs. -executer, teacher vs. learner, who causes to tell vs. teller, and superior vs. inferior. When the state of being political ceases to exist, should the parties be able to reach an agreement and arrive at joint decisions? The lack of agreement otherwise gives rise to a sphere of political struggle. Therefore, the state of being political would exist provided that there are a conflicting relationality and lack of agreement among the parties.

Schmitt (2006) reported that the political concept preceded the concept of the state because the “state” was the political status of a people. Conversely, he claims that



the concept of politics is often associated with being state-related. If this logic is maintained, “society” and “social things” standing before the state may not be considered political. For example, fields of religion, culture, education, and economy, etc., cease to exist as political and depoliticized. According to Schmitt, this indicates a mistake. Therefore, Schmitt believes that there is no “neutral” field in the 20<sup>th</sup> century state, which emancipates as an expression of the state-society identity, intervening in each and every field and deeming everything political, at least as a probability (p. 43). Further, Schmitt notes that the definition of the political concept may be possible through the discovery of political categories. If there are differences in the field of morality between good and bad, in aesthetics, beautiful and ugly, and in economy, profit and loss, then the same kind of distinction can be found in the political concept as well. For Schmitt, the particular political difference is the friend vs. enemy distinction and the political enemy is defined as “the other” and alien (p. 47). As a result, Schmitt's analysis of the political concept also reveals the existence of a conflicting relationship among the parties, and between the parties and the lack of a consensus on the conditions that determine the political.

Concerning the friend-enemy separation, Mouffe (2010) argues that when the political dimension is accepted, the inherent antagonism and hostility in its existence can be made less dangerous and thus, move toward achieving democratic politics. Mouffe also suggests that considering the political apolitical would lead to a distancing from democracy and mask the conflicts. When applying the determined result to education, if education is not regarded as a political reality and is approached as if it can solve its problems independently of social power relations, this situation leads to the overriding of conflicts and antagonisms that exist in the field of education. As a result of this, no real solutions have been found to the problems experienced by students and teachers in education, nor are there any steps toward liberation and democratization. Consequently, it can become proportionally distant from democratic politics. Mouffe states that the term, “antagonism,” inherent in human relations with the political or political one, means that it has to be separated from politics. Such a separation should be made in education because the field of education is based on human relationships, and the nature of it always has a dimension that includes antagonism and conflict. This is independent of the political character within this social and historical context. Claiming education is political, Mouffe implies that the dimension of antagonism is embedded within the nature of human relations, and adds that the same should be separated from “politics.” Therefore, education may be said to have a two-dimensional political character:

1. *Micro level*: The dimension arising from the conflicting characteristics of human relations as experienced within the internal processes of education.
2. *Macro level*: The dimension as determined by historical and social power relations and which makes education a political phenomenon, tool, or target by incorporating relations.



Barber (1995), on the other hand, suggests that such notions as action, publicity, obligation, selection, reasonableness, conflict, and lack of an independent ground are required for an analysis of the political. Unlike Schmitt (2006), Barber adds action, publicity, necessity, election, and reasonableness among the determinants of the political. Hence, an associative reality can be assessed in these concepts to be described as "political." In fact, there is no essential meaning of education that is questioned politically. It can be defined as a behavior change process, a process of social and cultural transfer, or as the creation of environments that allow one to develop oneself. Each definition creates a different "education" according to purpose, structure, and process. However, it can be said that there is an action in every step and type of education. For education, action is necessary for both intellectual and physical dimensions, because education should be considered a process of political and social construction, not an object or a situation. Education is a process that produces public results, requiring the obligation to act, and in which conflicts may arise among the parties. When the parties do not have shared ground, a choice must be made. Consequently, education also meets the criteria for being political, as suggested by Barber.

Prerequisites, as suggested by Schmitt (2006), Mouffe (2010), and Barber (1995), for being a political phenomenon, and which give rise to the need for "making politics," are also entailed in the process of education. Furthermore, the following attributes make education a political, relational reality: not being a natural process or phenomenon; being open to change by human will; being a process of construction with possible conflicts and agreements that can be defined as relational and contextual; and containing a hegemonic relation, such as teacher-learner. Also, it should be added that education does not acquire political traits later, nor in the process, and this feature is not attributed to them by others. Rather, this feature is intrinsic due to the fact that education is a process of political construction that takes place within the network of social relations. In other words, education has existed in social relations as a political phenomenon, regardless of both its political definition and general definition; it has a certain sociality and historicity. Determination of power relations also circumscribes the meaning and content of education. Therefore, the definition of education can also include a building process aimed at the realization of mental, vital, and behavioral changes in individuals through mass institutions within the framework of a program determined by the power relations among the different social segments, which are determined by historical conditions. When education is considered and defined with these characteristics, educational areas will be opened for students and pedagogues. The possibility of opening up new paths in the minds and practices of the pedagogues may also increase, invoking the responsibility to produce self-critical educational practices.





### **Fields of Subjectivation and Liberation for Pedagogues and Students**

The neoliberal capitalist process imposed a restructuring of countries' social superstructural institutions and their economic systems. Neoliberal policies applied as a process are characterized by the necessity of commodification and the marketization of every service in society (Kuehn, 1999, in Ünal, 2005), such as the promotion of private financing as well as privatization and public financing, measurement of the quality of education through competency-based central exams, ignoring social and cultural aspects, and performance-based assessment. These policies have manifested themselves in education in the construction and reproduction of a New World Order. Because teachers are judged according to their performance, educational institutions are privatized, private over public financing is encouraged, the quality of education is measured by means of competition-based central exams, and social and cultural perspectives are ignored, pedagogues are expected to rid themselves of their social responsibilities and leave their ideals aside. Moreover, the number of pedagogues who now have dreams of education is also diminishing. Neoliberal capitalism requires pedagogues to set themselves up as technical transporters who prepare students for exams and apply the program in their specialties in the best way, but they are excluded from educational decisions, thus giving them no influence over decision-making processes. Therefore, today's pedagogues are being deskilled by transforming them into mere technicians to meet the labor force need as doers rather than as thinkers (Ünal, 2005). In fact, here, "qualification" in terms of knowing what and how to teach indicates being unqualified. Pedagogues have been converted to technical personnel, doing one's job without thinking about it, which alienates them from their profession. On the contrary, being "qualified" in this case is related to the fact that the educator possesses all control over the work which is done and the efficiency of decisions and processes, and thus can improve his or her work and control the labor process (Ünal, 2005). In other words, a technical "qualification," limited to knowing only what to teach and how to teach, actually points to a lack of competence. The pedagogue has been transformed into a technical element that is trying to perform without thinking about the work. It is even more important for pedagogues to analyze the political character of education so that they can take steps toward subjectivity. As a solution, the pedagogue may make a political analysis of education and think about one's self and what they do, increasing one's ability to self-reflect (be self-critical). Therefore, it would be possible to produce critical knowledge regarding education.

The fact that education is a process of social and political construction requires a different perspective on both pedagogues as well as education. Pedagogues brings change and responsibility to their identity since they are trained educators and carry their influences in their cells. The pedagogues who can think about themselves and the job they do may see the difference between the mission crafted for them and the mission they want to assume, laying an ontological foundation for themselves.



Therefore, they may open new fields of existence, where they can bring themselves into existence in the way they desire, by being liberated from the grip of professionalism and proletarianization exerted by neoliberal policies (Özsoy et al., 2013). Furthermore, the introduction of education as a political phenomenon requires the establishment of a relationship with other social and political phenomena and institutions. An analysis of this kind enables education to be resolved as "relational" rather than as "relative" (Özsoy, 2012). However, a pedagogue who can incorporate self-conceptual and educational political analyses can achieve more realistic results with regards to their reason for and way of being. In considering one's own mission and seeing the distinction between the mission one is committed to, and the role he or she wants to undertake, one can build his or her own ontological base again. At the end of this questioning, pedagogues may consider doing their job as a quest for knowledge, making their difference and superiority no longer a privilege, but a right accessible by all (Ünal & Özsoy, 2010). However, in order to be able to achieve this, it is necessary for the neoliberal capitalist society to develop a consciousness of the emergence of educational reality as a process of social and political construction, and to be able to re-criticize and re-analyze the neoliberal capitalist society. After this, the pedagogues will be able to more easily design their own educational building processes, and in more diverse ways, in response to the educational reality resolved in political and social networks.

Pedagogues' perception and analysis of the political reality of education will bring a holistic view to education. In other words, instead of a functionalist view that sees education as a tool in the hands of power, it will give a perspective that analyzes education in its relational and historical context. Thus, as a technical person trying to solve the problems that are produced by the political system, while struggling with the individual problems that seem to be independent of each other, the pedagogue that moves away from the whole concept of education and becomes self-alienated will realize his or her identity in a holistic horizon, thus recognizing one's own identity. This will allow the pedagogues – who can act self-critical, clarify one's *raison d'être*, and analyze education in its relational unity – is afforded the opportunity to help the oppressed silent majority with finding their own voice (Ünal & Özsoy, 2010). Indeed, the political reality of education puts this responsibility on the shoulders of pedagogues. Thus, the pedagogue may create a process of rebuilding an educational reality that liberates both oneself and one's students.

Political analysis of education also provides students with fields of liberation. Students will first be liberated from the imposition of neoliberal capitalism. When students see that it is an imposition, they may realize that education is a fundamental human right for them and that what they have to do in this process is to freely develop their own selves, which will clarify what education means for them. In this way, they will recognize that the true aim of education is to freely develop one's existence. Secondly, they will gain the ability to recognize the needs of society through a critical perspective, and liberate themselves on the road to acquiring



them. In fact, while the economic and political relations that social life offers provides potential for an individual's multifaceted development, at the same time, it reveals one-sided and alienated people under the pressure of the dominant devices of the state (Kurul, 2013); one can go either way. The educational system and schools within these conditions will also be decisive as far as it depends on the individual, the environment, and the circumstances of the individual. According to Kurul (2013), the school can also ensure that the individual is strongly submissive and free. Hence, individuals can live in places where schools can reveal all the powerful human intelligence as well as physical and intellectual competencies. This will depend on how each school and its educational process are designed. In fact, the beginning of the process of liberation is the moment of birth of humanity. However, it is a process that must be continuously experienced with the circumstances and factors surrounded by all the moments of life after birth (Aksoy, 2013). In other words, emancipation is not only an ontological situation but an outcome that is nourished by epistemological relations (Aksoy, 2013). The student, participating in a curriculum designed with an understanding of political analysis and criticism of education, first notices how much the conditions within the curriculum limit him or her and how they obstruct a free existence. Then, the student realizes what he or she needs to be able to do to achieve a true and free existence in the direction. At this point, it may be helpful to remember the words of McLaren and Rikowski (in Rikowski, 2011) concerning the basis of revolutionary critical pedagogy:

A revolutionary critical pedagogy operates from an understanding that the basis of education is political and that spaces need to be created where students can imagine a different world outside of the capitalist law of value, where alternatives to capitalism and capitalist institutions can be discussed and debated, and where dialogue can occur about why so many revolutions in past history turned into their opposite. (p. 129)

To summarize, creating environments in which students can imagine a world outside of the capitalist social laws primarily requires reflecting on the political character of education of critical education practices as well. Again, Rikowski (2011) suggests that the three important conditions and phases of an anti-capitalist education are criticism, human needs, and human freedoms. Thus, pedagogues who adopt critical pedagogy as a guide base their work on the analysis of education as a political phenomenon with the aim of opening up spheres of liberation by criticizing neoliberal educational policies and considering human needs. Therefore, they will be able to open up fields, where both themselves and their students may freely exist, by being liberated from the grip of the professionalization and proletarianization imposed on them by neoliberal capitalism. Analyzing education through a political perspective in the frame of critical pedagogy may help with the fact that knowledge will no longer remain a privilege, but a right that can be accessed by all.



### **Political Analysis of Education for Critical Pedagogy**

The importance of political analysis of education for critical pedagogy is the sum of what has been explained throughout the various sections of this study. What has been said about the understanding and analysis of the political character of education, and its contribution to the subjectivity of the analysis and liberation of learners, all speak to the importance of education and political analysis for critical pedagogy. The connection that can be established among these points is an inseparable and indispensable relationship between educational politics and critical pedagogy. Because political analysis of neoliberal capitalism is as important to critical pedagogy as education is to neoliberal capitalism, the clearer the relation between the political analysis of education and liberation-subjectivation requirements in the educational system, and the more important the analysis itself is for critical pedagogy. For example, neoliberal capitalism, an essential target for critical educators, is only possible by creating effective areas of struggle against educational policies by exposing and analyzing the political character of education because these strong bases of criticism can be extracted from this analysis. Only by revealing, analyzing, and disclosing the political character of education can one create effective fields of struggle against the educational policies of neoliberalism. This analysis redirects teachers and students toward subjectivation and liberation practices against the consequences of neoliberal capitalist education that produces inequality, discrimination, competition, and exploitation. Therefore, an important threshold of the objective as set by critical pedagogues would be trespassed. Indeed, when the history of critical education is evaluated, the critical educational attitude developed by critical theorists against the theory of human capital in education and the later neoliberal politics has provided an important accumulation and leadership. Consequently, education has been part of the solution to social equality and liberation.

The mainstay in the political character of education and in the emergence of the critical theory is the fact that the indivisible relationship between labor and labor force is manipulated by capitalism. The educational process that prevents humans from simply being is also the very process in which social inequalities and discrimination are produced. This was stated by many critical theorists, including Illich, Bowles, Gintis, Bourdieu, Apple, Freire, McLaren, and Giroux (Aksoy, Aras, Çankaya, & Aygülen, 2011). They all prioritized the aim of developing a new educational understanding in the course of liberation. Thus, those who take critical pedagogy as a guide base their work on an analysis of education as a political phenomenon with the aim of opening up spheres of liberation by criticizing neoliberal educational policies and considering human needs. Therefore, they will be able to open up fields, where both themselves and their students may freely exist, by being liberated from the grip of professionalization and proletarianization as imposed by neoliberal capitalism. Analyzing education through a political perspective



in the reference frame of critical pedagogy may help with the fact that "knowledge" will no longer remain a privilege, but a right for all. By putting on the agenda the known and augmented perspective against neoliberal attacks on capitalism, developing criticisms and revealing the importance of the same will be a source of new power and excitement for the pedagogues, who insist on maintaining a critical stance.

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## Critical Literacy Practices in the School Subject of Ancient Greek Language and Literature

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### Abstract

*School literacy is not a neutral process promoting the acquisition of knowledge and skills; it has a profoundly political dimension, a fact that is not often realized by its participants (Luke, 1992). The pedagogical approach of critical literacy clearly states its political ends for school literacy: the critical awareness of social relations and social practices (language included); critical awareness and the ensuing reflection as necessary steps that lead the participants in the education process to personal transformation; and developing a stance of intervention in favor of a society organized on a fairer and more equitable basis (Freire, 2001). Given such a purpose, critical literacy opposes not only traditional views of education that regard students as passive recipients of knowledge that they should reproduce (Freire, 1970), but also the dominant neoliberal educational policies, which promote a functional and socially reproductive model of literacy that undermines the democratic agency of learners and positions teachers as technocrats (Katsarou, 2016). As critical literacy refers to all school subjects, this paper focuses on its integration in the subject of “Ancient Greek Language and Literature” in the first grade of a Greek senior high school. Moreover, critical literacy pays attention to the particular context in which the educational process occurs (Perry, 2012). Thus, the particularities of the course within Greek education, and the restrictions they set on the teacher and the pedagogical framework according to which these issues were addressed, are described. This is followed by several critical literacy reading practices that were applied during the school year. In the last part, conclusions from this intervention are revealed; they refer to the students’ responses to this intervention and to the value of these critical literacy practices for the vision of a democratic society organized on a basis of justice and equity.*

### Keywords

critical literacy practices, Ancient Greek texts, secondary education

The current conditions that we live in are dominated by neoliberal policies, favoring an education that is becoming increasingly technocratic. This type of education calls for high achievements and takes the form of standardized testing; it aims at preparing future skilled workers, who will be competitive in the labor market, instead of preparing future citizens that question, reflect, and make informed judgments. In such a political and social context, highly centralized and homogenous education systems and curricula have been developed that do not leave space for teachers to take initiatives; teaching follows strictly prescribed steps, aimed at achieving predefined results (Katsarou, 2016). Instead of reflecting on their practice as educators, teachers have become workers who implement curriculum policies in which they have no say. These neoliberal education policies are promoted as the only “rational” and “functional” solution that has no alternative. They are dominant,



partly because they are supported by the prevalent school literacy ideology: that school should provide students with the ability to read and write. Lately, this conception of literacy widened with the use of computer technology for the same purposes. Such views conceive of literacy as the acquisition of linguistic skills, cognitive strategies, and particular behaviors (Norton, 2007). It is evident that such views understand school literacy as a neutral, apolitical process, but in fact, favor a functional and socially reproductive model of literacy that undermines the democratic agency of learners (Carr, 2007).

However, all should keep in mind – particularly those who actively participate in the educational process – that school literacy is a highly selective social practice: it involves a selection of genres, texts, and practices. School literacy defines what students should do and what they should not do with certain texts, while simultaneously discarding other valuable approaches. Moreover, literacy is not a set of decontextualized skills but a significant cultural practice, entailing certain knowledge, skills, and values; it has always been connected with beliefs, identities, and ideologies. School literacy is a selective socialization of students into versions of the world and types of literate competence (Luke, 1992). All approaches to literacy are political (Chege, 2009), because different approaches to literacy exist. This fact was stressed by Paulo Freire (1970, 1985, 2001): education cannot be a neutral process, as when teachers present a subject to their students, they also present a point of view of that subject. Therefore, teachers have the choice either to teach for their students’ liberation or for their domestication. The fact that teachers do have a choice, despite the existing restrictions, renders them responsible for their students; if teachers do not advocate an empowering and liberating pedagogy, then they do the opposite, and they contribute to the perpetuation of social injustices (Freire, 1970). Nevertheless, this dimension of school literacy, unfortunately, does not seem to be conceived by most of its agents. Most teachers do not view literacy as social action, but as a “method” that is apolitical (Cadiero-Kaplan & Smith, 2002). Teachers find it difficult to acknowledge this political dimension of literacy, which is the fact that literacy is being shaped for particular social purposes and political ends. On the contrary, they consider it natural, because they do not think that there are different or competing views of literacy (Luke, 1992). When knowledge is taken for granted by the teachers and transmitted without being questioned, then school literacy perpetuates the existing status quo with its injustices and inequalities.

For critical literacy, education can be an empowering and emancipating experience; it can help its participants realize the social conditions in which they live, reflect on these conditions, and try to change them according to their beliefs and values. Critical literacy clearly states the political goals to which education should aspire: the raising of critical consciousness of social practices (language included) and the social relations inherently involved to these practices. Critical consciousness and the reflection that ensues are empowering and liberating processes leading to personal



transformation and a stance of intervening in social life in favor of a more just and equitable society.

Critical literacy pedagogy refers to all subjects taught at all levels of education. Moreover, as all socio-cultural learning theories, critical literacy pays particular attention to the context of learning (Perry, 2012). According to this point of view, the present critical literacy intervention refers to the school subject of “Ancient Greek Language and Literature,” taught in a Greek senior high school. In the next section, some background information will be provided about the course and the way it is being taught in Greek secondary education in order for both the problem and the intervention to be better understood. As will become evident, the specific context imposes serious constraints on teachers and their students.

### **Ancient Greek Language and Literature as a Subject**

The subject of “Ancient Greek Language and Literature” in the Greek educational context is connected with intense ideological disputes. This is due to the fact that the Ancient Greek language has always been highly valued, as it is still considered a constitutive part of the Greek cultural identity. To be more specific, the Greek vernacular, until 1976, when it was established as the official state language, had been systematically undervalued; instead, until 1976, a language form imitating Ancient Greek had been established as the official language. The high status of the Ancient Greek language was enhanced by the fact that Ancient Greek literature is labeled “classical,” which means that it possesses a high quality that transcends time (Lianeri & Zajko, 2008). Thus, for most Greeks, the texts’ value coincided with their language’s value (Maronitis, 2008). These are the main reasons why the Ancient Greek language has been taught at Greek schools since the foundation of the Greek state in 1830.

The ancient texts that are selected for teaching are more than 2000 years old. Their language has many similarities with, and significant differences from, the contemporary one. Time and social developments have caused considerable linguistic changes in prosody, phonology, morphology, semantics, and lexicon (Maronitis, 2008). As a result, the Ancient Greek language is no longer spoken and its texts are very difficult to fully understand without an in-depth knowledge of it. These particularities explain why Ancient Greek is being taught at school for many years and for many hours. Nowadays, all students who attend Greek school start learning the Ancient Greek language at the gymnasium level (junior high school), formerly for 3 hours per week but recently reduced to 2 hours. At the same level, they also study Ancient Greek literature in translation (2 hours per week). At the level of junior high school (which is 3 years), they study two different subjects: Ancient Greek Language (where small texts from the original are being taught), and Ancient Greek Literature (where larger translated parts are being taught). Provided the extensive education students receive, it is assumed that as soon as they enter senior high school, they have already acquired the basic knowledge and language skills, as well as possess the



cultural background, in order for them to study larger extracts from the prototype. Specifically, at the first grade of senior high school (the grade referred to in this paper), they study extensive excerpts for 5 hours per week from the work of two main Ancient Greek historians, Thucydides and Xenophon.

In the Greek school, the course textbooks are considered fundamental for the educational process; most teachers rely heavily on them in order to shape their instruction. This means that they usually conduct their lessons according to the textbook's order and its exercises. Such is the case for the course of “Ancient Greek Language and Literature,” where the course textbook includes the texts that are taught, followed by their vocabulary and explanatory and interpretative comments, while the last section includes various exercises, which basically correspond to the demands of the course's assessment. The course is also supported by reference schoolbooks: one on Ancient Greek grammar, and one on Ancient Greek syntax. Assessment is also considered fundamental, and shapes the way instruction is conducted. During the school year, the students are given several tests to complete, while at the end of the school year, written exams at school unit level are carried out. The final examination has the form of translating an excerpt of the text that is given, grammar and syntax exercises, lexical exercises that highlight the “fact” that the knowledge of Ancient Greek lexicon improves one's knowledge of Modern Greek language, and interpretative questions.

### **Problems with Teaching Ancient Greek Language and Literature**

From the information provided up to this point, several conclusions can be drawn. The first conclusion is that the Ancient Greek Language and Literature course curriculum is highly homogenized; all Greek students are being taught the same texts according to the same assessment criteria. Therefore, the curriculum poses significant limitations on the teachers' freedom to conduct the course according to their students' needs and interests. A second conclusion is that the course is based on the assumption that all students possess the knowledge and skills required to decode and make meaning from the ancient texts in such a way that they are able to study extensive texts. Nevertheless, this assumption is not based on reality as the majority of students cannot decode the texts, and they are thus completely dependent on translations. It appears that the methods of teaching the Ancient Greek language has had poor results.

This brings us to a third conclusion concerning the courses' prevalent teaching method, which is the grammar-translation method; it takes the form of the explicit lexicon-grammar and syntactic analysis of the ancient texts. This approach to foreign language teaching was uncontested until the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Nowadays, it is considered anachronistic as it concerns foreign languages that are spoken (Celce-Murcia, 2001). Nevertheless, it still remains the dominant method in the teaching of Ancient Greek. In the Greek education system, it has established a powerful teaching tradition, possibly due to the ideological bias about the Ancient Greek language (as



exposed in the previous section), which puts the emphasis on the language of the texts at the expense of their content and interpretation. In conclusion, the reading of the texts is confined to understanding their content instead of negotiating their meanings.

The translation of the texts by students is considered a very important element of the course, as it evidences the way the students understand the ancient texts. On the other hand, most teachers are fully aware of most students' incapability to translate the texts by themselves. As a result, the leading practice is to translate them orally in the classroom with the "aid" of very few students who have managed to acquire these skills. In the end, the teachers dictates it to the students, who write it down or are provided copies of a printed translation. This practice, convenient as it seems, has poor results for the students: most of them, instead of learning to produce their own translation, try to memorize the distributed translated texts. Naturally, very few are able to learn large texts by heart, and consequently, whenever they produce a translation – oral or written – the result is texts full of errors, very often with no meaning at all. Thus, under no circumstances is it surprising that this school subject does not attract the interest of the majority of students, nor is it a surprise that it causes great concern in the educational community. Generally, most students are unable to connect the texts they learn with their lives as they cannot understand them.

### **Critical Literacy Intervention**

As I have been teaching this course for many years, I took the decision to confront these problems by distancing myself from the existing teaching tradition and to read the texts included in the course textbook critically with my students. The restrictions imposed by the curriculum did not permit me to change the texts or the assessment practices, but I could change the teaching method. I felt that it was necessary to conduct the lesson within a social constructivist framework. The main goal was to activate my students instead of degrading them to passive recipients of the knowledge transmitted to them (Freire, 1970). Thus, the students were divided into groups of 4 and the activities were planned in such a way that the students would be active. Next, I considered it fundamental that the students translate the ancient texts by themselves, in the classroom, with the teacher's assistance, using "fading scaffolding" techniques. After the groups had produced their translations, the translations were read and corrected when necessary. Grammar and syntax were taught during this procedure. In conclusion, a holistic approach to language learning was applied. Another major decision was to apply critical reading practices of the ancient texts. The issues raised during this process were negotiated applying a dialogical approach.

This intervention took the form of an informal action research, as this type was considered the most appropriate way of enacting critical reading practices in the course. First of all, it is a bottom-up procedure of constructing knowledge as it is



conducted by the teachers. It consists of researching and acting on the problem they face. Moreover, action research is not confined to personal instructional strategies; rather, this type of intervention expands to the transformation of the conditions that shape the teacher's practice so that it can become a procedure of empowering its participants, thus leading them to transformative action. Consequently, the teacher who enacts action research initiates a political dimension of the intervention, as he/she takes into consideration the students' needs, which is a move toward social justice in school life (Katsarou, 2016). The tools for collecting the data were observations, field notes, questionnaires, work samples, dialogues, and written journals.

### Theoretical Framework

The intervention that was carried out is considered by the author to be a critical literacy intervention. Among many definitions of critical literacy, the one by Knoblauch and Brannon (1993) is as follows: critical literacy “entails an understanding of the relationships between language and power together with a practical knowledge of how to use language for self-realization, social critique, and cultural transformation” (p. 152). Another definition that highlights the importance of language for critical literacy is made by Emmitt and Wilson (2005):

Critical literacy is a powerful tool in educating children for a better world, but it is more than teaching about issues of social justice. Critical literacy pedagogy must equip learners with the analytical tools necessary for reading and writing critically; in other words, to know:

- that texts are not neutral
- that text creators have choices in selecting text forms, content, language, and visuals, which may privilege certain views of the world over others
- as readers, how to analyze texts for the purpose of identifying creator constructions of events and people
- as writers, how to construct texts without perpetuating long-held stereotypes
- how to challenge texts and take action for a better world

This critical literacy intervention in the course, “Ancient Greek Language and Literature,” took the form of critical reading of the course texts and of relating the interpretations that were made to contemporary life. This practice leads students to reflect on their life, thus paving the way for any individual's personal transformation to change their lives for the better in terms of equity and justice (Morgan, 1998). In order for all these matters to be better understood in the specific context of this intervention, the definitions of the terms *critical reading* and *course texts* are necessary.

**Critical reading.** The act of reading involves multiple ways of engagement with the text, reflecting the readers' expectations, attitudes, and purposes, which are defined as “stances.” For critical literacy, readers should not read texts focusing exclusively





on the knowledge they expect to attain with the goal of extracting information. This is a stance which is defined as “efferent” by Rosenblatt (1994). Nor should the readers read them solely with an “aesthetic” stance, which is only for pleasure, focusing on the aesthetic qualities of the text (Rosenblatt, 1994). Critical literacy adds a critical stance, which consists of examining and challenging the “truth” a text presents (McLaughlin & DeVogd, 2004). As readers who read critically consider texts and their meanings to be constructed, they develop a stance of reading against the text, locating in it omissions and contradictions, questioning the assumptions made in it, and always searching for alternatives (McNicol, 2016).

Generally, students tend to adopt a passive stance when they are presented a text, never having been encouraged or taught to question a text, analyze the author’s viewpoint, or explore differing perspectives (Stevens & Bean, 2007). They submit to the power of the author, meaning “the right to select a topic and determine the treatment of the ideas” (McLaughlin & DeVogd, 2004, p. 54). On the other hand, critical reading can be defined as the attitude that does not receive the texts’ meanings as real, but as an aspect of reality (the one that the author presents). In other words, a critical reader challenges the author’s power to create and present his/her messages, and poses questions, such as why the author chose a certain topic, why he/she negotiated it from a particular point of view, and why in this negotiation certain ideas are included while others are excluded. Critical reading also means to challenge the social practices the author presents and the way he/she presents them (McLaughlin, 2004, 2012). It means adopting a standpoint of engagement as well as one of estrangement to the texts’ meanings (Janks, 1997).

For Freire (1970), critical reading involves understanding a text in its social and historical context, an understanding that will lead to the rewriting of what is read. Therefore, critical reading ultimately becomes a reflexive activity as it leads the readers to relate the matters that emerge from the reading to their own experience, and to examine and question their own assumptions and values. Such a reflection will lead them to personal transformation and commitment to social justice. In other words, critical reading leads the readers to critical consciousness, which, in turn, leads them to reflection and personal transformation and, further, to social action within their communities. This process of reflection and action is defined by Freire as “praxis” (1970). For critical literacy, all texts are neither neutral nor objective; they are culturally and socially constructed, therefore serving particular interests and promoting certain values. Their authors make choices about what to include, what to exclude, and how to represent people, actions, and social structures.

**Course texts.** In this paper, the texts of the course are defined as not only the ancient extracts from the work of Thucydides and Xenophon that are being taught in the first grade of every senior high school, but additionally the interpretative comments, supplementary texts, and questions included in the course’s textbook. We attempted to read all these texts critically. Moreover, in order to put the theoretical aspects of critical literacy into practice, the guidelines provided by



Lewis, Flint and Van Sluys (2002) were followed, as they synthesized a framework of these four interrelated dimensions:

1. Disrupting the commonplace: Challenging ideas and beliefs taken for granted and questioning the underlying claims of any meaning.
2. Interrogating multiple viewpoints: Examining issues through many differing lenses and paying attention to voices that have been marginalized.
3. Focusing on sociopolitical issues: Pointing out that teaching should highlight the fact that language is intertwined with its sociopolitical context and power relations, therefore never being neutral.
4. Taking action: Connecting learning with reflection and social action to promote social justice.

In the part that follows, examples of critical literacy practices are presented as they were shaped while the class was reading the ancient texts. As to the nature of these practices, it has to be noted that critical literacy does not offer a strictly defined methodology; instead, it refers to practices adapted to the contexts in which they are used. All who teach within a critical literacy framework stress that their practices are continually being redefined and adapted to the local context (Gregory & Cahill, 2009; McLaughlin & DeVoogd, 2004; Stevens & Bean, 2007).

### Examples of Critical Literacy Practices

The following critical literacy practices refer to excerpts from the work of the Ancient Greek historians, Xenophon and Thucydides. In order for them to be better understood, whenever it is considered necessary, the practices are accompanied by passages of the ancient text in its English translation.

**Xenophon's *Hellenica*.** The texts that are being taught in the school subject, “Ancient Greek Language and Literature,” are extended extracts from Xenophon's *Hellenica* and from Thucydides, the author of the *History of the Peloponnesian War*. Xenophon is considered a prominent historian of the Classical period. In *Hellenica*, he narrates the political developments in Greece between 411 and 362 B.C. The extracts included in the school textbook cover the end of the Peloponnesian War and the political developments that followed in Athens. At that time, Ancient Greece was not confined to the same geographic area as modern Greece, nor was it politically united in a single state; it was divided into several city-states, kingdoms, and other political formations. In the Peloponnesian War, most of the Greek world participated, allied around the great rival powers of that period: the democratic Athens, and Sparta, which had an oligarchic government. The war ended with the defeat of Athens and its alliance, and these events are narrated in the textbook. To be more specific, the students read about the last great battle of the war (where the Athenians were defeated), the diplomatic negotiations that followed and led to Athens' final capitulation, and the subsequent political developments in Athens.

In these developments, Theramenes, a leading Athenian politician, played a prominent role. Theramenes was an aristocrat, and from his actions we can easily



deduce that he, apart from a peace treaty for his city-state, favored the change of its government from a democracy to an oligarchy. In fact, it appears that he saw these two separate matters as interconnected and, in order to achieve his goals, but without being perceived by his fellow citizens, he volunteered to negotiate the end of the war with the victorious Spartans. When he was sent by the Athenians, he was delayed for more than 3 months under various pretexts. He did so in order that the Athenians, besieged by land and sea, would starve and thus, surrender under any terms. In the English translation of Xenophon's (1918), we read:

This being the condition of affairs in Athens, Theramenes said in the Assembly that if they were willing to send him to Lysander, he would find out before he came back whether the Lacedaemonians were insistent in the matter of the walls because they wished to reduce the city to slavery, or in order to obtain a guarantee of good faith. Upon being sent, however, he stayed with Lysander three months and more, waiting for the time when, on account of the failure of provisions, the Athenians would agree to anything and everything which might be proposed. And when he returned in the fourth month, he reported in the Assembly that Lysander had detained him all this time and had then directed him to go to Lacedaemon, saying that he had no authority in the matters concerning which Theramenes asked for information, but only the ephors. After this Theramenes was chosen ambassador to Lacedaemon with full power, being at the head of an embassy of ten.

From the translated passage, we understand that Xenophon, on the one hand, narrates Theramenes' actions, but on the other hand, omits his deeper motive: the fact that he planned the change of his city-state government to an oligarchy. As this omission is stated in the course's textbook but there is no further explanation, a critical literacy practice was to ask the reason for such an omission. The class tried to find an explanation by looking for additional information provided by the textbook. It was pointed out that the author, Xenophon, also had aristocratic views; in other parts of his text, he writes favorably about Theramenes, which are facts that possibly explain such an omission. The critical literacy practice that we applied here is to read the text from an objective position, to find deficiencies and to take into account the context of the events. We challenged the power of the author to present the facts in the way he chooses, and we highlighted the ideological character of the text.

As for the same narrated events, the students were asked to position themselves concerning Theramenes' actions: his deliberate delay (3 and a half months) as well as his lying to his fellow citizens (that he unwillingly was kept by the Spartans). To evaluate is not an easy thing to do, especially when the situation is a very complicated one. Perhaps it is easy for someone to understand that Theramenes' actions are in accordance with his ideological positioning; however, the issue is more complex, giving way to the following questions: Is Theramenes a traitor of his country, or did he believe that starving his fellow citizens was the most appropriate solution to silence their fanaticism as they called for resistance to the very end? Was there any other solution? Finally, how can Theramenes' political stance be



characterized? Is he a realist or a paternalistic politician, a man that believes that he knows what is best for others, and he is ready to lie to them for their own good? The students were asked to approach this issue as political leaders and as citizens of different political orientations. The activity of reading and interpreting a text from different stances challenges all students to expand their thinking and discover diverse viewpoints, beliefs, positions, and understandings (McLaughlin & DeVogd, 2004). Moreover, it allows them to consider multiple perspectives and to value them over some mythical “right answer” (Leland, Ociepka, & Kuonen, 2012).

There is no single answer to questions when it comes to evaluating human actions. The aim is not to find the “right” answer; rather, what is important is to analyze these issues so that students understand the important role ethics plays in defining a person’s actions. Conversations of this kind were conducted according to Habermas’ theory of communicative action (1984, in Lee, 2015). Habermas stipulated that “truth” should not be perceived monologically but communicatively. Furthermore, the criterion for evaluating claims concerning values is shared interests (Lee, 2015). Consequently, the class community agreed on the criteria upon which we would conduct our dialogue, and the most valid arguments using these criteria prevailed. Students were asked to identify similarities between the issues discussed above with contemporary life, and to reflect on them. The aim for such a practice was to connect the texts’ world to their life according to Freire and Macedo’s (1998) idea that reading is not simply decoding text, but reveals underlying knowledge of the world. When students learn to explore their readings and reflect on what is similar to their lives and what is different, this procedure enables them to situate themselves within the larger context (Gregory & Cahill, 2009).

From the previous passage, the reader understands that the key point of the negotiations between the Athenians and the victorious Spartans was whether the defeated Athenians would demolish their city’s walls in order to be vulnerable to their opponents. In the next passage, we read the terms of the peace treaty the victors offered the Athenians as an ultimatum:

The Lacedaemonians, however, said that they would not enslave a Greek city which had done great service amid the greatest perils that had befallen Greece, and they offered to make peace on these conditions: that the Athenians should destroy the long walls and the walls of Piraeus, surrender all their ships except twelve, allow their exiles to return, count the same people friends and enemies as the Lacedaemonians did, and follow the Lacedaemonians both by land and by sea wherever they should lead the way. (1918)

In the translation, the terms are presented as equal independent clauses. However, this is not the case in the ancient text; all the terms are formulated as subordinate to the main term, but this term is not the demolition of the walls, as one would have expected. Xenophon presents the obligation of the Athenians to follow the Spartans by land and sea as the main term. At this part of the text, the students realized the power of the historian to narrate the events the way he chooses and to use his own



priorities, and that he does so without expressing it overtly. When the reader reads with a critical stance, he/she becomes capable of realizing how an author uses language for his/her own purposes. In other words, language is not a tool, but a social practice that creates representations and promotes ideologies.

As we keep reading the ancient text, we understand that Theramenes' plans were accomplished and, after the peace treaty, the system of government in Athens changed from a democracy to an oligarchy controlled by 30 men, a regime that subsequently was named "the Tyranny of the Thirty" after them. However, things took a turn for the worst for Theramenes as he came into conflict with his comrades. His main opponent was Critias, a staunch oligarch. Theramenes' original plan was to establish a mediocre oligarchy, while Critias wanted to impose a regime founded on terrorism. In the end, the Thirty grouped around Critias and Theramenes was brought to trial as a traitor. When Theramenes delivered his apology, the Senators (500 Athenians out of a total of 3,000 who had political rights in the regime of the Thirty) reacted favorably. However, such a reaction did not suit Critias' plans, so he made arrangements for armed men to stand in view in order to terrorize the Senators who judged Theramenes, and he addressed them with the following words: "Senators, I deem it the duty of a leader who is what he ought to be, in case he sees that his friends are being deceived, not to permit it. I, therefore, shall follow that course. Besides, these men who have taken their stand here say that if we propose to let a man go who is manifestly injuring the oligarchy, they will not suffer us to do so. Now it is provided in the new laws that while no one of those who are on the roll of the Three Thousand may be put to death without your vote, the Thirty shall have power of life or death over those outside the roll. I, therefore," he said, "strike off this man Theramenes from the roll, with the approval of all the Thirty. That being done," he added, "we now condemn him to death." (1918)

In this passage, the students perceived how Critias abolished the provisions of the regime that he and his comrades had established when these provisions did not suit his plans, and that he did so by presenting his act as lawful. This moment shows how language can be used by someone to justify his unethical acts by distorting the meaning of the words. Could the students find similar moments of language use in their life? This was the question on which they were asked to reflect and to share their thoughts.

As Theramenes is now in agony for his life, he appeals to the judges (Senators) asking them to apply the law. We read:

When Theramenes heard this, he sprang to the altar and said: "And I, sirs," said he, "beg only bare justice—that it be not within the power of Critias to strike off either me or whomsoever of you he may wish, but rather that both in your case and in mine the judgment may be rendered strictly in accordance with that law which these men have made regarding those on the roll." (1918)

In his appeal, he called the Senators *kaloikagathoi*, which in this translation is "sirs." However, a more suitable translation would be "beautiful and virtuous men;" It is a



typical Ancient Greek expression that incarnates the ideal man of that age. Apart from the fact that this ideal clearly refers only to free men, other issues of a linguistic and social nature arise as well: the ancient words remain the same in Modern Greek, but their meaning has deeply changed. In our days, *kalos* means “good,” and *agathos* means “naïve.” Moreover, the ideal human type has also changed, so how can this expression be translated in Modern Greek? How – and why – did these changes take place? Issues of this nature stimulated the students to reflect on language use as a social practice and realize the importance of the sociopolitical context in comprehending a text, and, once more, to make connections to their own world.

“The Tyranny of the Thirty” lasted eight months. Athens had a strong democratic tradition and a resistance was soon formed, which led to the overthrow of the tyrants. The text that follows is the last part of the speech made by Thrasybulus, the leader of the democratic resistance. It was made on the battlefield, just before the decisive battle where the democrats defeated the tyrants and their supporters. It refers to the values for which an Ancient Greek should be willing to die:

“And now, comrades, we must so act that each man shall feel in his breast that he is chiefly responsible for the victory. For victory, God willing, will now give back to us country and homes, freedom and honours, children, to such as have them, and wives. Happy, indeed, are those of us who shall win the victory and live to behold the gladdest day of all! And happy also he who is slain; for no one, however rich he may be, will gain a monument so glorious. Now, when the right moment comes, I will strike up the paean; and when we call Enyalios to our aid, then let us all, moved by one spirit, take vengeance upon these men for the outrages we have suffered.”  
(1918)

Such texts are valuable for critical reading, as they enable the reader to locate the values of a different society, relate them to their social context, compare them to their contemporary values and social context, and try to interpret these differences. The chain of the events ultimately leads to the restoration of democracy. In the textbook’s interpretative comments accompanying the text, a triumphant discourse is adopted: it is stated that the fact that there are no reported acts of retaliation against the supporters of the previously established oligarchy is attributed to the *ethos* of democracy. However, this taken-for-granted “truth” is worth questioning. The class once more searched for other possible explanations by extending the context frame; for example, a possible explanation could be the reported active intervention of the Spartans on these political developments. To be more specific, Sparta, for internal reasons, followed a policy of reconciling the conflicting sides in Athens. One could argue that it was not the democratic *ethos* that made reconciliation possible, but the policy of Sparta (which had actually sent its army to Athens, ready to intervene). We therefore challenged the official school discourse as it is presented in the textbook, which offers one explanation as the only possible one, thus positioning the readers.





One last critical literacy practice took place when we had finished reading Xenophon's history. In an overview of his work, the students were asked to compare the ancient historian's discourse to the discourse of their history textbook. This critical literacy practice allowed us to discuss how different societies have different discourses in terms of how they represent their past, but nonetheless, both position their readers to accept their "objectivity."

**Thucydides' history.** The next author whose history was critically examined during the course is Thucydides. He has been called "the father of scientific history" due to his "objectivity" and his use of historical methods. The course textbook includes parts of his history on another significant event of the same Peloponnesian War (431-404 B.C.): the civil war, in the island-city-state of Corfu, between the democratic and oligarchic parties. This political controversy drew the attention of the great rival powers, Athens and Sparta, as they considered it an opportunity to claim the island as their territory, respectively, in order to strengthen their position in the war.

We will present a critical literacy practice that concerns an excerpt from Thucydides' text. During an armed clash that took place between the two sides, the democrats (the "people" in the translated text) defeated the oligarchs. We read:

The next day but one they fought again; and the people had the victory, having the odds both in strength of places and in number of men. And the women also manfully assisted them, throwing tiles from the houses and enduring the tumult even beyond the condition of their sex. (Hobbes, 1843)

The translated text renders with accuracy the gender bias of Thucydides (masculinity being beyond the women's reach). What is interesting here is how this stereotype relates to its social context (a male-dominated society). Moreover, why do such stereotypes continue to exist in modern times when social conditions have radically changed? Indeed, why do such stereotypes not bother us and, more importantly, why do they go unnoticed and continue to be reproduced in oral and written language? By examining questions such as these, we highlighted the ideological function of language and how important it is to connect it with the societal forces that shape it. By doing so, the students learn to relate what they read to the reality of their lives, and to relate the personal with the political (Laman, 2006). Another critical literacy reading practice was, in groups, to identify silences and gaps in the author's representation of the events; for example, why individuals or groups associated with certain events appear to be non-existent. In addition, the students were asked to challenge the author's interpretations and to offer their own interpretations.

After we had finished reading the histories of Xenophon and Thucydides included in the course, we had a critical conversation concerning the curriculum itself. The students' beliefs and assumptions were explored in terms of the reasons why certain texts have survived from antiquity, which ones were chosen for instruction in Greek schools, and what powers and ideologies shape a literary canon. At the end of the



school year, we reflected on all our critical literacy practices and compared the form the course took to their previous experience. The goal for such a reflection was for the students to realize that school literacy is not a neutral practice, that it has a deeply political dimension, and that the way it is enacted shapes the beliefs and values of its actors. Practices such as these are grounded in the belief that it is not enough that the students learn to read a text as constructed, they have to understand reading itself as an ideological practice; that is, to reflect on the reading practices they are engaged in and to ask themselves why particular ways of reading have become the dominant ways of reading in school, as well as in society (Huang, 2011).

### Conclusion

This paper presents a school-year intervention in the course, “Ancient Greek Language and Literature,” taught at the first grade of senior high school in Greece. In the first part, the political dimension of school literacy was highlighted in order to illuminate the fact that teachers have a choice as to how they conduct their teaching. For critical literacy, this choice should be made in favor of an empowering and liberating pedagogy (Freire, 1985). Nevertheless, the current teaching practices of the course, which are conducted within a highly centralized curriculum and which are based on the grammar-translation method, are not in accordance with the potential that the ancient texts comprise, nor do they match the students’ interest. Moreover, these practices seem to favor a “banking concept of education” (Freire, 1970) as they take the form of transmitting fixed knowledge to the students, who are treated as passive recipients.

The following section presented the teacher’s decision to intervene within a theoretical framework of critical literacy. Considering the particularities of the specific school subject, the attention was mainly focused on the critical reading and interpretation of the texts. Subsequently, examples of critical literacy practices were revealed in order to illustrate how the principles of critical literacy can be put into practice.

It is an uncontested fact that the educational context imposes serious limitations on teachers’ freedom in planning their classes. In this intervention, the limitations were as follows: the ancient language is no longer spoken and is read by relatively few people; significant differences exist between Ancient and Modern Greek; students’ background knowledge and language-decoding skills are limited; an ambitious number of the texts has to be studied in an insufficient amount of time for their instruction; and at the end of the school year, the course is formally assessed according to criteria set by the Greek Ministry of Education. All these limitations significantly restricted the teacher’s freedom to enact changes in the educational setting, and he was not able to fully implement a critical literacy pedagogy. As an example, valuable critical literacy practices, such as reading supplementary texts and



reading multiple texts (Behrman, 2006), were applied only once or twice due to time constraints.

The goal of this critical literacy intervention was not to initiate the students into the interpretative methods of philology; it took mainly the form of reading and interpreting the ancient texts with a critical stance. This kind of reading revealed that the ancient texts are ideologically positioned, and enabled the students to produce their own interpretations instead of limiting them to an unconditioned acceptance of their meanings, a tradition which usually is accompanied by memorization and reproduction of other existing interpretations recorded in their textbook. Furthermore, it enabled them to relate the matters that arose to their lives and to realize the existence of these matters and reflect on them.

The students were motivated and actively responded to these practices. In fact, many of the practices presented were not pre-planned, but emerged through interactions between the teacher and his students. The students' questions, arguments, and positions were creative, highly interesting, and – more importantly – pluralistic. Critical literacy does not offer predetermined answers to the questions it raises; its goal is to raise the students' critical consciousness about the inherent sociopolitical forces existing in the explored issues. This consciousness is the outcome of the development of “a language of critique,” which, in turn, develops “a language of possibility” (Giroux & McLaren, 1989) or a “language of transcendence” (Leonardo, 2004), a creative language which does not confine itself to repetitions.

Although these critical literacy practices may seem to be small-scale, the author strongly believes in their significance compared to his previous teaching experience. How did this happen? What was “the key” for such a success? The author believes that it was the social constructivist framework: the fact that the students were active participants in the whole procedure. The students translated the ancient text by themselves, cooperating in small groups. The student translation – instead of a given translation by the teacher – enabled them to engage with the text, to try to make meaning of it based on their own efforts, and to render their own understandings in their own discourse. In this way, the student translation operates as an empowering practice that develops their language skills as enabling them to examine the text with a more “critical eye” and to produce their own authentic interpretations.

In conclusion, critical pedagogy stresses the primary role of education for the fulfillment of a more democratic society. One of its basic assumptions is that a democratic society will be fulfilled through the students' empowerment and emancipation from the constraints on their lives. These are time-consuming and tiresome processes, and that's one of the reasons why they have to start at school. As for critical literacy, students' empowerment and emancipation start from the reading of the texts and reflecting on the practices entailed in them with a critical stance.



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## Repositioning Science Teachers' Role with History of Science Storytelling in Critical Education

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### **Abstract**

*Critical education demands that science teachers go beyond delivering science content knowledge; they should reposition their role in two ways. Firstly, they should introduce a moral dimension in their teaching, as well as a historical and cultural one, in order to help students critically evaluate the scientific discipline and scientific activities in the light of social utility. Secondly, they should cultivate a classroom climate of trust to encourage fruitful dialogue. We propose that telling stories derived from history of science (HOS) to teach science can significantly contribute to those goals in various ways. When HOS is introduced in science teaching practice, it gives the teacher and students the opportunity to examine science from a political and moral perspective. Moreover, when HOS is introduced through storytelling, emotional goals are achieved. Through stories, students of different social groups understand one another and experience problems that are not theirs, sensing the need for change. We organised a storytelling workshop that was voluntarily attended by biology teachers. We produced four stories derived from the history of biology, which we delivered in accompaniment with several sociocultural issues for each one of them. The teachers implemented storytelling in their classrooms. After each story was told, a dialogue followed about aspects that students would choose. A few months later, the students evaluated the method using a Likert scale questionnaire we developed. They claimed that the method helped them with nature of science (NO) understanding and that it resulted in an improvement in the classroom climate, as they found their science teacher to be more friendly and approachable during those particular lessons. In conclusion, HOS storytelling is a useful educational tool for awakening and sensitizing students to social problems that either they or others face elsewhere in the world.*

### **Keywords**

*history of science, storytelling, nature of science, critical education*

Educators have the important role of helping and encouraging their students to work toward forming their own view of the world (Bruner, 1992). During this journey, according to the demands of critical education, in addition to inspiring and motivating their students, educators should also pay attention to whether their students are provided the right conditions for achieving this goal, and, when necessary, they should contribute to changing those conditions (Tsiakalos, 2002). Paulo Freire (1985), the founder critical education movement, writes:

For me, education is simultaneously an act of knowing, a political act and an artistic event. I no longer speak about a political dimension of education; I no longer speak about a knowing dimension of education. As well, I don't speak about education through art. On the contrary, I say education is politics, art and knowing.(p. 193)





This position is a cornerstone of the critical education philosophy. Its aims are for students, as future citizens, to be individuals who are responsible for their autonomy and emancipation (Freire, 1977, in Skordoulis, 2009). Critical social theory is an interdisciplinary field that involves the goal of promoting the emancipatory functioning of knowledge. To approach this goal, critical thinking in education is promoted and students' ability to judge institutional and conceptual dilemmas, with particular emphasis on those leading to sovereignty or oppression, is cultivated (Leonardo, 2004). Critical thinking, based on the scientific way of thinking, aims to enable citizens to freely and democratically make decisions based on humanism. Critical education, considering existing social injustice, puts as its priority democracy, participation, empowerment, and action (Diduck, 1999), aiming to transform unjust, undemocratic, or oppressive institutions and social relations (Burbules & Berk, 1999). As such, it is the teachers in critical education who should have the knowledge and skills to critique and transform the existing inequalities in society (Sadeghi, 2008).

### **The Teacher's Role in Critical Education**

Among the goals of critical education, there is the repositioning of teachers' and students' roles. The teacher is traditionally considered the authority on the subject matter that is to be taught; the one who transmits knowledge to students who are therefore considered the objects of the educational processes (Skordoulis, 2009). In critical education, teacher and students take off the roles of the oppressor and the oppressed, and become collaborators who are both responsible for teaching and learning, and who both lead the procedures with equal power, co-designing the lesson in a context of mutual trust (Joldersma, 2001; McGregor, 2003). Under the perspective of critical education, the teacher is considered more of a transformative intellectual; one who is to learn from students, appreciate their viewpoints, and take part in dialogical processes. By creating the appropriate conditions, teachers shall enable students to become cultural producers who can rewrite their experiences and perceptions (Giroux, 1997; Sadeghi, 2008).

The teachers' and students' roles are strongly related to the classroom climate and the classroom dynamics that affect them. Classroom climate and dynamics are considered important dimensions of critical education. Classroom climate consists of the following factors: whether students see their teacher as trustworthy and knowledgeable, whether all students feel heard and respected, whether students are able to engage with one another in a way that supports learning, and whether the content and the pedagogy feel relevant and culturally inclusive. When the classroom climate is warm, encouraging, and inclusive, then students feel free and ready to express and explore unexamined beliefs, values, and ultimately, learn (Bell, Goodman, & Ouellett, 2016). Accordingly, a climate of trust is essential for dialogue, the most important means of promoting critical education. Dialogue, in the context of critical education— when it is indeed free and democratic— repositions the roles of



teacher and students. Students are transformed from objects to subjects, and students and educator teach each other, becoming fellow travelers on a common path leading them all to growth. Such a liberating dialogue is not simple to achieve. Dialogical education aims to “bridge the gap between ‘reading the words’ and ‘reading the world’ ... that is, it connects reading texts with understanding and, ultimately, changing reality (i.e., critical literacy)” (Spaaij & Jeanes, 2013, p.446). For such a dialogue to flourish, besides a proper classroom climate, there should also be a strong motive. Critical education deals with social issues, such as empowering oppressed minorities based on gender, race, color, sexual preference, etc. (Solorzano & Yoso, 2002), as well as with political, environmental (Diduck, 1999; Gough & Robottom, 1993) and public health issues (Sørensen et al., 2012).

### **The Science Teacher’s Role in Critical Education**

In particular, science teachers should go beyond delivering science content knowledge; they should not present science as a descriptive tool of the world, but also reveal its dimension as a tool that shapes the world since many political decisions are taken based on aspects of science nowadays. To do so, they should introduce a moral dimension in their teaching as well as historical and cultural ones. They should present science in its historical, economic, political, social, and cultural context, and examine how these contextual factors affect science, and vice versa. That way, teachers may help their students to critically evaluate science as a subject as well as scientific activity in the light of social utility (Skordoulis, 2009).

As has been analyzed above, regarding education in general and science education specifically, when aiming for democracy, stereotypes of teaching and learning characterized by the model of authority are not appropriate. It is important to cultivate a classroom climate that would allow interactions in the classroom and would support dialogue and negotiation (Skordoulis, 2009). Therefore, the science teacher is called on to reposition his/her role in two ways: (a) to introduce moral, historical, and cultural dimensions in the science course, and (b) to cultivate a classroom climate of trust that will support honest dialogues. We propose that those two goals could be fulfilled through history of science (HOS) storytelling.

### **Introducing HOS to Critical Science Education**

History of science (HOS) can clarify that the view of science that is usually presented – mostly based on positivist notions of knowledge– and the ideals regarding conducting research, such as objectivity and truth, are unrealistic. Through HOS, examining how science has developed can be revealed such that subjective and social factors play a crucial role in the production of knowledge:

Actually, “knowledge” can be more accurately understood in psychological and sociological terms than in purely logical or epistemological terms. Moreover, once understood in this way, it becomes apparent that the positivist conception of



objective knowledge is nothing more than a myth. Within the positivist tradition it is assumed that scientific knowledge is in a continuous state of accumulation and growth. Rather the development of scientific knowledge can be seen as a succession of “revolutions” in which dominant “paradigms” are overthrown and replaced, in a subjective, context bound, and, in an important sense, political way. (Kuhn, 1970, in Carr & Kemmis, 1986, pp. 71-73)

Through HOS, nature of science (NOS) can be pictured (Klopfer, 1969; Mathews, 1992; McComas & Kampourakis, 2015). Several stories derived from the HOS can serve to introduce different NOS aspects, like the special nature of scientific knowledge: its tentative, yet durable character; scientific tools; the scientific method (Eichman, 1996); human elements in science, the subjectivity of scientists; and how social and cultural factors affect them (Hadzigeorgiou, 2006). When NOS is revealed, then all of the above become clear; science is no longer viewed as the absolute truth and the ultimate way to explain the world, nor are scientists viewed as “supermen.” Rather, science is seen as a human endeavor, inseparable from the society in which it develops, explaining and affecting the world around him/her and, at the same time, being affected by that world. Through the perspectives of history, philosophy, and sociology of science, science gets humanized and associated with more personal, moral, cultural, and political concerns, giving meaning to the subject matter and putting it into context (Mathews, 1992).

The introduction of science teaching into the wider historical, social, and cultural context of science involves learning not only about the content of science, but also about science itself, thus extending learning socially, spatially, temporally, historically, morally, and politically (Engeström, 1999, 2016). That way, links are made to the sociocultural elements that affect science (Klassen, 2006) and there, scientific dialogue emerges, which contributes to collective scientific knowledge (Galili, 2012). The inclusion of the history and philosophy of science in the teaching of science presents the true nature of the scientific method, and can contribute to the treatment of alternative ideas (Galili, 2015). Furthermore, this extension of the teaching of science into historical, social, and cultural pathways results in the creation of links between the historical social conditions, the events caused by them, and the scientific theories developed through those events. By making such connections, and by understanding the analogues of today, students have the opportunity to awaken and mobilize, leading them to action for the benefit of the wider society (Engeström, 2016; Lankshear & McLaren, 1993). Meeting the criteria of an educational program that complies with the principles of critical education can be satisfied by the following: (1) making students responsible for their own learning process, and approach learning according to their own needs; (2) approaching historical and cultural elements as human achievements that are directly related to the prevailing ideology; (3) making connections between present-day conditions and the events that caused them; (4) considering the construction of new conditions and realities; (5) having students communicate and analyze their ideas and experiences,



deregulating and restructuring the world, and producing and creating ideas for the world in the way they experience it; and (6) helping students understand that the myths of the sovereigns are just myths, and that with transformative action, they can change (Lankshear & McLaren 1993).

Introducing HOS to science education gives the teacher and pupils the required opportunity to examine science from a historical, cultural, political, and moral perspective. It has been shown that such a practice has a positive influence on students' views of science, the nature of scientific knowledge, and its organization in theories (Levrini et al., 2014). Nonetheless, this is not an easy task. It has been observed globally that the teaching of science courses is based mainly on textbooks and consists of the teaching of scientific data, theories, and laws, with examples explaining them and exercises for applying them (Galili, 2015; Klassen, 2006), thus considering the human mind a *tabula rasa* into which knowledge can be transmitted in its own right. On the contrary, students try to integrate new information into already-existing cognitive structures and to construct new connections, a procedure that demands the presence of the wider framework of science, and elements such as intimacy, social interaction, activity, reflection, logical correlation, emotional response, and others (Klassen, 2006). This contradiction between teaching theory and real school-time teaching praxis may be explained by the difficulties science teachers encounter when they are called to approach sociocultural and NOS aspects. Teachers tend to mostly focus on the science content, as they encounter difficulties due to the pressure of time on meeting the curriculum goals, lack of resources, and even their own (mis)understandings (Abd-El-Khalick, Bell, & Lederman, 1998; Höttecke & Silva, 2011), unless they are provided with sufficient support and teaching materials (Ratcliffe & Millar, 2009). This begs the question regarding how a teacher who is confronting all the aforementioned difficulties should introduce HOS in his/her teaching in order to meet the criteria of critical science education.

### **Introducing History of Science through Storytelling**

The incorporation of the history and philosophy of science into educational practice does not in any way mean simply mentioning the name of a researcher, the date of a discovery, and a few words about it (Klassen & Klassen, 2014; Klopfer, 1969), nor is bringing a bunch of historical information to the classroom enough. Our proposal is that the teacher should proceed to the oral narration (storytelling) of stories derived from the history of science. That way, as will be supported below, the second goal set in this paper – cultivating a classroom climate of mutual trust – could be achieved.

Storytelling is an ancient, timeless educational method that even today still persists. In oral societies, knowledge and experiences were passed from one generation to another through storytelling (Egan, 1989). Stories, as mental constructs, and storytelling are fundamental characteristics of the human species and have played an important role in our evolution (Boyd, 2009; Cron, 2012). It is no exaggeration to



claim that humans are narrative beings. We communicate with each other, exchange images and experiences, and perceive and build our view of the world through stories (Bruner, 2003). Stories work as a strong mnemonic tool as they organize the information contained in them in a strictly defined structure (beginning-middle-end) defined by cause-effect relationships, which reflect the way human thinking is organized (Bruner, 2003; Klassen, 2006). Moreover, stories evoke strong feelings, and since anything connected to emotions is stored more easily in the long-term memory, it can be safely concluded that stories are an effective memorization technique (Egan, 1989); they help in organizing and storing information in the human memory (Mott, Callaway, Zettlemyer, Lee, & Lester, 1999).

One suggestion is that the teacher orally narrate, animating in his/her mind the facts of the story the moment he/she tells them, and letting the students be transported by the words to visualize images in their own minds, elaborating the common meanings of the story. It has been observed, using functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI), that when listening to a spontaneous narrative story, different individuals have similar brain activity (Wilson, Molnar-Szakacs, & Iacoboni, 2008) while the brains of the narrator and the listeners share common, temporarily identified response patterns (Stephens, Silbert, & Hasson, 2010). This procedure is quite active for students as while listening to a story, mental images are being formed (Hadzigeorgiou, Prevezanou, Kabouropoulou, & Konsolas, 2011), and the imagination gets activated, which is essential for effective thought, interpretation, innovation, symbolic function, and the comprehension of abstract scientific concepts (Vygotsky, 1987). As the story unfolds, facts are collected and hypotheses are formed, and as the details of the story get revealed, the formed hypotheses are examined (Kokkotas, Rizaki, & Malamitsa, 2010). Knowledge is incorporated into previous knowledge and gets connected with each student's personal values. By doing so, personal understanding is constructed (Clair, 2008) and conceptual learning is promoted (Klassen, 2006). Furthermore, it has been supported that storytelling may be the only way to achieve “experiential learning” when hands-on learning becomes too dangerous, or even impossible (Hadzigeorgiou et al., 2011).

Neurobiological findings show that when listening to a story, the brain reacts as if it is living and experiencing the story rather than just listening to it. The areas of the central nervous system that get involved in understanding storytelling are the language decoding center, the motor cortex, and the sensory cortex, which get activated through the function of mirror neurons (Cheetham, Hänggi, & Jancke, 2014; Ramachandran, 2012; Speer, Reynolds, Swallow, & Zacks, 2009). Moreover, while listening to a story – especially at turning points, crises, and reversals – certain hormones are produced by the endocrine system, which affect our brains in certain ways; cortisol keeps the listener alert, oxytocin provokes empathy, and dopamine causes pleasure to the listener while listening to a well-told story (Zak, 2015).

When all this activity occurs in the classroom, and teacher and students share the experience of storytelling, they get the feeling of common creation as has been



formerly proposed by researchers (Peck, 1989). Classroom climate improves and an atmosphere of consistency is fostered (Wills, 1992). Understanding is created and trust between teacher and students is strengthened (Abrahamson, 1998), thus cultivating the foundation for meaningful discussions and constructive dialogue between teacher and students about important socio-scientific and political issues, among others. Therefore, storytelling may result in better classroom climate, and stories derived from the history of science bring up historical, moral, and cultural dimensions of science. Such a storytelling course may serve as a strong motive for fruitful dialogues to develop, as critical education demands. All of the above presents the following research questions:

- Will introducing HOS stories through storytelling enhance the classroom climate? Will the students' view of their teacher become more positive?
- Will introducing HOS stories through storytelling result in introducing moral, historical, and cultural dimensions to biology teaching? Will it bring up NOS issues?

### Method

**Stories:** We developed four stories derived from the history of biology. The stories have been presented elsewhere in detail (Kapsala & Mavrikaki, in press) and are briefly presented in Table 1. The stories were chosen to match the Greek curriculum (grades 8, 9, 10 and 12). The stories were written in the form of traditional folktales (Prop, 1991) as it is a well-preserved form that organizes information in an easy-to-remember way (Bruner, 1991). They have a rich plot, with action and characters with whom students may positively or negatively identify in order to capture their interest (Klassen, 2014).

When writing the stories, attention was given to fulfilling the following criteria:

- Using resources that have been proven to be valid (Cohen, 1993)
- Presenting scientific facts in a clear way so that no misunderstandings would be created, and not to misquote historical information (Allchin, 2003)
- Considering the rules and conceptual framework of the historical era of each story in such a way that the facts, in their respective historical context, are examined as they differ from the modern way of thinking (Abd-El-Khalick & Lederman, 2000)
- With these stories, an experiential storytelling workshop was organized and was voluntarily attended by biology teachers. During the workshop, the teachers were trained in basic storytelling techniques and they practiced storytelling with the four stories. Moreover, the sociocultural aspects of each story were discussed. The stories were handed to them, accompanied by some discussion topics that referred to NOS aspects as seen in the second column of Table 1.





**Table 1:** StoryPlots and Topics for Discussion as Developed for the Study

Story	Topics for Conversation
<p>“The Double Helix”  <i>James Watson and Francis Crick sharing the same passion to discover the secret of life, explore bibliography, methods and ideas, determined to reach their goal. Inspired by Linus Pauling’s methods and mistakes and considering Maurice Wilkins’s and Rosalind Franklin’s results, they finally make it, coming first to a crazy scientist’s race.</i>(Watson, 2012; Crick, 2008)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Europe after World War II</li> <li>– Scientific method</li> <li>– Women in science</li> <li>– Collaboration and competition among scientists</li> </ul>
<p>“Typhoid Mary”  <i>Mary Mallon was an Irish cook in New York, At most of the houses she worked for, there would be a typhoid fever outbreak. The health inspector George Soper was called to investigate, and he ended up that she was the cause. Authorities had to interfere and make her give samples for examination, which proved she was an asymptomatic transmitter. Refusing to cooperate she was quarantined in a small island in New York which she left only after signing that she would change profession. A few years later she was caught again having changed her name and working as a cook in a maternity hospital. She was arrested and led to the quarantine-island for the rest of her life.</i> (Brooks, 1996; Soper, 1939)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Immigration, immigrants in USA in 1900s, immigrants today</li> <li>– Health literacy in the 1900s and health literacy today</li> <li>– Personal rights and public-health preservation</li> <li>– Scientific method</li> </ul>
<p>“The Silenced Robins”  <i>In the spring of 1955 robins started dying in the Michigan State University campus. George Wallace the professor of ornithology, along with his student John Mehner connected the reduction of the population with the use of the insecticide DDT. Combining their findings with another researcher’s publication and a strange incident in the wild life laboratory Wallace published “Insecticides and Birds” that caused huge reaction and put his position in danger. After the positive intervention of a congress member, the communication with Rachel Carson and the findings of Richard Bernard, another student of his, he was finally proven correct.</i> (Carson, 1962; Morgan, 2012; Wallace, 1958; Wallace &amp; Bernard, 1963)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Importance of scientists’ communication</li> <li>– Economy, politics and science</li> <li>– Science after World War II</li> <li>– Rachel Carson’s “Silent Spring” and the Environmental Movement</li> </ul>
<p>“Darwin-Wallace: Individual Minds, Common Thought”  <i>Charles Darwin loved collecting beetles and dreamed of long journeys to exotic places. As a young aristocrat he was offered a position on the Beagle, the corvette that was to map South America coasts and travel around the globe. Alfred Russel Wallace had the same passion but not the same means. He sailed, to select specimens to sell to zoos and make money. They were both astonished by the beauty and the diversity of life. Darwin had been back for 20 years, still studying his specimens, hesitating to publish his explanations. Wallace was still faraway and in fever when the explanation came to him. He sent his ideas to Darwin whom he respected, who was shocked reading his own ideas written in different words. Encouraged by scientists-friends, he sent the two scripts to be presented at the next Linnean Society meeting. That was the first announcement of the theory of evolution signed by both men who kept an honest friendly relationship ever after.</i> (Beccaloni, 2008; Leff, 2008)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Scientists’ status in 1850 and scientists’ status today</li> <li>– Religion and science</li> <li>– Scientists’ personal life and their work</li> <li>– The relationship between Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace</li> </ul>



**Procedure:** The teachers who participated in the science-storytelling workshop implemented the storytelling method in their schools. When they reached the respective concepts of the curriculum, they told the stories to their students and followed with a discussion. At the end of the school year, a questionnaire was distributed to their students, asking them to evaluate the biology lesson that included storytelling compared to their traditional biology lesson, and to evaluate storytelling as a method in general. The questionnaire was built based on other research (Frisch & Saunders, 2008; Kokkotas et al., 2010) and the findings of the authors’ pre-studies where we interviewed students in focus groups about the storytelling method (Kapsala et al., 2015). Part of this questionnaire, a subscale, targeted the goals of this research (see Appendix); therefore, we will analyze these results herein. This part of the questionnaire consisted of nine 5-point Likert scaled questions, which are answered twice by each student in evaluating the biology lesson with and without storytelling. Some of the questions are negative, so they are reversed in the statistical analysis.

**Participants:** Nine teachers working in eight different schools in Attica took part in the research. Seven of them were female and two were male. They had participated in the storytelling workshop, and they voluntarily agreed to take part in the research. In total, 314 students answered the questionnaire (Table 2), 131 (42%) of which were boys and 181 (58%) were girls. Of the students who took part in the research, 74 (23.6%) claimed that they have a family member who is a scientist.

**Table 2:** *Number of Students at Each School Participating in the Questionnaire*

School	Teacher	Number of Students
School A	Mrs K	25
	Mrs S	25
School B	MrsTs	20
School C	Mrs D	75
School D	Mrs T	37
School E	Mrs F	21
School F	Mrs Sa	62
School G	MrKp	38
School H	Mr Di	11
Total:		<b>314</b>

**Analysis:** The data derived from the questionnaire were analyzed using the @IBM SPSS 22. The means for each subscale were estimated and actor analysis was performed. Paired Sample T-Test was used in order to look for differences in students’ attitudes as a whole, for each factor, and for each statement ( $\alpha=0.05$ ). We performed Independent Samples T-Test to see if sex or having a family member who is a scientist influences the students’ evaluation of the biology lesson with storytelling. Finally, we checked the correlation between students’ evaluation of the



biology lesson with storytelling and students' grades, and the teacher who performed the lesson.

## Results

**Student Questionnaire:** The reliability of the questionnaire was estimated as high, shown in Table 3.

**Table 3:** Reliability and Mean Values for the 5-point Likert Scaled Questions

	Evaluating the Biology Lesson	
	<u>with storytelling</u>	<u>without storytelling</u>
Reliability (Cronbach's Alpha)	0.77	0.71
Mean value	3.51 ± 0.83	2.76 ± 0.75

We created a score variable for the 9 questions that evaluate the biology lesson with storytelling, and a relevant one to evaluate the biology lesson without storytelling. The mean value of each one of them is presented in Table 3. According to it, students evaluate the storytelling biology lesson higher than the usual biology lesson. There is a statistically significant difference between the mean values of each score variable ( $t=-12.10$ ,  $df=280$ ,  $p=0.0<0.001$ ).

We performed an Independent Samples T-Test, finding that the sex does not affect students' evaluation of the biology lesson with storytelling ( $t=-1.602$ ;  $df=281$ ;  $p=0.110>0.05$ ), and neither does whether a student has a family member who is a scientist ( $t=-0.839$ ;  $df=282$ ;  $p=.0402>0.05$ ). We also found no correlation between students' evaluation of the biology lesson with storytelling and the teacher who performed the lesson ( $r=0.084$ ;  $p=0.160>0.05$ ). All the teachers' students evaluated the lesson in similar ways. This is quite important as each teacher has a unique way to apply the method, especially when it comes to their storytelling style. It appears that the stories and the method worked regardless of the personal storytelling style of each teacher, for all of them. This may be encouraging, especially for teachers who do not have storytelling experience; they should feel confident and try it since the stories and the act of storytelling have the pure power of enchanting humans.

There was no correlation between students' evaluation of the biology lesson with storytelling and students' grades ( $r=0.076$ ;  $p=0.215>0.05$ ). We consider this an important finding as it shows that the method appeals to students regardless of their school performance. As has been implied by our previous studies (Kapsala et al., 2015), it may be a useful method for attracting the interest of students who are not usually engaged in science classes. We performed an exploratory factor analysis of the questions that evaluate the biology lesson with storytelling, finding 3 factors that describe 67.1% of the variability (Table 4). The factors we found are in accordance with the axons we had in mind when building the questionnaire. They are the



following: NOS understanding, classroom climate, and student participation. The reliability of each of the factors was high (besides the third one), which can be interpreted due to the small number of questions, as shown in Table 5.

In comparing students’ scores in each factor, when asked about the biology lesson with and without storytelling (Table 6), statistically significant differences were found for the NOS understanding factor. According to the students’ answers, they think that storytelling helps them with NOS understanding more than the usual biology class does. Moreover, statistically significant differences were found for the classroom climate factor, as students evaluated the classroom climate as better during the biology lesson with storytelling than the usual biology lesson.

**Table 4:** Factor Analysis of the Questions that Evaluate the Biology Lesson with Storytelling

Rotated Component Matrix			
<u>Statements</u>	<u>Component</u>		
	<u>NOS understanding</u>	<u>Classroom climate</u>	<u>Student participation</u>
helps me get to know how science works	.894		
helps me understand about scientists	.882		
the teacher is relaxed		.772	
the teacher doesn’t make constant remarks		.771	
the classroom climate improves		.597	
the teacher is approachable		.684	
I actively participate to the lesson			.537
It is not only the teacher who speaks			.835
I can participate in it			.795

*Note.*Extraction method: Principal Component Analysis; rotation method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

**Table 5:** Reliability of Each Factor

<u>Factor</u>	<u>Reliability (Cronbach’s Alpha)</u>
1 NOS understanding	0.87
2 Classroom climate	0.74
3 Student participation	0.62

As for the student participation factor, there were no statistically significant differences between how students evaluate the two types of biology lesson. Therefore, we wished to go more in depth and compare how students answered each one of the statements about the biology lesson with and without storytelling. We computed the mean values of each statement about the biology lesson with and without storytelling, and we performed Paired Samples T-Tests for each statement



comparing the students' answers for the biology lesson with and without storytelling (Table 7).

As far as the statements of the first factor (NOS understanding) are concerned, students claimed that they find the biology lesson with storytelling more helpful than the usual biology lesson for their understanding of how science works ( $t=9.912$ ;  $df=265$ ;  $p=0.000<0.001$ ) as well as for their understanding about scientists ( $t=13.881$ ;  $df=263$ ;  $p=0.000<0.001$ ). Students consider the biology lesson enriched with stories derived from the HOS to be more helpful in understanding how science works and about scientists, and hence, for understanding more about NOS aspects.

**Table 6:** Mean Values and Paired Samples T-Tests for Each of the Factors

Factor	Mean Value		Paired Samples T-Test		
	With storytelling	Without storytelling	t	df	p
1 NOS understanding	3.65 ± 1.32	2.42 ± 1.13	13.046	272	0.000<0.001
2 Classroom climate	3.76 ± 0.97	2.62 ± 0.90	16.004	277	0.000<0.001
3 Student participation	3.11 ± 1.16	3.14 ± 1.05	-0.370	278	0.712

**Table 7:** Mean Values and Paired Samples T-Tests for Each of the Questions

Statement About the Biology Lesson	Mean value		Paired Samples T-Test		
	With storytelling	Without storytelling	t	df	p
1 I actively participate to the lesson	3.29 ± 1.46	2.91 ± 1.42	3.044	266	0.003<0.005
2 the teacher is relaxed	4.09 ± 1.17	2.77 ± 1.36	13.551	267	0.000<0.001
3 the teacher doesn't make constant remarks	3.31 ± 1.41	2.36 ± 1.38	8.287	268	0.000<0.001
4 It is not only the teacher who speaks	2.71 ± 1.53	3.05 ± 1.60	-2.751	264	0.006<0.05
5 I can participate in it	3.25 ± 1.60	3.45 ± 1.47	-1.541	260	0.125
6 the classroom climate gets better	3.76 ± 1.28	2.26 ± 1.10	15.584	261	0.000<0.001
7 helps me get to know how science works	3.56 ± 1.44	2.49 ± 1.30	9.912	265	0.000<0.001
8 helps me understand about scientists	3.71 ± 1.39	2.30 ± 1.23	13.881	263	0.000<0.001
9 the teacher is approachable	3.88 ± 1.25	3.03 ± 1.34	9.000	266	0.000<0.001



Although we did not examine in detail which NOS aspects students feel they understand, we consider this finding important and indicative enough. Each story contains many NOS aspects and describes the procedure followed to attain knowledge. This walkthrough, provided each time, shows the human aspects of science and how scientists are influenced by the scientific community, by cultural and historical aspects of their lives, and by their own views that have been formed based on previous experiences. In each story, the myth of positivism is broken as there is no straight path leading to knowledge, and social and political obstacles or benefits are revealed. There is plenty of room for reflection and many motives for negotiation. Nevertheless, scientists are seen as humans, not “supermen,” and science is illuminated as a human endeavor with both flaws and high achievements. As for the second factor, classroom climate, the students claimed that their teacher made fewer remarks to them during the storytelling biology lesson ( $t=8.287$ ;  $df=268$ ;  $p=0.000<0.001$ ) and they found their teachers to be more relaxed ( $t=13.551$ ;  $df=267$ ;  $p=0.000<0.001$ ) than during the usual biology lesson, and also more approachable ( $t=9.000$ ;  $df=266$ ;  $p=0.000<0.001$ ). In general, they claimed that the classroom climate got better during the storytelling biology lesson compared to the usual one ( $t=15.584$ ;  $df=261$ ;  $p=0.000<0.001$ ). Therefore, it appears that storytelling is indeed effective in improving the classroom climate.

The fact that the students reported that during the storytelling lesson, their teachers would not scold them like they might during the usual lesson, correlates with the increased student engagement that can be achieved through storytelling as there are fewer reasons for students to be scolded; this is also confirmed by the teachers' claims about the method (Kapsala et al., 2015). Still, it is possible that the teachers are simply more relaxed during the storytelling lesson, so they are the ones who give fewer reasons to their students to stray from the learning procedure and fool around. One of the teachers who took part in the research wrote us an email with information about the procedure: “Storytelling gives the teacher the opportunity to participate in the lesson and to live his/her words; not just quote facts and cite information, but to become a part and engage emotionally in the lesson.” An engaged teacher can only result in engaged students.

The students' recognition of a positive change in their teachers during the storytelling biology lesson is significant, as well as the fact that they saw their teachers as more approachable. It appears that this improvement in the classroom climate may result in a relationship of trust between the teacher and the students, one that is essential for fruitful conversations to flourish and for ideas to be freely exchanged during honest dialogues. Such dialogues can be the ultimate tool of critical education, democratically analyzing in class the aspects of a sociocultural matter and exploring all the possibilities for intervention and action.

As for the third factor, students' participation, we did not find a statistically significant difference between the biology lesson with and without storytelling. Students actually claimed that they actively participate more in the lesson with





storytelling with a statistically significant difference ( $t=3.044$ ;  $df=266$ ;  $p=0.003<0.005$ ). This claim aligns with both educational and neurobiological literature, as during storytelling the listener is not apathetic, but gathers information from the story and forms hypotheses about the development of the story, which later are confirmed or rejected by the new information; the listener combines the new information with his/her own knowledge to build personal understanding (Clair, 2008). Moreover, the brain, when listening to a story, functions as if it is living the facts and not just hearing about them through the activation of mirror neuron (Speer et al., 2009).

Later in the questionnaire, students contradicted their previous claim as they answered differently to the statement, “I cannot participate in the lesson” (which was reversed for the statistical analysis). Still, their different answer does not make a statistically significant difference between the lesson with and without storytelling. Considering that they answered positively to the previous statement for the storytelling lesson (“I actively participate to the lesson”), we considered that perhaps the statement, “I cannot participate in the lesson,” was badly formulated and/or expressed by us with the negation inside the sentence, which confused students. Finally, students claimed that the teacher talked more during the storytelling lesson than the usual one ( $t=-2.751$ ;  $df=264$ ;  $p=0.006<0.05$ ), which is true as he/she is the one telling the story.

### Discussion

Critical science education demands the repositioning of science teachers’ role in two ways. Firstly, they should introduce historical, moral, and cultural dimensions in the science courses, helping students to break the myth of positivism and understand how science really works so that they are able to interpret scientific facts, critically evaluate political decisions that are made based on scientific facts, and make decisions for the good of the whole society. Secondly, they science teachers should cultivate a classroom climate of trust and collaboration, encouraging democratic, honest dialogue so that students can co-modify the teaching and learning process. We propose that some aspects of these goals can be achieved by introducing HOS through storytelling.

Our research shows that students highly evaluated the storytelling biology lesson regardless of their gender, teacher’s storytelling style, or students’ grades. It appears to be a method that can be applied by all teachers and that can appeal to all students, or at least to most of them. Students claimed that storytelling helped them with NOS understanding more than the traditional biology class. In particular, they claimed that the biology lesson enriched with telling stories derived from the HOS helped them understand more about how science works and about scientists as well. Consequently, the method was successful in introducing NOS in biology teaching, including historical, moral, and political dimensions. In addition, students saw an improvement in the classroom climate during the biology lesson that contained



storytelling. Specifically, they saw their teachers as more relaxed and more approachable, and they even claimed that the teachers made fewer remarks to them during the storytelling biology lesson. So, storytelling was indeed effective in creating a friendly and trusting classroom climate conducive to having fruitful dialogues.

In conclusion, telling stories derived from the history of biology is an effective way to introduce historical, cultural, and political dimensions in teaching biology, as well as to create a better and more democratic classroom climate. With those two prerequisites satisfied, and with the stories working as strong motives for dialogue and negotiation, the issues in critical education can be addressed and dealt with in science education.

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## Appendix

### *The Subscales of the Questionnaire Referring to the Goals of Critical Education*

With Storytelling					Statement About Biology Lesson	Without storytelling				
No	Likely not	Don't know	Likely yes	Yes		No	Likely not	Don't know	Likely yes	Yes
					1. I actively participate in the lesson.					
					2. The teacher is relaxed.					
					3. The teacher makes constant remarks.					
					4. The only one who speaks is the teacher.					
					5. I cannot participate in the lesson.					
					6. The classroom climate improves.					
					7. Helps me get to know how science works.					
					8. Helps me understand about scientists.					
					9. The teacher is approachable.					





## The Tradition of Workers' Schools and Popular Education in late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> Century - Europe

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### Abstract

*This paper examines the tradition of workers' schools and popular education, which started in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and continued in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, focusing on institutions of this type in pre-Soviet Russia, Britain, Austria, and Greece. Workers schools – not to be confused with party cadres' schools which is also a promising research topic - developed outside the formal education system aiming in the general education of working men and women thus developing their consciousness and preparing them to actively joining and participating in the movement. These schools were initiated either by individual radical educator activists and collectives or by institutions of the working class (trade unions, trades councils etc.) and their growth followed the advancement of the workers' movement.*

### Keywords

Workers' schools, popular education

### Mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, Russia: Platon Pavlov and Sunday Schools

One of the first schools for workers was founded in Kiev by P.V. Pavlov, Russian historian and public figure, when in Russia, a country in the periphery of industrial development, the most people were illiterate, especially the members of working and rural class.<sup>1</sup>

Platon Vasil'evich Pavlov, son of a nobleman, born in Oct. 1823 and died in April 1895. He graduated from the Chief Pedagogical Institute in St. Petersburg in 1844. Between 1847 and 1859 he was professor of Russian history at the University of Kiev, when he was received a doctor's degree in history, political economy and statistics<sup>2</sup>. His name is related with the Sunday-school movement, which began in 1859, by the death of czar Nicholas I and the Crimean defeat, and came to end in 1862.

Platon Pavlov with 17 students from Kiev University and one from the Kiev Theological Academy founded a school for illiterate working people, where the classes were open, without fee. With the encouragement of the N.I. Pirogov,<sup>3</sup> a pedagogue and famous surgeon, who condemned the restrictions on education for

<sup>1</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *Η εποχή των Αυτοκρατοριών, 1875-1914*, ΜΙΕΤ, Αθήνα 2002, σ. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Biographical notes from *The Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, 1979.

<sup>3</sup> William L. Mathes, «N. I. Pirogov and the University Question in the Era of the Great Reform», *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, Neue Folge, Bd. 36, H. 1, 1988, pp. 1-14.



the poor and for non-Russians and supported education for women, the number of Sunday schools in the city expanded and the movement spread to European Russia, especially in St. Petersburg. Platon Pavlov went to St Petersburg in December 1859. There, Sunday schools for men already existed, so he had the aim to establishing schools for women. A woman who played a serious role for this plan was Nadezhda Stasova, a famous Russian feminist, one of the founders and leaders of the first organized Russian women’s movement<sup>4</sup>. It is worth noting that in next decades Stasova will organize the struggle for women’s higher education, which led to the inauguration of the Vladimir and Bestuzhev courses in St Petersburg in 1870’s<sup>5</sup>.

Returning to 1860, twenty three Sunday-schools existed by the end of 1860 with 450 teachers, most of them students from St Petersburg University<sup>6</sup>.

As mentioned above, the Sunday-school movement was supported by important representatives of the progressive Russian intelligentsia and the workers, men and women, were studying with enthusiasm. Also, many of the people involved in the movement felt that by educating the illiterate workers there were working for a more liberal Russia. So, the movement related with a progressive wind of Russian society. On the other hand, this movement had a lot of enemies, as the government, the Church and the artisans, merchants, shop owners and manufacturers, whose employees attended or would to attend the courses.

The negative reaction of the government will be watched in relation with political circumstances in this era. At the beginning of 1860s, there were demonstrations of public disappointment with the terms of the emancipation of serfs by tzar Nicholas II, a growing trend among university students to level open criticism against the government and the appearance of revolutionary proclamations. On the other hand, some students who were teaching in Sunday school in Kiev had previously been involved in a secret revolutionary society in Kharkov. In 1860 Plato Pavlov was brought to trial in the case of the Kharkov-Kiev Secret Society, which the government related with him, but no evidence was existed, so the accusation was cancelled<sup>7</sup>. On the other hand, some officials viewed the Sunday schools as a way for preserving the status quo. According this view, the Sunday schools could have conservative and patriarchic aims, and they would be the best way to stave off the European class struggle in Russia. For them, the curriculum had to base on reading, writing, arithmetic and religious instructions. So, the officials were watching carefully

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<sup>4</sup>Francisca de Haan et al. (eds), *Biographical Dictionary of Women’s Movements and Feminisms: Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries*, Central European University Press, Budapest-New York 2006, pp. 526-529(JSTOR, [www.jstor.org/stable/10.7829/j.ctt2jbmjm](http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7829/j.ctt2jbmjm)).

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.prlib.ru/en-us/history/Pages/Item.aspx?itemid=679>

<sup>6</sup> Reginald E. Zelnik, “The Sunday-school movement in Russia, 1859-1862”, *Journal of Modern History*, v. 37, no 2, 1965, pp. 151-170.

<sup>7</sup> Reginald E. Zelnik, “The Sunday-school movement in Russia, 1859-1862”, op.cit.



the teachers, especially for lessons of French and German language or history, because these kind of courses existed in Moscow or Kiev. The knowledge of languages and history was dangerous for the workers and the tsarist secret security was watching carefully the schools.

For Church, on the other hand, the problem was that in Sunday schools teachers didn't teach the “truths of the orthodox faith”<sup>8</sup>. So, Isidor, metropolitan of St Petersburg, order the priests of his periphery to watch every school for lessons against religion.

Finally, many merchants, artisans, manufactures etc. feared that education would make the workers less docile and more radical. Although, a few merchants from Kiev were financial supporters of the movement.

Anyway, the crucial opportunity was given to the government after a private lecture by P. Pavlov, in March 1862, in honor of the founding of Russian state<sup>9</sup>. The crucial point is the sentence for the necessity of public rights and especially the emancipation of the peasantry. Pavlov repeated the principle that education would necessary for the transformation of Russia's “semi-Asiatic” society to a modern European society.

After his lecture, Pavlov arrested and three months later the government closed all Sunday schools in Russia because of the revolutionary propaganda in some of them. With sporadic individual attempts, only in 1890's Russian Sunday-schools again begun to flourish in better environment.

### **1890: Russian feminists in workers' schools**

In 1890's the workers' movement had always grown up in Russia. This decade a new kind of schools for workers existed in Russia. In St Petersburg, Marxists, between them Nadezhda Krupskaya, were running evening classes for factory workers. Krupskaya, one of the famous Bolsheviks in pre-revolutionary period, feminist and pioneer of socialist education,<sup>10</sup> from 1998 wife of Lenin, taught geography, history and mathematics. This was the beginning of her interest in state public education and cultural policy that was very important to her when the Bolsheviks came to power in 1917. As Krupskaya writes, workers through education could relate revolutionary theory with revolutionary act, the basic aim of Marxist<sup>11</sup>.

The main aim of the evening classes is the spreading of political enlightenment between the workers, men and women. The challenge was to make these classes

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<sup>8</sup> Reginald E. Zelnik, “The Sunday-school movement in Russia, 1859-1862”, op.cit.

<sup>9</sup> Details for this lecture in Reginald E. Zelnik, “The Sunday-school movement in Russia, 1859-1862”, op.cit., p. 158.

<sup>10</sup> Inge A. Rader, *Krupskaya: pioneer Soviet educator of the masses*, Southern Illinois University, 1974.

<sup>11</sup> Nadezhda Krupskaya, *Για τη διαπαιδαγώγηση και αυτομόρφωση*, Chronos Editions, Athens 1975.



interesting for workers after their sixteen-hour day, and Krupskaya and others were exploring new ways to attract them to these classes held in the poor working-class districts of the capital<sup>12</sup>.

In 1894, when the old political doctrine of Orthodoxy, Autocracy and Nationalism restored by tzar, Alexandra Kollontai was beginning to teach in evening classes for workers. Kollontai is another famous Russian feminist, who later will play a crucial role for the feminist movement. After the October Revolution, Kollontai will be elected commissar of Social Welfare.

Russian Marxists will give special attention to this kind of schools, till the Revolution of 1905.

It is worth notable here that because for the power of Marxists' lesson there was a parallel effort by government led by Zubatov, as well as by Church.

Sergei Zubatov was born in 1863. As a student he was active in revolutionary politics until being expelled from university. In 1883 Zubatov began working as a police spy. Three years later he began to work for Okhrana, a special section of Russian Police that dealt with internal security. As a former revolutionary Zubatov believed he was in a good position to know how to defeat them. So, early in 1901 Sergei Zubatov began to organize educational activities for workers in Moscow. He called liberal professors to give lectures on a variety of subjects<sup>13</sup>. In addition, he established the legal progovernment workers' organizations. This tactic is called Zubatovism.

In February 1902, according a Zubatov's report, the clergy began to sympathise with the workers' societies –an idea by Zubatov himself- and decided to create a church hall for talks with Old Believers<sup>14</sup> and additional church schools. So, when the Okhrana proposed to organize the special religious and moral reading for workers in Moscow, the clergy worked hard to realize this plan. The Sunday readings in the Historical Museum at Moscow began in July 1902 and continued until 1908<sup>15</sup>. Although this effort had support of state and church, it did not become dangerous to the radical labor movement and this is obvious from the Revolution of 1905. After the Revolution of 1905, for aspiring worker-intellectuals educated in study groups and in institutions affiliated with the labor movement, proletarian culture was an expression of their aim to challenge the cultural predominance of the intellectual elite. Some workers openly rejected the intelligentsia's aid and claimed that self-education was their goal. Although the members of these circles usually aspired to the fruits of high culture, they also encouraged their fellow workers to express their

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<sup>12</sup> Cathy Porter, *Alexandra Kollontai, A Biography*, Merlin Press, Wales 2013, p. 42.

<sup>13</sup> Abraham Ascher, *The Revolution of 1905: Russia in Disarray*, Stanford University Press, Stanford California 1988, p. 25.

<sup>14</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Old-Believers>

<sup>15</sup> Lex Heerma van Voss, Patrick Pasture, Jan De Maeyer (eds), *Between Cross and Class. Comparative Histories of Christian Labour in Europe, 1840-2000*, Peter Lang, Bern 2005, p. 313.



own artistic views and to criticize "bourgeois culture" and the class that sustained it. This is related with the proletkult movement, which, later, will be strong among the bolsheviks<sup>16</sup> although its context was problematic, ambiguous and antistory, according Leon Trotsky<sup>17</sup>.

### United Kingdom, early 20th century

The tradition of education for workers founded in Britain in the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Various reform groups, including the Chartists, founded reading rooms and opened workers' schools. Though most of their efforts were more or less frankly propagandistic, they did perform an educational service. Some members of these groups, become convinced that worker education was a road to social reform<sup>18</sup>.

Fabian Society' plan for education for workers appeared in Britain in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Some of society's members were Lancelot Hogben, author of "Mathematics for the Millions" and "Science for the Citizen", one of the most famous teachers and also a science and mathematics popularize, as well as George Douglas Howard Cole, who wrote a lot of articles and books about the necessity of education for socialism and he was an advocate for the [co-operative movement](#).

### Red Vienna

The popular education movement linked with "Red Vienna" period was related to the experiences, knowledge, and skills of factory workers. This meant that workers did not have to adopt alien 'bourgeois' cultural traditions and attitudes, but were on the contrary strengthened in their own social identity<sup>19</sup>.

The Austrian Social-Democratic Workers Party (SDAP) consistently promoted the development of proletarian self-awareness which must logically lead to the improvement of social conditions for the working classes. This also meant the promotion of anti-authoritarian and radical democratic efforts and the democratic control of the processes of production and distribution, hence a genuine victory over capitalism.

Edgar Zilsel, a very emblematic marxist historian of science, of joined the Social-Democratic Workers Party (SDAP) in 1918 and became active in the Workers

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<sup>16</sup> Lynn Mally, *Culture of the Future: The Proletkult Movement in Revolutionary Russia*, Berkeley: University of California Press, Berkeley 1990, <http://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=ft6m3nb4b2&chunk.id=d0e887&toc.depth=1&toc.id=d0e887&brand=ucpress>

<sup>17</sup> Leon Trotsky, *Literature and Revolution*, Haymarket Books, Chicago 2005.

<sup>18</sup> Margaret T. Hodgen *Workers' Education in England and the United States*, Kegan Paul, London and E.P. Dutton, New York 1925. Carter Jefferson, "Worker Education in England and France", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 6, no 3, 1964, pp. 345-366.

<sup>19</sup> Kostas Skordoulis,



Education Movement. He did not obtain an academic post and became one of the most active teachers at the Adult Education Centers (Wiener Volkshochschulen) and the Pedagogical Institute of Vienna that played a crucial part in ‘Red Vienna’s’ education program.

The Vienna Pedagogical Institute was the central teachers’ training college in Red Vienna and therefore the institutional centre of the social democratic educational reforms.

As well as teaching at secondary school Zisel also taught at the Vienna institutes of adult higher education. From the academic year 1922/23 onwards the school authorities granted him leave of absence so that he could take up a ‘teaching assignment for philosophy and physics’ at the *Volkshheim* (people’s institute). Thereafter he worked uninterruptedly in popular education in the city until he was dismissed by the Austro-Fascist regime in 1934.

‘Red Vienna’, a term describing the city during its political control by the Social-Democratic Workers Party (SDAP) in the 1920s, forms the immediate political context of the Vienna Circle. Led by Otto Bauer, Max Adler, Friedrich Adler, Karl Renner and Rudolf Hilferdig, the SDAP embraced an approach to Marxism that came to be known as Austromarxism, drawing heavily on Marxist, Machian, and neo-Kantian ideas.

During the 1920s, the SDAP carried out municipal reforms to aid the new urban industrial working class, instituting libraries, schools, and parks, lecture series, vast housing complexes, sports leagues, and free medical care. The SDAP also established programs encouraging ‘cultural change’ among the working class, with the aim of ‘turning them into conscious and self-confident actors’<sup>20</sup> (Richardson, 2009).

Zisel taught a wide range of topics including lectures on Heidegger, Jaspers, Spinoza, as well as ‘Space and Time in Philosophy and Physics’.

### Greece in Early 20<sup>th</sup> century

Finally, it is worth notable a very interesting effort for workers’ education in Greece, a very small country yet, without Bolshevik party: the activities of the workers’ school of the Trades Council of the city of Volos in Central Greece, which founded in 1908.

In 1907 Volos was a developing urban and industrial center, with a healthy workers’ movement from the last decades of 19<sup>th</sup> century. In addition, a newspaper for workers, called *Worker*, existed from 1907, which played a crucial role for the workers organizing<sup>21</sup>. The Trades Council founded in 1908.

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<sup>20</sup> S. Richardson, S., “The Left Vienna Circle, Part 1. Carnap, Neurath, and the Left Vienna Circle thesis”, *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science*, vol. 40, 2009, pp. 14-24.

<sup>21</sup> Nitsa Kolliou, *Οι ρίζες του εργατικού κινήματος και ο Εργάτης του Βόλου*, Odysseas Editions, Athens 1988.





As one of its first activities, the Council organized an Evening School in its building. This school worked every night. Its curriculum based on lectures by scientist, and every Sunday organized a feast only for the workers, performances etc. The first lecture was given by D. Saratsis, a famous physician, in 21th December. Next lectures were given by Alexandros Delmouzos, a famous educator, who founded in the same year a School for Girls based on progressive pedagogical principles. Among the other lectures were G. Sfetsos, professor of Chemistry at the Commercial School of Volos, K. Argyris, architect, and others. The curriculum included a lot of subject, as literature, chemistry, medicine etc., under a socialistic view. As example, one of Dimitrios Saratsis' lecture entitled "The Gospel as origin of socialism". The Trades Council School, as is obvious from above, was organized by a circle of progressive intellectuals of the city, who also participated in the operation of the Girls' School. Their innovative pedagogical and social ideas, however, have bothered municipal and Church authorities, who accused them of spreading materialistic and atheist ideas. Both the School for Girls and the Workers' School closed and their organizers were brought to trial in 1914. This is known in historiography as the "Atheists of Volos". Although the accused were acquitted, both the two schools were closed.

### **Conclusions**

In the first decades of 20<sup>th</sup> century, the movement of workers education spread all over the capitalistic world, aiming the change of society. Teachers and intellectuals played a crucial role for this spreading, which had appreciable results in terms of workers' consciousness.

Today, the Critical education maybe has to rethink this way of education, as an alternative to neoliberalism in education.



## Union-Related Belonging of Female Teachers in Education Unions in Turkey

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### Abstract

*It is a fact that 51% of the total number of teachers in Turkey's education system are female. Nearly half of these female teachers belong to the teachers' union. However, it has been observed that the representation and attendance of female teachers at the union's activities are proportionally low. This gives the impression that a male-dominant mentality exists; that there are problems regarding the mentioned percentage of female-related demands in the union, and attachment of the female teachers to the union. Thus, there is a need for investigating the reasons behind low female participation, their expectations regarding the union, and the place the female teachers put themselves as subjects of union life. Despite the fact that there have been interruptions in Turkey, the teachers' organizations have a deep-rooted tradition. However, the participation of female teachers is insufficient. The percentage of female teachers in the union is about 25%, while around 20% are in managerial positions. Additionally, it is a well-accepted finding that the female teachers are inactive in the union apart from enrollment. The aim of this research is to reveal the feelings and opinions of the female teachers regarding their sense of belonging in the union processes to determine the deficiencies of the union organizations related this subject, and to offer suggestions for addressing the gender gap to eliminate gender-based discrimination in education unions. This study uses a survey model with qualitative research approaches, and interviews will be used as data collection tools. The opinions of the female managers and members of the three most-populated unions in Turkey (EĞİTİM SEN, EĞİTİM BİR SEN, TÜRK EĞİTİM SEN) will be taken, collected data will be analyzed and described, and the results will be discussed.*

### Keywords

education unions, female teachers, gender mainstreaming, union life

Unions are defined as labor organizations whose purpose is to protect their members' economical, personal, and democratic rights, thus enhancing the conditions in their organized field. However, considering the reality of unions and the roles they should take on, this definition is open to improvement. Perhaps it would be better to explain unions as multifaceted, living organisms that exist to solve general and specific issues in their field. As organizations, unions should be discussed in terms of transforming the whole field in favor of its workers. In addition, it would be more realistic to define unions in terms of striving for democracy, equality, and peace at both national and international levels, workers' liberation, and ultimately, imagining a society in which such unions are not necessary. With this respect, "unions should struggle free from capital, state and political parties, be in solidarity with political parties in accordance with common goals, and look after their members' rights and benefits during this processes" (Aksoy & Günbayı, 2016, p. 11).



The way a union defines itself and its struggle as an organization, and the way its members and future members perceive it, are important factors that influence member participation in the union and its processes. Moreover, the link between unions and politics, the concept of union democracy, and daily practices in unions impact how they are structured and organized. Consisting of both male and female members, unions must be particularly sensitive to gender mainstreaming in addition to the aforementioned issues. Considering present-day issues between liberals and conservatives, women's issues tend to be put on the back burner in society, and these dynamics play out in unions as well. As Urhan (2014) indicates, unions carry a "woman-blind" attitude while planning their primary activities such as collective bargaining, education, and organization. Historically, male-dominant ideology has regarded women's work as temporary and opposed women participating in union life (Tokgöz, 1994). Indeed, women are oppressed by male dominance in society, and this understanding becomes a burden for women in terms of social roles. It has been observed that women with internalized identities are generally not interested in union activities, do not sufficiently participate in unions, and are not willing to take on managerial roles in unions. For these reasons, unions remain male-dominant structures in which women are expected to be passive participations in addition to uninvolved themselves in union organization (Alican, 2007; Seçer, 2009; Tokgöz & Sayılan, 1998).

There is a deep-rooted tradition of education organizations in Turkey. The union organization process dates back to *Encümen-i Muallim*, which was founded in 1908, and despite multiple interruptions due to military coups and fascist states, these organizations still persist. The military coup of September 12, 1980, has proven to be one of the most determinant elements in the evolution of Turkey's unions (Işıklı, 1990). With the coup, education unions were forbidden and its members were at risk of attack; they endured suspension from work, were put under surveillance, and were arrested for union activities, and even had to leave the country. At the end of about a decade of inactivity, education unions began to rebuild themselves, this time experiencing competition among opposing organizations and other problems. Structures associated with the government benefitted from its power, and were able to rapidly increase the number of their members. Such corrupt practices in union struggle

Along with these structures form the numeric majority, such improper practices in union struggle have been experienced as the union dues are being afforded by the government itself. Liberal conservative government has revived these education unions which can be stated as 'partizan' word. The government has joined these unions' general meetings and dictated its policy. Moreover, it has been experienced that placing their own 'partizans' to management positions and forcing education workers (especially beginning teachers) into being member of their own union. All of these developments has decreased the power of unions in education field. Besides, woman problem which traditionally conserves its existence in unions has taken a



new form through political interaction and showed itself as a problem title to be considered in the field.

Today in Turkey, although the rate of woman teachers working in education field (% 54,3) is more than man teachers, the rate of woman teachers’representation andtaking part in managing bodies is unfortunately lower. For instance, when examimed 2016 year’s memorandum of understanding (union agreement) in Turkey, it can be observed that the ratio of woman teachers in education unions is low:

THE TABLE OF EDUCATION UNIONS’ MEMBER DISTRIBUTION*								
Eğitim Sen			Türk Eğitim Sen			Eğitim Bir-Sen		
Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
119.87	65.11	54.763	210.94	119.34	91.601	402.17	235.89	166.28
6	3		6	5		2	0	2
%	% 54	% 46		% 57	% 43		% 59	% 41

Note: This table was done according to 2016 Memorandum of Understanding.

In addition to this, the ratio of woman teachers’ taking part in managing bodies of education unions presents us a lot more frighening scene.For example, there is not any woman member in Eğitim Bir-Sen (the most crowded education union in Turkey with its402.000 members) and Türk Eğitim Sen (the second crowded education union in Turkey withits 210.000 members) Central Executive Committee.Eğitim Sen (the third crowded education union in Turkey) seems much better with three woman members in its Central Executive Committee. Moreover there is not any chairwoman in Eğitim-Bir Sen’s branch offices in Turkey (more than 120 branches), there are20woman administrators among Branch Office Executive members all around Turkey (around 700 branches).<sup>1</sup>There are 32 woman administrators in Türk Eğitim Sen’s Branch Office Executives and 210 woman administrators in Eğitim Sen’s Branch Office Executives. It is remarkable that Eğitim Sen’s woman executive ratios are higher as is. However, the problem does not remain limited to representation of women in unions, it has been observed that the rate of women’s participation to union activities is lower too.

It is clear that the relation between woman teachers and unions and the scene observed nowadays are connected to social, political, and cultural processes that we are in. Yet; with regards to women’s position in union life, such topics should be examined asthe entity of male dominant understanding in unions, the level of carrying demands related to woman issue, the criteria of shaping union belonging of woman teachers. This is because, it is required that problems effecting women’s entrance to unions, their union expectations and level of meeting these expectations, andthe location where women placed themselves in union field should

<sup>1</sup>These results have been obtained by scanning the branch offices’ web adresses due to the fact that no data has been given for this studydespite requested.



be revealed. The aim of this study is to find out woman teachers' feelings and ideas about their union belonging by taking the reasons into consideration. With its proposals, this study is expected to contribute such issues as revising union paradigms with women themselves and with susceptibility of women's entity in unions, readjusting the organizational processes appropriately for the sense of equity and practice of equity, and women's coming to the forefront as determiners of union struggle.

### Methodology

This study has been carried out with a qualitative research approach in survey model and interview method has been used as data collection tool. As working group, it has been applied to woman executives and members of the three education unions in Turkey which are organized and including majority in terms of numerical (EĞİTİM SEN, EĞİTİM-BİR SEN, TÜRK EĞİTİM SEN) and emerging results have been reported. In interviews, a semi-structured technique has been used and questions have been arranged according to the situation of being a member or an executive in education unions. Interviewees in this study consist of teachers (primary, secondary, and high school) who are working in state schools in Ankara and head office executives in education unions. Interview questions have been documented in writing and can be seen in Appendix 1.

**Data Analysis:** In consequence of conceptual research about the study and interviews, gained data have been put in order on the basis of following themes. In semi-structured and face to face interviews which made with woman members and executives of three education unions (top three ones in terms of member numbers), it has been tried to understand women's opinions and attitudes towards union organization. For this purpose, it has been searched answers for questions below:

- Socio-economic and socio-cultural level: Where do organized woman teachers come from socio-economically and socio-culturally?
- Woman teachers' entrance to education unions: What are the aims of woman teachers as they are entering to education unions? How did their membership occur?
- The position of organized teachers in union process: What are the levels of woman teachers' union life watching and participation?
- The attitude towards taking part in union executives: What are woman teachers' opinions and level of willingness towards taking part in union executives?
- Woman susceptibility in education unions' works: In which level is the relation between woman teachers and education unions?

Questions ordered above form the themes which all data are analyzed according to and collected findings have been analyzed within the scope of these five themes.



## Findings

Collected data which aim to understand woman teachers' ideas and attitudes related to education unions have been analysed under five titles below.

### 1. From which socio-cultural and socio-economic environments women teachers come from ?

In this study, it has been observed that women teachers mainly come from lower-middle and middle economic classes. These teachers describe their family as traditional (male-dominant) (I2, I4, I6, I7, I8, I9, I10, I11, I14), conservative (I1, I12, I13 ) and modern (I3, I5, I15). However, it has been understood that the determinants in these teachers' comments are being build on “male” roles. Woman teachers have stated these sentences:

I15: *“I have a modern and reformer family... My mother is doing all duties at home.”*

I6: *“We had a traditional (male-dominant) family. My father didn't let us to go outside alone and stay with our friends.”*

I14: *“My family was conservative as far as traditional. In the family males only were the decreers. Housework rules were the responsibility of females.”*

I2: *“My family's understanding about woman is traditional. The leader of the house is the father. Father works and mother do the housework.”*

In the same title, woman teachers stated that their family approve educating their girls with a “modern” idea and have a supporting attitudes about this subject. Some expressions about this point are:

I11: *“My father said that he wanted to let me go to university, but living in a foreign city as a lonely girl was not understood usual. However, I knew that he trusted me in time.”*

I2: *“In our house, there was such an understanding that woman should study. Women's level of education and their place in work life should be improved.”*

### 2. How did the memberships of women teachers take place in education unions?

It is seen that political and ideological reasons, and legal and professional rights come into the forefront while organized woman teachers become a member to unions and stay as a member too. Only one interviewer (I1) uttered some request belong to woman identity and such a finding seems significant in terms of woman identity and requests.

I12: *“I had no expectation from the union. Thank God, I haven't needed any...”*

I9: *“I became a member to this union because of political reasons. ”*

I3: *“There was a lawsuit about me. I knew that union lawyers could help me. I became member to the union because of this reason. After the case, I have seen that my union doesn't represent me; so I have changed my union.”*

Significant part of woman teachers (excluding I1, I3, I14) have become member to unions after an experience of ten years working. In connection with this, woman teachers' membership have come true by means of friend effect, union trips and





workplace representatives. However in recent times, administrative staff who are mostly close to a union in Turkey have an impact on newly appointed teachers while they are becoming member to education unions. There is such an example in this sense:

I14: *"I am now a trainee teacher. I don't have union commitment, but I became a member with the help of school principal."*

Becoming a member to education unions can be in different ways. Some of woman teachers become a member with their own wishes (I1, I5, I6, I9), some of them become member due to works of union agents (I3, I4, I10, I11, I14), and some are effected by ideological reasons (I2, I7, I15). There are such examples:

I15: *"I have become a member because of the environment effect. It is the government supported union."*

I10: *"I wanted that unionisation should be more common. Union representatives helped me. If another union came, I would be a member of them."*

I1: *"I went myself and found the union. There was a huge reaction to the union where I lived, so I wanted to be a support for the union."*

I12: *"A mosque official made me a member before 12 years."*

I7: *"My husband was a union member. I was ideologically close to the union, too. However, I had no desire for a membership. I became a member just because my husband wanted."*

### **3. What is the level of women teachers' participation in union life?**

This title has been analysed over woman teachers' watching union life in close, following the union publications, and attending meetings, educations and public demonstrations actively. As conclusion, it has been reached such data; Any of the interviewer woman teachers (excluding representatives and executives) doesn't follow union publications regularly. Some of them told that they do not need to follow, they have no interest, and they just look over. Some statements about this question:

I3: *"Union publications do not come to us enough. I don't have time to go to the union in order to get publications. "*

I4: *" They do not take my interest. I just take a glance when I see."*

I8: *"I don't need to follow and read union publications. "*

I14: *" I follow on Facebook and twitter. The union do not bring us printed versions."*

I15: *"No, I do not follow. They always do government propaganda."*

Moreover, expressions of some executives and agents of the education unions show that they attend union life more actively as a usual result. These interviewers (I1, I5, I6, I9, I11, I12) have stated in general that they follow union publications regularly. However, it is the fact that there is a lack of following union publications even among the woman executives and agents. Some statement are like:

I6: *"We have to follow union publications for being executives. Unfortunately, I cannot follow educational things often after I retired."*

I11: *"... In recent times, I follow publications on social media..."*



I12: *"I myself bring the publication to the school. I know already what they include. "*  
Woman teachers show unwillingness to attend activities such as meetings. Besides teachers who do not attend any (I2, I3, I4, I7, I8, I10, I13, I14, I15), there are also some woman teachers who want to attend union activities, but having difficulty because of limited information and family responsibilities ( I5, I9, I12). Woman teachers clarify their unwillingness through such subheadings; they see union activities as waste of time, these activities don't seem interesting, they have no need to attend union activities and gender mainstreaming roles prevent them to attend.

I2: *"Once, I was attending , but now it seems me as waste of time."*

I8: *"I don' want to give a special time. It doesn't take my interest. "*

I10: *"I do not attend any. If I am not married and have my kids, I could attend sometimes."*

I14: *"I do not attend. A woman surely have limited time for such things. (because of work, housework, and kids etc.) "*

I9: *"I attend activities so as to improve myself. My children are old enough to look after themselves. So I don't have difficulty much.*

I12: *"I attend usually, but I can't go far places because of my family. "*

There are some who wants to attend union activities, but sometimes have obstacles while attending. They told such things:

I5: *"I especially attend woman issues. Working with women makes me more powerful. However, being a mother and its responsibilities are tiring. Besides, male dominant language in unions disturbs me."*

I12: *"I attend mostly. However, I can't go far places because of my children and my family."*

Interviewer woman teachers' ideas and attitudes for public demonstrations has displayed the paradigm in the understanding of 'street'. Primarily, it is observed that minority of interviewer woman teachers has attended the demonstrations. The ones who see public demonstrations effective and attend regularly are executives of unions. Very few part of the members have told that they attend the public demonstrations (I2, I3, I5, I9, I12). Their views are focused on; they do not approve or even react for public demonstrations, they think no result would be gotten and no resistance against state should be. (I7, I10, I13, I14, I15). Moreover, unbelief and distrust to the unions (I2, I4, I8, I10, I13, I14, I15) fearing from demonstrations (I3, I7, I13) are some of the reasons. As a last point, the main question is what do the woman member teachers understand when 'public demonstration' told. Some interesting points about this:

I3: *" I want to attend demonstrations which effect society."*

I5: *"I want to, but my son sometimes doesn't. I don't want him to be bored.*

I9: *" I attend the ones after school time. I attend strike actions."*

I12: *"I attended about all of them. Solidarity for Palestine , February 28 resistance, remembrance of Mehmet Akif ... "*



I2: " I attend the massive ones. At initial times there were wish and belief, but now I see myself as a pawn. "

I8: "I don't think public demonstrations as beneficial. I do not attend. "

I10: "I do not attend absolutely. Different flags made me unhappy. I felt like a pawn of other ideologies."

I13: "After Gezi demonstrations, I think such activities effect the society negative. "

I14: "I do not find public demonstrations right. Because violence included."

Executive member interviewers express their own attending and other members' attending with such sentences:

I1: "I attend my union's public demonstrations certainly. For me, attending to demonstrations is too low. Moreover, women have questions in their mind like 'Who takes care of my children' if something happens me?"

I6: "If I was ill, I would attend public demonstrations again..."

I11: " I attend my union's public demonstrations. We have made press conference in Kızılay. It was about Palestine and woman's scarf."

#### **4. What is the level of women teachers' conception and willingness about attending union executives?**

It has been observed that interviewer woman teachers are unwilling to attend managing bodies of their own unions. Besides being reluctant for managing bodies, woman teachers have specified that gender mainstreaming roles such as taking care of children, doing the housework, responsibilities for husbands can pose obstacles, even if they have a wish to attend (I3, I4, I5, I7, I8, I9, I13, I14, I15). Besides, some of these women teachers seem disturbed from this situation and some of them seem have internalized these roles.

Despite some obstacles to take part in managing bodies of education unions, there are some women teachers who don't want to take any role with their own wishes (I3, I4, I5, I7, I8, I9, I13, I14, I15). Some woman teachers also see themselves inadequate to take role in managing bodies of education unions (I2, I4, I5, I10). In addition such problematic issues, there are also ideological discrepancies inside the unions (I2, I4, I10, I15) and woman teachers believe that education unions have an inadequate democratic running inside (I5, I14).

In relation with social gender roles:

I9: "Our husbands and children are obstacles for us. I didn't want to take role in management especially my kids were little. Going far places is also difficult."

I3: "I do not have time because I am responsible for housework, my children and my family. I spare my time to my friends and cultural activities, too."

I5: "I have no time for I am a mother. My duties are too tiring, I can't suffice. You know; work, kids, housework..."

In relation with seeing themselves inadequate:

I2: "We couldn't write an article for the union journal. At last, one of our male friends has helped us. Women remain incapable."



I10: *"...but I have to improve myself. I cannot be an executive such, they do not allow this."*

I4: *"Women don't want themselves. They do not trust on their mind."*

I5: *"...I feel inadequate. I don't spend my time for reading enough. Moreover, there is such an understanding inside the union that women can't do this work. Even women teachers themselves think like this."*

In relation with ideological discrepancies inside the education unions:

I2: *"There is sharing the works among certain political groups in the union. This situation disturbs me and decreases my belief to union life."*

I4: *"I can't do with these people. There are grouping. We can't solve any problem with such discrepancies."*

In relation with anti-democratic running inside the union management:

I5: *"Any critical role is not given to women. We can just take secretarial works and educational duties. This shows us democratic understanding is low."*

I14: *"There are too much superior-subordinate relationship in the union management. Union does not defend everyone equally."*

There are also some interesting statements about taking part in union management:

I7: *"Being a member is enough. I don't want to take critical roles."*

I10: *"... They don't let me become an executive because I have no important connection."*

I12: *"I myself don't want such a thing. If the union leaders want, I can take role. They know who can do these duties."*

K1: *"It is hard for who has no political identities. I became an executive with the help of woman limits in the unions. We couldn't transform our thoughts about woman issue into practice unfortunately. There should be a cultural spring."*

In addition to these issues, woman teachers have such basic problems while participating managing bodies in education unions; facing with difficulties when they become executive candidates, male-dominant practice of the unions, and the conception about the unions as a career step. All these arguments lead us to the conclusion that "solely women who have a tough and fighter personality can take place in the managing body of unions" (Tokgöz, 1994).

For instance;

I6: *"When I was a candidate, some calls were made to my husband for my withdrawal. But I did not stop like women always do. Duty is important and there is no sex of it. In unions, we do not seem as women, I think this is right."*

I11: *"...Now women are more demanding compared to the past. Unions are seen as a career step. Besides, male leaders don't want to powerful women. They do not allow chaos situations. I think they are right because there is a chaos when women are inside the situation."*

**5. What is the level of relation between women teachers and education unions?**



To understand the level of relation between woman teachers and their unions these questions were asked: "Do you think that you have a strong relationship with your union?", "Do you think your union meets your expectations?" and "Which activities should your union do?". It is seen that the relationship between the woman teachers and their organized unions is weak. (I2, I3, I4, I8, I10, I15). One of the main reasons is "the unions' not meeting the needs of their members" (I2, I3, I4, I10, I13, I15).

It is clear that teachers who told they have a strong relationship see this relation as religion and political, if needed legal and social rights based (I1, I5, I6, I7, I9, I11, I12, I13, I14). Interviewer woman teachers have uttered their expectations from education unions under these titles; unions should give information about legal rights of teachers, social and cultural activities; union fields should be formed as places where children can come too; and essential information should be presented about gender mainstreaming by the unions. The case of woman teachers who have said that they have no expectation from their own unions seems very significant in this field (I6, I12, I14).

The answers about the relation between woman teachers and their union are below:  
I2: *"I can say that I am offended. It does not help its members. There is political discussions inside the union."*

I3: *"My union does not meet expectation. I don't believe their sincerity, so I have no huge expectations. They get unearned income, it is disappointment for me."*

I4: *"...They don't show any interest except for political fields. There is a serious loss of trust to unions."*

I9: *"My union is with its teachers, defend their rights well. I am ideologically closed to my union."*

I10: *"I have no close relationship with my union because I don't have a union conscious. I don't want it already. They cannot represent me in such a system. I don't have any interest about woman identity and works in the union about this point."*

I12: *"I have a powerful relationship with my union. I do what they want from me. I like their struggle about foreign pressure to our state, refugee problems and terrorism in the Southeast region of our country."*

I14: *"I have a good feeling because my union thinks like me, too. I don't get any information about union activities, they do not reach us. I think that there will be no problem, if I obey the rules."*

Some interviewed teachers have ordered their expectations with such sentences:

I2: *"I want cultural, educational and art activities to be done..."*

I5: *"Especially for men, it can be given instructions about gender mainstreaming, roles in family, woman history. Social and cultural activities will power the union identity. LGBTI educations can be given too; because there are some problems in practice inside union process."*

I8: *"They can give information about legal struggle more."*

I4: *"There can be more activities in order to raise awareness about union life."*

I12: *"We are doing everything already. I don't have a special expectation."*



I13: *"There is deterioration in terms of social relations. At this point, mothers play an important role. Woman teachers can take educations about this problem as mothers."*

### Conclusions

Unions take the power from their members' active participation and form their union life depending on the members' decisiveness as a subject. As is, unions are one of the important means of class struggle. Unions play a role for transforming the life on behalf of workers through the equality of all members and their joint effort. While there are trials to solve union life's problems, it is known that the voice of union members involve some solutions for those problems too.

In this study, woman members' and executives' relations with their own unions (the most crowded 3 education union in Turkey) have been examined through their own feelings, ideas and attitudes. This research has revealed some problems in education unions such as; gender mainstreaming roles are determiners about woman members' representation and struggle in the union life, there is a male dominant understanding in these unions, operations in these unions are not democratic. Moreover, some clues also have been offered in order to enable woman teachers' active participation in union process.

When taking into consideration this study's scope and reached data, organized woman teachers in education unions in Turkey come from lower and middle socio-economic classes. These teachers has described their families as conservative, patriarchal and modern socio-culturally. Therefore, it has been determined that woman teachers have been grown up mainly in "traditional family" forms. However, all these statements have been formed on the basis of "male" understanding. The settings woman teachers have grown up and social roles burdened on them effect their opinions and attitudes about the union process.

The shape and aim of woman teachers' entrance to unions reveals their attitudes for following union struggle and included in this field. It is seen that political and ideological reasons come into the forefront while organized woman teachers become a member to unions and stay as a member too. Additionally, legal and professional rights, and the need of a social environment are some of the main motivations for woman teachers. In this sense, none of the woman teachers have told that they have read the standing rules and programs of their own unions and they have joined that union based on those justified ideas. It has been understood that majority of woman teachers become a union member in the advancing years of their professional life. Such a table shows that there are some inadequacies in the matter of unions' role in creating union awareness in education faculties and contacting with teacher candidates. In connection with this, women teachers' membership have come true by means of friend effect, union trips and workplace representatives. It has been observed that group culture, working and living conditions, and social environment have influenced member preference (Seçer,





2009). It is significant that some woman teachers have become a member without any union awareness, but just under the thumb of their husbands, director's force or irrelevant people's guidance. This situation results in the limitedness of relations with the unions. As reasons for entrance to unions, current issues and arguments about education field and subjects about educational contents have not been stated. Accordingly, it creates such an impression that teachers who should be the active subject in the education field do not have any initiative in order to tackle educational issues and transform the field by being organized. Furthermore, woman teachers do not have any requests regarding woman identity and even they discuss social gender issue with the unequal, given acceptances. Consequently, woman teachers' all these attitudes clearly shows that it is needed to plough on these issues.

The level of woman teachers' watching and participation union life seems very painful and contradictive. Excluding executives and representatives, it is seen that none of woman teachers in education unions follow the union publications regularly. Woman teachers have told that they just look at the publications briefly, follow the social media accounts, but not having long readings. At the same time, they do not seem willing to attend the meetings and similar activities. Woman teachers clarify their unwillingness through such subheadings; they see union activities as waste of time, these activities don't seem interesting, they have no need to attend union activities and gender mainstreaming roles prevent them to attend. There are also some woman teachers who want to attend union activities, but having difficulty because of limited information and family responsibilities.

Public demonstrations are one of the main courses for unions' gains. It is clear that there is an inseparable relationship between the 'street' and 'democracy'. Besides, it is necessary that public demonstrations should be discussed as an inevitable piece of union life in terms of expressing union requests and getting substantial results ultimately. However, interviewer woman teachers' ideas and attitudes for public demonstrations has displayed the paradigm in the understanding of 'street'. Primarily, it is observed that minority of interviewer woman teachers has attended the demonstrations. Woman teachers who are members of Eğitim Sen and Türk Eğitim Sen seem more positive about public demonstrations. Nevertheless, these teachers have stated such issues as not trusting their own unions, not being able to get substantial results, and refraining from possible physical attacks. One of the most remarkable determinations in this study is woman teachers' (members of Türk Eğitim Sen and Eğitim Bir-Sen education unions in Turkey) emphasis on disapproval of public demonstrations. Within the scope of the same question, it has been understood that some of the woman teachers read public demonstrations as political and religion based activities contrary to expressing union requests. Additionally, some statements of those who are not attending public demonstrations have importance. For instance; education unions' taking part in politics, prevention of gender mainstreaming roles and woman members' perception about themselves as being abused by unions are main questions in woman teachers' mind.



It has been observed that interviewer woman teachers are unwilling to attend managing bodies of their own unions. Besides being reluctant for managing bodies, woman teachers have specified that gender mainstreaming roles such as taking care of children, doing the housework, responsibilities for husbands can pose obstacles, even if they have a wish to attend. After all, it is clearly seen that woman teachers have internalized gender mainstreaming roles in their life. In addition to these issues, woman teachers have such basic problems while participating managing bodies in education unions; feeling incompetent for such responsibilities, facing with difficulties when they become executive candidates, male-dominant practice of the unions, ideological discrepancies inside the unions, and the conception about the unions as a career step. All these arguments lead us to the conclusion that “solely women who have a tough and fighter personality can take place in the managing body of unions” (Tokgöz, 1994).

It is seen that the relationship between the woman teachers and their organized unions is weak. One of the main reasons is the problems in union process and practice. Likewise, social realities women are included in determine their interests, feelings and ideas (Spring, 1975). The situation of not being an active subject in union process make woman teachers sceptical, having no interest for union activities and not attending the executive branches. Even though there are some woman teachers saying they have a close relationship with their unions, it should be remarked that these relations haven't been set up on trust and equality criteria. When it is looked at woman teachers statements, expectations from education unions are limited to legal support, social relations and professional requests. Considerable part of woman teachers have articulated that their expectations have not been fulfilled by teachers' own unions.

Interviewer woman teachers have uttered their expectations from education unions under these titles; unions should give information about legal rights of teachers, social and cultural activities; union fields should be formed as places where children can come too; and essential informations should be presented about gender mainstreaming by the unions. Finally, the case of woman teachers who have said that they have no expectation from their own unions constitutes another study subject.

### **Suggestions**

- Education unions should review organization models, understandings, aims, and struggles with participation of members and conscience created by unions' own historical responsibility. In addition to this, unions should make an effort to interiorise these issues.
- Education unions should be in contact with prospective teachers and concentrate on informative activities about unions.



- Education unions should fight so as to annihilate personal, social, and union obstacles which prevent woman members' active participation to union life. Unions should primarily begin this fight in itself.
- Organizational arrangements should be made for woman members' taking part in union management; this perception should be elaborated toward breaking down male dominant understanding in unions.
- Unions should establish closer relationships with their members and information flow belonging to union publications, activities, and protests should be run healthfully.
- Union branch offices and union activities should be arranged in the manner that it will enable participation of woman members.
- Education unions should take on responsibility in the direction of creating their inner democracy and building their struggle through members' demands.
- Unions should care about education and practice directed to remove male dominant understanding; likewise, unions should strengthen the sensitiveness in the matter of gender mainstreaming.
- Union struggle should discuss issues in the union field and meet the demands of education workers. While doing this, basic awareness of fighting against political power in union life should not be loosened.

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## Is there a need of the Critical Pedagogues during an alternative assessment of the students?

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### **Abstract**

*As Critical Pedagogy's purposes are the critical searching of the patterns of exploitation and domination in educational policy and practice and the struggle against any form they take in schools, Critical Pedagogues need to reflect the effects of assessment on students from exploited and dominated social class(es) as well as, on school knowledge and process of learning. Hence, it is necessary for them to critically analyze and challenge the dominant practices of traditional assessment and its consequences on the forms of power, knowledge and learning reproduced by the schools, through an endeavor for building a new way of assessment. This is an assessment for learning, an alternative assessment process including the Report of Descriptive Assessment. It does not provide grades, classify and rank the students but engenders the dialogue student teacher, supports the learning and empowers the pedagogical relationship among them.*

### **Keywords**

Critical pedagogy, Critical pedagogues, Alternative assessment, Report of descriptive assessment, Text of descriptive assessment

### **Critical Pedagogy and Teachers**

Critical Pedagogy, critically searches the ways in which existed education policies and practices are associated with the net of exploitation and domination in advanced capitalism. Hence, Critical Pedagogy unveils and discloses such associations, and struggles against the practices and values as long as those patterns of exploitation and domination reappear in various forms and modes.

Critical Pedagogy is engaged to social, political and educational transformation for democracy, social justice, economic equality, revolutionary education and the defense of human rights in terms of the actual social needs and prospects. Critical Pedagogy evolves to the extent that humanizes and liberates the people of the exploited and dominated social class(es) (Γούναρη & Γρόλλιος, 2010; Grollios & Liambas, 2015). Consequently, Critical Pedagogy urges the teachers:

- To be cultural workers and listen to the “voices” of their pupils – namely the offspring of the dominated and exploited social class(es). Therefore, the teachers having a critical pedagogical and political formation, passionately, with a sense of debt and feelings of altruism (Freire, 1998), are *activated to critically examine, analyze and understand: both the pedagogical relationship with the pupils but also with the wider social, cultural and economic relationships* that shape them in



the conceptual/political framework of the current realities in the social spaces for counter-hegemonic actions.

- To associate the school with its social, cultural, political and economic framework, putting the focus of teaching on the study of current social problems and changing the dominant social relationships (Apple & Beane, 1998). Through, the use of dialogue, active and searching teaching methods and thematic - community based curricula (project method, group teaching, discovery, problem solving and problem posing), the pedagogue ought to eliminate the joints of sovereign power in the classroom (nullifying thus banking learning approaches and the predominance of the cognitive / didactic authority) and the consequences of its exercise (compliance and flexibility, ranking scales, individualism and competition) while teaching (O' Cadiz et al., 1998).
- To transform teaching into a cognitive *praxis*, adopting hence a reflective perspective on education and educate their students in a critical manner to understand the causes of their life conditions and culture. In that way, students become researchers and knowledge producers with critical thinking, intervention and transforming action on the reality (Freire, 1985). Critical pedagogues, together with the off springs of the oppressed and exploited social class(es), learn through each other (Apple, 2011). Critical pedagogy, expect from teachers to support their students and activate basic intellectual/political skills, engage the students into pedagogic dialogues and mutually end up to decisions in relation to interests and desires of the oppressed peoples. Both, teachers and students, are involved in an effort to sustain and advance cooperation, solidarity and comradeship, tied with clearly distinct roles in the classroom (Shor & Freire, 1987).
- To establish the critical epistemology of their teaching and, moreover, to develop intellectual and pedagogical skills to illustrate, search and recognize the history and the arguments over the epistemological, political and educational issues on what counts as official school knowledge and good practices in the classroom. Such a strategy overwhelms the traditional “beliefs” of both positivism and meritocracy, annulling in that way the sense of unchanging - out of context - objective - measurable knowledge which refers to a unique, accepted and true reality, that students are passively adopting (Kincheloe, 2004). Furthermore, the adoption of a critical epistemology in teaching practice diminishes the firm positive reception of the examination with grading scales as the sole assessment scheme used as the basis for the interpretation of students mental abilities and personal characteristics in order to rank and select them (Gallagher, 1999).
- To deepen their political consciousness and transformational intervention through the action with their students, in accord with the progressive social movements or collectivities (Gandin & Apple, 2003). Teachers actions ought to have a socio-political, transformational and democratic orientation to advocate and prop up the change to policies which they have already critically analyzed.



*“Thus the scholarship in Critical Pedagogy does imply (that the Critical Pedagogues are) becoming “organic intellectuals” in the Gramscian sense of that term” (Apple, 2011: 48). It suggests autonomous persons who offer their expertise to social movements, who struggle against dominant politics and practices that perpetuate inequalities, empowerment thus, their knowledge which derive from the experience as active social agents of social movements.*

### **Critical Pedagogues and Student Assessment**

The student assessment system used in school, consolidates and legalizes its reproductive function, clearly reflected in the characteristics of the off springs of the dominated and exploited social class(es) careers as students. This can be seen either on the account of the low performance or on the manifestations of educational inequality of those who have experienced school dropout, failure and occasional attendance. In such a manner, the failed students are convinced for their social destiny or they choose (that is, a self-evident choice on their part) to accomplish their social destiny by selecting low social prestige educational pathways to attend (i.e. technical education sectors, early training qualifications). Similar standpoints often lead to precarious and worse paid occupations in the labor market, and result to adopt an ethics of a subordinated and dominated human being (Λιάμπας & Τουρτούρας, 2008; Λιάμπας & Τουρτούρας, 2010).

In accordance to the above mentioned practical procedures are generated by the nature and the form of techniques such as, the reporting and certification methods of school assessment in relation to the content and the effect of school assessment, that limit teaching educational options turning towards conservatism. The adoption and executing formal school assessment procedures by the teacher is crucially important because direct them to adopt and implement either conservative pedagogies or traditional approaches of teaching and learning. Such, appliance of assessment methods usually overlooks or underestimates the capacities, knowledge, interests and learning needs of their students (Perrenoud, 1995).

At this point Critical Pedagogues must bring forward several critical issues that constitute educational theory and practice, to intervene and act upon:

- *The abolition of the traditional, summative assessment* which creates a hierarchy in the classroom and, hence, causes comparisons and produces disparities/gaps at the expense of the off springs of the dominated and exploited social class(es) (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2014).

In a broader viewpoint, there is an underpinning requirement to challenge the dominant social relations that school reproduces by examining the nature and purpose of the structural framework within which the students’ attendance and performance are configured. Reorienting, thus, the teaching practices and its content, which establish the class function of the school mechanism.





- *The elimination of the adverse verdicts inferred by the summative assessment.* The summative school assessment operates as the springboard of a self-fulfilling prophecy against the poorest social strata students. Furthermore, such an assessment triggers against the low achievers the repeated formal negative judgments for the non-possession of specific skills and knowledge required by the “legitimate” school culture. Assumptions and labels that quite often tend to underlie and characterize the whole of the personality negatively, molding the construction of their identity. The Critical Pedagogues standpoint must be immensely critical towards school as a mechanism which promotes and evaluates a very limited range of human capacities and abilities (Μπουρντιέ, 2004). It is *the summative assessment* that cultivates and encourages the positivistic illusion of objective and accurate measurement, directing the teacher in search for observable, isolatable, prescribed and, ultimately, measurable capacities and knowledge. For the purpose of ranking and selection of the students with the consequence to create cynical, utilitarian and alienated attitude towards knowledge and learning (Λιάμπας, 2012). Critical Pedagogues need to fight for the foundation of a school curriculum that among others sufficiently corresponds and accommodates the interests, skills, experience and needs of the off springs of the dominated and exploited social class(es), apparently such a curriculum would be the impact of an emancipated society to school education. In extension, the critical pedagogue’s commitment is to counteract the effects of “establishment” caused by the summative assessment verdicts, related to the socially disadvantaged students. Decisions and judgments, fabricated and manipulated at the school milieu, labelling the disadvantage students in advance, and thus ensuring for them a future of low social position (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2014).
- *The termination of social stigmatization and educational exclusion produced by the summative assessment,* that affects the most disadvantaged students with social and sometimes psychological consequences (Μπουρντιέ, 2004).
- *The eventual cessation of the uncertainty and the lack of information provided by the summative assessment,* in relation with what the students know (or do not know) and, thus, allowing them to grasp and understand the causes of the difficulties and how being able to tackle them (Perrenoud, 1996).
- *The refurbishment caused by the mainstreaming assessment conducted via technology domination, control,* followed-on by severe measuring that standardizes, adapts, produces and selects the productive and useful workers for the needs of the market. Opting out a mode of appraising student performance, supporting critical thinking and learning, mutual trust, dialogue\_ and rising of freedom (Λιάμπας, 2011; Λιάμπας, 2016).
- *The contestation and challenge the conservative pedagogies, which are applied, perpetuated and consolidated from the school,* largely due to the summative assessment requirements so broadly applied nowadays.



These must be realized as opportunities for the development of radical/progressive teaching which takes account the needs, interests and abilities of the oppressed and exploited pupils and contribute to the critical approaches of learning and assessment as a reflective way of action upon the persistent educational inequalities (Apple, 2011).

These suggestions could mold the perspective to consider thoroughly an alternative mode of assessment to trigger the *resistance* in school's social function. A characteristic instance of resisting action could be the provision of the highest marks in the grading scale to all students without taking account their achievement. A positive counter hegemonic act could take the form of support and defend of an alternative mode of student assessment that liberates the pedagogical relationship towards an emancipatory and democratic school, based on the text, promoting hence a descriptive, interpretative, consultative and encouraging advisory schema of assessment (taking into the account both the process and the outcome of student learning within the historical, social and cultural context).

### **The text of Descriptive Assessment as the cause of consciousness for the Critical Pedagogue to think about the divided relationship between theory and practice**

In accordance with Roland Barthes, the “text” is foretold for the death of the author and the birth of the reader. Because the “text” does not inform, but transforms. The “text” does not interpret the world but changes, as well as, the reader since the latter is no longer a passive consumer of ideas of the author. Now, through the interpretation of it, the reader could be engaged in the production of meaning. In addition, the “text” field is a meeting place of various scripts “*a grid on petitions from a thousand so many areas of culture*” which coexist and clash over a field that is not wholly owned by any (Barthes, 2007:141).

Therefore, the “text” used for the student assessment, can be accomplished within the realm of Critical Pedagogy along with other critical readings of education (i.e. critical psychology, sociology of education, philosophy of education, cultural studies), evolving from the Marx endowment, may provide the opportunity for both the teacher (author), and student (reader) to mold meaning.

The assessment of the student realizes the “text” as a personal artifact for each student. Henceforth, assessment is not based on common categories or common grading scale of students’ performance tuned with the school order, to cause comparisons and rankings between classmates.

The “text” mounts the students’ work for both, the process and the outcome, with the style and means that one chooses, and appraises it within its proportions in a manner that the consequences of the students’ intelligent cannot be reified (Λιάμπας, 2016). Furthermore, the “text” epitomizes the experience of the relationship between the student with the teacher, the learning process and the knowledge; the text personifies the students’ active constitution of their conscience within their experience and in that sense assessment may overturns the traditional



footholds of the summative assessment, which dominates in the school and inscribes the ideology of meritocracy. Whereas, the summative assessment cultivates the positivistic illusion of objective and accurate measurement, directing the teacher in search for observable, isolatable, prescribed and, ultimately, measurable capacities and knowledge. For the purpose of ranking and selection of students with the consequence to create their cynical, utilitarian and alienated attitude towards knowledge (Λιάμπας, 2012).

In addition, the “text” transfers the lived experience and action of the student which cannot be enclosed by the notional categories of performance. The “text” bestows to the student the opportunity to get involved and be expressive within the context of the constructed reality. Such an activity attaches the facts, the situational circumstances along with the student’s culture (language, values, etc.) and the objects which the student assembles (already embodying the student’s concepts and ideas). In other words, the “text” is unfolded upon a stage where the student acknowledges or reflects on a procedure how to use forms of reality into present: that is an continuum of an activity, that student takes part, where the knowledge, that accompany the practice, the capacities and capabilities, the ideas and reasoning, the misconceptions and mistakes, the achievements and the student’s accomplishments are detected in the range of the student’s zone of proximal development (Λιάμπας, 2016). It is within such a dialogue with the “text” that the assessment is qualitative and converted into critical knowledge. The assessment, thus, portrays the development of the student’s potential and reviews the achievements in the framework of the activity (i.e. through the student’s participation in an individual or collaborative work, utilizing the opportunities for development under the support of teacher) (Λιάμπας, 2017). Furthermore, such a dialogue reveals the participation of the student in the transformation of domination relationships (the arrangement of power – knowledge interrelations) which the teacher’s intervention uncovers. The Critical Pedagogue, is the school teacher who advances the opportunities of the students to pledge their sights, to focus and reflect their own relations with the knowledge in a manner where build an emancipatory trajectory. Therefore, every student involved in a route of practice of empowerment, apprehend modifications within his/her own being and, hence, the student turns out to be the teacher (Liambas & Kaskaris, 2012). The “text” is no longer confined in traditional hierarchies, rankings and characterizations. What is retained in the dialogue between the “text” and the student is the subversive position against the out of context and simplistic logic (i.e. the conclusive and irrefutable high/low ranks based on the summative assessment, which at the last instance actually degrades the complexity of educational activity and place it outside the historic, social and cultural framework).

The dialogue between the “text” and the student renders the quantitative methods of reporting and certificating the result (e.g. grading scales) totally unnecessary while at the same time nullifies the use of summative assessment techniques (e.g.



objective tests, closed-ended questions), that make the knowledge countable, measurable and impersonal (disconnected, fragmented and broken), leading students to formulate alienated relationships with it (Giroux, 2011). The competitive, individualist, hierarchical relationships, with the negative feelings attached to them is abolished allowing hence the creative classmates to accommodate communal bonds of participation in a manner that promotes mutual solidarity.

Consequently, the required arrangements of a Critical Pedagogue’s pedagogical and political *praxis* emphasize the care to revise, reflect and interpret the students’ work within the social milieu constantly signifying the liberatory and transforming purposes of the pedagogic relationship (Freire, 1985). The Critical Pedagogue is committed to instill in their students the skills, the modes of knowledge, self-reflection and democratic values necessary for the development of critical engagement in certain political values. So that they can come to generate into the students critical learning, critical consciousness and conditions for emancipation (Giroux, 2005).

Thus, the “text” itself, can contribute to the substance of teacher’s observations and knowledge over the living reality of the student to be critical. Taking the form of a *Report of Descriptive Assessment* (RDA), the text provides for the student, the prospect to understand and appreciate the learning process within a historical, social and cultural milieu. That is a process realized along with a set of causality relationships, conflicting social interests, power relationships, resistances and the broad physical and the symbolic human configuration (Freire, 1998). Therefore, the RDA is being conveyed as an act of knowing, as a creative act of comprehending views where the student becomes a critical subject in the learning process and not an object of teachers’ action (Freire, 1995). The RDA mode of assessment encourages the student: (i). to grasp the internal dynamic of the events/situations in an educational project; and (ii). to come to terms with the dialectic and causal relationship sketched pictured intimate in a learning process; and, thus, enhancing the meaning of teacher’s evaluation. The RDA guides the student towards a personal empathy which is nevertheless relational, communal, aligned upon the borderline between the two agents (teacher - student), enacting a practice where the students reveal their own propositions regarding the pedagogical association. Such a practice enables students to revise their own attitudes, understand their own capacities and capabilities, and moreover, construct their own characters, acknowledging, hence, the values, wishes, incentives and the emotional ties emerged from the activities or events of existing reality.

### **Report of Descriptive Assessment (RDA) – Units of the text**

There is no thought without language when the thought is tested in the activities of the created and live reality, (Vygotsky, 1985). The RDA’s text language fabricates the thought to “talk”, dialectically connected with three narrative units: the descriptive, the interpretative, and, the advisory section (Eisner, 1985).



**The RDA text is descriptive:** The reading of RDA text is, completely “woven” with vivid and detailed descriptions of activities, events, meanings and characteristics and may include even, extracts from the student - teacher communication procedures reflecting and referring to theories, “cultural” languages, signs within a very broad “stereo surround” of narrative portions (Barthes, 2007). The literary view and metaphor appearing in the description can be used to complement the communication improvement of the descriptive annotation. The student understands the facts through the negotiation of the meaning in the text as part of an ongoing perpetual exchange/conversation with the author/teacher, rather than through a one directional reading of the text, *“the reader should assume the role of subject of the act ... (as) the act of study assumes a dialectical relationship between reader and author ...”* (Freire, 1985: 3, 4).

**The RDA text is interpretative:** The Critical Pedagogue can interpret interactions, facts, representations, knowledge created through the educational activities on an ontological basis. Taking into the account that the basis of Critical Pedagogy is a complex epistemology founded on the grounds of cultural politics and educational studies where critique and interpretation are condensed into a dialectical scientific imagination which bridges empirical life worldviews with refined theoretical ramifications, to be interpretive does not assumed faith to phenomenology but to deliberant conscious participation in history. In other words, the author/teacher of the RDA is focused on the complexity of classroom competence, as part of the wider historical, sociocultural framework but also within the precise sociocultural settings of the school. However, the Critical Pedagogues do not isolate theoretical reflection and active engagement over actual reality from their own subjectivities since the imaginary and the real selves are constructed in a very personal way and the reality is encountered in a kind of individual exclusiveness (Kincheloe, 2003). Such an awareness confronts the antinomies and the contradictions probable at the communication among individuals in accordance with the sum of one person’s interests, achievements, fails, weaknesses, mistakes, misjudgments, faults and misconceptions apparent in any social interaction. The Critical Pedagogues highlights the *human praxis*, while *“the text acquires meaning through being read and takes on an identity because it is related to the person who writes it and the person who reads it. These words acquire meaning through this relationship, through the interaction of human actions”* (Vittoria, 2016: 62). It is the Critical Pedagogues’ initiative to create space for the negotiation of the meaning along with their students. It is the teachers who are interested to support and endorse students’ voices, experiences and background (Green & Albers, 2012). The Critical Pedagogues are the teachers who advance interpretative arrangements that sustain the opportunity for the dialogue to modify, promote and nurture the active understanding that leads the student to speak, to affirm its own reason and emotions and be motivated for learning.

**The RDA text is consultative, encouraging advisory:** The RDA enables the teacher to dismiss the role of the guardian of meaning or the role of a supervisor of meaning



construction that transmits the message about the students' value as a "label" indication suitable for needs and requirements of the labor market. On the contrary, RDA provides assistance and support to the students in order to grasp the experience of the learning process, to observe, to know and to change the way of understanding. The RDA as a "text" contributes not just to the students changing, but towards students' action to alter students' life in the classroom and the society. The content of the RDA, revises the teacher and student "pluralistic" interpretation, advancing the relationship of the author and the reader to a point where both become *epistemological curious about the learning process*. This happens, in a way where the students are recognized as persons armed with a set of personal features that contribute to the formation of a common conceptual framework. Both develop, propose and deliver broad reconstructions inside the classroom, since their monologues seem to be replaced by their *dialogue* (Freire, 1998). The RDA is considered as a text originated within the joint construction of a project among democratic agents avoiding compromise, enhancing instead imaginative encouragement. To paraphrase Roland Barthes, while the students read the RDA, is playing twice: the student is "*playing text*" like a game, looking for a practice to reproduce the text; and, is "*playing the text*", in order to avoid practice restricted into a passive, internal imitation pattern (meanwhile, the text resists to be realized as a practice narrowed into repetitive modes of replication) (Barthes, 2007).

When the student has access and reads the RDA, the reader (student) will neither get exhausted or tired but behave as a negotiator who composes, fabricates meaning and turn into a creative conscientious human. The text is evolved as an intermediate mean, not to be consumed by the student, but as a resource to articulate and comprehend the semiotic system introduced by the teacher/author.

The RDA permits the conscious student-reader to move at liberty, spontaneously through the text while reflecting the experienced past, setting up the representations (actions, events, situations, known codes of interaction, symbolic gestures) during a never-ending complementary/corresponding manner allowing the reader to be the navigator of the text and ultimately to be co-author; it in this way that the text is tangled within a social utopia (Barthes, 2007). The dialogic completion of the author-reader nexus facilitates the venture to write, read and review the RDA, claiming at the end of the day that the students' assessment with the RDA is not another disguise to control and hierarchical ranking with scales, but instead it is a controversy, a course on dialogue and heterogeneity, the inauguration of the unpredictable

### **The historical, social, cultural context and the rationale of the RDA**

The text is symbolic, open, without fences. The text is decentralized (i.e. not something homogeneous fixated to a specific "reporting") but structured. The text is not about a set of desired (or unwanted) specifications, capacity or behavior, neither converts capacities, capabilities, relations, in something specific (namely,





comparable and prescribed performances). More, the RDA text is immediate, continuous and unexpected, bidding both the author and the reader to abolish contradictions, bring forward dialogue and reflection upon knowledge and the empirical practice experience. The RDA is more than a mere presentation of student's accomplishments and contributions to improve teacher's pedagogical process. The unity of the text of RDA is based on a set of routes, practices and principles, which preserve its validity and reliability. That entails, the critical epistemological view in relation to the understanding, interpretation and presentation by the teacher on the educational process of learning and the achievement of a personal (or joint) project by the student considering the overall existing socio-cultural. The heart of the student's assessment is constituted upon the student's creativity, aptitudes, capabilities and talents. Such a critical epistemology trails the biographical information via observation and reflection on the student's experience and work.

The RDA forms the school *praxis* with the prospect of a joyful and subversive school by irrigating the relations between the theory and the practice of Critical Pedagogy. The RDA is a gauge of the social agents action when the theory remains behind the practice, or the practice behind the theory; and thus values the practice which is highlighted by the theory and vice versa. The development of RDA ought to transform dialectically both the teacher and the student. Eventually, such a prospect i.e. to endorse RDA in assessment, may humanizes and liberates the pedagogical relationship supporting an emancipatory school “*that thinks, that participates, that creates, that speaks, that loves, that guesses, that passionately embraces and says yes to life ...it is not a school that quiets down and quits*” (Freire, 1998: 45).

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## Interculturality, Inclusion, and Language Education of Refugee Students

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### **Abstract**

*The contemporary economic, social, and political context that has dominated over the last few years has also brought about significant changes in education on a global scale. In addition, the refugee crisis raises a new issue in education worldwide. Greece, in particular, has been experiencing an internal economic crisis in the recent years, and there has been a noticeable shift in public education at all levels with the need to respond to a rapidly evolving society. Added to this current situation is the refugee phenomenon, where thousands of refugee students are now in Greece and other European countries, claiming their right to life and education. It is well-known that refugee structures have already been created for the education of refugees (DYEP). The gradual restoration of the sense of security and stability in schools, which is essential for the development of all children, is a basic concern of the Greek state for all children of refugees. With the establishment and functioning of the DYEP, the Greek state responds in a substantive and pedagogically mature way to the necessity of the educational integration of refugee children. This raises the following topical questions: Is it possible for refugees to integrate into the Greek school context? There is clearly a great interest in English, but what is the role of the Greek language? Is it possible to enhance the interest in the Greek language among refugee children? How can the teacher balance these contrasts? What attitudes and beliefs can contribute to the interaction of Greek and refugee students? In addition to these questions, alternative processes could be used to promote educational and social change leading to a more equal and fair society.*

### **Keywords**

interculturality, inclusion, language education, refugees, primary education, Greece

In modern, developed societies, which are largely multicultural, the issue of immigrant/refugee education remains crucial in terms of allowing them to integrate progressively and effectively into society. The educational system of an advanced modern state is supposed to offer educational services to special or vulnerable groups, such as immigrants and refugees. On the other hand, one of the goals of education for native pupils should be to accept and respect people with different cultural characteristics. However, as people's perceptions do not change easily, the role of education in this is important and requires systematic and multifaceted research.

In recent years, in Greece, as in most developed and developing countries, great emphasis has been placed on the implementation of programs involving vulnerable groups, such as refugees, aimed at educating both children and adults as lifelong learners (Mouzakis, 2006). At this point, it should be mentioned that refugee populations in Greece are a special case, as our country is considered a place of



transition to the northern European countries. This means that learning Greek is not their primary educational target, while learning a globally acceptable language, such as English, is considered to be more important. In the case of refugee education, learning English seems to compete with the learning of Greek while, normally, in these populations, English is the third language (L3) (Anastasiou, 2014). For this reason, it is of great interest to study the learning and teaching of English to refugee students. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to present:

- The context of intercultural education in Greece before the refugee crisis;
- The educational policy for foreigners during the refugee crisis;
- The specific characteristics of refugees' education; and
- The characteristics of the Greek educational system during the economic crisis.

Based on these parameters, the extent to which refugees can be integrated gradually and their inclusion in the Greek educational system will be investigated.

### Conceptual Approach

Interculturalism cannot easily be defined; it is a dialectical relationship, a process of interaction and cooperation between individuals of different nationalities. In the context of education, interculturalism is directly related to the presence of foreign pupils in schools, and the term refers automatically to the education of these pupils. It is related to the acceptance of the Other's culture and way of thinking. Interculturalism presupposes multiculturalism, but it does not define it; multiculturalism entails the existence of ethnic diversity in societies that, until a few years ago, were homogeneous or comparatively more homogeneous than today. It recognizes a mosaic of equal cultures of individuals who maintain their distinct differences and can develop interactive relationships. It expresses its acceptance of diversity and the equitable recognition of distinct national and religious groups.

The term, "inclusion," within our framework is understood both as the acceptance of a nationality with its particular characteristics and as an equal member of the dominant group. Societies allow their members to maintain their diverse languages, religions, and customs. All cultures can exist harmoniously as there are neither inferior nor superior ones, and no civilization or society can be isolated from the others. On the other hand, integration is a lengthy process that requires mutual adaptation, understanding and recognition of differences, and provides equal opportunities for ethnic groups to form a single social chain. An important aspect of the integration of refugees and immigrants is the knowledge of the host country's language.

It is necessary to make a distinction between the terms *immigrant*, *refugee*, and *repatriated*. According to the dictionary of the Greek language by G. Babiniotis (1999), an immigrant is someone who leaves his/her place of residence by will. According to the Babiniotis dictionary, immigration could be either individuals or groups of people moving from their homeland to another city or country mainly for





the purpose of finding a job. Immigration is divided into internal or external, depending on the location of the migratory movement, within the state itself or in another, and forced or voluntary, depending on whether or not immigration is the result of free will. On the contrary, a refugee is a person who is forced to leave his/her permanent home or home country mainly for political or persecution reasons, while the repatriated is he/she who returns to his/her homeland. This term is used in the case of those of the Greek community who return to Greece.

Immigrants coming to our country, and by extension to the European Union (EU), belong to two major categories: those who come from a European country and therefore enjoy the rights and benefits of the European citizen, and those who come from countries of the so-called Third World. The latter are often deprived of the necessary documents, and are subject to strict controls and sometimes, expulsions. The integration of immigrants in their host countries is also determined by the existence of intercultural education as well as by the immigrant's access to it. Formal education in Greece has always been monocultural and ethnocentric, aiming at the greatest possible national and cultural homogenization, as opposed to the multicultural or intercultural education of other countries, while only in recent years, with the advent of immigrants, cultural differences have been observed and the subject has emerged. Subsequently, the educational needs of children with different languages and cultures have had to be addressed (Nikolaou, 2004).

However, it is not just a matter of classifying a society as monocultural. This characterization, in most cases, is based on the identification of a nation with a culture, considering that culture is an established, non-evolutionary reality without the interactions of people and cultures (Askouni, 2001). Greek society, therefore, is presented as a single community, with national purity and historical continuity. Its characteristic traits are the Greek language, history, and Christian Orthodox religion. The cultivation of national identity and the feeling of belonging to the national group marginalize and overshadow the other national and cultural identities that exist in modern Greece (Evangelou & Palaiologou, 2007). Shifting to a European perspective often contains a subtle or even clear ranking of people and cultures where the Western European countries are at the top. These “higher” cultures exert influence on the “inferior” ones without exerting their own effects at the same time (Askouni, 2001).

Askouni (2001), referring to the monolithic society and education, writes that even if we consider a society "homogeneous" culturally – pointing to the absence of visible differentiations, usually linguistic or ethnic, as proof of homogeneity – the cognitive and symbolic content of education cannot be understood as an automatic reflection of the culture that characterizes it at a given time. This is because education in its social dimension is based on the choice, after evaluation, of the elements that should be included in teaching, and should become learning objects of the next generations. Our educational system has highlighted the values and ideals of Greek culture with an emphasis on Ancient Greek culture, which is projected as a constant



reality without contradictions, conflicts, and differentiations. At the same time, the nation is being equated to a culture that is portrayed as an established reality (Askouni, 2001).

The immigration crisis in Europe, and Greece in particular, has taken on great dimensions. Recently, a number of refugees, in their endeavor to enter Europe via Turkey, have chosen the route of the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean Sea. Since January 2015, 330,000 people have entered Europe through the sea, with 210,000 of them going through Greece. In 2014, asylum seekers in the EU from countries outside it reached 630,000, while until September 2015, the applications were already 700,000. In the first half of 2015, 66,000 people crossed the Mediterranean Sea between Turkey and Greece, and more than 137,000 crossed it in July and August. Many of them headed for Hungary, but there were also those who stayed in Greece. Greece, like Italy and Hungary, are particularly exposed as they are the first line of refugees' entry. At the same time, refugees enter Europe facing large inequalities and differences, with a stronger problem in the southern region of the Schengen treaty, as in Greece, where the country suffers from the severe consequences of the economic crisis with high unemployment rates (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2017). Refugees, returnees, and asylum seekers, as they enter Greece, are considered to be vulnerable if they are socially excluded.

Refugees represent a high-risk group who are in need of attention due to pre-migration conditions that threaten optimal development. These may include exposure to direct combat, vulnerability to death, food and water shortage, torture, forced separations, and murder of family and friends (Beiser, 2009; Lustig et al., 2004, as cited in Josan, 2015). Literature in this area also suggests refugees can remain at risk within resettlement countries during early years of settlement due to challenges in meeting basic needs, including housing, healthcare, establishing economic independence, enrolling in the school system, and integrating socially (Beiser, 2009; Silove & Ekblad, 2002, as cited in Josan, 2015). Displacement-related and settlement stressors, such as lack of social support and loss of social roles, can place refugees at further risk for depression, anxiety, and chronic post-traumatic stress disorder (Miller & Rasco, 2004, Silove, Steel, & Psychol, 2006, as cited in Josan, 2015). However, with the right support, most refugees go on to settle and integrate well in their new host countries (Silove & Ekblad, 2002, as cited in Josan, 2015).

The need for refugee education, both for pupils and adults in Greece, is becoming more and more intense. It is the duty of Greece, as the host country, to implement an educational policy for both children and adult refugees, aiming at their social integration in the country and the elimination of inequalities in the country (Christodoulou, 2009). The Greek language is taught as a foreign language for refugees, while at the same time, there is a need to train the teachers to be able to teach the Greek language to people who speak different languages. The issue of refugee education has been addressed especially by Cummins (2005), who refers to



a number of practices. The more general picture is that an effective refugee educational program should not be based on the imposition of the standard language, but should respect the cultural specificities of the student. We must not forget that the student carries his/her native language, while, on the other hand, there is the predominant language that needs to be learned. That is why Cummins (2005) proposes an approach that will not undermine the language of the refugee, but will promote a learning system where the two languages co-exist. According to Papaioannou (2014), students belonging to vulnerable groups have low self-esteem, have no motivation to learn, have many problems that hinder the learning process, do not have a culture of education, and most importantly, cannot easily express themselves in writing, nor verbally, so there is a problem of understanding and communication within the group (Papaioannou, 2014).

The international movement of people and diversity of national populations have posed challenges for education systems in recent years. Rather than separating “students at risk” from the mainstream system in order to meet their educational needs as in the past, education systems and schools now aspire to deal with student diversity through inclusive education. Inclusive education is about valuing and responding to diversity and ensuring that schools are supportive and engaging places for all students (Education Queensland 2005, as cited in Taylor & Sidhu, 2012). The term, “inclusive education,” was initially used in relation to the integration of students with disabilities in regular classrooms. However, in recent years, it has taken on a broader usage in response to the increasing diversity within school communities, including cultural and linguistic diversity. Accordingly, most Australian state governments have developed policies to address such diversity. For example, South Australia’s multiculturalism policy statement refers to the commitment to provide education and care practices which “establish, maintain and value culturally and linguistically inclusive learning environments” (Department for Education and Child Development [DECS], 1996, as cited in Taylor & Sidhu, 2012, p. 3). The Tasmanian Education Department (2008, as cited in Taylor & Sidhu, 2012) states: Inclusive education means that all students in a school, regardless of their differences, are part of the school community and can feel that they belong. The mandate to ensure access, participation and achievement for every student is taken as given. (p. 1)

A set of principles is necessary for refugee students:

- a curriculum that is accessible to all students working together;
- a safe and supportive school community where all students are genuinely valued and respected;
- students’ social and emotional needs, as well as their intellectual needs, are responded to;
- social connectedness and a feeling of belonging for all students; and



- a systematic approach to ensuring that the practices of inclusive education are embedded, sustained, and evaluated (adapted from Tasmanian Education Department, 2008, as cited in Taylor & Sidhu, 2012, p. 1).

### **Intercultural Education in Greece (1996 – Present).**

The intercultural model of education has been developing in Greece since the 1990s in order to cover the new conditions created by increasing migratory flows. Thus, citizens gradually form new insights about multicultural reality, which includes immigration. The reasons for immigration are mainly economic, political, religious, or educational. Intercultural education in Greece was passed by law in June 1996 (Law 2413), aiming at the organization and operation of primary schools and high schools to provide education to refugees, immigrants, and repatriated Greeks. Its basic principles are the Greek language, the cultivation of solidarity, and intercultural respect. The institution of intercultural education was legally renewed in 2016, with the publication of a specific regulation providing, *inter alia*:

- The attendance of children of different cultures in schools together with native children,
- Special school programs, books, materials, and
- Supporting structures for the educational and social integration of immigrants.

However, today, intercultural schools in Athens are limited to three primary schools and one junior high school. They present the following features:

- They mainly work with foreign pupils, while in a small percentage the school accepts Greek children from institutions.
- They do not have a specific curriculum, i.e., a program that would meet the objectives of an intercultural school.
- They do not have special educational material (manuals and supplementary material, printed and digital).
- They do not have support structures for their particular educational needs (psychological support structures, structures for preserving their cultural identity, etc.).
- Languages are not taught other than Greek (as L1) and English (as L2).
- The student population is not stable, because in addition to the families of foreigners permanently residing in Greece, these schools are also attended by refugee pupils who have no fixed residence.
- Finally, these schools are staffed, to a certain extent, by teachers with special education in multiculturalism.

According to Dryden-Peterson (2011), an educational system should not only have teachers with positive attitudes, but also the corresponding material and parallel support. According to Papaioannou (2014), a major difficulty of the Greek educational system for refugee students is that there are no suitable educational materials (mainly books) for refugees. As far as learning English as a foreign language



is concerned, Evangelou (2005) reports that foreign pupils generally have a very positive attitude. One of the reasons is that many of them already know English because it is the first or second language in their countries, especially if they are from sub-Saharan Africa, but also because they know they may leave for another country in the future.

### **The Greek educational policy for the refugee crisis.**

The Ministry of Education appointed Refugee Education Coordinators (RECs) to be the liaison between Refugee Accommodation Centers (RACs) and Schools (Reception Facilities for Refugee Education [RFRE] – DYEP in Greek) to coordinate education actions held by non-government organizations (NGOs) and other bodies. These educators were seconded at camps and were required to play a novel and very demanding role; they were called on to step out of the designated school context and to function as intermediaries, bringing together the refugee population and the Greek educational system and create bridges between the school and society. Their duties include the following: explain the operation terms of the Greek school to refugee parents and maintain regular communication with them; communicate with RFRE teachers; coordinate NGOs; and find practical solutions to improve the operation of camps when dealing with issues relating to education. It is no accident that the majority of teachers asking to be seconded at the camps are people with experience or/and studies in refugee and immigrant matters and, in particular, are highly motivated for such type of action.

The refugee crisis peaked in recent years in Greece in the context of the economic crisis. Nevertheless, the Greek state has taken care of the education of refugees by establishing DYEPs (Reception Facilities for Refugee Education), which operate within the school units and within the limits of which refugee hosting centers (camps) exist. The opening hours of the school are from 14:00 until 18:00 and are divided into 4 teaching hours corresponding to 7 subjects: Greek language, mathematics, computer studies, physical education, English, theatre studies, and art.

The special curriculum of the RFREs that teachers are called upon to implement is an open and flexible curriculum – which is based, of course, on specific textbooks – which allows teachers to adapt both the content and pace of teaching to the needs of the children they have in their classes. This flexibility and adaptability according to the needs of the class is absolutely necessary for the educational framework of the RFREs given the heterogeneity of students (in terms of language, age, origin, previous schooling, etc.).

Children's access to education was designed in a timely manner and on the basis of specific planning, but its implementation has encountered many difficulties in practice, resulting in delays in the launching – or in some cases, in the closure – of the envisaged DYEP. Concerning the integration of children in the early morning reception zone, further problems arose which related to, among other things, the need to respond to increased integration demands due to the presence of a



significant number of children in urban areas as a result of unscheduled transfers from the DYEP where they previously resided.

By nature, people are destined to speak, express themselves, and communicate with other people. It is a unique ability that characterizes humans and differentiates them from other living beings. So, from a very early age, the infant learns to speak by listening to his/her mother and the language environment. This is what is referred to as the *first* or *native language*. Knowledge of the first language grows during the early years of human life, and it is important because it allows a child to communicate; to express his/her needs and feelings while also contributing to his/her cognitive and social development. Having conquered the native language, the child learns what is called the *second language*. This characterization is linked to the sequence of time, what is learned first and second, and the communication goals that each satisfies. For example, the first one meets the most important communication needs (Evangelou, 2005). Therefore, in the present case, English is a third language. More specifically:

- there is the first language, the mother tongue of the refugee;
- there is the second language, Greek in this case, which is the language of the host country and is taught in the school; and
- English, which is the third language and is learned at school as a foreign language, with which the refugee communicates in various contexts.

Learning the second language and third languages is mainly for reasons of social inclusion. The person immigrating to another country is forced to learn the language of the host country in order to initially communicate, and then to join it. The result is that the immigrant is bilingual and the two languages are used for different purposes, especially when changing the social context and the place where he/she uses the language. But the third language is the one that will form the “passport” to another European country. Thus, this may be the third option, but it could be more important than the second language since refugees see Greece not as the final destination but as an intermediate destination. The pedagogical-educational objectives of the DYEP are therefore:

- Familiarizing refugees with the school context, since for many children, it is their first contact with the educational process, even if they are 8-9 years old;
- Tackling socialization difficulties, as some of the students have particularly traumatic experiences due to war and hardships;
- Learning the Greek language with the prospect of their integration into the Greek educational system, and;
- Learning English as a *lingua franca*.

Learning English as a third language aims to develop the language skills that will help the refugee initially to communicate, and then to access the labor market at an international level. It will also help the refugee improve his/her self-esteem and to gradually integrate into different social environments. It should be noted that the





English language, at present, functions as a *lingua franca*. This means that it is accepted by a range of countries and it is the most widely used language for communication at the international level. At the same time, English has prevailed in many countries as a primary language of communication, even if it is not the country's first language. For example, in countries such as India, Pakistan, and Malaysia, where there is an array of languages and dialects, English is the basic language of communication among people. It is also understood in almost all Western countries and is the official language in the USA, UK, and Ireland, and is the language of communication for EU documents and procedures. In fact, English is the first language for international communication, as well as for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), which deals with refugee issues.

When learning a second language, learners do not often reach the level of knowledge of the first language; they differ in its rhythm and its degree of mastery. The factors are personal (degree of acquiring the first language, strong learning motivation, and study time) and environmental (their daily contact with the target language). Usually, the level of knowledge of Greek that a refugee student can reach is related to the time spent on teaching. However, the language of the refugee is also being pressured by the language of the host country, while he or she, as a bilingual, uses the appropriate linguistic code every time. On the other hand, English is a language that is used in everyday life among young people. It is used for international travel documents and for communication with authorities. At the same time, English is nearly everywhere, from commercial billboards to TV movies, as well as internationally in science, art, communication, advertising, and journalism. It is also the language taught in most educational systems. This certainly creates a positive climate for learning English, resulting in the development of many teaching techniques, often using active learning methods and new technologies (Mallows, 2012). Another point outlined by Dryden-Peterson (2012) is that there is now a special program at a global level by bodies, such as the UNHCR, in which learning English for refugees is no longer an informal form of learning but part of the educational systems of host countries. This means that refugees learn English in formal structures, such as primary schools and community centers.

We will use examples of refugee integration from other countries. For instance, in another study, Block et al. (2014) refer to integration programs for refugees in schools. In this context, many countries have created special integration classes in their educational systems where English is mainly taught along with the first language. They have given priority to English due to the fact that refugees come from different countries, so English is the main language to communicate with each other as well as with teachers. In another case, the educational authorities in Ontario, Canada have also moved on to develop the relevant educational material written in different languages, such as Arabic, Pashto, and Hindu (among others) so that refugees in their integration classes could learn English as easily and quickly as possible. It has also taken on the recruitment of refugees who have a good command



of the English language and have been trained to teach in integration classes or to help teachers in their work (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2008). But why is it important to learn English in the framework of the DYEP? Answers to this question include the following:

- For refugees, perhaps Greece is not their ultimate destination, and knowledge of the English language is more than necessary for their access to the labor market;
- At the same time, English has become an official language in many countries even though it is not the country's first language;
- It is understandable worldwide, and it is used for EU documents and procedures, as well as internationally in science, art, communication, advertising, and journalism;
- A large percentage of refugees already know English to a greater or lesser extent. All of these create a positive climate for English teaching, which is enhanced by the development of modern teaching techniques and the use of new technologies (Mallows, 2012). As mentioned in the Dryden-Peterson study (2015), refugees themselves have a great interest in learning English because they consider it the ticket to acceptance in the countries in which they want to relocate.

### **Specific characteristics of refugee students**

Refugees have come from a variety of warring countries, and the majority of them have experienced very hard circumstances, but they do not make up a homogeneous group; these people are individuals of various nationalities with different social and cultural characteristics and different economic and cultural capital. In addition, after the closure of the borders and the agreement between the EU and Turkey, both the legal status and the prospects of resettlement in different countries began to change for the various groups of refugees who are located in mainland Greece and its islands. Finally, refugees' living conditions also show great variations depending on the Reception Accommodation Center (RAC) and the region in which they are found. In addition, these parameters constantly change over time when refugees move from place to place and from a RAC to other accommodation areas in apartments, hotels, and so on.

Given the fact that RFRE students do not speak Greek and that most of them have been out of school for many years, teachers need to have special knowledge and/or experience in teaching students of other languages and in managing socially vulnerable children. The fact that teachers were appointed not on the basis of special qualifications, but rather from the general list of substitute teachers, means that the education of refugees was undertaken by teachers without special education and without training or particular incentive to address this difficult educational task. This fact, in combination with inadequate training or lack of training, means that the educational work that was provided did not meet the needs of the population. Moreover, the fact that in many cases there were 20 children in



every class made the situation very difficult. A key characteristic is the fluidity of enrolled students during the operation of the RFREs. In all cases, there is permanent mobility, i.e., both deleted entries and new entries: some students left either due to having been relocated or because they were moved to another site (settling in apartments, moving to another region); some others were registered a lot later than the start of the RFREs, and in a few cases, the names of children were deleted from the RFREs and were registered in the morning zone school program.

Those who are about to leave (or hope to leave) the country do not seem to consider it necessary for their children to go to the Greek school. Their attitude does not depend on whether they generally recognize the value of education or not, but whether they consider attending the Greek school to serve the prospect of relocation. One reason is that learning the Greek language is of little use since they will not be able to use it in the country in which they want to settle. They are therefore more receptive to English or German language courses organized by NGOs or other institutions in the sense that these languages are more useful to them. Another reason is the feeling of impermanence; it is difficult for them to subsume the normality the school has to offer in the state of expectancy and waiting they are in. For this reason, they put that moment on hold until their life is settled in a stable environment. Of course, this issue (i.e., the adaptation to normality and school regularity) does not only concern those who hope to relocate, but all refugees, especially those who live in RACs. Regular schooling requires stable living conditions and a certain amount of effort to organize children's time, i.e., living conditions that are difficult under the present circumstances. Children are often absent because their parents had some job to do outside the RAC and had to take their children with them, or they had to take care of their younger siblings, or the weather was not good, and so on. All RECs report that they are making very systematic and continuous efforts to get in touch with the parents of children who are often absent and to convince them of the usefulness of the school, both for reasons of substance (the value of education regardless of the language in which it is provided) and the possibility that their children's attendance at school may have a positive bearing in case they have applied for asylum.

Another reason for irregular attendance at RFREs is the parents' concerns about the education provided and its effectiveness; they do not see it as a regular school, but rather as a school for refugees, and they do not think their children will get appropriately educated. It seems that the essence of these reservations is not so much (or only) about the fact that RFREs work separately from the rest of the school system, but rather about how they perceive so-called "normal" education. Having the experience of educational systems that are governed by traditional and authoritarian pedagogical logic, they find it difficult to acknowledge the more relaxed pedagogical methods of the Greek school as effective and reliable. It is possible that the work their children bring home, and the kind and quantity of their schoolwork, is inconsistent with the education standards they themselves have, and



this fills them with reservations about its cognitive effects. Similar difficulties are encountered by children in their adaptation to the pedagogical framework of the Greek school, especially those who have already attended school and, therefore, have a different frame of reference. The profile of the student population attending the DYEP contains the following general characteristics:

- They have no stable schooling (due to a non-stable place of residence, movement to another country, non-conscious school necessity, etc.);
- Difficulties of social inclusion, compliance with school life rules; conflicts between students;
- Family instability and insecurity;
- Absence of school-family communication (parents are rarely involved in the school life of their children);
- Preference for learning the English language over Greek;
- Their first languages, more often Arabic and Persian, have many structural differences compared to Greek, both in spoken and in written form; and
- Many refugee students have no basic literacy and reading skills.

Owing to wars and immigration, a significant percentage of refugee children have been out of the school environment for at least two years, and many children have never attended school although they are of school age. Many children are additionally burdened by psychological traumas: terror, experiences with death, and bereavement. Last year, the Scientific Committee in Support of Refugee Children believed that refugee children are experiencing transition from a war situation to normality, and that they have different needs and objectives as a result. Having lived under difficult conditions with hard experiences, they are children with adult experiences but with children's needs. They have knowledge; they know how to survive, how to overcome obstacles, and how to adapt, but they do not have the knowledge that is positively assessed by the educational system. As a consequence, the educational system was requested – and still is – to prioritize its objectives differently and adopt differentiated pedagogic practices to help refugee children. In the initial phase, emphasis is needed on adapting to, and becoming familiar with, the institution of school since cognitive targets presuppose a feeling of security, communication, and acceptance. This transitional phase was also considered necessary as the children did not speak the Greek language and had to cover gaps in their education due to their long absence from the schools of their countries.

### **The Greek educational system in the economic crisis**

Since 2008, when the economic crisis began to be felt in Greece (as in other EU countries and beyond), there have also been implications for public education. For example:

- Mergers and/or closure of public schools,
- Reduction of funds for education,



- Increase in the number of pupils per class,
- Reduction of school hours and elimination of lessons,
- Elimination of the number of teachers, and
- Lack of support for pupils with special educational needs (integration/reception classes, parallel support, tutorials, etc.).

### **Integrating refugees into the Greek educational system**

In view of the above-mentioned circumstances – i.e., the way in which intercultural schools operate nowadays, the establishment and operation of DYEPs, the particular difficulties of socializing foreign pupils, and the conditions of the educational system during the economic crisis – it appears that the integration of refugee students into the native school population in the immediate future is not an easy process. An effort is required both by the Greek community and the refugee population. The Greek state can play a decisive role as with concrete actions, it will inspire a sense of trust among the parties involved. Such actions could be targeted at:

- Providing teacher training in intercultural education and in innovative language teaching methods (mainly in Greek and English);
- Increasing in the number of intercultural schools and operation of these schools in accordance with the legal framework mentioned above, where the co-education of native and foreign pupils is envisioned;
- Supporting intercultural schools with appropriate structures (providing school psychologists, social workers, pediatricians, etc.) for the effective integration of refugees into school and the wider social life;
- Enriching the curriculum with thematic modules that will broaden multicultural perceptions; and
- Strengthening collaboration among school, family, and the community.

### **Conclusion**

In most cases, despite the difficulties, refugee children have adapted to the educational process and the rules associated with school life, respond to the lessons, are adequately involved, and make progress in learning Greek, mathematics, and English. In addition, the initial difficulties of contact between Greek students and refugees have been overcome in a great number of schools, and joint actions have shyly started to emerge at breaks or inter-departmental exchanges, as well as actions by parents' associations.

Educators from the list of substitute teachers were appointed at RFREs on a part-time basis. However, these substitute teachers were later appointed as full-time teachers (in regular school programs), so changes have been made due to the teachers' eligibility. This creates a lot of problems in the educational process, and it also contributes to students dropping out of school. Children have no fixed point of reference, and no continuity and regularity are established in the educational



process. For instance, in the primary schools of Athens, changes in teachers were made four times in all four RFREs from October 2016 until March 2017. In addition, given the problems in training, only the first and the last appointed teachers were trained at a brief seminar.

In quite a few cases, which are in fact so numerous as to constitute problems that need to be resolved, the age of children is determined on the grounds of the statement made by their parents or guardians; as a result, children are enrolled in school grades or classes which do not reflect their real age. A lot of difficulties and conflicts have been observed in cases where junior high school-aged children attend primary school classes, often making students to drop out.

A lot of problems have been encountered in the operation of RFREs due to ambiguity and contradictions in the circulars concerning issues of everyday school operation (registration, transfers, correspondence, issuing certificates of attendance, promotion, excursions, protocols for when a child falls ill at school, etc.), which are rooted in the particular circumstances and the fluidity of the student population (continuous traveling, for example). In particular, it was found that even though RFREs are classified as school units in operation in the Joint Ministerial Decision, in reality, they are neither administratively nor pedagogically connected with the school's morning zone, which creates many problems in their operation. The interconnection of the morning zone with the RFRE is essential, both administratively and pedagogically. Early morning school and RFRE cooperation has proved to be a difficult bet. Teachers and school principals have proposed that RFREs should be an integral part of the school, and that the afternoon program teachers should join the morning zone teachers' team. A key characteristic is the fluidity of enrolled students during the operation of the RFREs. In all cases, there is permanent mobility, i.e., both deleted entries and new entries: some students left either due to having been relocated, or because they were moved to another site (settling in apartments, moving to another region, etc.); others were registered a lot later than the start of the RFREs, and in a few cases, the names of children were deleted from the RFREs and were registered in the morning zone school program.

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## Critical Science Education and Educational Practice

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### **Abstract**

*In contemporary society, the relationship between capitalism and science has led to a science whose objective lies at profitability instead of the improvement of quality of life, and their relationship with education has formed a science education with a corporate approach rather than an approach aiming at social justice and the formation of scientifically- and politically-literate citizens. Critical science education, as an answer to this situation, is an alternative approach in pedagogy that aims at raising participation and attainment levels in science for students from ethnic, racial, linguistic, and religious minority groups, leading them toward their own empowerment and liberation through a sociopolitical action for the elimination of every form of oppression. The concept of critical science education extends beyond merely preparing students to perform well on standardized assessments and succeed in the capitalist labor market; it provides a critical understanding of the ways in which science has been used within the socioeconomic system in order to perpetuate the economic exploitation of oppressed groups and support cultural domination, providing at the same time the necessary knowledge and skills for students from minorities to fight unjust, racist, and oppressive social structures and empower themselves, their families, and their communities. This paper presents the theoretical background of critical science education and some of the attempts that have been made worldwide to turn theory into practice and apply a critical approach in science teaching and learning, both inside and outside the official educational system.*

### **Keywords**

critical pedagogy, science education

### **Capitalism, Science and Education**

Peter McLaren, when interviewed by Angela Barton (2001a), argued that capitalism, scientific research, and education serve each other so intimately that it is difficult to think of one without the other. The connection between capitalism and science has formed a “corporate” science whose role is to consolidate the dominant social relations, being directed mainly by big technological and pharmaceutical industries and aiming at profitability rather than the betterment of the conditions of life worldwide. The interests of the industries that fund scientific research define the topics that researchers work on, and the research projects that are being vastly funded are the ones dedicated to create products that will bring bigger profit; for example, research for “lifestyle” drugs for first-world problems, such as obesity, baldness, and wrinkles, is receiving huge funds since these products are about to bring more gain to industries than drugs for malaria, tuberculosis, and other illnesses that cost the lives of millions of people in the developing world. The relationship between capitalism and education, on the other hand, has turned the educational



system into a subsector of the economy, “a zone of free capital investment” (Barton, 2001a). Instead of being a means to empower children and adults alike to become active participants in the transformation of their societies toward social justice, the role of education is being limited to providing businesses and industries with the flexible, compliant, and “job ready” workforce they need in order to design, produce, and trade goods and services for the global marketplace (Hodson, 2003). As Apple (1993) states, in this economy-based educational climate, students are not seen as people who will take part in the fight for the rebuilding of the social, political, and economic future, but as consumers; freedom is defined as living in an unpledged global commercial market and the education system is integrated into the mechanisms of this market.

In this context, science education has adopted a corporate approach. Its aim tends to be the formation of the next generation of scientists, acting as a form of pre-professional training (Osborne & Dillon, 2008), instead of a meaningful engagement with science that would lead to the formation of scientifically- and politically-literate citizens. Most of the science curricula focus on the content of science, guiding the students toward an endless accumulation of information in order to succeed in tests that require the recollection of data and do not take into account criticality and scientific literacy skills (Kottaridi & Skordoulis, 2015). Science in schools is presented out of context, as neutral, value-free, and objective, and students do not have the chance to examine it within its political, economic, and sociocultural context and question how it is produced and used, by whom, and for what purposes. Furthermore, science is viewed from a Eurocentric, white, and male perspective, since the dominant idea of scientists that appears in school textbooks and narratives is that of white, Western men (Osborne & Barton, 1998), with women and non-white scientists’ accomplishments being unmentioned.

When it comes to students of low socio-economic backgrounds, coming from ethnic, racial, linguistic, or religious minority groups, science education seems to fail to incorporate their needs, which can be seen in their lack of interest towards school science, the low achievement in tests, and the low percentage of these students following careers related to science. According to Barton (2001b), children in poor urban settings face inequalities in science education that, except for the academic achievement, can also be seen in the resources, the schooling practices, and the culture of schooling; students attending poor urban schools do not have access to updated textbooks, new scientific equipment, variety of science-related extracurricular activities, and high-level science courses (Oakes, 2000). With regards to the schooling practices, poor students are often put into low-level classes, where achievement usually focuses on behavior skills and static conceptions of knowledge, and students act as passive learners. Finally, the school culture often conflicts with students’ home culture as school typically reflects only the values and experiences of the middle class, so that the other students’ experiences are ignored and they feel deficient because of concerns like poverty, language differences, and ethnic identity.



### Critical Pedagogy and Critical Science Education

Paulo Freire (1970) argued that the greatest humanistic and historical task of the oppressed is to liberate themselves, and education is the central means to accomplish this task as it ensures that oppressed peoples acquire the necessary knowledge and skills to transform their reality (Codrington, 2014). According to Freire,

education either functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity or it becomes the practice of freedom, the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world. (p. 34)

Critical pedagogy, as a philosophy of education and social movement that considers teaching as an inherently political act, rejects the neutrality of knowledge, advocates that issues of social justice and democracy are not distinct from acts of teaching and learning, and sets as the goal of education the emancipation from oppression through the awakening of the critical consciousness. Critical pedagogy has influenced all the school disciplines and thus, science as well, which has led to the formation of critical science education as an alternative approach to teaching and learning science that aims at raising participation and attainment levels for students from ethnic, racial, linguistic, and religious minority groups, and empowering them. At the same time, it promotes a stance against racism, discrimination, and every form of oppression, and pursues the transformation of social relations through sociopolitical action. In the next sections, the main aspects of critical science education will be presented: politicized, culturally sensitive/multicultural, democratic, and place-based.

**Politicizing science education.** Derek Hodson (2003) is one of the main advocates of critical science education. According to him, over the past 40 years, there have been many attempts to reform school science curricula in order to address the observed inequalities in science education, and slogans, such as “science for all,” suggesting that all students must attain some level of scientific literacy, have appeared. However, there is still little clarity about what scientific literacy precisely means and what it signifies in terms of curriculum provision, as some see it as the ability to become informed about scientific and technological topics with a good level of understanding, while others consider it the acquisition of the required knowledge and skills in order to follow a career in science (Hodson, 2003).

Hodson (2003, p. 647) acknowledges that during this period, much has been achieved: many curricula have adopted a constructivist view of learning; there is much attention directed to the development of effective laboratory work and the integration of informal learning experiences and forms of community-based learning; there is increasing recognition among science teachers that science is a product of its time and place, linked with its sociocultural background and influenced





by methods of generation and validation; more students are exposed to science in the later years of schooling as a result of the “science for all” movement; the Science, Technology and Society (STS) movement has led to an augmented recognition of the wider social, political, economic, and ethical issues that surround the practice of science and the need to contemplate them; and issues of gender and ethnic inequity have been raised. Nevertheless, Hodson states that there is still considerable cause for concern: students’ scientific knowledge and their ability to use it effectively and intentionally do not meet expectations; their understanding of the nature of science remains incoherent and vague; and the motivation for science drops off as students proceed through secondary school. The recent curricular reforms, including STSE (the broadened conception of STS that also includes environmental education) and SSI (the examination of socio-scientific issues) have failed to meet the needs of contemporary life since they do not suggest that scientific literacy also includes the willingness and know-how to act in ways that are socially just and environmentally responsible.

What Hodson (2003) advocates is a much more politicized science education that will focus on providing the students with both the capacity and the commitment to take action on socioeconomic issues that have a scientific, technological, or environmental dimension. The politicization of science education requires, according to Hodson, a more contextualized, issues-based approach that will help students build meaningful knowledge (p. 654). This approach comprises four levels of sophistication (Hodson, 1994); at the first level, students realize the interdependent relationships between culture and science/technology and how significantly the last two can affect people’s lives. The second level is about understanding that scientific and technological development is connected with interests, wealth, and power. At level three, students are encouraged to formulate their own opinions and establish their value positions concerning social, political, and environmental issues so that they become committed to fighting for the establishment of more socially and environmentally fair practices. The fourth and last level is about empowering students to take responsible action and become active citizens by giving them the opportunities to act now, within the school’s framework, in order to experience participation and acquire the knowledge and skills that will help them intervene and make their voices heard in decision-making processes.

Codrington (2014) argues that when it comes to students from oppressed cultural groups, such as African Americans, the action that they should be encouraged to take must aim to meet their most paramount need, which is their liberation. Science education for oppressed student groups should not be limited to preparing them to earn high scores on standardized achievement tests in school and later sell their skills in the capitalist labor market; it must provide them with the knowledge, skills, and determination to act on social structures of domination, racism, and oppression that threaten the survival and empowerment of themselves, their families, their communities, and their future generations. To accomplish this, students should



contemplate how science can be used to solve serious common health, environmental, social, and infrastructure problems in their communities, in this way developing critical consciousness of scientific issues. The first step in the direction of action-taking is the politicization of teachers; if teachers are to prepare students for sociopolitical action and engage them in it, they must also have been prepared for, and have engaged in, sociopolitical action (Hodson, 1999). According to Codrington, it is unlikely that national reform efforts by governing bodies take into account a critical education agenda, so it depends on the individual educators and school administrators to integrate this perspective into their lessons instead of merely teaching science skills in an apolitical educational environment.

Hodson (1999, p. 791) claims that the most appropriate and effective way of addressing this issue is action research: groups of teachers familiar with the students, the locality, and the school environment, working together to design and implement new science curricula with a critical perspective according to the student population's specific characteristics and needs. Teachers should start by reflecting on their current practice and come up with alternatives, then decide on and implement new teaching methods and materials, evaluate them, analyze, criticize, and compare their ideas and, afterwards, proceed to the development of new activities all over again. In this context, teachers' role changes from simple transmitters of scientific knowledge – whose experiences, personal theories, and values are not taken into account – into transformative intellectuals, who engage in self-criticism and understand their potential role in a changing society (Hill, 2007).

**Multicultural and culturally sensitive science education.** Issues of culture, world view, and multiculturalism, and their impact on students' learning of science, have become increasingly important to science teachers since the early 1990s (Slay, 2001). Aikenhead and Jedge (1999) argue that science learning is a “crossing cultural borders” procedure as students have to move between their everyday world and the world of school science, and they often deal with cognitive conflicts that arise from cultural differences between those two worlds. This transition is smooth when the cultures of family and science are congruent, but it can be hard – or even impossible – when the cultures are diverse or highly discordant; for example, in cases of students from aboriginal backgrounds. To help students with this transition, science teachers should employ culturally sensitive teaching strategies, contextualize the science curriculum in their everyday lives, and try to build bridges between the various world views and that of modern science using elements of the indigenous science knowledge and comparing the relative epistemologies of indigenous culture and modern science.

Multiculturalism is one of the most important aspects of critical science education. According to Hodson (1999), however, there is little agreement on what it is exactly, to whom is addressed, and why it is necessary (p. 775). Beginning with the assimilationist view that multicultural education is about coping with the challenges created by cultural and ethnic diversity within the classroom, aiming thus at the



perpetuation and promotion of the dominant cultural forms, there has been a shift toward ethnic and cultural pluralism, which accepts and promotes diversity, teaching the members of the dominant community to understand and appreciate the different cultural forms of minorities and helping the members of these minorities perpetuate their identity and raise their self-esteem (Hodson, 1993). Recently, there has been another move toward a more open, anti-racist approach, one that is meant to reveal and combat racist practices that discriminate against minority groups and promote a critical stance toward our society's values and the distribution of power. Hodson (1993) claims that multicultural science education cannot be seen in a single, unified perspective; the priorities and the emphases given need to vary depending on the country, the region, and even the school and the class, in accordance with the student population's identities. The consequent danger of adopting a too narrow perspective of multiculturalism in science education can be overcome by adopting three basic elements: "education of diverse cultural groups, through a wide range of culturally impregnated experiences, for life in a multiracial and multiethnic society at both local and global levels" (Hodson, 1993, p. 689). Hodson suggests a framework with guidelines for designing a science curriculum that will meet these expectations, based on three main categories: science education in a multicultural setting, anti-racist science education, and multicultural perspectives of science education.

The first category describes the need for science teachers to adapt the language, content, and teaching and learning styles to the students' knowledge, experiences, and cultural backgrounds. The language problem caused by the diversity of mother tongues can be solved by giving alternatives to writing tasks (making videos and models, taking photos, drawing, etc.) and facilitating reading tasks with the use of collaborative learning and encouraging group discussions in both languages. The problems caused by the use of the specialized and difficult-to-understand language of science can be overcome if teachers do not insist too early on the acquisition of science terminology and reduce the "linguistic noise" (Johnstone & Wham, 1982). Teachers should design learning activities that help students explore and develop their own views, but they should have in mind that not all students come from the same cultural background; utilizing children's culturally determined differences in knowledge of plants, animals, dress, health issues, use of tools, etc., benefits the whole class in terms of having access to new knowledge, raising self-esteem for minority students, and contributing to the fight against racism since all cultural groups are considered to possess important knowledge and experiences. Teachers should also pay attention to the teaching style they adopt and the learning style they expect from their students, as it is possible that some styles oppose the home culture of some students (for example, adopting a critical and questioning stance and challenging the teacher's authority opposes some aspects of the Islamic tradition).

The second category, anti-racist science education, stresses the need to review all textbooks, worksheets, and curricular materials that have offensive and racially



stereotyped content or don't include any information about other cultures and ethnicities. It also emphasizes the need to build more democratic school and classroom organizational procedures that promote students' participation and to give them freedom to choose their learning style, or even the content and the assessment method they prefer, according to their background, interests, and aptitudes. Finally, it entails the necessity to reveal ways in which science and scientific (or "pseudo-scientific") ways of presenting information are often misused on purpose in order to legitimize discrimination against minorities (for example, the concept of race).

In the third category, it is advocated that curriculum materials should comprise examples from a variety of cultures and countries so as to provide a "global view" of science and technology, and should engage students with real-life problems worldwide (e.g., food production, sanitation, water supply, medical care, deforestation, housing, transportation, etc.). It is also important to ensure that the contribution of non-Western and pre-Renaissance scientists to the development of the contemporary Western science is recognized, to shed light on the culturally-specific nature of scientific and technological practice, and to defy the common view that science is well-defined, infallible, and value-free. Finally, students should be aware of the fact that some scientific and technological achievements may enrich the lives of some people but impoverish the lives of others, and that issues of justice, equality, and freedom are closely connected to the scientific and technological practice.

**Democratic science education.** Critical science education has to be democratic. Basu and Barton (2010) conducted a qualitative, multi-year investigation that took place in the School for Social Change (a small public school in New York City with a student population coming mostly from the Caribbean diaspora, whose mission emphasizes student activism, leadership, and empowerment to make social change in the general context of preparation for college). Their study looked at how teachers and students defined and envisioned democratic science pedagogy in the context of their own classrooms. The goal of the study was to explore the set of democratic teaching strategies from the differing perspectives of teachers and students. The study included interviews, focus groups, classrooms observations, and the collection of artifacts, and it revealed the ideas of democratic science pedagogy that these groups held.

Students defined and interpreted such a classroom mentioning three main concepts: freedom and choice (freedom of speech, freedom to make things happen in the way you want, and choice in content, activities, design of classroom space, and forms of participation); community and caring (opportunities to work collaboratively, classroom structures that promote caring and friendly interactions); and leadership (standing up for what one believes in, making something of oneself). On the other hand, teachers mentioned pedagogy organization and structure, criticality, rigorous content, and choice as being the basic elements of democratic science. Organization



of the classroom has an important role: there must be structure and order so that the students' right to learn will be protected. Criticality refers to reframing power relations in the classroom toward equality (i.e., both teachers and students have a say in classroom management). Concerning the content, there is a focus on acquiring scientific knowledge through an inquiry-based process and, at the same time, developing expertise and standing out (e.g., students work on self-directed projects on themes they choose and they “show off” what they learned by presenting a project of their choice). Finally, the matter of choice reflects on various aspects of the learning process: students should have choice in topics for research, projects to be presented in the science fair (an exhibition of the students' work at the end of the year), extra credit activities, students teaching lessons, topics for electives, and so on. What emerged from this study is that democratic science pedagogy is linked to the students' engagement and achievement in science, and that shared power, expression of the students' voice and opinion, and critical science agency, contribute significantly to a democratic science classroom (Kottaridi & Skordoulis, 2015). Also, it was revealed that teachers can create and implement their own models of democratic pedagogy to fit their students' needs in learning science (Barton & Upadhyay, 2010).

**Critical pedagogy of place and science teaching.** Another important aspect of critical science education is the connection with place. Place is a multidimensional phenomenon; each person experiences place through its history, culture, geography, and politics. How one makes sense of that experience is related to how he/she is positioned among these different narratives (Gruenewald & Smith, 2008). Inside the classroom, place accounts not only for the physical spaces of the community, but also for the historical and sociocultural dimensions that play out as people interact with and in it (Barton & Berchini, 2013). The prevailing model for science teaching nowadays is based on lists of state content standards that students are required to achieve. These lists of standards are rarely connected to students' environment and have little – if any – relevance to their lives. This model of context-independent (“decontextualized”) science is problematic, as it does not take into account what is unique about any given physical and cultural environment and thus leads to the abdication of two important questions: “Why here?” and “So what?” (Buxton, 2010). Buxton (2010) stresses that when a topic of study is too far removed from students' direct experience, it is improbable that it will inspire them to get involved and take action; on the contrary, topics that affect them physically, socially, and emotionally have more chances to motivate them to act or generate the need for new knowledge and skills.

The concept of critical pedagogy of place combines critical pedagogy with place-based education, providing educators with a powerful framework that will help them engage students in learning and take action that can change their way of living in places, and defy prevalent thought and behavior patterns that have led to unsustainable and exploitative relationships among people and with the planet



(Gruenewald, 2003 in Dimick, 2016). Place-based pedagogy has its roots in rural and environmental education, and claims that learning happens most naturally when it is focused on the intersection of people, their local environments, and an authentic purpose. In this context, schools should stop acting as though they are disconnected from the community, people, animals, plants, and other factors around them, and stop implementing curricula designed by authors that the teachers and students are unlikely ever to meet (Buxton, 2010). Place-based education has grown out of the belief that education should help students understand that it is their joint responsibility to conserve and restore shared environments for future generations (Orr, 1992, in Dimick, 2016).

However, while place-based education asks students to understand their local environmental context, it ignores the social, cultural, and political concerns that contribute to systemic social and environmental inequalities. Examining the relationship between people and place cannot be a politically neutral procedure, as environmental inequities often come from racial, ethnic, and class-based injustices (Mueller, 2008). According to Buxton (2010), this is the point at which place-based pedagogy makes a natural connection to critical pedagogy. From a critical perspective, the focus on place is important as long as it contributes to the process of raising consciousness about social, political, and economic injustices in the world around the students. Through this connection, the actions that place-based pedagogy promotes toward making communities better places to live can be made more powerful with the critical awareness that critical pedagogy cultivates; thus, critical pedagogy of place utilizes the strengths of each field in support of the other (Gruenewald, 2003).

According to Gruenewald (2003), enacting a critical pedagogy of place is a two-step process of re-inhabitation and decolonization. Teachers and students are encouraged to “re-inhabit” their places, which means to take the kind of social action that improves the social and ecological lives of places that have previously been damaged by ecological misuse. Decolonization, on the other hand, is a process of recognizing and overturning ways of thinking imposed by the dominant culture that commit social, political, and ecological acts of violence. When teachers and students start questioning in a critical way the social and environmental imbalances in their area, their role in maintaining these imbalances, and the actions they can take in order to minimize them, they are engaged in the process of re-inhabitation and decolonization that are central to critical pedagogy of place (Buxton, 2010).

### **Educational Practice of Critical Science Education**

In this chapter, what will be presented are some of the most remarkable attempts at applying a critical approach in science teaching and learning, both inside and outside the official educational system, that have been published over the past years and are categorized according to the methodology and their main goals.





**Critical ethnography.** Angela Calabrese Barton (2001a, 2001b) is one of the leading figures of research and practice of critical science education. She has implemented many research programs on how to incorporate criticality in science teaching and learning in poor, urban settings in the United States, and she has published a great number of articles, enriching significantly the existing literature on this field. One of the methodological tools that she suggests is critical ethnography, a merger between critical theory and ethnography, which is a methodology for conducting research focused on participatory critique, transformation, empowerment, and social justice. It is based on the idea that researchers can use the tools of ethnography to conduct empirical research in an unjust world in ways that examine and transform inequalities from multiple perspectives (Trueba, 1999, in Birmingham & Barton, 2013). It emerges collaboratively from the lives of the researcher and the researched, and it leads to a participatory kind of pedagogy and research; there is a move from research “on” or research “for” to research “with” (Barton, 2001b).

Many of Barton’s (2001a, 2001b) studies have taken place in urban homeless shelters. During one of these studies, Barton worked with Maria and Claudia, two fourth-grade Mexican American girls who lived in a homeless shelter and participated in an after-school science program inside the shelter (Barton, 2001b). Drawing from critical ethnography, Barton engaged the girls in making conversation and writing a story about their school science experience; the story revealed the challenges they were facing while trying to do science in school because of race, class, gender, culture, and power issues (they claimed that science was boring and not connected to their lives, their teacher was indifferent towards them, and so on). As the research went on, the girls gradually became more vocal in their participation in the after-school program and more motivated to learn science. They took the initiative to suggest making a movie in order to share their ideas on what science in schools should look like, so that teachers would watch it and change the way they teach science. Claudia, furthermore, asked if she could use some of the wood that was going to be used by her class for the construction of planters for the garden in order to make her own desk (this decision reflected the fact that she wanted a private space for studying). The fact that when she moved out of the shelter with her family she took the desk with her, according to Barton, means that except for engaging in the practice of science in an authentic way, Claudia used science to alter her environment and enact power over her situation. Barton concludes that in the context of urban science education, critical ethnography can help researchers pose questions and give solutions to the existing challenges by documenting, critically analyzing, and acting on the discriminatory practices supported by urban schooling and society (Barton, 2001b).

Another study carried out as a critical ethnography was based on the work of youth in an after-school program in Great Lakes City that was designed to examine socio-scientific issues as they took “educated action on science” by putting on a “green carnival” for their peers and community members to raise awareness of green



energy issues (Birmingham & Barton, 2013). The authors define “educated action in science” as the capacity to leverage relevant scientific knowledge and practices to inform democratically responsible actions. During this study, students aged 10-13 years old, coming from predominately low-income and minority backgrounds, investigated the “energy crisis” in their city; the aim was to look at electrical production, supply, demand, and environmental impact, and to examine the potential role of alternative “green” energies. The project started with youth investigating their own personal carbon footprints and that of their families, then they examined how electricity was produced in their city and its impact on the environment, and later, they searched forms of new energy technologies; then, they came up with the idea to implement a “green carnival” in order to educate their community about green energy, as they had become “experts” on this topic and they had ideas they wanted to share. The carnival included exhibits, experiments, informational hand-outs, presentations, and more, and the participation of the community was beyond their expectations. According to Birmingham and Barton (2013), the youth who participated in this study expressed a critical understanding of the multiple dimensions of place and how these dimensions position their community. These critical understandings were grounded in their positions as insiders of their community, and shaped how they understood and responded to others’ perceptions of their city. The youth also leveraged knowledge of, and concern for, what people in their community knew (and needed to know) about green energy if their community was to thrive; both forms of understanding shaped their impetus to plan a green carnival. Finally, through the carnival, they opened dialogue with community members and they broke down social hierarchies in terms of who can do science, and when, where, and how science can be meaningful in the lives of people in their city.

**Critical science agency.** Critical agency – according to Basu, Barton, Clairmont, and Locke(2009) – has taken on an important place in educational research on issues of equity and social justice. Critical agency in science means that viewing the world with a critical stance allows one to envision ways of advancing, or even changing, the world in a more equitable and just way through science. Students who develop critical science agency gain deep understanding of scientific knowledge, processes, and skills, identify themselves as experts in one or more specific science topics, and use this knowledge as a foundation for change.

In a study that took place in the School for Social Change, Basu and Barton (2009) investigated when and how 2 students (Neil Clairmont and Donya Locke) developed critical science agency in a physics context. Neil’s story begins with him struggling academically and socially in his school, and it unfolds with him taking on challenges in physics, computer science, and engineering through the participation in a robotics tournament, building relationships with teachers, students, and university mentors, and establishing himself as an expert and agent of change at his school as he acted as a robotics teacher for other students and presented his work at the school science



fair, placing first. According to Basu and Barton, Neil leveraged the aspects of his identity that motivated him to engage in robotics and built a new social identity for himself with respect to peers and adults; he developed as an expert, a teacher, and a socially-networked young man who modified the world of his school by instructing other teachers in robotics.

Donya's story, on the other hand, starts with her as a strong, motivated student who wishes to follow a career in law. During the study, she engages in difficult topics in physics, such as black holes and dark matter, and takes on challenges like designing and implementing a lesson plan for her peers and conducting a difficult experiment for the science fair. The reason she decided to challenge herself in the toughest science projects was her desire to thwart negative stereotypes about low-income minority youth by proving that they can also succeed in science. Basu and Barton (2009) believe that Donya expressed agency as she changed her own life by positioning herself as a scholar and guiding other students, and also changed her world by creating a space where students could debate scientific ideas. Donya's critical science agency was connected to the development, and expansion of, her identity as a scholar, science inquirer, and someone who challenged stereotypes about urban minority students.

**Community- and place-based science learning.** There have been some studies that adopted the approach of critical pedagogy of place, focusing on the characteristics and the problems of the communities and the places in which they were implemented. Such a project ("Social Problem-Solving through Science") took place in an urban beachfront nature center in the United States, and engaged middle school-aged youth in the study of local environmental challenges with implications for human health and well-being, like the problems regarding potable water, both globally and locally (Buxton, 2010). Students investigated environmental risk factors in a set of structured activities in order to develop background knowledge of environmental health issues. Pairs of students then worked together on a relevant topic that they chose so as to create and share public service announcements in the form of posters to educate their peers, family, and community members about one of the public health topics they had studied. The project's goal was to assess the degree to which learning tasks designed to be transformative to students' understanding of their place in the world could also increase students' scientific knowledge despite outcome not being a primary focus of instruction. Pre- and post-interviews of the 23 project participants indicated that participation not only increased science content knowledge, but also engaged students in a process of decolonization and re-inhabitation of their places as members of society.

In the completely different geographical and cultural context of a high-poverty, urban elementary school in Lahore, Pakistan, Upadhyay, Barton, and Zahu (2005) implemented a study on the life story of Shagufta, an educator who teaches science for political empowerment and social change. Shagufta teaches fifth-grade science at a charity school for kids coming from very poor families, and she has to overcome



several obstacles, such as female social and cultural limitations, restrictive school authority, familial politics, and traditional instructional practices (the students, especially girls, are expected by Pakistani society to leave formal education before the eighth grade). Shagufta's beliefs about the type of the science that should be taught in that context are also influenced by the big number of health and environmental concerns in Pakistan. Despite the curriculum's restrictions, Shagufta believes that the major aspect of her role is to enable students to gain a voice and power in their lives and their communities. Thus, she advocates a community-based science, which means a science that emerges from students' lives and is tied to important questions of home and community, such as health, hygiene, and the environment. She concludes that what children learn about scientific ideas must also be linked to a disposition. In other words, learning about the health issues is not enough for students; they must also understand how these issues are related to their everyday lives. Shagufta underlines the importance of teaching about the usefulness of the scientific knowledge, an aspect that the State does not find important; students must learn to use what they know about the health issues to make their lives safer and to gain personal freedom. She also advocates that contextual and meaningful science makes disadvantaged students more excited, enthusiastic, and eager to participate in the classroom. The story of Shagufta depicts an effort toward the implementation of critical science education, despite the difficulties that a female Pakistani teacher, who decides to promote empowerment and freedom, has to confront (Kottaridi & Skordoulis, 2015).

**Culturally relevant science teaching.** The case study described below deals with questions of how to teach students in diverse classrooms in ways that are responsive to their experiences outside the classroom. It focuses on the use of “transformative boundary objects” by Mrs. Hanson, a sixth-grade science teacher, in order to leverage students' cultural knowledge and experiences of food and activity practices to support them in (a) developing an awareness, and trying on the norms and practices, of science; (b) legitimizing the values, discourses, and practices of their everyday lives to transform the traditional discourses and practices of school science; and (c) developing critical consciousness by transforming science learning into a context where traditional boundaries between students' lives and school science are blurred, according to Ladson-Billings' model for culturally relevant teaching (Tsurusaki, Barton, Tan, Koch, & Contento, 2013).

The unit taught is based on an investigation into healthful food and activity choices to help students make sense of and apply the scientific ideas of dynamic equilibrium to themselves. What matters here, from a culturally relevant lens, is the idea that not all youth are positioned in the same ways within the food system in the United States, and thus, it is important to think of the general local cultural practices of the community, knowing that any given family may have their own unique practices. The question to be answered was “How can we use scientific evidence to help us make healthful food and activity choices?” Throughout the units, the students investigated



factors that influence their food and activity choices, such as their physical environment (e.g., food sources in the living environment), biology, and social environment (e.g., family choices, media influence, etc.).

The concept of boundary objects was initially used by Star and Griesemer (1989) in order to explain how museum workers from diverse communities develop common understanding by working together with objects. These objects, which they named *boundary objects*, hold different meanings in different social worlds, but have a structure common enough to be recognizable and serve as a means of translation across social worlds. In the educational context, transformative boundary objects – when taken up by teachers and students as a means for trying on the norms and practices of science while also legitimizing the cultural experiences that they each bring to the process – align with the goals of culturally relevant pedagogy. The construction of transformative boundary objects has the potential to bridge, but also breakdown and transform boundaries. With the mediation of transformative boundary objects, previously distinct communities important in students’ lives (e.g., home and school) become less insular as meaningful threads of connection start to emanate. These transformative boundary object threads help create more powerful science learning opportunities where students can critically examine how science applies to their lives in ways that matter to them, both inside and outside the classroom. The authors argue that such powerful science learning opportunities are made possible when the science classroom’s learning environment becomes a place where students’ home communities and the school science community are not only equally valued, but are also equally essential for meaningful science learning to take place (Tsurusaki et al., 2013). In the specific teaching unit, the transformative boundary objects that were used were bar graphs based on data taken from students’ experiences, science research questions based on their interests, nutrition labels of the food the students usually consumed, and public announcements that students made informing others about the knowledge they acquired.

The study showed that Mrs. Hanson’s teaching worked against the normative practices that leave the everyday knowledge, experiences, and interests of students unvalued in school science. Tsurusaki et al. (2013) argue that Mrs. Hanson used typical science and everyday tools in ways that brought together, coordinated, and at times, transformed the students’ home communities (as represented by student actions in their lives at home) and the community of school science (as represented by Mrs. Hanson’s pedagogy and classroom discourse). These tools – the transformative boundary objects – helped to increase awareness of personal and community food and activity choices, provided opportunities to collect and analyze data, and legitimized the use of everyday experiences as a valid source of scientific data. Students were able to use data collected from their lives outside of school in their school activities to learn science in ways that transformed school science into a place where their own cultural resources and everyday lives were privileged.



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## Democracy in Education in the Postmodern Era: Challenges for an Anti-Racist Education

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### Abstract

*In the context of this article, the postmodern challenge of balancing the growing inequality and the awareness of this inequality in the field of education is examined. Three main questions are raised making links between theory and practice: 1. In which ways can educators and policymakers stop the shrinking of equality in education? 2. How can we regain education as social right for all? 3. In which ways can we promote in Greece an anti-racist education? In answering these questions, we suggest an alternative to the horizon of neoconservative, neoliberal, and technocratic dogmas, as the slogan, “there is no alternative,” is only a myth of neoliberalism.*

### Keywords

anti-racist education, postmodernity, democracy, alternatives

Nothing is easier and more useless than the critique of capitalism which is closed on itself. It is a fact that many of those who practice this critique always end up in modest reforms of this post-modern capitalism. The former American president, Barack Obama, in the speech he delivered in Athens a few months ago, identified the concept of modern democracy in the sense of capitalism while making connections between this type of democracy, “democracy in capitalism,” and global education. He talked about prosperity and democracy, while at the same time, he underlined the growing inequality and awareness of this inequality as an “unstable mix,” as he points out, of modern democracies. This article examines the postmodern challenge of balancing this “unstable mix” in the field of education as the only field in which equality can be prosperous and promoted. More specifically, three questions are raised making links between theory and practice: 1. In which ways can educators and policymakers stop the shrinking of equality in education? 2. How can we regain education as social right for all? 3. In which ways can we promote in Greece an anti-racist education? In answering these questions, we suggest an alternative to the horizon of neoconservative, neoliberal, and technocratic dogmas, as the slogan, “there is no alternative,” is only a myth of neoliberalism.

### Prosperity and Inequality as an Unstable Mix

The structure of modern society affects humankind in two ways simultaneously: people become more independent with more self-confidence and more demanding,



but also more isolated and fearful. As the struggle for freedom in modern society has placed its focus on the fight against the old forms of power and coercion, it is natural to conclude that the more the traditional forms of coercion have receded, the greater the conquest of freedom. However, we could not see how – although humans were relieved of the old enemies of freedom – new enemies of a different nature emerged (Fromm, 1971, p. 126). The culmination of the development of freedom was the concept of a democratic state, based on the principle of equality of all people, a right which, in the age of postmodernity, is many times encountered in theoretical thought (Fromm, 1971, p. 129).

The context in which the modernist revolution manifests itself implies that it can only be comprised of a liberal and individualistic overthrow of the world; a conflict between the individual and society. However, individuals are social beings who cannot form a particular identity except through social ties. Consequently, the foundation of their freedom on breaking the bonds between themselves and society is a dead-end that does not lead to freedom, prosperity and equality, but to the competition and dominance of the most powerful: “Building a new society founded on individual freedom is an impasse that threatens social cohesion without consolidating real freedom” (Genereux, 2016, pp. 49-50). According to Genereux (2016), the liberation and equality of individuals cannot be the tool of a new union of people, but the purpose for which the new union must become the tool (socialist upset). In the “welfare democracy,” solidarity is the responsibility of the state; everyone is sure about the social rights acquired, but have slowly lost the consciousness of the price they had to pay for this solidarity. This creates the new idea that what guarantees us the timelessness of social protection is economic prosperity.

The above procedure is called the “Great Regression,” a regression that is growing stronger because the obsession of the neoliberals with their impractical struggle causes such a social pressure and such contradictions that it eventually creates the opposite of a liberal society. American society had this first experience during the Bush administration, and Europe is beginning to understand it through the governments of Sarkozy and Berlusconi: “The neoliberal wave drifts behind it a wave of neo-fascist, xenophobic free radicals [...]. It fends between a community fundamentalist folding and a return to police state” (Genereux, 2016, p. 59). In this kind of postmodern capitalism within democracy, humanity is led to a kind of communist-fascism system, where the concept of prosperity, on the one hand, and the concept of inequality on the other, creates an “unstable mix” between them, a component of the New World Order where what exists are “islands of abundance and privileged luxury in the midst of unhappiness and misery and with totalitarian controls in democratic forms” (Chomsky, 2001, p. 468). Within three generations, humanity experienced contradictory deviations: communism and capitalism, atheism and religiosity. We need to avoid the deviations of these contradictions and the



misconduct that these entail through devising new shapes and alternative paths through the term, *value* (Maalouf, 2016, p. 69).

### **Challenges of Education: Democracy and Postmodernity**

Popper (2011, p. 130) underlines the fact that we should not accept whatever is considered modern. Possibly, the reason for this lies in the terrible mistakes we make at the level of education – both as policymakers and as teachers – and because education can be considered a technique, the mistakes we make are technical. The problem of how a person can be brought up having a sound appreciation of his/her importance in relation to the importance of other people falls through an ethics that maintain an education system, which still relies on romantic perceptions of power, instead of promoting a combination of individuality and altruism (Popper, 2011, p. 66).

Autonomy – that is, full democracy – and the acceptance of others is not a natural human inclination; both meet huge obstacles that education must confront (Kastoriades, 2014, p. 246). Although teachers, in contrast with politics, should not try to impose on their students a range of "higher" values, they must stimulate their interest in these values, as abused and fluid the notion of values may be (Maalouf, 2016, p.67). It is a key term in the discussion of the challenges of education in democracy and postmodernity due to the fact that education in the era of modern capitalistic democracies should not focus only on conventional school issues, such as curriculum, assessment criteria, school effectiveness, or examinations. Whatever we decide to do at school makes sense only when it concerns the wider context of what society wants to do by investing in youth education; in other words, only when we decide on a specific value system (Bruner, 2007, p. 30). But here, there is a contradiction, as the function of education consists of reproducing the culture that supports education, thus promoting specific financial, political, and cultural goals of the dominant system. For example, the educational system of an industrial society should produce a willing and competent workforce that ensures its continuity; that is, unskilled workers, office workers, and risky entrepreneurs who are all convinced that such an industrial society is a valid, and, most importantly, the only way of life (Bruner, 2007, p. 160).

At the same time, however, education fuels the notion of ability and is, therefore, risky or dangerous for the dominant system (Bruner, 2007, p. 117). The terms, *ability* and *value*, create new challenges for modern education. The shades that these two terms can take depend on the mental conception of education, which always needs to be prioritized over decisions regarding the fulfillment of any goals. These two terms should be at the center of the decisions that policymakers take due to the fact that we must not take for granted that modern democracies are real democracies, which always defend equality, freedom, and peace. In recent years, Western politicians (such as Thatcher and Clinton) have often demonstrated their belief that democracies are not conducting war, the one against the other. Even if democracies



do not conduct war the one against the other, the fact is that the enemy against whom a democracy conducts a war may be, according to democrats, not a genuine democrat. Apart from this, it is also a fact that in modern democracies, cultural differences are considered the underlying causes of conflicts among peoples; however, civilizations are not fixed shapes with fixed values that create conflicts, because they do not accept alteration (Kondilis, 2000, pp. 86-87). Rather, the problem is deep and depends on the political logic which frequently defines the interpretations of cultures and is combined in the national entrenchment. The problem is deeper again. If the same political forces, which refused to guarantee gender equality in the Treaty of Versailles in 1998, officially endeavor to understand foreign cultures, this is not a progress of understanding but an indication of a significant change in the global correlation of forces (Kondilis, 2000, p. 92). Therefore, democracy is a term that should really be if not reconstructed, at least be reconsidered as content because of the existing distance between the theory of democracy and its practice, or “translation.” In this context, values must be reconsidered as well as the aim of education and the vision of the future hyper-society. What we suggest is, firstly, the construction of connections between the theory of democracy and its practice in education through the promotion of human rights, not as seminars of abstract principles, but as an education of quality, promoting the moral and spiritual values of the privileged societies (Chomsky, 2007, p. 164). Such an education for all, and about all, may be a solution for a democracy in the content of which theory and practice will be totally combined.

### **Education as Social Right in Democratic Societies**

Education is related to democracy and human rights. It is considered by international organizations to be a fundamental human right, because without education, all other human rights cannot be exercised and implemented. It is a foundational block both for the individual development of humanity and thus, for the development of societies; it is the means for structural changes in both modern societies and economies, improving the lives of all people – especially the disadvantaged.

The right to education is an important means of providing equal opportunities in life, tackling social exclusion for social inclusion, and cohesion. Education contributes decisively to the formation of the citizen, the development of autonomy, the responsibility and the active participation in public affairs, the development of cooperation between citizens, and the promotion of respect for human rights for all members of society. Strengthening democracy through the democratization of social institutions and practices is one of the most fundamental objectives of democratic education in the developed, democratic societies of the West.

Education is a determining factor in the evolution of people's lives at an individual level since, due to the means it provides, it contributes significantly to the shaping of the content, the way, and the kind of human development. The possibility of social participation – which, in practice, means ensuring the necessary conditions required



for establishing stable and permanent work (at the economic level), active intervention in decision-making (at the political level), and accessibility to cultural and intellectual development – is essentially the realization of humanity’s spiritual and social liberation (Tsiakalos, 1997; Tsiakalos et al., 1999), with the self-evident coverage of survival needs (Kiriazis - Giouvelis, 1979). Access to education is one of the key components for ensuring the conditions that maintain human dignity (Tsiakalos et al., 1999). On the other hand, preventing access to education appears to be related to social exclusion; the more effective the barrier arrangements and procedures, the shorter the duration of school attendance and, therefore, the greater the degree of social exclusion while increasing the chances of future social exclusion as well (Mavridis, 2006).

Education improves people’s quality of life in ways that exceed the benefits for the individual and the family, contributing to economic prosperity and reducing poverty. Countries with a low level of education remain in the trap of technological stagnation, low growth, and low demand for education. Research that measured the relationship between the amount of education (in terms of enrollment or average number of years in school) and economic growth has shown encouraging results, though not clearly, perhaps because, ultimately, what is important for development is not the years students spend in school but what they learn. By measuring the level of education based on what the students have learned, the study estimates that the increase in the standard deviation in student scores for international literacy and mathematics assessments is associated with a 2% increase in annual per capita GDP growth (Hanushek & Woessmann, 2008; The World Bank, 2011). The developmental benefits of education extend far beyond labor productivity and growth, including better health; they concern the ability to adopt new technology, tackle economic disturbances, and encourage social participation of citizens and more environmentally friendly behavior. People are the real wealth of nations, and their education allows them to live healthier, happier, and more productive lives (The World Bank, 2011).

The World Bank’s 2020 strategy for education, “learning for all, ”emphasizes that young people learning and acquiring skills through education will help them escape poverty and contribute to economic growth. The strategy encourages countries to “invest early,” because basic early-learning skills contribute to lifelong learning; “invest smartly” in efforts that are proven to improve learning; and “invest for all” for children and youth, not just for the most privileged or talented. The World Bank’s support for education focuses on areas that are important for developing countries: re-investing in early childhood development (ECD) to enable lifelong learning and productivity growth in the future; ensure that children in school learn or acquire truly basic skills; help reduce barriers to quality education for girls and children from disadvantaged communities; correct the deviation created by decoupling skills-development between higher education and the labor market; and, finally, develop systemic issues at all levels to increase efficiency and transparency. It is important





for the education systems to provide all students with all the necessary skills to increase productivity and economic growth. Investing in young children will help reduce inequalities, break the vicious circle of poverty, and help improve their future lives. The recent report, “Stepping Up Early Childhood Development” (The World Bank, 2015), is a practical guide for policymakers and practitioners about how to invest in young children. At the same time, qualitative upgrading of education can only be achieved with excellent or highly trained teachers (The World Bank, 2015). The importance of education and culture to development and respect for human rights and freedoms has been recognized by the United Nations since the preface of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948, article 26) coined the phrase, *human rights education*. There is also in the International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1996, article 13), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989, article 29), the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965, article 7). The European Wergeland Center, in cooperation with the Council of Europe, the Ministry of Education of Montenegro and the Bureau for Educational Services in Montenegro, with the aim of strengthening democratic culture in schools, organized the South East Europe Summer Academy, “Human Rights in Action,” in June 2014 and 2015. The academy was based on the holistic approach of school, aiming at its transformation into a participatory democratic community, without discrimination and exclusion, through dialogue, exchange of views, and experiences, as well as cooperation between teachers from schools in all the educational districts of the country. It offered training to enhance the skills of teachers and their administrators, as well as representatives of NGOs or parents' associations, in order to implement and promote the principles and practices of “Education for Human Rights and Democratic Citizenship” in their schools and communities in southeast Europe. It also aimed to strengthen cooperation among countries through the exchange of experience and best practices in the field. In addition, UNICEF's Hellenic National Commission, with the aim of raising awareness and informing children about their rights and their situation in the rest of the world, implemented the educational program, “Schools of Child Defenders 2015-2016,” with the slogan, “For every child, equal opportunities for life. Not to violence and racism. Yes to friendship and respect.” The Aristotle University of Thessaloniki organized a workshop in June 2014 titled, “School and Human Rights.” The aim of the conference was “to highlight the role of the school in human rights education and to contribute to the dialogue on ensuring human rights in Greek society.” The issue discussed with the involvement of social actors was “human rights and education: the role of civil society.” The “Children's Study Observatory” of the Laboratory of Social Sciences of the Pedagogical Department of Primary Education at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens organized a workshop on “Crisis and Childhood” in June 2015. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) stresses the importance of education in dealing with the economic crisis, as it considers



investing in education is not just an expense, it is also an investment in man and an investment in the future. That is why governments should invest in education, as economic benefits will be significant in the long run. Those who are better educated are less likely to need unemployment benefits or social protection and therefore pay more taxes when entering the labor market. (OECD, 2011)

According to OECD's edition of Education at a Glance 2013, “a good level of education is the best security against the lack of work experience” (OECD, 2013). As OECD's General Secretary, Angel Gurría, says, “As the institutions will be able to respond, it is certain that investment in human capital will contribute to the recovery from the crisis” (OECD, 2009a). He also states that

the need to face the immediate effects of the crisis must not make us set as a long-term goal the promotion of sustainability and inclusive growth. We need to invest in education and training to promote innovation and ensure that citizens are equipped to succeed in a world of chain value world, since the capital of knowledge is the biggest asset. Primary education should pay more attention to employability and bring the world of work to curricula. Vocational education and training systems need flexibility in responding to rapidly changing labor market needs. All reforms must be designed with the dual aim of introducing young people into the labor market, while supporting their career development. The OECD's Skills Strategy will help countries to achieve better policies in this area. (Gurria, 2013)

### **Shrinking Inequality in Education: From Theory to Practice**

Human rights are at the heart of education. They are inextricably linked to the objective of fair and sustainable development and a dignified life, especially in the era of economic globalization, which is advancing rapidly and has substantially expanded the political influence and flexibility of businesses, particularly multinationals. Individual, political, economic, social, and cultural human rights of billions of people are directly or indirectly affected by business activity both positively and negatively. At the heart of this issue is the importance of respecting the goals and principles of the human rights of all people, which cannot be easily achieved and requires painful and persistent efforts, as well as the development of skills and abilities that education must equip citizens with so that it will be constantly alert to globalization, the scarcity of resources, ongoing research, and technology with ever-increasing potential. Therefore, if human rights are to determine the perspectives of training and education for future citizenship in modern society given the great challenges of our time, then we should ask the question of whether to achieve a balance between consciousness development for freedom and responsibility, the individual and the community, personal prosperity and the eradication of poverty, and the prosperity of the present and the preservation of a value world (Pantazis, 2011).

With the presence of foreign pupils in prior years, there have been several problems associated with the difficulty of their adaptation, either with the problems that



teachers are facing, or with the relationship between foreign and native pupils. According to a UNICEF (2001) survey on discrimination, racism, and xenophobia in the Greek educational system, the Greek school appears to be a place of discrimination in many cases (Pantazis & Maniatis, 2008; UNICEF, 2001). Several teachers have reported an increase in exclusion and isolation both due to the host society and the culture of their nationality, a phenomenon for which the Greek state was unprepared to cope with. The institutional framework governing education for some teachers is considered to be sufficient; for others, it is considered to be inadequate. Each school benefits from the flexibility and ambiguity of the framework and either applies the programs or not. This results in positive effects when there is a core of teachers interested in the progress of foreign children and the coherence of the school and, on the other hand, negative when a group that does not care is over (National Centre for Social Research [EKKE], 2008). However, there are also negative aspects of the phenomenon of immigration, such as school failure among young migrants, unemployment among immigrants and, of course, non-controlled migration (Keeley, 2009). In Greece, most foreign pupils attend primary school and, conversely, their attendance at lyceum (secondary school) is very small, a phenomenon that is very much associated with many factors as well as their dropout from education, which has been observed in other countries as well as in Greece, where more foreigners than natives drop out of school (EKKE, 2008).

Unfortunately, people are not migrating only for economic reasons, since refugees constitute an important part of global migration. They do not leave their homeland primarily for a better life for themselves and their families, but because they seek protection from war, oppression, and persecution (Angenedt, 2009). Greece has become the gateway to Europe for thousands of people seeking protection. They are mainly from Somalia, Syria, Afghanistan, and Iraq, and among them there are many minors, pregnant women, and elderly. Children do not only face the difficult path of needing refuge, but also have to cope with the burden of their physical and mental health, which influence their process of maturation into adulthood. Their arrival in Greece does not mean either protection or security; systematic human rights violations, overcrowded detention centers, and lack of an effective asylum system are images through which everyone can see the European reality (Pro Asyl, 2012). However, governments are often reluctant to fully implement the human rights treaties. Greece and Germany, like other European Union countries, do not fully guarantee the rights protected by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), which appears, for example, to recognize the right for the education of refugee children, treated in accordance with national law as aliens instead of being dealt with in accordance with the rules of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Refugee children need psychological and social support, safe conditions, and access to living spaces, structures, and services as a basic human right in order to overcome their developmental and orientation issues due to the different value system, as well as to develop a positive identity. The school, with



regard to refugee children, must provide support and be oriented to their biological world, which initially features an education action plan. It refers to ways of dealing with and treating people's problems, processing goals, subjects, and structures resulting from the social situation, biographies of affected life experiences, and regulatory requirements (Thiersch, 1992). Opening up to individual life plans is a key starting point for education oriented toward the biological world. This encompasses the systemic and holistic situation of individuals, because it often aims to improve society and puts into question the political, economic, and social structures that determine the biological world. Thus, its orientation usually has a political dimension.

The holistic principle of education for human rights consists of knowledge of human rights, awareness, perception of injustice, and human rights violations – forming a common conscience about human rights (Müller, 2002) – which makes humans capable of actively participating in the fight for human rights and to develop human-rights fullness. Human rights fullness means that citizens must, in accordance with their own judgment and action, gain awareness of the importance of human rights (Pantazis, 2009, p. 287). Just as human rights have matured historically in the consciousness of humanity, so the acquired and codified human rights must be made aware of the new developing world in the world, because human rights, which are unknown or incomprehensible, cannot develop any dynamics.

### **Promotion of an Anti-Racist Education in Greece: Alternatives**

Anti-racist teaching, as a scientific discipline, includes theoretical thoughts as well as teaching models or principles that refer to combating and eliminating racism. It is not restricted to a certain age or to a certain level of institutional framework. It addresses decision-making, media, civil society, non-governmental organizations, students, activists, lawyers, doctors, and teachers. In the long run, it aims to change the perception of the individual regarding the “Other” in a rational and psychological way (Pantazis, 2015). It could be defined as the form of education that seeks to help mostly children accept responsibility for themselves as well as for others and for the future of the world, since they face the enormous challenge of caring for a future full of humanistic ideals. At the same time, it stresses the fact that all people have value and that respect for others is a key element. That is why there are overlaps among models of global and intercultural learning, human rights education, and even education for democracy.

The educational practice of anti-racist education is characterized by an extensive background. Key areas and approaches include those such as the constructive management of forms of racism and action without violence, the overcoming or deconstruction of prejudices and stereotypes, and the development of tolerance toward different historical, social, and cultural contexts. Furthermore, it includes the ability to participate democratically (political participation), the excess and the deconstruction of all forms of disadvantage and discrimination against gender



inequality, and the confrontation with the media that increasingly determines social and political behavior. It is understood as an in-depth learning approach that includes two key elements: anti-racism completeness and action against racism, which are a single entities and mutually interdependent. Anti-racist completeness is mainly a special skill that allows the individual to understand the interdependence of events, the intensity of developments, and the growth of autonomous analyses and strategies to tackle racist phenomena. Action against racism is aimed at influencing political decisions and developments at local, national, and international levels, and may take different forms. It should be characterized by accountability and adaptability to social data (Pantazis, 2015).

Socialization is the starting point for anti-racist education, and since all the social groups are potential recipients of anti-racist education, it should always be designed as an open, lifelong-learning trajectory. It can contribute to the development of cognitive skills of the individual in the long term, since it will help him/her to manage specific critical racist situations, thus minimizing the occurrence of events that may cause discrimination, conflict, aggression, and exclusion. It is also expected to contribute to the elimination of stereotypes and racism through the process of promoting knowledge, skills, attitudes, and the values needed to bring about a change of behavior that will allow children, young people, and adults to prevent racist phenomena and create conditions conducive to tolerance, friendship, honesty, security, solidarity, and sympathy for the poor from the interpersonal to the global level. The universal values of human dignity, humanism, solidarity, equality, freedom, and democracy can be promoted. Disclaiming racism is a fundamental condition for the success of anti-racist education and a precondition for successful human coexistence (Pantazis, 2015).

An equally important role of anti-racist education is also the way the teaching models or principles of anti-racist teaching are transmitted, i.e., the way of teaching (Freire, 1970). During the course of teaching, it is expected that the attitudes and behaviors of individuals will change (Blenesi, 2003). However, in order to achieve change in the thinking of individuals that are the result and outcome of social and cultural structures, anti-racist education must first cultivate critical thinking and the need and motivation for political action. Therefore, it is also necessary to explicitly define the objectives, the contents, and its methods. Education against racism must start mainly from the point of view of the “common” problems that both the majority and minority members experience, such as those that migrants, refugees, Roma, homosexuals, and people with disabilities have on the road, at work, at school, and in everyday life in general. An important starting point is the framing of our own fear and racism. Students should learn to recognize social discrimination and to accept others who are different from themselves. It is imperative to reflect on social structure and history as a story of social, gender, and human struggles for equality and rights. The relationship between sexism and racism should become clear and subject to study (Pantazis, 2015).The anti-racist teaching in school takes



place at three levels: the micro-level, which concerns the class; the medium-level, which concerns the school; and the macro-level, in which the child learns to explore what is happening in the world (this level must always be associated with the micro-level) (Poort-Van Eeden, 2003). The anti-racist school should act as model, focusing on raising awareness of pupils and students about all the social and political issues around them, and all forms of discrimination and racism, by providing basic knowledge in the areas of racism and research issues of prejudice, immigration, and asylum. Schools should also promote the participation of pupils and students against discrimination in terms of equal opportunities and human and democratic ways of thinking and acting among students.

In order for the teacher to respond to the needs of the modern school, anti-racist completeness is needed. That means that the teacher, like all citizens, must become aware of the consequences of racism (insult to dignity, promotion of inequality, deprivation of liberty, non respect for human beings) according to their own judgment and action. These key areas of anti-racist occupation should be included in university curricula and linked to a continuing process of education and training, so that candidate teachers, and teachers in general, through communication, dialogue, and understanding of the "Other," become full and contribute to the creation of active anti-racist schools despite the excessive requirements of schools with "monolingual and mono-cultural habitus" (Gogolin, 2000). School management, on the one hand, and educational policymakers on the other, have to support and provide teachers with tools for introducing innovative forms of teaching and learning. Their education and training should strengthen their knowledge of the forms of racism as well as their commitment to its eradication.

### Conclusion

The current economic and social crisis in Greece is not a new problematic situation and does not concern only our country, consisting of what Genereux (2016) determines as "regression." As he underlines when a country is dying, migration can be a solution, but when the whole planet is threatened, we have no choice but to live elsewhere. An education for all, combined with an anti-racist education, can offer alternatives to a more equal and prosperous global society in the times of postmodernity.

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## School History and Ideological Colonialism: The Acropolis of Athens as Heterotopia in Ancient History Textbooks

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### Abstract

*This paper presents a critical approach to the discursive representation of the Acropolis of Athens in ancient-history textbooks published between 1974 and today. It also identifies the topoi that emerged from the linguistic analysis of the archaeological narrative of the textbooks, which form basic axes of the modern Greek self-identity. The importance of this study is that the particular monument carries diverse and multidimensional symbolisms at the Greek, European, and global levels, exemplifying the Ancient Greek "high culture," invented or redesigned by the German classicists in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, while it adorns and symbolizes the modern, local nation-state. It is, therefore, a typical case of a Foucauldian heterotopia since it is both a real and a non-real symbolic space, defined less by its physical location than by its constituent discourse and institutions. Ancient history rarely becomes the subject of a critical dialogue in the Greek reality since it is considered final and irreversible, while at the same time, it is public property of the Greek people. Nevertheless, its academic form consists of an official state document in Greece because of the policy of one state-approved school textbook; at the same time, it forms a discursive construction within specific historical and political contexts with specific topoi, the identification and analysis of which can facilitate the realization of the school-educated and officially reproduced national self-image. This paper discusses the contribution of variant factors which contribute to the perception of the Acropolis in the context of a Foucauldian heterotopia. The reconstruction of Acropolis during the reign of King Otto and the Classical orientation of the University of Athens during the 19<sup>th</sup> century are other factors which, complemented by the public discourse of school textbooks, support the ideological construction of a modern, global "other space" (Foucault, 1986).*

### Keywords

ancient-history textbooks, identity, archaeological narratives, heterotopia, Acropolis

In the social sciences, it is becoming more and more debatable that history is a narrative – a view, an approach, a result of position – of research, attitude, and interpretation. Public opinion, however, finds it difficult to accept such approaches. Ancient history is considered by the public to be established, definitive, and non-interpretible. Education policy has also contributed significantly to the formation of this view regarding the teaching of ancient history in Greek primary and secondary education; from 1952 to the present, history textbooks have, in general, repeated the same narrative (Papakosta, 2016, pp. 409-410). At the same time, learning is based on the memorization of the narrative of the textbook, while state policy allows the use of a unique, officially approved school textbook in schools (Charalambous, 2011). The image of the imposing, white Parthenon in contrast with the bright blue sky, accompanied by the narration of its construction by Pericles after



the Persian Wars, is commonplace practically for all Greeks. Very few realize, though, that the Acropolis acquired its present form during the reign of King Otto in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, since until then, it was a part of the city of Athens, with many small houses scattered around its ground and enclosed by Ottoman fortification, integrated into everyday life and accessible to all.

However, what does the school narrative teach concerning the Acropolis? What are the underlying *topoi* reproduced by the school discourse, embodied, declared, or implied in the dominant narrative? This paper presents the findings of an extensive linguistic research (Papakosta, 2016) conducted on the basis of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1995; 2001; Jaeger, 2009; Wodak, 2001), and aims to explore the basic ideological axes reproduced in the school history narrative. However, school history is further discussed presently as to its interplay with the material dimension and the development of the architectural ensemble of the Acropolis of Athens. The ideological-cultural-political grid is complemented by the contribution of the University of Athens during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, establishing one of the most characteristic heterotopias of modernity: the “Sacred Rock” is both a real and a non-real, symbolic space, defined less by its physical location than by its constituent discourse and institutions (Foucault, 1986). The Acropolis of Athens, common property of Western civilization, and incomparable symbol of the timelessness of the Greek civilization, is interpreted and constructed by its cultural environment, while at the same time, it defines it as an autonomous entity.

This function is particularly important in the context of the formation, but also the preservation and establishment of national identity. It has been noted that the common place of nationalism is neither given nor static, but needs constant feedback (Appadurai, 1996, pp. 178-199); it requires a series of rituals and practices that transform the space into a national place, such as the periodic but regular rotation of national anniversaries, the mundane character of everyday habits (from walking to some specific places to eating certain dishes), but also the production of the nation through the archaeological excavation and the museum exhibition of findings (Hamilakis, 2007, p. 121). However, considering the nationalization of society as a process of naturalization, the omnipresence of the "ongoing undertaking" of the nation's construction is implied, even in contours and areas that are not generally associated with nationalism; "banal nationalism" (Billig, 1995) is founded on the daily habits and practices that define the citizens of the nation's everyday world, but which, however, constitute the national identity (cf. Edensor, 2002; Foster, 2002). These are the ordinary, tangible rituals of everyday life that produce and reproduce sensory national memories (Hamilakis, 2007).

An institute that is firmly oriented toward social homogenization, including cultivation of the national conscience, is school. Although rarely made explicit, and often unexpected, one of the most telling features of schooling is its overwhelming pressure to assimilate to basic cultural standards. Whether intentional or not, the basic impetus for school education is the development of a universal orientation.



Even when care is taken to include ethnic studies or bilingual education in curriculum content, the structure, method, and procedures through which content is organized and disseminated usually reflect general patterns and exercise predominant influence over the learner. Schools are actors of the dominant society, and therefore reflect the underlying cultural patterns of this society. Since they reflect its structure and social aspects, they are expected to perpetuate values, attitudes, and patterns of behavior within an implied assimilation framework (Grollios, 2009; 2011).

School textbooks have been indispensable pedagogical instruments, which have been linked to school education since the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Choppin, 2004). It is worth noting, however, that they do not simply concern the subject, content, pedagogy, information, ethics, or politics; they convey information to the public, and they are active in the gray area between the private and the public, science and propaganda, specialization and general education, and adults and children (Johnsen, 1993). The influence of school textbooks on children is considered to be great, even if more assumed rather than accurately measured and estimated. This explains why, in many countries, political power intervenes in their publication since the aim is usually to ensure a strong control over the ideological content they transmit (Athanasiadis, 2015; Choppin, 2004). For these reasons, school textbooks do not leave public opinion indifferent (Athanasiadis, 2015). School history, moreover, being a distinct genre (Papakosta, 2016), combines various social, political, and educational functions, since it is a regulatory text and an official state document, but also educational material addressed to students (Athanasiadis, 2015; Repoussi, 2006). In order to be accepted by teachers and parents and to enjoy social legitimacy, history textbooks have to fulfill multiple roles, among which is to deliver both social representations of "school history" and "the aims of learning history" (Repoussi & Tutiaux-Guillon, 2010).

History books are of particular political importance. They exploit sources and quotations, including archaeological evidence, to highlight and document the narrative. Of significant importance are the latter in the narrative as well as in the iconographic part of ancient history. The relationship between archaeological data and the construction of the national self in history textbooks is an interesting and challenging research issue (Kasvikis, 2008; Papakosta, 2016). Interestingly, ancient history rarely becomes the subject of a critical dialogue in Greek reality, since it is considered to be definitive and irreversible, essentially embracing the American meaning of the term (i.e., something past, forgotten, and irrelevant to the present), while at the same time, it is public property of the Greek people. However, in its academic form, it is both an official state document on the one hand, because of the policy of the only state-approved school textbook; on the other hand, it forms a discursive construction in specific historical and political contexts, the identification and analysis of whose linguistic *topoi* can help to understand the school-educated and officially reproduced national self-image.



In this context, it is important to emphasize the diachronic nature of the presented analysis, which draws its material from the three school textbooks used successively for the teaching of ancient history in the gymnasium (secondary school) since 1974. Their comparative analysis allows for an understanding of what is changing over time and what remains the same, while understanding the discourse of the distant and not-so-distant pasts allows for a better understanding of the discourse of the present. Furthermore, the discursive dialogue opens up other areas concerning public national formation. Thus, issues like the construction of the space-time continuum of the Greek territory, the promotion of religious piety as a presumption of the abstract concept of “Greekness,” archaeological testimony as a symbol of modern prestige, and the decorative dimension of art are read in order to promote the national self-image. The perception of the historical and political conditions in the construction of the particular self-image, such as the cleansing of the building phases of the Acropolis during the reign of King Otto with the aim of displaying exclusively its Classical phase, in addition to the complementary discursive depiction of the same practice in the textbooks, help in the critical awareness of modern citizenship as well as the European and international relations of the Greek state.

### School Textbook Research

The axes on which the national narrative hosted in books is based form the *topoi* that are revealed by linguistic analysis; in other words, the ideological substrate of the national narrative. This research highlights the basic ideological axes, which explicitly or implicitly run the academically-taught national narrative and, more specifically, the archaeological narratives. In addition, it investigates the development of school history through time.

The school textbooks from which the material of the analysis is drawn have been used in the gymnasium. More specifically, the revised version of Kalogeropoulou's (1980) book, *History of the Ancient Times as of 146 BC*, was introduced in schools in 1975-1976 and was used up until 1982-1983. It is a 424-page manual, size 4A, and divided into eight parts, which are respectively divided into chapters and sections. At the end of the book, there is a list of important dates, a glossary, and a bibliography. Each chapter ends with a summary of its main points followed by sources and quotations. The author was an archaeologist, one of the key contributors to the Museum of History at the University of Athens in 1987.

The following textbook, signed by Tsaktsiras and Tiberios (2005), was released in 1983-1984 and was used in schools up to 2005-2006. It is extended to 308 pages, sized 4A, and consists of seven chapters, which are divided into sections and sub-units. Each chapter begins with an introductory note and ends with questions for discussion. Sources and quotations interrupt the main body of the text, which are printed in distinct fonts and are framed. Tiberios wrote the chapters, "The Stone Age" and "The Copper Age," as well as the art sections and edited the illustration, while Tsaktsiras wrote the remaining chapters (p. 5). Tiberios is an archaeologist and





professor of Classical archeology at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, and Tsaktziras is a professor of philology.

The third book that was analyzed is the ancient-history textbook currently taught in grade 1 of gymnasium. The authors are Katsoulakos, Kokkorou-Alevra, and Skoulatos (2010). Their book has been used in schools since 2006-2007, and it consists of 152 A4-sized pages. The flow of the text is interrupted by sources and quotations in distinct font type. A summary of its content precedes each chapter, while a self-assessment exercise can be found at the end of most of the chapters. The chapters are divided into units and a set of related questions/activities completes each unit. The chapters, "The Stone Age" and "The Copper Age," were written by Skoulatos, while the art and the letters of the historical times, from the Geometric period to the Roman era, were written by Kokkorou-Alevra (Papakosta, 2016, p. 203). Kokkorou-Alevra is a professor of Classical archaeology at the University of Athens; Skoulatos, a school counselor; and Katsoulakos, a secondary school teacher.

### Analysis

Regarding the findings of the linguistic analysis, the focus will be on two aspects which are indicative of the discursive construction of the national identity: the stereotypes and the linguistic topoi. Starting with stereotypes, one can observe that they are grouped into the following categories:

- Evaluative statements about Pheidias: "In the 5<sup>th</sup> century, the most famous among the sculptors of his time worked, Phidias the Athenian. He was a genius artist with widespread knowledge" (Tsaktziras & Tiberios, 2005, pp. 197-202). Utilizing the neutral-expressive modality, this stereotype is projected as an undisputed truth.
- Evaluative statements about the impact of the Acropolis: "So began a period of amazing works on the Sacred Rock. The most beautiful buildings and the most magnificent sculptures that humanity has ever encountered have been created at that time" (Kalogeropoulou, 1980, p. 286); "These architectural creations are the top works of the world architectural heritage and their influence on the architecture of the epochs that followed so far was colossal" (Katsoulakos, Kokkorou-Alevra, & Skoulatos, 2010, p. 111); "[The reconstruction of the Acropolis] would render Athens immortal" (Kalogeropoulou, 1980, p. 286).
- Evaluative statements about the quality of the artistic work during the Classical period. Occasionally, these statements are presented as a universally accepted reality, stated with expressive modality by Kalogeropoulou (1980) and with neutral modality by Tiberios (2005): "Moreover, such was the artistic level during those years, that even the simplest, even the most manual labour gave breath and offered infinite emotion with its perfect beauty" (Kalogeropoulou, 1980, p. 291); "[The paintings] caused the admiration of the ancient people" (Kalogeropoulou, 1980, p. 286); "It was already called classical art in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, in the sense that its creations reached the absolute perfection" (Tsaktziras & Tiberios, 2005, p. 190);



"Polygnotos was a pioneer painter" (Tsaktsiras & Tiberios, 2005, p. 204); "In the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. brilliant temples and public buildings are built in the whole of Greece" (Katsoulakos et al., 2010, p. 111).

- The exaltation of the artistic value of the Parthenon: "Parthenon is rightly considered the masterpiece of ancient Greek architecture" (Kalogeropoulou, 1980, p. 286); "It is doubtless the best achievement of the Doric order" (Tsaktsiras & Tiberios, 2005, p. 196); "Apart from its 'classic' architectural design, it is also distinguished for its rich sculptural decoration" (Katsoulakos et al., 2010, p. 111).
- Stereotypical phrases: "Sacred Rock" (Kalogeropoulou, 1980, p. 286).
- The contemporary significance of the Acropolis is attributed to the Classical era. In this way, it becomes diachronic: "[...] the Acropolis, the most important religious site in Athens" (Kalogeropoulou, 1980, p. 286).

The analysis then moves on to the linguistic *topoi*, which are common in the three textbooks of the *metapolitefsi* (the period in Modern Greek history after the fall of the military junta of 1967–1974).

**The first *topos*.** The first one regards the contribution of the sciences to the documentation of the longevity of the Ancient Greek civilization. More specifically, regarding the archaeological research and documentation, it was observed that no references to excavations or other forms of archaeological documentation are made. As for scientific terminology, it gradually becomes more frequent in the latter textbooks, written by Tiberios (2005) and Kokkorou-Alevra (2010). Thus, only the names of the architectural styles, "the Dorian and the Ionic order" (Kalogeropoulou, 1980, p. 286), and the terms, "chryselephantine statue" (Katsoulakos et al., 2010, p. 289) and "white lekythoi" (Katsoulakos et al., 2010, p. 291) are mentioned in Kalogeropoulou (1980). Accordingly, in the latter textbooks, we read "Ionic order," "Doric order," "frieze" (Tsaktsiras & Tiberios, 2005, p. 196), "pediments," "chryselephantine statues of colossal size," (Tsaktsiras & Tiberios, 2005, pp. 202-204), "tholos, galleries, gymnasiums, palaestra," "Corinthian capital," "kouros," "doryphoros," and "korai" (Katsoulakos et al., 2010, p. 113).

References to museums and musicological documentation are scarcely cited except by Tiberios (2005), with the exception of three mentions: (1) the Elgin marbles: "At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Lord Elgin carried a significant part of the Parthenon sculptures from the then Turkish-occupied Greece to London and today they are in the British Museum" (Tsaktsiras & Tiberios, 2005, p. 202); (2) the Heniochus: "It is the Heniochus of the Delphi Museum and the statue of a god, probably Zeus, located at the National Archaeological Museum of Athens" (Tsaktsiras & Tiberios, 2005, pp. 197-202); and (3) a collection of pottery of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.: "A large collection of pottery of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. exists in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens" (Tsaktsiras & Tiberios, 2005, p. 203).

Linguistic analysis has shown that in Kalogeropoulou's (1980) book, people and monuments are equally projected as agents. A gradual shift toward the projection of the architectures is observed in Tiberios (2005), while Kokkorou-Alevra (2010) places



the material evidence in the foreground of the pronounced action. Although the latter prefers neutral modality, she scarcely uses qualitative modifiers and expressive modality in the description of the monuments (Katsoulakos et al., 2010): "brilliant temples;" "the temple of Athena Nike, an Ionic-style elegant artwork" (p. 111); and "the excavations brought to light masterpiece statues and reliefs" (p. 113). Considering that references to current archaeological research or excavations are absent, one could argue that this absence – coupled with the pronounced action of buildings – suggests the self-worth of constructions, which is self-evident and independent of scientific research and study, and therefore indisputable and timeless, unaffected by the social, political, and historical circumstances. In this way, their importance acquires metaphysical value.

The personalities that are projected in the analyzed chapters are related to the construction of the Classical buildings, including Pericles, Pheidias, and the Athenian people: "It was necessary for the citizens to immediately take care of the Acropolis, the most important religious site in Athens" (Katsoulakos et al., 2010, p. 286). The main agent is Pericles, since his name is stated at the beginning of each section and is repeated regularly. Phidias is projected in a variety of ways: followed by quality modifiers: "super-artist Pheidias" (Kalogeropoulou, 1980, p. 286); or value judgments: "In the 5<sup>th</sup> century he was the most famous among the sculptors of his time, Phidias the Athenian" (Tsaktsiras & Tiberios, 2005, pp. 197-202), which, complemented by neutral or expressive modality, are presented as undisputed truth. Others are additionally presented, such as Iktinos, Kallikratis (Kalogeropoulou, 1980, p. 286; Katsoulakos et al., 2010, p. 111; Tsaktsiras & Tiberios, 2005, p. 191) and Mnesiklis (Kalogeropoulou, 1980, p. 286; Katsoulakos et al., 2010, p. 111; Tsaktsiras & Tiberios, 2005, p. 190). In Katsoulakos et al. (2010), there is one, simple reference to Pericles' name. In the latest manual, the pronounced action is shifted to the buildings, while the passive voice displays them as agents. It is characteristic that in this very textbook, Pericles' name is mentioned only once and in relation to the Acropolis building program. The gradual shift from personalities to monuments is notable.

**The second *topos*.** The second one concerns Greece as a "cradle of civilization," while underlining the primacy of the Acropolis of Athens. In particular, the artistic primacy of Athens during the Classical period is attributed by Kalogeropoulou (1980) as an axiom: "During the classical period [...] the most beautiful buildings and the most magnificent sculptures that humanity ever experienced" (p. 286). Tiberios (2005), consistently oriented toward epistemic and neutral modality, avoids emotions and relies on the definition given by the scientific community "already in the 18<sup>th</sup> century" to substantiate Acropolis' "absolute excellence." Thus, he resorts to the invocation of an abstract authority:

The Greek art of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, in the years following the Persian Wars, and the art of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, until the time of Alexander the Great, was already named in the



18<sup>th</sup> century ‘classical art,’ in the sense that its creations reached the absolute perfection. (Tsaktsiras & Tiberios, 2005, p. 190).

The universal, timeless admiration is presented as an indisputable fact: "On the Acropolis, brilliant monuments have been erected and they are nowadays world-wide admired" (Katsoulakos et al., 2010, p. 72).

Based on the stereotypes mentioned above, the Acropolis of Athens becomes the symbol of supreme artistic creation. This symbolisation is achieved by a variety of expressive means. The primacy of the Acropolis is attributed by Kalogeropoulou (1980) with the emphatic use of the expressive, sporadic use of the alethic modality and the intense lyricism in style, as well as the choice of vocabulary, which aims to engage the reader emotionally. The connotation, "Sacred Rock" (Kalogeropoulou, 1980, p. 286), is stereotypically used, although it is eliminated in later manuals. The grandeur of Acropolis is also documented by evaluative judgments about its impact (Kalogeropoulou, 1980, p. 286): "So began a period of amazing works on the Sacred Rock, where the most beautiful buildings and the most magnificent sculptures that humanity ever experienced were created;" "[The reconstruction of the Acropolis] would render Athens immortal;" and "The Parthenon is rightly considered to be the masterpiece of ancient Greek architecture." Its description is more balanced by Tiberios (2005), since he incorporates it into a unit concerning the overall artistic production of the same period, although he devotes to Parthenon most of its length. Thus, its predominance is epistemically and scientifically justified and it is well-established within the context of a wider artistic ensemble. Since the most common form of modality used by Tiberios is neutral and epistemic, the author narrates and describes embedding phrases which exacerbate or limit the certainty of the statements. Nevertheless, in the description of the Acropolis, Tiberios cannot avoid praising the whole creation with qualitative and quantitative modifiers, characteristic of the expressive modality (Tsaktsiras & Tiberios, 2005, p. 196): "The harmonic proportions of the parts of the building and the fine processing of all details constitute a unique architectural creation;" "an elegant temple with a peculiar pattern;" "another small and lush temple of Ionic rhythm, rising to a prominence of the rock;" "of famous golden-ivory statues;" and "is without doubt the most perfect achievement of the Doric order."

Although the narratives in the textbook written by Katsoulakos (2010) are more plain and the modality is scientific-academic, the lyric outbursts are not avoided (Katsoulakos et al., 2010, p. 111): "These architectural creations are top works of the world architectural heritage and their influence on the architecture of the epochs that followed so far was a colossal;" " apart from its ‘classic’ architectural design, it [Parthenon] is also known for the rich decoration of the sculptures." Comparing the most recent textbooks, we can observe that Tiberios (2005) attempts to justify the dominant position of Parthenon providing scientific evidence, but he does not avoid the expressive modality (Tsaktsiras & Tiberios, 2005): "The harmonic proportions of the members of the building and the fine processing of all his details constitute a



unique architecture" (p. 94). Katsoulakos (2010), on the other hand, proclaims its value as an axiom: "Parthenon is the most important work of the Greek architecture" (Katsoulakos et al., 2010, p. 72). Of particular interest is the fact that the selection of vocabulary indicates a shift from the decorative character, on which the rest of the textbooks concentrate, to the global recognition of its value (Katsoulakos et al., 2010, p. 72): "brilliant;" "universal admiration;" "glorified;" and "unsurpassed through the ages." Athens is presented as a timeless flagship in the world culture (Katsoulakos et al., 2010, p. 72). Equally remarkable is the use of historical present tense, which marks specific extracts of a narrative or description as particularly important (Brinton, 1992, p. 221).

**The third *topos*.** The third one concerns the construction of the "space-time continuum:" the diachronic unity of Greek culture is documented by establishing the historical topography and affirming the successive territory. In these textbooks, the monuments are displayed autonomously, without references to previous or subsequent building phases. The lack of references to them provides the structures with an autonomous, timeless, invariant dimension. By describing their construction and their present existence in space, the intermediate building phases are abolished, and consequently, the time that has elapsed since their construction is discursively shrunk. As far as the actors are concerned, both Tiberios (2005) and, more extensively, Kokkorou-Alevra (2010), as mentioned above, pronounce the monuments or the artists of the Classical era. Nevertheless, they use the accusative case of the first-person personal pronoun in plural ("us") in an ethical sense to denote the interest of the speaker: "artists are unknown to us" (Tsaktsiras & Tiberios, 2005, pp. 197-202); "we are being saved" (Tsaktsiras & Tiberios, 2005, pp. 197-202); "they have not been saved for us" (Tsaktsiras & Tiberios, 2005, p. 202); "their works have not been saved for us" (Tsaktsiras & Tiberios, 2005, p. 204); "they are known to us" (Katsoulakos et al., 2010, p. 111); and "ancient works of painting have not been saved for us" (Katsoulakos et al., 2010, p. 113). In this way, the concept of a contemporary collectivity is created in which both the writer and the reader are involved and become members of the benefits of participating in classical art. As far as time is concerned, past and present alternate to describe the construction and the present existence of the monuments. This interchange of timescale functions, as noted previously, as a discursive time coupling.

**The fourth *topos*.** The fourth one involves the constitution of the abstract concept of "Greekness," promoting the religious piety as a presumption, which is noted in the two oldest manuscripts. Kalogeropoulou (1980) begins Chapter 2, "The Great Works on the Acropolis," with the phrase, "It was necessary for citizens to immediately take care of the Acropolis, the most important religious site in Athens" (p. 286). The importance of religion is emphasized both by the introduction of the particular phrase in the beginning of the chapter and by the qualitative modifier that characterizes it in the superlative degree. Quite explicit, and rather pragmatic, is Tiberios' (2005) reference: "The Parthenon, the temple dedicated to Athena Virgo, is



at the highest point of the sacred cliff of the Acropolis" (Tsaktsiras & Tiberios, 2005, p. 194). On the contrary, the decorative dimension of art is limited to the earliest manual. The main descriptive verb used in Kalogeropoulou's (1980) book is the "adornment:" "a large, all-marble temple would reside in Palladas, adorned with rich sculptures, the Parthenon" (p. 286). However, Tiberios prefers more neutral verbs: "the buildings are located on the Acropolis of Athens" (Tsaktsiras & Tiberios, 2005, pp. 191-197). The decline in the projection of the decorative value is also consistent with the gradual recession of expressive modality and lyric style, as well as their replacement by epistemic modality.

To sum up, the symbolic, implicit function of the Acropolis was linguistically identified in the *topoi* described. The symbolization, however, which is performed linguistically in the school textbooks, interacts with practices applied to the monument itself and contribute to its transformation into a heterotopia.

### **The Material Construction of a Heterotopia: The Historical Environment**

The symbolization and ideological charging of the Acropolis is not self-evident and does not constitute an inherent feature. On the contrary, it is related to the formation of the Modern Greek State, its ideological conception, and its political redemption in terms of its international recognition. After Kapodistrias' assassination in 1831, the new state was proclaimed a kingdom and Otto Friedrich Ludwig von Wittelsbach, its king. As soon as in June 1834, Leo von Klenze (1784-1864), *Hofbauintendant* of Otto's father, Ludwig I, King of Bavaria, assumed the responsibility to plan and construct Athens as a new capital (Jokilehto, 1999, p. 89). Reconstruction of the Acropolis and Parthenon had been prioritized due to their position as a landmark in Athens, but also because of the dignity they would impart to the status of the newly formed state (Jokilehto, 1999, p. 90). A significant part of the work on the Acropolis was its demilitarization since it was used until then as a fortress (Jokilehto, 1999, p. 91). This act was inherently political since it aimed to "awake and retain the sympathy of civilized Europe by directing its eyes and interest on the restoration of the upper town of Athens" (von Klenze, 1838, in Jokilehto 1999, p. 303). In addition to the fortifications, there was almost a small town on the Acropolis, with small houses and gardens (Jokilehto, 1999, p. 91), which also had to be cleared in order to display the monuments of the Classical period. At the official inauguration of the excavation and restoration of the Acropolis in the presence of the king on September 10, 1834, von Klenze delivered a speech that concluded that traces of a barbaric era, the rubble and formless ruins, will disappear from here as well as all over Hellas, and the remains of the glorious Old Times will arise in new splendour. They will form the most reliable support for a more glorious present and future. (Jokilehto, 1999, p. 93)

Based on this programming, the Acropolis began to be constructed as an authentic, classic space (Plantzos, 2011). The plan that proposed the construction of the palace of the German king on the west side of the rock, where the old Acropolis museum





was later built, was rejected. When the project started in January 1835, the site was no longer accessible to common people without special permission while guards were placed along the site. The demolition of the Ottoman fortification and the restoration of Parthenon was the primary work (Jokilehto, 1999, p. 94). The whole project comprised the realization of the ideal of German Romantic philhellenism, which envisioned Ancient Greece as an essentially diachronic, non-historical state of human perfection, known since the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century by the German art historian, Johann Joachim Winckelmann (Beaton, 2004, p. 48). This perception longed for Ancient Greece to be eternally present in human thought as a final reference point for measuring every human achievement in the future (Beaton, 2004, p. 49). Constanze Güthenke (2008) has characteristically stressed that a key feature of Hellenism is "the charm of the material reality of Greece" and "the indivisibility of materiality from idealism" (Harwick, 2004, p. 338).

The acceptance of Greek antiquity as a main legitimizing factor, utilized as a tool for the development of national consciousness (Karamanolakis, 2004, p. 114), is a key policy axis of the newly established nation-state. This ideology was embraced by the whole state apparatus. The contribution of the first Greek university, which was inaugurated with a public ceremony held in Athens in 1837 and considered the key to the revival of ancient civilization (Karamanolakis, 2004, p.113), is characteristic. Thus, apart from the royal interventions in the public space, its contribution was crucial since it contributed decisively to the connection of the Greek kingdom to its historical past. The university formed the historical discourse and periodization, thus helping to legitimize the state goals and aspirations using the past (Karamanolakis, 2004, p. 112). It adopted what Dimitris Tziouvas (2008) described as an archaeological or symbolic approach to the classic past, aiming to bridge the chasm between the classical past and modern present in the Greek state (Karamanolakis, 2004, p. 120). The university

gradually became dominant in public life. It took on the education of the teachers of the country, who served the public administration and the private sector, and at least until the interwar period, it was the primary place for the production and diffusion of scientific discourse. (Karamanolakis, 2004, pp. 112-113)

The School of Humanities was a dominant force in the training of secondary school teachers, and during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, they controlled the education of primary school teachers as well. At the Philological Seminar (founded in 1842), the first and only seminar of the university until the 1880s, lessons for those who wanted to become secondary teachers were given in Ancient Greek and Latin (Karamanolakis, 2004, p. 118). Indicative is the embracing of "classicism," which is primarily interested in purity and continuity as well as invoking the power of the primary source (Harwick, 2004, p. 344). The national dimension of the operation of the university is made clear by the fact that its graduates taught not only within the borders of the Greek state, but also at the Christian communities of the Ottoman Empire. In these lessons, the common past, language, and religion were critical,



homogeneous elements for linking the citizens of the Greek state with their "irredentist brethren" in the Ottoman Empire. The mission of the School of Humanities, such as that of the university, was to spread its message to the general Greek East (Karamanolakis, 2004, pp. 120-121). Antiquity was the most brilliant and recognized part of this identity.

### **Acropolis as Heterotopia**

The cleansing of post-Classical building phases contributed to the formation of the "Acropolitan heterotopia," which is one of the most characteristic examples of heterotopias. Heterotopias, according to Foucault (1986), are real places hosted by specific cultures that gather, represent, and reflect specific symbolisms. These sites are formed in the development of civilization and are an accomplished utopia in the sense that they are real and they have a localized position, but they are completely different from the places they reflect. Heterotopias are, therefore, topographically localized, but at the same time, ideologically charged positions, which – unlike the utopias – organize community fantasies around an existing area. These "other places" are, according to Foucault, a component of society, allowing it to regulate effectively and negotiate with the realm of everyday life. Although Foucault does not deal with the role of heterotopias in the creation of national communities, it could be argued that the sanctification of certain places in the modern world is inseparable from the importance that national imagination adorns them with (Ioannidou, 2010-2011, p. 387). However, the definition and attributes that Foucault has defined render the Acropolis as one of the most characteristic examples.

A characteristic of heterotopia is that it begins to function fully when people arrive at a sort of absolute break with their traditional time (Foucault, 1986, p. 26). In addition, heterotopias always require an opening and closing system that isolates them and makes them penetrable at the same time. In general, the heteropic site is not freely accessible as a public space; either entry is mandatory, as in the case of entry into barracks or in jail, or else the person has to undergo rituals and cleansing. In order to get in, someone must have some permission and make certain gestures (Foucault, 1986). Therefore, the Acropolis had begun transforming into a heterotopia by the Bavarians at the beginning of its restoration in 1834. That is the time when free access was hindered. In particular, the Bavarian intervention delineated the "Sacred Rock," enclosed it, and placed guards around its entrances (Jokilehto, 1999, p. 94), although until then, the Acropolis was integrated into social life with the residences and fortifications it housed and was accessible to everyone. In addition, opening and closing times, ticket enforcement, thorough check on entry, and queues can be claimed to function symbolically as part of a modern ritual.

Another stereotypical feature of the Acropolis affiliates to its function in relation to the rest of the public space. The role of heterotopias is to create a space that is "other, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed and jumbled" (Foucault, 1986, p. 27). Foucault (1986) calls this



type “heterotopia of compensation” (p. 27). The aim of von Klenze and his team had been, indeed, the purification of the Acropolis of the “barbaric era.” Interference in the form of demolition of non-Classical constructions, excavation, and restoration results in the creation of a clean, purified space. In addition, special care is taken to maintain its invaluable purity and integrity; the specialists gave advice as to the type of shoes people have to wear in order to reduce the physical damage caused by the walking of the thousands of visitors (Clark, 2009).

Of particular importance is the temporal function of the heterotopias: “they are associated with temporal ‘slices’ – meaning they open up to what can be called, for the sake of symmetry, heterochronies” (Foucault, 1986, p. 26). These places, apart from the symbolic load they carry that separates them from realistic places, are not part of the normal flow of time; on the contrary, they come to an absolute break with their traditional time (Foucault, 1986, p. 26). Although Foucault (1986) sets as an example the museums and libraries where, with the accumulation of objects of different time periods, “time never stops building and topping its own summit” (p. 26) in Acropolis, the time had been frozen at the point of its restoration, which had to revive the form of the monument when it was built. Acropolis is, in a way, a living mausoleum of itself, an unchanging indicator of its classic past. Nevertheless, as the linguistic analysis has shown, it actually functions as a “time-bridge,” connecting the classical past directly to the modern nation-state, forming a distinctive chronotope (Bakhtin, 1981, pp. 84-258; 1986, pp. 10-59).

The importance of Acropolitian heterotopia can be traced to the recent theories of nation and nationalism. These tend to emphasize the importance of the processes in transforming the neutral space into national territory. It is indicative that the restoration and preservation practices applied to all the ancient monuments of Greece (Jokaheido, 1999) were of crucial importance for two reasons: to validate the national space, and to allow the nation to imagine itself as an ancient one (Damaskos & Plantzos, 2008). The antiquities of Modern Greece have also been described as heterotopias of the 19<sup>th</sup> century: Greece, geographically bordering Europe, is at the same time recognized by European imagination as a place of origin; it is a heterotopia of ruins, which are legendary and real at the same time, and are present material evidence of a glorious past (Leontis, 1995). However, their heterotopic function was not less important for the Greeks themselves as they tried to consolidate their national and cultural identity on the material reality of the newly established state (Ioannidou, 2010-2011). It has also been argued that the landmarks of this heterotopia are not only used as the image of the national dream, but also as a material, tangible, real – and therefore indisputable – proof of the continuity of the nation, a basic mechanism for its materialization (Hamilakis, 2007). In other words, things, objects, and monuments are not lifeless, dormant matter, passively pointing to social relationships or simply serving bureaucratic needs, but they are actively involved in social and historical processes (Yalouri, 2004, p. 166).



An issue that arises, however, is the diffusion of the ideological content of the heterotopic construction, and it emerged simultaneously with the purification of the Acropolis from its non-Classical relics. Once fenced and guarded, the Ancient Greek past was removed from the modern viewers, who now could only see it as in a postcard, cut off from its "social time" (Herzfeld, 1991) and space (Yalouri, 2004, p. 170). The connection between the high civilization of archaeological research and restoration and Modern Greeks was greatly accomplished by the University of Athens and its Classical orientation, both in research and in the training of teachers (Karamanolakis, 2004) .

### **The Correlations Between Material Reality and Linguistic Topoi**

The study of the school manuals has further revealed that the heterotopic construction can be identified in the school history discourse of the last quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Interestingly, although the reconstruction of the Acropolis in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century was extensive, it is not implied in the textbooks. The perpetuity of the Classical form is not disturbed by the slightest suspicion of reference in a later building phase, as the linguistic analysis has shown. The most common form of the erasure of the past – namely, the selective destruction of monuments, inscriptions, and artifacts (Arnold, 2013) – seems to be achieved in the school narrative; the "cultural cleansing" of the Acropolis is implemented by removing references to the Hellenistic, Roman, Venetian, or Ottoman building phases, or to the Bavarian restoration itself. This process, which removes the historicity of the Acropolis (Hamilakis, 2007), forms the narrative implementation of the state's official policy of the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The people who appear as agents are mainly Pericles and Pheidias, while there is a gradual shift toward the projection of the monuments themselves as subjects. In this way, they acquire a self-sufficient and timeless hypostasis, yet imperishable in their Classical form. The core of narrative is based on the buildings, which are naturalized and appear to acquire an autonomous existence in relation to the community that created them. Although Athenian citizens have been reported, they seem to have entrusted Pericles with the administration of the reconstruction of the Acropolis after the Persian Wars. In turn, he chose the experts to carry out his building program. In a similar analysis of the narratives of the Mycenaean world, the agent that was projected was rather the community of people rather than individual protagonists (Papakosta, 2016). In the narrative parts that focus on the Acropolis, all famous historical personalities retreat to emphasize the objects as agents.

The Foucauldian heterochrony, the "fragmentary projection of time in slices" (Foucault, 1986, p. 26), complementary to the heterotopic construction, is discursively realized in textbooks structuring the Greek chronotope (Papakosta, 2016); more specifically, the way in which space is described and historical time is defined form a particular chronotope: every place at different times is in fact a different place (Bakhtin, 1981, pp. 84-258; 1986, pp. 10-59). According to this view,



the historical narrative interprets the past by associating it with the particular space, based on the values and the ideas of the nation-state. In this way, it becomes a formalizing ideology (Bakhtin, 1986, pp. 96-100) since the distinction of the historical phases is removed, as they are united in the historical continuity of the Greek presence. The Greek chronotope, the “Acropolitan heterotopia,” is the Greek version of the argument of the “successive territory,” which is a key factor in the creation of modern nation-states and refers to the assumption that geographical definitions within the national state tend to require a long duration. The recognition of common borders – or, as in this case, of common landmarks – over time assures the depth of the specific community (Grosby, 2007, p. 99). When territorial determinations stabilize in the collective subconscious of a community through religious, historiographical, and legal traditions, the nation-state acquires an entity (Grosby, 2007, p. 110).

Moreover, diachronic Hellas is projected as a “cradle of civilization,” while the world admiration for the Acropolis is unquestionable since it is the supreme symbol of artistic creation. The symbolism of the Acropolis is achieved in simple linguistic schemata, such as with the metonymy of the “Sacred Rock,” which eventually functions as a synonym. An indicative linguistic feature is that the basic conclusion of the students is the obligation to admire the Acropolis. Moreover, the cumulative use of adjectives presents an absolute, undeniable reality. In Kalogeropoulou’s (1980) textbook, the academic historical discourse adopts connotations and metaphors as a way of expression. It also repeats stereotypical evaluative statements, which are projected as self-evident concerning their diachronicity from ancient times to today and their global acceptance. It has been argued, however, that [...] through these rhetorical practices the true facts are selectively shadowed and the founding national myths are formed. Thus, historical science goes back to the genealogy of the ‘chosen people’: it proves its peculiarity and supremacy, boasts about the glorious periods of its history. (Kokkinos, 2003, p. 119)

In addition, their frequent use is addressed to students' emotional response and does not contribute to the development of their synthetic thinking and critical aptitude. It can reasonably be argued that the emphasis on the emotional influence of the grandeur of the Acropolis, as well as the focus of the vocabulary on the decorative aspect of art, remove the historicity of the buildings and their function in antiquity, thus complementing the silencing of the non-Classical building phases.

In conclusion, it must be noted that the narrative core remains unchangeable in all of the textbooks that have been analyzed. This stability is understandable if one considers that school textbooks are official documents of the nation-state. As a result, since national states and national identities remain more important formations than the changes they face (Smith, 2009, p. 23), books continue to play the role of symbolic boundaries. This function seems to justify the promotion of specific sites and monuments, such as the Acropolis, creating poles of “cultural clustering.”



## Conclusion

German Romanticism envisioned the ideal of Ancient Greece in modern times, a vision shared and embraced by Greek intellectuals, politicians, fighters during the Greek War of Independence, and citizens of the modern nation-state. This ideal was embodied during the reign of King Otto in the ancient remains that were scattered through the entire Greek territory, starting with the Acropolis (Jokilehto, 1999). The University of Athens undertook the connection with the present and taught the teachers in the Ancient Greek language (Karamanolakis, 2004). Over a century and a half later, history school textbooks have preserved the philhellenic ideology of the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, which is taught and reproduced, although political and social conditions have now changed.

The Acropolis, as a symbol of the Modern Greek State, has undergone a cultural cleansing in order to return to its Classical form, rejecting the intermediate phases that followed from the 5<sup>th</sup> century. B.C. until the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This practice, accompanied by the policy of limited access and complementary rituals on entry (fencing, opening and closing times, guarding, ticket, control, special clothing), has transformed this area into a typical case of a Foucauldian heterotopia. The diffusion, however, of this ideological construction is supplemented by school textbooks, which form linguistic analogies and support and reproduce this construction. Hence, the Greek chronotope is constructed, which, supported by the familiar stereotype of the "cradle of civilization," also known from Roman history (Leontis, 1995), is a basic component of the contemporary national narrative (Smith, 2009).

The state practice is revealed as multifaceted while various dimensions are complementary and mutually supportive: the material "purification" of the Rock and the corresponding projection of the selected Classical form finds its counterpart in the University of Athens and its classicist orientation (Karamanolakis, 2004), and then diffused through the ancient-history school textbooks. The multidimensional and multidisciplinary structure of the national ideology renders it indisputable. Although Acropolis has adopted a non-historical character, operating mainly as an ideological milestone, this has not always been the case. Parthenon, far from an eternal, precious, *noli me tangere* emblem, had been integrated into social life during its long life and, in fact, served a variety of uses. The Venetian general, Morosini, who bombed the building in 1687 and demolished its roof, was not targeting the symbol but the Ottoman's powder magazine. We therefore understand that a society, as its history unfolds, can make an existing heterotopia function in a very different way (Foucault, 1986).

As the discourse analysis has revealed, school history maintains and repeats the same function, which is related to the formation of the nation-state. A critical approach to knowledge, though, can be cultivated through the historical study of the Acropolis in school textbooks. Even the diachronic study of a single monument can,





on the one hand, teach students history, while on the other hand, help them become aware of the power relations that determine the course of the people, realize the present political and historical correlations, deepen their historical thinking and perception, and cultivate their critical ability.

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## Socialism, Labour and Education: from Marx to Makarenko

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### Abstract

*In this article, I am examining the ideas of Marx and Engels on the role of education in the communist transformation of society and also the understanding of polytechnical education by some notable Soviet thinkers, such as Krupskaya, Lunacharsky and Makarenko, who played a significant role in the formation of the Soviet pedagogical theory and educational policy during the first two decades of the USSR.*

### Keywords

Makarenko, Marxist pedagogy, polytechnicalism, Soviet education

### Introduction

The October Revolution is an astounding event, which determined 20<sup>th</sup> century history. Its outbreak, and the subsequent course of the Soviet regime that it spawned, were defined by a particularly crucial contradiction: on the one hand, the existence of relatively favourable conditions for its victory, on the other hand, the extremely difficult conditions for building a socialist society.

From its very first steps, the revolution set the goal of developing the country's productive forces via its extensive industrialization, something that required the establishment of a strong scientific and technological infrastructure and, of course, the wide reform and development of its educational system.

Education was immediately recognized by the Bolshevik leadership as an important institution for bringing about social change, disseminating new ideas, and forming a new type of personality.

The Soviet educational theorists who played a significant role in the initial formation of the Soviet educational system, were to a lesser or greater extent motivated by the ideas of Marxism.

### Marx and Engels on Workers' Education

Marx and Engels linked the radical reform of education to the need to educate workers to be able to manage the productive forces of industrial capitalism collectively.

As they claim in their common work, the *German Ideology*, the productive forces of big industry are so powerful and all-embracing that “[...] only individuals that are developing in an all-round fashion can appropriate them, i.e., can turn them into free manifestations of their lives” (Marx and Engels, 1975, 439).



For the founders of Marxism, the appropriation of these forces is essentially linked to the workers' education and cultivation of skills.

The appropriation of these forces is itself nothing more than the development of the individual capacities corresponding to the material instruments of production. The appropriation of a totality of instruments of production is, for this very reason, the development of a totality of capacities in the individuals themselves (Marx and Engels, 1975, 85).

The education of the youth is perceived as a multi-faceted development of competencies which will allow them as future workers to transcend the enslaving division of labour in order to manage the system of production as a whole.

Of course, it is a fact that the references of Marx and Engels to the education in a communist society are especially scarce. In a brief statement in the first volume of the Capital, Marx claims that the education of the future, "will, in the case of every child over a given age, combine productive labour with instruction and gymnastics, not only as one of the methods of adding to the efficiency of production, but as the only method of producing fully developed human beings" (Marx, 1996, 486).

In a more extensive reference to the issue of education, Marx highlights the "[...] tendency of modern industry to make children and juvenile persons of both sexes co-operate in the great work of social production, as a progressive, sound and legitimate tendency" (Marx, 1985, 188) and at the same time draws the conclusion that "In a rational state of society, every child whatever, from the age of 9 years, ought to become a productive labourer" (Marx, 1985, 188).

Marx proposes the organization of labour for the working class children of his era, as follows:

"[...] for the present, we have only to deal with the children and young persons of both sexes divided into three classes, to be treated differently; the first class to range from 9 to 12; the second, from 13 to 15 years; and the third, to comprise the ages of 16 and 17 years. We propose that the employment of the first class in any workshop or housework be legally restricted to two; that of the second, to four; and that of the third, to six hours. For the third class, there must be a break of at least one hour for meals or relaxation" (Marx, 1985, 188).

Marx distinguishes three essential aspects for children's education: first, mental education, second, bodily education, "such as is given in schools of gymnastics, and by military exercise"(Marx, 1985, 189), and third, technological training, [Polytechnical, in the German text], which "imparts the general principles of all processes of production, and, simultaneously initiates the child and young person in the practical use and handling of the elementary instruments of all trades" (Marx, 1985, 189).

Marx suggested that the labour movement in the capitalist society should demand the significant improvement of working class children's education, stating that "The combination of paid productive labour, mental education, bodily exercise and



polytechnic training, will raise the working class far above the level of the higher and middle classes” (Marx, 1985, 189).

At this point, we should stress that when Marx refers to working class children education, he has in mind such a type of labourer who represents mainly a manual worker, a machine or manual tools operator. For this type of worker direct contact with the means of labour, immediate apprenticeship in workshops and factories and acquisition of labour experience are indispensable in order to enable him to perform different types of labour and pass from one branch of industry to another.

Moreover, Marx includes actual work experience in children’s education, considering it indispensable, in conditions of big industry. His following statement is especially straightforward: “A general prohibition of child labour is incompatible with the existence of large-scale industry and hence an empty, pious wish” (Marx, 1989, 98).

Marx of course has in mind the first stages of the industrial revolution, when child labour in unskilled positions was extensive and self-evident. Thus, in conditions where the type of manual worker as direct producer prevailed, Marx believed that the combination of the self-evident participation of children in the productive process with the polytechnical education (i.e. with the acquisition of multi-faceted technical experience) and the school education would provide the working class the skills necessary for its emancipation and management of the social means of production.

### **Socialist Education in the Pre-War Soviet Thought**

The above ideas of Marx and Engels represent the basis on which in Soviet Russia the theory of polytechnicalism and labour school and its corresponding educational policy were formed.

Nadezhda Krupskaya was a prominent figure in this direction and in her 1918 article titled *Concerning the Question of Socialist School*, she argues in favour of compulsory child labour on the premise that labour offers organizational experience and develops a sense of discipline and mainly self-discipline. Krupskaya claims that “productive labor not only prepares children to become useful members of society in the future, but also makes them useful members of society today” (Krupskaya, 1925, 28).

On October 16, 1918 the United Labor School of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic was established under the statute of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets, consisting of two levels. The 1<sup>st</sup> level (5 years) was for children from age eight to thirteen, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> level (4 years) was for children from age fourteen to seventeen.

The statute highlighted the need for the education of children to combine general education with polytechnical, physical and aesthetic education. Productive labour was to be the foundation of the educational process, in the sense that through the division of labor children would be trained in the collective activity, developing inner discipline and responsibility.





At the same time as the statute, the work of the first People's Commissar of Education, Anatoly Lunacharsky, was published, entitled *The Basic Principles of the United Labor School*.

In it, Lunacharsky defines labour education as the pupils' active, flexible, creative familiarization with the world, and as the acquaintance of the pupils with the agricultural and industrial labour in all its forms (Lunacharsky, 1972, 73).

Apart from polytechnical education, children's education should include a) the provision of general knowledge in the sense of the study of human culture in its relationship with nature, b) physical education and sports, and c) aesthetic and arts education.

Special attention should be given to the work of the Soviet educator Anton Makarenko, who organised and managed two very important children's institutions which were, in fact, labour schools, the Gorky Colony (1920-1928) and the Dzerzhinsky Commune (1927-1935).

Starting with the conviction that one of the most fundamental principles of socialism is collectivism, Makarenko supported that the goal of socialist education should be to instil the spirit of collectivism in young people, that is, to form a type of personality whose individual interests, goals and activity will incarnate the interests, goals and ideals of the socialist society.

As he states, "Correct Soviet education must be organised by forming united, strong and influential collectives. The school must be a single collective where all the educative processes are properly organised. Every separate member of the collective should feel his dependence on the collective, he should be devoted to the interests of the collective, he should uphold these interests and value them above all else" (Makarenko, 1965, 43).

Makarenko considered the child labour-collective (which constituted an educational community of children founded on principles of self-governance and collective labour activity) a vital institution of the Soviet education. He advocated children's labour activity which had to be productive, that is, culminate in the production of use-values. The collective labour was, for him, a practical moral education, an activity through which children could be engaged in satisfaction of collective, social needs. In his own words: "Labour-care is not merely a road leading to the means of living; it is also the ethics, the philosophy of the new world, the thought about the workers' unity and the new happy mankind" (Makarenko, 1957, 520).

Through labour children were taught to devote themselves not only to the fulfilment of their personal needs, or the needs of a group, but also to the needs and affairs of the Soviet society, of the whole of working humanity (Makarenko, 1958b, 355).

The moral education advocated by Makarenko focused on the cultivation of devotion to the duty; it aimed for the education of people capable of carrying out in a disciplined and effective manner work tasks which were hard, tiring but vitally necessary for the collective progress (Makarenko, 1986, 144).



For this reason Makarenko placed particular emphasis on cultivating discipline and self-discipline. The disciplined attitude towards completing difficult, arduous, unpleasant tasks was considered in the children collectives as a vital presupposition in order to ensure the functionality of their system of self-governance. Self-governance meant that every member of the community had to respect the collective decisions, to eagerly execute the orders of the administrative bodies, as well as act in accordance with the common interests and rules when elected in an administrative position.

Very important to Makarenko was also the concept of life prospect, of the man's conscious devotion to a better, happy future for all. The life prospect needs to be optimistic, as well as connect the individual with society and direct attention to the great social issues and endeavours, to the crucial collective affairs. Conscious life prospect, being transformed into a goal of human activity, gives meaning to individual existence, motivates and guides the individual in the efforts aimed at personal and social progress (Makarenko, 1958a, 74).

#### **Some Remarks and Conclusions on the Soviet Concept of Labour School and Polytechnical Education**

The pedagogical mindset in the USSR that in its first two decades founded the ideas of polytechnicalism and labor school considered young people as active members of Soviet society, who should combine general knowledge with practical labour competencies, be able to understand the production process, have organizational skills and the necessary moral qualities that would guarantee the conscious work and social activity for the benefit of the socialist regime.

In the USSR genuine labour schools, in the sense of linking education to children's participation in real productive activities, existed only in an experimental form. The Soviet educational system during the pre-war period, while incorporating in its structure elements of polytechnical education as well as offering specialised technical-vocational training, veered, however, away from the idea of children's permanent productive activity.

During the NEP period the teaching methods (the so-called "complex method" and the children's labour activities) that were introduced by the People's Commissariat of Education confronted with the negative reaction of both teachers and parents, including many communists (Fitzpatrick, 2002, 34-35). As for the People's Commissariat of Education itself, this was widely perceived as "a home for 'fantasists and theoreticians'" (Fitzpatrick, 2002, 35). A governmental examination of the defects of Soviet education system came to the conclusion that "teachers did not know what to teach and pupils were failing to acquire elementary knowledge and skills" (Fitzpatrick, 2002, 36).

In conjunction with the dynamic industrialization of the Soviet economy since late 1920s, the Soviet education system grew at an astounding rate and was directed to the rapid and mass transformation of the former illiterate peasants into skilled and



disciplined industrial workers, holders of basic general and technical knowledge, able to read, write, and count, as well as to understand rules and instructions. It was also oriented to the extremely crucial task of spreading the socialist ideology and educating millions of Soviet citizens to be committed to the principles and ideals of the socialist regime. In the early 1930s, changes were introduced towards a more elaborated and stable curriculum with a better specification of courses' content in order to improve the level of general knowledge in the basic scientific fields (Koutaissoff, 1953, 113-114).

A new interest in polytechnical education, as well as a discussion on it emerged in the USSR in the early 1950s (Simon, 1954). In addition, new curricula concerning polytechnicalism were tested in the experimental schools attached to the Academy of Educational Science of the USSR (Simon, 1955).

As a result of these endeavours, a new, more elaborated and systematic model of polytechnical education appeared in the Soviet Union via the 1958 educational reform (Shapovalenko, 1963, 70-88).

Students had to become acquainted with the main branches of production, such as power production, metallurgy, mechanical engineering, chemical industry, building, plant-growing, stock-breeding, transport and communication (Shapovalenko, 1963, 83), as well with the physico-mechanical, physico-chemical and biological methods of production (Shapovalenko, 1963, 84).

It is necessary to notice that the difficulties of implementing the principle of polytechnicalism in Soviet schools in the pre-war years were due to a series of factors.

First of all, the ideas of Soviet educators regarding polytechnicalism and the labour school were abstract, limited to general statements, without taking into account the nature of the means of production and the character of labour that had not yet been completely or at least sufficiently industrialized. Given the great pedagogical significance of training children in combining theoretical activities with practice, these ideas did not take into account that the immediate labour activity of children does not always have educational results, when the working conditions are particularly hard, as was the case in the first decades of the USSR.

In addition to that, the dominance in Soviet economy of hard, monotonous physical labour for the use of manual tools or for the operation of machines (accompanied by a high level of labour accidents) was interwoven with the subjugation of the semi-qualified workers to their working conditions, as well as with their strict specialization (in a Tayloristic form) in specific bodily actions, which rendered any polytechnical labour activity impossible.

Further, the ideas of Soviet educators regarding polytechnicalism also didn't take into account the fact that a creative polytechnical education necessitated schools with a particularly expensive technological equipment, which was impossible at a large scale for the USSR, almost throughout all its history. Such an education also



necessitated highly qualified teaching personnel, the lack of which was extremely acute especially during the pre-war period of USSR.

Despite the course taken by the educational system in the USSR, the pedagogical pursuits of its pre-war decades offer interesting insights for a better understanding and further development of the socialist perception of personality and its cultivation. They provide a clear picture of the ideals which guided the builders of the first socialist society.

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## Collaborative Action Research as a Pivot for Democratic School Development

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### Abstract

*In the neoliberal educational era of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, action research can be a critical research and teaching methodology as it provides an alternative to the traditional educational processes, which have gradually degraded democracy at school. In contrast with the positivist paradigm, which leads to quantitative research characterized by validity, reliability, objectivity, and generalization, action research aims to capture the special characteristics and particularities in the everyday practices of school life (Katsarou & Tsafos, 2003). Critical pedagogy also suggests alternative procedures to the homogenized ones proposed by the national curriculum, where “official knowledge” (Apple, 2014) directs its mere reproduction restricting critical thinking and participants’ creativity. The present paper discusses an action research project that attempts to incorporate the values of critical pedagogy into teaching by presenting some characteristic examples of teaching practices that took place in an urban junior high school of Heraklio, Crete, during the 2016-2017 academic year. Through these practices, we – the participating teacher researchers – combined theory and practice and action and research as two interdependent, yet complementary, phases of the change process in the field. Using the “language of possibility” in the curriculum (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1986), we attempted to engage our students in the social construction of knowledge, listen to a variety of voices, utilize life experiences in the classroom, incorporate critique about cultural norms, and promote the values of social justice, compassion, and equality. The impact of our intervention is the improvement of instruction toward a commitment to democratic participation in social contexts, our personal and professional development as “reflective practitioners” (Schon, 1983), and the upgrade of the classroom-learning climate, which can provoke significant changes to students’ lives by contributing to their empowerment and emancipation (Katsarou, 2016).*

### Keywords

critical pedagogy, action research, classroom instruction, transformative intervention

One of the basic problems of the Greek educational system is the deficit of democracy. This deficit is evident in a set of practices that make up the educational norm, such as the homogenized national curriculum, the emphasis on the achievement of goals, and the “banking model” (Freire, 1974) of education in which students are the passive receptors of deposits prescribed and delivered by instructors. The first part of this paper is an outline of the basic principles of action research and critical pedagogy, and the second part is a presentation of the way we (three Greek language teachers) applied these principles in constructivist classroom structures. Our annual action research journey includes the problems we identified, the goals and the issues of each cycle of intervention, and also the procedure: planning, acting and reflecting. There is also a focus on an illustrative example: an





intervention conducted in a given situation aiming at highlighting forms of oppression related either to the West's lifestyle of overconsumption, or to the exploitation in the poor countries of Asia and Africa. More specifically, our attempt was to transform students' beliefs and attitudes toward the overconsumption of toys. Students reviewed their own choices and became aware of children's oppression and exploitation in Third-World countries in addition to realizing their own "oppression" and "subordination" to the Western lifestyle of overconsumption.

### Theoretical Framework

**Defining action research.** According to Peter Reason and Hilary Bradbury (2001), action research is a participatory, democratic process concerned with developing practical knowing in the pursuit of worthwhile human purposes, grounded in a participatory worldview which we believe is emerging at this historical moment. It seeks to bring together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with others, in the pursuit of practical solutions to issues of pressing concern to people, and more generally the flourishing of individual persons and their communities. (p. 1)

Action research challenges the claims of the positivistic model of research, which in order to be credible, valid, objective, value-free, and with a generalization, intends to degrade the role of the particular context, the concerns of the participants, and the developed interactions between participants (McNiff, 1988). For action researchers, all research – even the quantitative – is embedded within a system of values and beliefs. For them, data are produced rather than collected, which highlights the important roles of the persons or institutions conducting the research. Action research is a term which refers to a practical way of looking at your own work to check that it is as you would like it to be, and to make improvements from there (McNiff, 1995, in Katsarou & Tsafos, 2003). It demonstrates the shift from academic research to forms of active research and indicates research that influences action. It is not a separate scientific field but a research approach to many scientific subjects. The main features of this method, according to Katsarou & Tsafos (2003), are its participative and cooperative character, the interplay of research and action, theory and practice, its spiral dimension, its relation to the professional development of teacher-researchers, and its qualitative research dimension.

The need to use action research in education has emerged through the need of teachers to reflect upon their practices, to observe their degree of relevance in relation to the school context, to modify their teaching behavior, and ultimately, to generate new knowledge (Atweh, Kemmis, & Weeks, 1998) through the design and redesign of actions appropriate for the classes they teach. Such a perspective makes the educator a researcher of the didactic learning process within the framework of the interactions of the school environment. Action research begins with the clarification of a problematic situation, continues with the inventing of solutions in the design phase of the intervention, proceeds with their implementation, and then



evaluates the implementation. Freire (1974) states that the movement from action to reflection, and from reflection upon action to new action, is a dialectical one. This is a point of convergence with critical pedagogy. Kemmis (2009) agrees: Action research consists of finding and analyzing data, reflecting through discussion, planning and performing new action, collecting more data, evaluating, and re-iterating the same process throughout this cycle of actions. Eventually, it is a spiral of actions; action research follows a cyclical course: it advances from the stages of investigating and analyzing a problem to designing a strategy that aims at intervention and change, then is applied in practice and assessed for effectiveness. This evaluation can lead to a new research cycle with the steps mentioned above.

Action research is linked to self-criticism since through it, individuals, groups, and schools learn to assess their present practices, and could function as transformational agents of change in the sense of modifying and enriching the original ideas of the persons involved by transforming them into more inclusive and complete ones, receptive to the new data, in order to create new, well-established beliefs and opinions that will help to achieve the goals set: the empowerment and emancipation of the persons involved (educators and students). Action research is an approach to educational research, posing the key question of how to go about creating knowledge – constructed in a social context – that promotes democratic and social change on a larger scale. Action researchers challenge injustices, inequalities, marginalization, and social exclusion by posing questions in discovering ways for social justice to be realized. This is another point of convergence with critical pedagogy.

According to Kemmis (2009), action research is a critical and self-critical process aimed at animating the transformations through individual and collective self-transformation, meaning the transformation of our practices, transformation of the way we understand our practices, and transformation of the conditions that enable and constrain our practice. Action research is the most appropriate research method in the educational contexts that can provoke significant changes in educators and students' lives, thus contributing to their empowerment and emancipation (Katsarou, 2016). Critical pedagogy and action research grew out of a critique of traditional research and pedagogy emphasizing reflexivity, dialogue, and voices of the oppressed that are heard, transformative practices, equality in cooperation, and motivation for social action.

**Defining critical pedagogy.** Critical pedagogy is a trend in theoretical, pedagogical, and educational practice that, according to MacLaren (2003), is a way of thinking, negotiating, and transforming the relationship between teaching, production of knowledge, and organizational structures of the school environment in relation to the wider community, society, and state. According to Kincheloe (2004), critical pedagogy leads to an understanding of the political content of knowledge, promotes humanity and intellectual culture, and reveals the existing relations of economic and social oppression. Critical pedagogy has its roots in the Frankfurt School (Max



Horkheimer, Theodore Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, Jurgen Habermas), which exploited the tradition of Karl Marx's critical theory, and in particular, his views on labor relations, the socio-economic system, and the dependence of social justice on economic conditions and education. Critical pedagogy is perceived as the utilization, continuity, and active renewal of the critical theory of the Frankfurt School (Lather, 1998; McLaren, 2003). School theorists agree that the educational system encourages dependence and hierarchy relationships, and establishes historical and other truths as doctrines while undermining social consciousness, which could cause social transformation (Eisner, 2002).

Beyond these early theoretical quests, critical pedagogy owes its development and dissemination to the Brazilian educator and activist, Paulo Freire (1921-1997). From his personal experiences, he developed educational ideals and practices aimed at improving the lives of marginalized groups of the poor and limiting their oppression. His refreshing approach, critical understanding of education, his radicalism, his focus on practice and not on theoretical forms, and also the language of hope he used touched the souls of poor and oppressed peasants, and designated him as one of the greatest pedagogues of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In North America, the New Left Scholars movement turned its attention to critical pedagogy in the 1970s and 1980s; Henry Giroux (1981) shaped critical pedagogy combining John Dewey's (1916) philosophical positions on the democratization of school – and consequently, of society – and the critical theory of the Frankfurt School. Giroux, Simon, Apple and McLaren focused their efforts on a deeper understanding of the role of education as a vehicle for conveying specific social, economic and political messages.

The thinkers of critical education profess that a revolutionary critical pedagogy will allow educators to realize the possibilities of promoting democratic social values in the classroom (Kincheloe, 2004) to criticize the way in which knowledge is produced and to reflect on the social, cultural, and economic messages contained in the knowledge itself and its pedagogical exploitation. Similarly, Caroline Shrewsbury (1987), bell hooks (1994), and Kathleen Weiler (2001), from the feminist approach of critical pedagogy, focus on criticism of both the content/knowledge the curriculum covers and the teaching methodology. They emphasize the importance of developing critical consciousness, the presence of oppressive social structures, and the need for change and social transformation (Weiler, 2001). Ira Shor (1996) transfers the theory of critical pedagogy to the classroom, and influenced by Freire (2006), incorporates classroom praxis that emphasizes the ability of teachers to act as agents of social change. Other thinkers approach this from the Marxist perspective of "praxis" (Apple, 1990; Giroux, 1997; McLaren, 2003), while still others follow the neo-Marxist approach to critical pedagogy (Lather, 1998). Weiler (2001) and hooks (1994) adopt the feminist pedagogical perspective by stating that both Marxist theory and the Frankfurt School ignore feminist, anti-racist, post-colonialist education, while Shor (1996) and Gore (1993) highlight the need to move from theory to practice. Several thinkers are deeply influenced by John Dewey's (1916) view on the democratization



of the school that will lead to the democratization of society (Dewey, 1916, in Katsarou, 2016), which he sees not only as a way of government, but also as a way of life. The democratic ideals of education can contribute to changing the traditional cultural ideas of society, but also to liberating itself from oppression of racism or sexism.

According to McLaren (2003), the emergence and resolution of issues related to social classes can prove to be beneficial for many problems involving inequality and injustice. McLaren (2010) considers that the school should offer education for social transformation and the acquisition of "critical citizenship." Likewise, Kumaravadivelu (2003) considers that teaching should not be strictly limited in the classroom. According to Giroux (1994, in Gounari & Grollios, 2010), there must be enclaves of resistance created in schools that will lead to the struggle for a new social justice morality in favor of social groups placed in asymmetric power relations on the basis of specific class and gender groupings (McLaren, 2010). The representatives of critical pedagogy view education as having a political and moral-aesthetic character (Araujo - Freire, 2011), and the action of those involved in the educational process is primarily a political one as it takes place in a historical-cultural context that interprets the choices, means, and beliefs of those involved.

Paulo Freire (1974), as a thinker and activist, is one of the founding figures of critical pedagogy and has had a particular impact on contemporary and younger scholars. Since childhood, he had realized that poverty stands in the way of knowledge acquisition, and that the low social class from which he came himself constitutes an insurmountable obstacle for the obliteration of illiteracy. As an adult, he struggled to eliminate illiteracy through the promotion of targeted programs in the place where he was born. Freire's pedagogical approach also identifies humanity's depravity among both the oppressors and the oppressed as well as the need for their humanization. Through this assertion, he claims there are humanist and historical roles of the oppressed and that there is a need to fight for the restoration of their human identity in order to shake off the dominance of their oppressors. Another fundamental element on which Freire insists is the lack of awareness of one's own oppression, a situation which is related to the fear of freedom. The critical spirit will help the oppressed discover the causes of their oppression and reach a painful deliverance. Freire denounces the banking perception of education, which perceives people as adaptable and easily-managed beings into which knowledge can be deposited/stored by their masters of knowledge (i.e., teachers). Such an educational process minimizes or eliminates the creative power of students by enhancing their adaptability and credulity (Freire, 1974) as they accept the ready, uncontested knowledge.

The assumption of the bank deposit of the ready/given knowledge is close to the didactic, teacher-centered pedagogical model of behaviorism (Pavlov, Watson, Thorndike, Guthril, Hull, Skinner), which perceives students as passive organisms and professes that knowledge is transferred from the teacher-authority to the ignorant



disciple (Salvaras & Salvara, 2011). The behavioristic teaching model does not lead to critical reflection, but imposes consensus on the teacher's choices and leads to the manipulation of the student. According to Freire (1974), the efforts of a humanist/revolutionary educator must converge with his/her students' efforts in problem-posing education, a critical view of reality, and the search for mutual humanity. It highlights the value of dialogue as a means of redemption liberating human nature, but also as a means of assigning meaning to human existence (Freire, 1974).

Freire (1974) also considers that every human activity is based on thought and action, and that action and reflection work simultaneously. Critical thinking organizes their thoughts better and leads the oppressed groups to grasp the causes for the reality of their everyday life. This particular reality is an experience which determines their consciousness of the world and leads to a certain approach to their lives. The need for critical education is highlighted as an exercise of freedom; cultural action leads to the conquest of freedom and the liberation of people. The pedagogical approach of knowledge through "praxis" leads to a differentiation and upgrading of the role of the educator as an intellectual-reformer of social reality that, through teaching and learning, leads individuals to emancipation and ultimately promotes social change. The essential contribution of his pedagogy is the persistent challenge to the social status quo, the demand for liberation and equality, and the effort to make learning a contributing force "to the radical social, political and educational transformation" (Gounari & Grollios, 2010, p.56) through the development of critical consciousness as a prerequisite for a collective social and political claim. The pedagogical act is, according to Freire, a liberating act that paves the way for freedom and a fairer and more democratic society. The teacher shows the way for his/her students to act as agents of action. The way to liberation, according to *Teachers As Cultural Workers: Letters to Those Who Dare Teach* (Freire, 2006), requires a critical attitude to the discovery process as well as a student-teacher synergy. The teacher encourages students to mobilize their imagination, curiosity, and critical thinking to deal with the obstacles they will encounter in the future. The teacher's love for teaching, his/her humbleness and readiness to teach – and to be taught by his/her disciples – gives meaning to the students' lives and strengthens their self-esteem. Also, another virtue to be shown through teaching is tolerance, which teaches us how to get along with others and value diversity while teaching us to learn from it and to respect it. Tolerance is associated with specific limits and principles and requires an environment of freedom. The teacher must contribute to the creation of a happy school that progresses and creates a safe learning environment for all students and responds to the emotional needs of all. The learning process must be based on the bi-directional impact of the cultural context on knowledge and the knowledge produced in this context (Freire, 2006). The teacher respects his/her students, and this respect is his/her contribution to shaping the identity of the active, critically-minded citizen.



Through this short presentation of views and representatives of critical pedagogy, the general context was given without showing the individual trends or differentiations; in any case, there is no single way to delineate critical pedagogy. This context gave us the motivation and the inspiration for the instructional intervention we attempted, which is described in the following section.

### **The Intervention**

**Critical pedagogy in a language classroom.** Critical pedagogy is an attempt to transform the relation of power in oppressive contexts, and save oppressed people from being objects of the educational system to being subjects of their own autonomy. Critical pedagogy, in a language classroom, questions the national curriculum, the banking model of education – which is related to the behaviorism teaching model – and the teacher’s authority, the reproduction of official knowledge, the passive role of the students, the educator’s role as a technician, and the lack of political and socio-economical projects carried out inside the classroom. According to Freire’s (1974) view, students’ engagement in the instructional process through problem-posing and critical understanding of the way their own lives are connected to the socio-economic context leads them to develop a critical consciousness and to improve their living conditions. Critical pedagogy challenges all types of power relations, domination, oppression, violation, social exclusion, subordination, and discrimination.

Difficulties in promoting critical pedagogy in the Greek educational system arise from the object-oriented and curriculum-centered approach to knowledge that often leaves no room for critical thinking and reflection. This approach contrasts with the learning environments of social constructivism, but also with the model of the student-researcher, who is in the process of forming his/her autobiography and reconstructing his/her personal identity. In the Greek educational system, the model of the bank deposit of knowledge is consolidated through the monologue of the teacher and his/her verbose references to facts and values, which are presented as cognitive material, ready to be memorized and reproduced by the students. This practice rests on the established conviction that teachers know while students are ignorant; teachers teach, students are taught; teachers punish and students comply. Students' reasons are seldom used in the formal curriculum and are often seen as intervals and time-lags at the expense of "normal" lessons.

**Linking action research with critical pedagogy.** During the 2016-2017 academic year, in the framework of my research activity as a PhD candidate, I worked with two fellow scholars who taught the Modern Greek language lesson. This cooperation (under the facilitation and co-operation of a professor at the University of Crete) was developed in an urban central secondary school (gymnasium) of 450 students, and our intervention took place in a section of each of the three grades of the gymnasium. Starting with the observation of lessons in Modern Greek at the beginning of the school year, we confirmed an established situation in the teaching





of this lesson: the approach of the textbooks was moving to textual approaches where the reference field was the text itself, unrelated to social reality, impervious to contingencies, and with the certainty of the absolute truth of its content. This given truth did not trouble the educator nor the students who reproduced it accurately; teachers use the banking model (Freire, 1974) and deposit knowledge to students, and students have the passive role of knowledge receivers and consumers. As a result of such a teaching and learning process, students repeated elements of the text and teachers tested the accuracy of this reproduction. Based on this situation, the following questions arose:

- What interventions can teachers and pupils make in the educational/learning process in order to relate it to the social context (economic, social, political)?
- How can we broaden pupils' perspectives towards critical questioning?
- What perceptions and attitudes of teachers and pupils should be cultivated that can lead to action taken for a fairer world?

Keeping in mind that critical pedagogy is an educational response to inequalities and oppressive relations of power, some early thoughts were to make use of existing texts in a more critical way (e.g., by highlighting the bias of the transmitter), but also to enrich the content of the course with modern texts (written during the economic crisis) that raise concerns for pupils regarding contemporary problems. Another thought was the use of technology for capturing the attention of students who remain on the sidelines with traditional teaching. This last thought had prompted us to approach non-normative texts, such as short films, songs, photos, pictures, cartoons, and recorded interviews. After clarifying the problematic situation with the observation of the teachings, the interviews given to me by the two collaborating philologists, and the initial questionnaires completed by the students and the pre-tests which the pupils were asked to answer (to assess attitudes and knowledge before the intervention), we started jointly planning the intervention.

We designed five cycles of collaborative action research, about four weeks for each cycle. In the first and second cycles of action research, and given the students' moderate responses to critical social issues about which they had shown to be ignorant (school is not accustomed to dealing with such) – or overlook them in the sense that they do not concern them (the majority of students) – we decided to introduce “productive/generative issues” into the teaching, a problem facing education (Freire, 1974), which is based in critical issues like “environment degradation due to overconsumption” with references to individual economic, political, and social consequences. These consequences, especially for the non-privileged, were addressed through photographic material, authentic journalistic research, testimonies of young children in developing countries and countries exploited by powerful nations, multinationals, and globalization. As a result of the intervention of these action research circles, there had been a gradual increase in student engagement in the teaching and learning process, the development of children's interest in the topics they initially called “unpleasant,” and the production



of their own original works. The students' excessive desire for participation, however, also had an unpleasant consequence: some students – mainly in grade 1 – developed a selfish behavior in relation to the desire to constantly voice their own "reason," and thus restricted the right of their peers for free expression.

In the third cycle of collaborative action research, we raised the issue of democratic behavior and its attributes within the classroom. This curriculum is transformative for the students in terms of gaining a more democratic and cooperative attitude and leaving aside individualism and mood to put their weakest peers on the sidelines. We (the three teachers) highlighted the voices of those who had not often had the opportunity to be heard; we created a framework for student moral commitments, the drawing of student contracts, and the "democratic constitutions" of the classroom. We decided to continue with the approach of other contemporary socio-economic issues.

In the fourth cycle, we tried to leave more room for students to get involved by encouraging them to bring their own material and make their own interventions in the curriculum. The children responded willingly, but because several of the texts they presented were either deficient or lacked authenticity, we set qualitative valuation criteria. In approaching social and economic issues, we highlighted all the different perspectives by hearing all voices; for example, in the subject of the European Union (taught in grade 3 of junior high school), students were faced with many conflicting views of the Union's supporters: its opponents, nationalists, economists, and Members of European Parliament (MEPs). In the subject of "Brain Drain" (taught in grade 2 of junior high school), the different views of the text transmitters led the students to critical approaches and debate. Pleased with the development of critical thinking – especially in grades 2 and 3 – we decided to broaden our students' reflection and, at the same time, raise the issue of collective action, mobilization, volunteering, and activism on social inequalities and exclusions.

In the fifth cycle of collaborative action research, the variety of teaching processes we adopted throughout the research activity were enriched with another practice: students who brought their own texts were charged with presenting them and then facilitating their classmates in critically approaching them. In these cases, there had been cooperation with teachers as to the formulation of the questions that were aligned with critical literacy. At this stage, students who usually do not have their voices heard in the classroom took the floor and freely expressed their views. In the fifth cycle, as in the fourth, students contributed to curricular decisions and became co-creators and co-agents in the educational process. Teaching observation was accompanied by student interviews and reflection of teachers (for triangulation).

At the end of the fifth cycle, the students completed the post tests and the questionnaires, and the teachers gave the exit interviews. The conclusion of the annual survey is that if teachers come out of their solitary paths, if they decide to cooperate, they send out an indirect (yet clear) message about the value of cooperation, mutual aid, and partnership. In addition, pupils' involvement in social



inequalities, oppression, marginalization, social exclusion – topics that belong to pupils' interests and can be approached by them – gradually helps develop youth idealism and youth morality, improves the levels of social consciousness, and creates the predisposition for social action. Critical educators work in the direction of both action and reflection (Marxian praxis), emphasizing inequality and social justice issues, and become active agents for social change.

**An illustrative example.** The theme, “environmental degradation,” from the third unit of the school book serves as an example of the implementation of the principles of critical pedagogy in the classroom. The sample consisted of 22 students that come from middle- or lower-social class families, and three teachers as co-researchers. Students’ age was 13 years old; they were in grade 1 of junior high school. Teachers were chosen according to a “criterion sampling” in terms of having the same beliefs, attitudes, and practices that dictate our collaboration (Tsiolis, 2014, p.59). Our instructional procedure included brainstorming, experiential approach, problem-posing, differentiation in the classroom, and empathy-centered teaching and learning. Instruction was carried out during four hours. The long-term goal was the transformation of students’ perceptions concerning social change in a high-literacy social environment, where students are challenged to criticize their own life experiences and choices and, according to Freire (1974), create and act on alternative modes of transforming past experiences and choices. Literacy becomes a means; a transformation tool for students to “read the word, read the world” (Freire & Macedo, 1987) in order to “write the word, write the world,” thus acquiring a language of hope and possibility. It also supports the development of their cognitive autonomy and metacognition, and the cultivation of the ability to become suspicious and critical readers, observers, and activists of social life. Critical literacy, in our theme, aimed also at defusing the notion that Europe and the West in general are the whole world in order to raise awareness of the fact that children live all over the world and their lives are equally valuable as the lives of European children. Literacy can also lead students to a better understanding of the “naturalized” meanings promoted by the dominant ideologies imposed by the overconsumption trends they have become aware of, and of their own oppression and subordination to the dictates of overconsumption imposed by multinational companies through advertising.

**First hour of instruction.** In the first hour of our teaching intervention, we discussed the theme, “environment,” which is a generative theme (Freire, 1974). It raised a lot of topics and questions, which overtime became centralized for investigation, inquiry, and community-based work. One of them was the “overproduction for overconsumption,” e.g. the overconsumption of sportswear, household items, electronic games, clothes, shoes, and toys (which, in the next lesson, led to a fruitful reflection on children’s labor and exploitation). Students had never thought about overconsumption practices; they had never discussed such themes in depth, and when they discussed the sportswear they prefer, they realized something very



important: almost all of them were wearing the same brands of sports shoes; two girls were wearing some kind of generic or inauthentic brand of shoes (which made them uncomfortable). They questioned their choices and inferred the “globalization orders,” which creates the same preferences among young people and leads them to uniform options. When they were discussing children’s toys and electronic games, they recounted the strong desire they felt during their childhood to acquire more and more games, pushing their parents to buy them. During the experiential approach, students remembered their disappointment and distress, their competitive mood, and their jealousy when they realized that their friends owned more up-to-date toys.

Part of the students’ dialogue (boys):

*P: Can you remember visiting George’s house ...and he showed all of his new toys, his Legos and PlayStation? We had fewer at this time and felt awful and when your father came to take us home you asked him for new Legos.*

*N: Can’t you remember what you said to your mother? You told her to buy you new electronic games, or else you wouldn’t eat!*

*P: Yes, what should I have done? Accept that George would have more and better toys? I too, like every child, dreamed of toys ... many toys. But you weren’t so different yourself!*

*N: Legos were my weakness. I was obsessed with Legos. Even now I would still buy ... just to see them, to know that I have a lot.*

And the girls’ intervention:

*A: I, too, liked Legos and PlayStation but even now my room is full of Polly Pockets, Lalaloopsy, Barbie Fashionistas, Barbie collectibles... I kept asking them from my mom... I wanted new ones and I had the whole collection! I did not want to miss any of them!*

*P: I also had a collection of accessories for Barbie, such as the caravan, the villa, the motorbike, the car, and the airplane.*

Such conversations were heard in the classroom, and most students seemed happy to reminisce about wasting money to buy all these expensive games. Even children with moderate economic means seemed to share this exaggeration. Through these debates, the students of grade 1 of gymnasium relived scenes from their childhood when the wasting of money was an unconscious – but also ordinary – choice. However, the emphasis they gave to these memories left the impression on the co-researchers that even now, at the current stage of their development (at age 13), they support those older, childlike attitudes and do not distance themselves from them. Their discourses have shown that even now, they consider all these expensive games necessary for fun as well as for the development of a child in general.

When the lesson finished, students selected differentiated homework according to their interests and personal goals (Tomlinson, 2014) :

- Describe your feelings in your diary when you realized that a friend has more toys;



- Make a digital presentation in order to introduce to your fellow students the most desirable games for you;
- Make a collage of pictures showing your choices and feelings about your childhood; or
- Bring your favorite songs about playing a game.

**Our reflection.** In the reflection phase, we (the three teachers and co-researchers involved in this lesson) came to the following conclusions:

- The pupils' experiences were externalized/expressed in an environment of freedom from which teachers' censorship was absent. We listened to our students without judging either positively or negatively what was said; only in an environment that promotes freedom of expression can people speak honestly.
- The students who took part in the debate on "the overconsumption of toys" do not all come from the same socio-economic background. Some seem to have the economic background that would facilitate such purchases, while others have less financial means, and some children have no financial means at all (two dads lost their jobs due to the worsening economic crisis).
- We realized that their experiences of overconsumption have been the result of the social and cultural influences they receive from their environment, the media that ultimately shape perceptions, and the attitudes and behaviors similar to those of the urban middle class, which imposes its standards throughout society and establishes them as generally accepted. It is what the literature views as a "successful" class power that is perceived as necessary by society as a whole. Ideological ties communicate the values of the dominant class into the whole of society. Society, in turn, "internalizes such subdivisions to such an extent that they end up being perceived as global and not questionable" (Schwartzberg, 1996, p. 134).
- Action research begins with the clarification of a problematic situation (e.g., the overconsumption of toys), and continues with the inventing of solutions in the design phase of the intervention, proceeds with their implementation, and then evaluates the implementation. We decided to intervene in the direction of transforming our students' perceptions to show them other perspectives of childhood, often unseen within the Eurocentric educational system; to challenge them, to motivate them to form a different voice, and, at best, lead them to more responsible and critical choices, and maybe even to action as critically-minded citizens. Our goal was to make learning a contributing force "to the radical social, political and educational transformation" (Gounari&Grollios, 2010, p.56) through the development of critical consciousness as a prerequisite for a collective social and political claim, leading to a new social justice morality.

We prepared our material over the next few days by searching the Internet for contemporary and non-normative texts. We printed them and created worksheets, and on the day of the teaching intervention, I divided students' groups on the basis



of the heterogeneity of their socio-economic background, which – to a certain extent, and not in a completely deterministic way – corresponded to their school performance.

***The second and third class periods.*** In this two-hour lesson, students presented their homework and then used the worksheets to find information about toy production, the countries they are made in, and the people involved in their construction (ethnicity, age, sex, socio-economic background, and working conditions). Students were asked to answer relevant questions orally or in writing, and to criticize the working conditions after an exchange of views with their team members. The students showed enormous interest in the subject, an interest that far exceeded their average interest in the daily lesson. The authentic material they were using compelled them to reflect. They commented on the written essays and the photos. Children labor, poverty, illiteracy, child exploitation, slavery, and trafficking were a sad discovery to them and evoked empathy in them. They had not considered that there are children growing up in such adverse conditions or the determining role the economic, social, and cultural environment play in the development of these children. They realized that all individuals, from the moment of their birth, are part of a "wider collective" without any margin of choice, as Ian Craib (2012) states in his work, *Classical Social Theory*, referring to the Marxist approach to historical society "that we have no choice in the family or the socio-economic class or the geographical area or culture where we will be born, even though these are actually the factors determining who we are" (p.64). The pictures elicited many questions to the students:

- Does it have to do with the country they live in?
- Are the people who live in dry lands to blame for their poverty?
- Wouldn't they want to have a good job and not have to send their children to work in factories?
- They have nothing to feed their children; but how do they allow young children to work? They will get hurt.
- Where do they live?
- It's a shame to torture them like that!
- Who kidnaps children? Why?
- What about organ trafficking?
- Do they not get sick where they have them working?
- Aren't their parents unhappy?

These questions led students to a fruitful dialogue and reflection. At the same time, they seemed to switch from the Eurocentric view of things, broadened their horizons, and their view of the world widened. Among their reactions were the notions that "although we have an economic crisis, we can still have things we like," "at least we – the children – do not have to work," and "we are not being exploited here in our country." For homework, they were asked to watch the whole documentary film, "The Dark Side of Chocolate," on YouTube and to write an article





about children’s rights violation or to bring pictures showing the situation. This exercise follows the principles of differentiated instruction (Tomlinson, 2014) as it allows students who do not feel comfortable writing essays to complete different types of assignments. In contrast with the homogenized, goal-centered curriculum, this option is student-centered and aims at promoting the different interests and talents of the students.

**Fourth hour of instruction.** In the third class period, students read their articles containing pieces from the above documentary, such as the struggle of children to survive in a poor country, their removal from their family, their confinement in places where they live together, their hard work away from their families, and the demand of subordination to their masters, the owners of cocoa plantations. In their texts, they depicted their surprise at the children's inability to react to these oppressive and degrading behaviors. Some students put themselves in the place of those children who, as they noticed, were robbed of their childhood and were angry at all those who "exploit children because they are weak." In their writings they used "heroic" expressions, such as, "children need to rise up and take revenge," "set up an ambush for their bosses and kill them", and "television should warn them against being persuaded by some sneaky men who lie to them in order to exploit them." They did not fail to comment on the neo-colonialist exploitation of Africa by the countries that base their economic development on exploiting the natural wealth of dependent countries. They also pointed out that those responsible for child labor try to conceal the truth about children’s exploitation while feigning ignorance. The students’ discourses reflected their empathy for children and their anger at the cruel practice of child exploitation, but also their denunciation of the tolerance of the civilized Western society and, in particular, of our own "civilized" society.

Some students, working within the framework of differentiated instruction, preferred to bring photographic material to class concerning the violations of children's rights. They shared the texts and photos they brought with their fellow students and asked them to comment on them. Some of them had chosen the same pictures and some just described the theme of the picture, while still others made more thoughtful/reflective/critical implications about the origins and causes of the situation of child labor, and asked themselves, "What can I do to prevent it?" They commented on the common characteristics of these children in terms of their origin (Asia or Africa), their living conditions (the poverty of their families was evident from their clothing), their general state, and also from the sad expression on their faces. They underlined the exploitation of poor countries by the rich industrialized countries as the root cause of childhood unhappiness. The sympathy they felt towards the child victims led them to express emotion, but also to recognize that only by the equitable distribution of wealth can social inequalities be addressed. In terms of action required, the views expressed varied:

- These children have to address international organizations, such as UNICEF, in order to ask for protection.



- Do not buy chocolate!!!
- Traders should know where they shop for their products.
- Children must be paid to be able to live.
- Allow them to return to their homes.
- Their parents should advise them not to leave their home and not to believe the lies that traders tell them; that they would have a better life somewhere else (where child labor exists).
- To adopt; our class can adopt a child from a poor country.
- Make a Facebook group that will inform the world about such issues.
- We cannot do anything; we have no power, authority, or money.

Such (and more) thoughts were heard in the classroom by the majority of the students. Only one or two students persisted on the issue of the economic crisis of our country and our inability to finance a "salvation mission" due to high economic costs and the harsh reaction of the countries whose economic development relies on child labor.

**Students' reflections.** Our students, having researched authentic material, developed their own views on child labor by condemning all these exploitative practices. During the last part of instruction, we brought the opening question to the forefront: "How did you feel when you realized that your friends have more up to date toys?" This time, the answers were totally contradictory to those in the beginning of the instruction. The students had shifted their initial beliefs and attitudes about overconsumption, shaping the identity of the active, critically-minded citizen. Sometimes, they blamed advertising and their young age for their behavior, and they expressed views such as:

- When you are young and want to play all day, you are affected by the ads and you believe what they tell you.
- All kinds of toys offer the same type of action and choices.
- It is fashionable, but also we have to reject these patterns.
- We should feel happy with what we have.
- We should not waste all our money on things that are needless.
- We should prefer team games with friends.

At the end, they began to wonder about the type of action required "for poor children in order for them to live with their families and not become victims and not be exploited by the powerful."

**Teachers' reflections.** Upon reflection, we (the three teachers/researchers) raised a number of questions in a problem-posing educational framework with a sense of self-criticism toward the implementation of this intervention. Keeping in mind the role of education as a vehicle for conveying specific social, economic, and political messages, the challenge of injustices, inequalities, marginalization, and social exclusion we commented on gave students the opportunity to articulate their own comments in which we pointed out features of youthful idealism and social activism, as well as the more moderate attitude of some: "We cannot do anything; we have no



power, authority or money."Even in the case of this "moderate idealism," as I would call it, it was made clear to both myself and the two other observing teachers – in the context of action research – that the students, when engaged in something different from the national curriculum (focal and formal analytical program), and confronted with issues provocative to their idealism, can articulate a different, rational, and liberating discourse.

### Discussion

In our reflection after the action, the three educators identified the pros and cons of this undertaking, which are in line with the principles of critical education. We have thus come to the following conclusions:

- In the phase of the four-hour instruction preparation, we – the educators – developed our creativity, searched the web, organized our instruction in a flexible and non-rigid way, and devoted enough time to our topic of “environment degradation” that is included in the third section of the Modern Greek language school textbook, where the basic goal of the schoolbook texts in this unit is to discuss “our relationship with nature” (p. 39).
- After we posed the problem, the students were allowed to draw their own discourses and conclusions searching "non-normative texts," such as photos, videos, and songs. We did not impose our own views; the students themselves decided through the interaction with their classmates. Through the exploratory process in their groups, they built knowledge and developed metacognitive strategies within a framework of liberty and democracy. This democratic procedure of teaching can contribute to changing the traditional top-down procedure in the Greek education system. The democratization of the school will lead to the democratization of society (Dewey, 1916, in Katsarou, 2016).
- We also escaped the rigid textbooks and gave children the opportunity to come into contact with original, authentic, visual material while the assessment of the teaching and learning procedure was made in alternative ways, taking into consideration the students’ involvement in the lesson, their own discourse structured from their realities, and their ability to produce their own material and choose the type of homework they liked. About half of them chose to write an article about children's rights violations, while the rest brought and commented on pictures showing children's rights violations. Some made their own multimodal texts (using PowerPoint or Movie Maker).

Keeping in mind these alternative views, our teaching did not have the characteristics of monologue teaching or the bank deposit. Freire (1974) denounces the banking perception of education, which perceives people as adaptable and easily manageable beings into which knowledge can be deposited/stored by their masters of knowledge, and Apple (1990) asks whose knowledge is legitimate and whose knowledge gets ignored, arguing that schools historically have served to maintain



power and control the few. Our instructional efforts converged with the students' volition for problem-posing education, a critical view of reality, and the search for mutual humanity. In the learning environment of social constructivism, dialogue and students' discourses highlighted, as a means of redemption, liberating human nature – but also as a means of assigning meaning to human existence as an exercise in freedom (Freire, 1974).

Weak points of our intervention, and also of such interventions in general, are the non-compliance with the national curriculum, the large amount of time spent, and the comparison with other teaching methods used in other classrooms or schools. Also, the way of assessing knowledge through diversified student projects was not the standard one. We did not make use of tests to produce a performance-based ranking of students, though perhaps this would be considered a disadvantage by some teachers and parents. The truth is that we focused more on building knowledge through interaction among students' groups (social constructivism: learning with others and learning from others), and on changing attitudes to socio-economic issues rather than reproducing the formal knowledge of the schoolbook. However, no dissatisfaction was expressed; the students were willingly engaged in all phases, challenging the norms of our society along with their own beliefs and choices, discovering the oppression of children in developing countries along with their own oppression and their compliance to the practices of overconsumption. According to McLaren (2010), the school should offer education for social transformation and the acquisition of "critical citizenship" (p. 560). As a result, we, the three educators, as reflective practitioners (Schon, 1983) – having designed, implemented, and observed the transformation of the students' initial beliefs and attitudes – deduced that by choosing a socio-economic subject (which was not included in the school book) and following a student-centered process (based on dialogue and reflection), our students became critical, escaped Eurocentric thinking, reflected on their beliefs, biases, prejudices, and stereotypes about fashionable items, and realized that there are issues of greater importance, such as the priceless value of children's lives all over the world.

The conclusion of the annual survey is the following: teachers' cooperation sends out a clear message about the value of cooperation in a learning and practice community, which is a demand for both action research and critical pedagogy to promote a fair and democratic society. Teachers involved in this research can be seen as "learners" rather than "functionaries" (Kincheloe, 2003) who perform/execute top-down orders without questioning them. In this practice-based annual research, teachers have ignored the school book as in the intervention described above: they considered that the superficial reference of the book to the environment does not show the economic inequities of race, class, and ethnicity, so students cannot be critically conscious or look beyond the surface meanings, myths, clichés, and received wisdom (Shor, 1992). In the schoolbook, there is no reference to the environmental degradation caused by overconsumption or exploitation in



developing countries colonized by the strong, industrially developed, powerful countries. Such book content does not improve the critical thinking and critical consciousness that leads students to social action.

The teachers involved also gained a more positive research attitude and gathered knowledge of practice in order to revitalize and renew their teaching practice, and increased their awareness of the democratization of the school by posing critical questions about the production of knowledge, knowledge transmission in the classroom, the access to legitimate forms of knowledge, and the prevailing methods of evaluation (Giroux, 1988). The shared goal of the critical approach to learning and the criticism in the educational and social system itself has led to a more democratic school context where all teachers and students are more likely to be critically and deeply engaged in educational innovations toward equality and social justice in the direction of Marxian praxis.

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## Communicative Action Assisting Critical Language Awareness in the Resistance Against Authoritarianism

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### Abstract

*The present study aims to highlight the authoritarian role of language within ideological frameworks, such as that of the institution of school. Fairclough (1992, 1995, 1998) proposes the development of students' critical language awareness while, at the same time, it is a fact that teachers use authoritarian language in educational institutions. On the one hand, the teacher exercises power over students through linguistic acts. On the other hand, the teacher is also an intellectual reformer teacher, as proposed by Henry Giroux (2010a, 2010b). This raises the question of whether there is the possibility of the existence of a teacher as an intellectual reformer who assists in the critical awareness of his or her students; can the teacher be an autonomous, ideological subject? The present study attempts to prove, through the analyses made by Gramsci (1972), Althusser (1990), Foucault (1987), and Laclau (1994), that there are philosophical problems concerning the possibility of the existence of an ideologically autonomous and sovereign educator. Finally, the study uses the theoretical framework of Habermas (1984a, 1984b, 1997) in order to expand the discussion on the authoritarian role of language. The present study borrows the theory of communicative action as an educational management model that enhances critical capacity on the basis of inter-subjectivity. It is important to extend the discussion on the theory of communicative perspective action in shaping learning environments that foster critical thinking in teachers and students. This paper attempts to theoretically highlight the transition from an asymmetric communication to a symmetrical communication in the school. It additionally examines the conditions under which students fulfill their cognitive, metacognitive, and emotional needs through the ideal-speech situations based on Habermas' theory.*

### Keywords

language, awareness, authoritarian, inter-subjectivity, ideal-speech situations

The influence of sociolinguistic thought since the 1960s has overturned existing beliefs about language, which had been regarded as a closed and self-regulated system, whereas sociolinguistics has pointed out the close interconnection between language and society. Within this framework, the already-known Saussurian dichotomy between the *langue* and *parole* – or in the Chomskyan tradition, the distinction between competence and performance – was doubted, whereas the notions that compose these dipoles in a dialectic way were favored, like the notion of communicative competence (Hymes, 1974). Communicative competence is a broader concept than linguistic competence and concerns our ability – by using language – not only to know what is grammatically possible, but also what is socio-culturally appropriate. The modern theories of sociolinguistics, such as the theory of critical analysis of language (Fairclough, 1995; Van Dijk, 1993), regard language as



comprised of a network out of which various speakers make not random choices, but ideologically specific choices, since linguistic acts create various representations of the world. In that way, meaning is formed by the choices the users of the language make or do not make each time. Within this framework, the notion of communicative competence expands to include any knowledge about one's competence that language offers in order to construct different versions of social reality.

When language users are aware of both their linguistic choices and the pictures of reality that are constructed by these choices, this is what defines crucial language awareness (Fairclough, 1992). Through this process, one realizes what linguistic choices are available during the production and consumption of texts, and is thus led to critical literacy awareness. In that way, perceptions about the world that have been established as common sense are overturned. Fairclough (1998) argues that using language in the learning process is an effective tool for achieving results (in one's career, social recognition, etc.). Through this process, the dominating role of language reproduces the dominant culture and conveys conventional wisdom. Instead of this, Fairclough proposes the development of students' critical language awareness by means of recognizing types of discourse that are encountered in society to strengthen the competencies of each child in using and interpreting the language. Critical language awareness could pave the way to the development of collective competencies of the students as members of a society who present actions of discourse.

According to Fairclough (1992, 1998), the school must take into account the linguistic backgrounds and experiences of its students. Subsequently, the various discourses available to students should reflect three linguistic characteristics: ideology, power, and society. The students should be able to discover the ideological effects of the discourses they consume or produce, as well as the effects that are derived from the correlation of language and power. Subjectivity, or personal identity, is constructed via discourse that is presented through various positions acquired over the course of one's lifetime. Consequently, the teaching of language, which reveals the power of discourse to shape as well as the ways by which this discourse affects one's conceptual way of thinking, should use the methods of critical analysis of discourse to help students understand when, how, and why are linguistic manipulation occurs. The definition of critical language awareness provided above creates and points out certain methodological problems and gaps as to how it could be accomplished in practice: are students really free to present their linguistic choices within a school environment where a network of hegemonic relationships has the upper hand? Are students able to resist through their linguistic choices? The keyword that underlines the first problem within the definition of critical language awareness is *hegemony*, which refers to subordinates' passive consent to the process of having one's consciousness constructed without turning to violence or coercion (Barrett, 1991). According to Gramsci (1972), the issues of culture and production of meaning affect,



in a decisive way, the political attitude of individuals. He searches for the mechanisms that produce consent, not only in the political institutions of the State, but particularly in the “society of individuals,” which is composed of institutions like the Church, the school, the family, law, art, and other cultural arenas. In that way, Gramsci clarifies that if the ruling elites wish to ensure their dominance, they ought to be able to achieve not only political but also intellectual and ethical leadership.

### **The Ideologically Autonomous and Sovereign Educator**

According to Gramsci (1972), the role of intellectuals in the spreading of hegemonic views is crucial. Educators, the clergy, university professors, and journalists – among others – simplify and reinforce as common sense the priorities of the hegemonic ideology; they have a special position as “active intellectuals” in the “hegemonic bloc,” which they form along with other ruling social classes. For Gramsci, the notion of hegemony turns our attention to a social situation in which hegemonic ideas rule the society of citizens and, without any coercion, they are accepted by the majority of a society’s members. In the present study, the focus is on the society of school. The intellectual hegemony presupposes, too, the preservation of the balance between the ruling and the dominated classes (in this case, between teachers and students). However, this balance does not presuppose a symmetrical communication. The intellectuals are the ones that intervene in the interests of the social classes on the one hand, and the world of ideas on the other; it is they who transform into ideas the interests and the claims of the material situations of human existence in philosophical concepts.

Henry Giroux (2010) adopted Gramsci’s (1972) analysis of hegemony in order to construct the theory of resistance. The theory of resistance accepts the reproductive role of school, which is presented by the theories of reproduction. The school is an institution that aims at producing labor and helps the subordinate classes to fully understand the ruling ideology. Within the school, the intellectual hegemony belongs to the ruling classes and is embedded in the school’s curriculum, in the assessment procedure, and in the daily “rituals” of school life. Nevertheless, at the same time, the school is a place where different views are confronted as well as a place where the subordinate classes may express their discourse. For this reason, Aronowitz and Giroux (2010) adopted Gramsci’s analysis of the intellectuals in order to construct the notion of an educator as an “intellectual reformer.” Gramsci points out that intellectuals are not a social class, but a social category; there is not any direct correlation between the position of class and the conscience. Rather, there is correspondence between the societal function of the intellectual’s labor and the relationship that this labor has in the transformation, doubt, or reproduction of the ruling ideology. The issue is adjacent to the political nature of the intellectual work. The educator is an intellectual; hence, the critical question for critical pedagogy is the extent to which the educator will be transformed into an intellectual transformer, whether or not he/she will challenge the ruling ideology of the school’s



curriculum, and whether or not he/she will try to exploit the conditions' pedagogical freedom that exists in school in order to present a critical attitude toward the school curriculum. However, the questions that arise are the following: How could an educator be transformed into an intellectual transformer? How could such a change necessarily lead to a critical language awareness not only of the educator, but also of his or her students? How can we ensure that the proposed, as an intellectual transformer, possess the methodological tools to support students' acquisition of critical language awareness? How is it possible to know whether this individual is really an intellectual transformer? What are the characteristics of an intellectual transformer? Is the educator a homogeneous individual undertaking the role of an intellectual transformer? Is the educator an autonomous and sovereign individual? Through this theoretical lens, the present study attempts to prove that the existence of an educator as an intellectual transformer raises philosophical problems. It is a utopian attempt – and raises objections – as far as the methodological framework is concerned, with which it might be possible to transform an educator into an intellectual educator. This study's aim is to prove that the road leading to critical language awareness in both students and educators does not consist of their transformation into intellectual educators, but rather as consisting of a symmetric communicative approach that Habermas (1984a, 1984b, 1997) proposes through his theory of communicative action.

This study concerns the possibility of the existence of an autonomous and sovereign subject in the way Althusser presents (1990). This scientific reasoning permeates the suggestion presented in this paper. Even though the notion of subjectivity does not occupy a large area in the theoretical considerations of Althusser, his contribution is regarded important nowadays. His theory about "indictment" continues to play the role of basis, as Butler (2009) mentioned, regarding the modern debate on the shaping of the subject. Althusser, having been influenced by constructivism as well as the psychoanalytical approaches of Lacan (1966), rejects the hegemonic Western conception of the autonomous and sovereign individual. Undermining the ontological dualism that classical Marxism presupposes between the materialistic basis and the "foundation," it establishes the ideology in the sphere of the materialistic, and adds to it an extra productive capacity: the subject is emerging from, and within, the practices and rituals of various institutions and mechanisms.

The theory of indictment offers an explanation for the means by which language transforms the individual into a subject. The ideology acts or functions in a way that "recruits" the subjects among the individuals (and transforms them). This is achieved thanks to the particular operation of indictment, and which could be exemplified by the picture of a usual, everyday police remark like, "Hey, you!" This scene has drawn the attention of many intellectuals, and has been not only the subject of intense criticism but also the subject of further elaboration. Howarth (2000) discovers the roots of this episode in the famous "stage of the mirror," which has been studied by Lacan (1966), and goes further to make the analysis that indictment is a "mirror"



process in which an individual recognizes him-/herself only through the image of him/her imposed by society, which, in turn, serves to construct the individual's identity. Butler (2009a, 2009b) presents the analysis described by Althusser (1990) as a claim for alignment with the law. The individual's turn toward the law is translated as acceptance on the terms of his or her address. Phillips and Jorgensen (2009) agree with Althusser that the subjective views ascribed to individuals are the means by which they become subjects of the ideology, and that there is no room for resistance.

It is no coincidence that this study uses the paradigm of the indictment; the belief is that it emphasizes the common way in which teachers address students, thus making them subjects of the dominant ideology of the school. This is another point where this study testifies as to the nonsymmetrical communication between educators and students. In this point, the first important objection arises from the theorists of discourse: the possibility of resistance and action on behalf of the subject. Such theorists view the prevailing ideology as underestimating the ability of individuals to resist ideologies and to give their own meaning to things through more complex processes. The theorists of discourse reject the idea of a homogeneous subject having a steady identity, which is defined in relation to the social class to which the individual belongs. Regardless of the differences among these theories, they all appear to accept the subject as constituting the discourses he/she creates, and despite the limitations on innovation in these discourses, they offer the individual numerous positions with which to identify. For example, an individual can be a "woman," "black," a "worker," and "Christian," all simultaneously. Laclau (1994), working within the framework of social constructivism, believes that the issue of the subject's identity is not the discovery or the recognition of the real, authentic, and meaningful identity of people, but the construction of it. In that case, according to the Laclau's theory, it would be impossible to discover the meaningful identity of the educator, which is a prerequisite posed by the theory's framework: presenting the educator as an intellectual transformer educator. At the same time, Laclau and Mouffe (1990) show the critical idea that human creativity and construction have certain limits, which not only function in a forbidding and limiting manner, but also create new possibilities through a continuous reconstruction of social and political identities. Therefore, continuing Laclau's reasoning, it could be concluded that the political and social identity of the educator is under continuous reconstruction.

The theory of discourse begins with the hypothesis that discourse constructs the social world through the meanings it highlights. All things and actions are meaningful, whereas meaning, according to Foucault (1987), is formed within the verbal practices that follow rules in each historical context. Foucault believes that discourses have direct relations to the reigning structures, and that they are not products of the sovereign and creative human brain. Over time, a clear change in his perception as far as discourse is concerned is discernable; he ceased thinking that





discourses are autonomous systems of scientific views and strongly connected the case of discourse to the issue of knowledge/authority. Phillips and Jorgensen (2009) believe that Foucault's point of view on discourse results in the new position he takes regarding the issue of the subject. According to his view, discourses contribute – to an important extent – to the formation of one's subjectivity as well as the objects one is able to discover (including oneself). This is the starting point for perceiving the subject within the frame of discourse analysis.

The term, *verbal* (or discourse-forming), means that all objects are discourse objects. This is not to say that everything is connected to language, but the significations of an event is within the framework of a system of rules that are socially constructed. For example, the construction of a high-speed railway line in a mountainous and forested district may be viewed as an achievement of advanced technology that contributes to the reduction of highway traffic as well as to the cheaper transportation of merchandise, but also to the destruction of a unique ecosystem and the deterioration of the district's residents' standard of living. It is important to mention that every different discourse points to different ways of action. This means that a particular meaning ascribed to a fact contributes to the construction and the change of the world, and serves to form social identities and relationships. Given the fundamental ambiguity of language, meaning can never be fully consolidated or permanently defined; discourse cannot be seen as a closed entity. On the contrary, discourses are being transformed continuously through their connection with other discourses. Laclau and Mouffe (1990) describe this process using the phrase, "struggle of discourses." They differ from one another as each of them represents a particular way of expression and understanding of the social world, and they are in constant collision with one another, thus imposing their hegemonies. In other words, they determine the meanings of language in their own particular manner. Therefore, hegemony could temporarily be defined as prevalence of a particular point of view (Phillips & Jorgensen, 2009). The competitiveness of discourses, as well as the design of political frontiers between "those who are with us" and "those against us," transforms the discourses into systems that are intrinsically political while, at the same time, are fragile to the extent where they are always undermined by the meanings that were excluded by the political forces that were excluded during their production. From that point of view, the expectation for an educator that has been reformed as an intellectual is unclear and uncertain because such reformation cannot be easily observed. Consequently, the relationship between the educator and the student remains nonsymmetrical and is expressed as such in all facets of school life from the educator's teaching methodology and his/her profile, which is revealed through socializing processes in which educators and students participate in a nonsymmetrical way.

Critical Language Awareness and the Theory of Communicative Action

The paradigmatic change from the philosophy of consciousness to the philosophy of language – in other words, from the tradition of the isolated subject who represents



and handles the objects and his/her instrumental action of the objective external world to the communicative individual within a society – establishes social development in performative structures of labor and language. Habermas (1984), in his theory of communicative action, makes a distinction between the success-oriented acting on the one hand, and the consensus-oriented acting on the other. Two kinds of rationality correspond to these: rationality for purpose and rationality for communication. Rationality, as a teleological action that corresponds to purpose, is composed on the basis of the isolated subject model that checks the external world (intellectual reformer educator), whereas the communicative action refers to an interaction between at least two subjects that composes the space of inter-subjectivity (educator-student).

Habermas starts from the position that linguistic communication means agreement; in other words, the pursuit and achievement of a rational consensus between communicating subjects. In the theory of verbal actions, each action raises three types of validity claims: a claim for truth concerning the content of the statement, a claim of rationality for the rules and the values that form the normative horizon of the statement, and a claim for sincerity of the subjective intention that is expressed through the statement. The verbal action introduces one of these three validity claims as a matter to be discussed. When these claims are under dispute, the interlocutors may turn to a superior type of discussion, one in which they check the claims that have been characterized as problematic on the basis of rational arguments. Any content of rational agreement that is achieved under the conditions of an ideal speaking situation could be characterized as true (Habermas, 1984). According to Habermas, a situation is characterized as ideal when communication is not prevented not only due to external influences, but also due to compulsions, which come from the same communication structure. The ideal-speech situation precludes the systematic distortion of communication; communicative construction does not produce coercions when all participants in the dialogue are given a symmetrical distribution of opportunities to choose and perform speech acts (Kavoulakos, 1997).

Habermas (1984) has viewed the rationality and humanization of society in terms of the institutionalization of rationality as an innate ability of the human species. This study borrows his theoretical design for the democratization, rationality, and humanization of the school. Habermas understands that political, economic, and technological authority downgrade the intellectual work and the role of discourse in its production. Does the reformer educator not obey any political, economic, or technological authority? Each human capable of speaking tends to be a potential victim of having his/her critical ability of thought be obstructed by the new rulers, who themselves want to explain the thoughts of the theorists and place the framework for the explanation of these thoughts on the basis of autocratic structures. Both the student and the teacher are under such authoritarian structures. Therefore, in the communicative theory of Habermas (1984), there must



be a strive to free the authority from the normative (or more generally, from dogmatism), giving a role to the communicative discourse. Habermas does this by defining *authority* through democratic participation: the communicative action. However, in the realm of communicative action, there are terms and conditions that should be adhered to for the process to proceed. This is precisely what entraps those who have interests in the legal system: they are not able to participate in communicative interaction because they do not meet the communicative conditions and, therefore, they cannot formulate legalized law. The authority is formed initially in a communicative way by means of an honest dialogue, and later, it has to function in a communicative way (Kavoulakos, 1996). In essence, there is an interaction between authority and the law, whereas communicative actions function via this interaction.

Communication commits the authority and citizens to absolute forms of law, allowing the authority to impose the law or to withdraw the imposition through citizen participation. The discussion on participation in the formation of a legal system through verbal actions is crucial for the topic of critical language awareness. Although the Habermas (1984) framework may be seen as fully theoretical, the way with which this framework could be applied successfully in any type of law, or by any type of authority on the level of social practice, should be taken into account. Consequently, it could be applied to the level of school practice and to the learning process, too. Communicative action retains the links, wherever authority is practiced on an equal basis, between those holding authority and those who are governed. The rational participation of all is necessary, and any participation regulates the degree of tension of the next. The result is this: the communicative action gradually becomes more and more dialectically rational, and finally, more substantial, because it gives new possibilities of new communicative processes. The theory of communicative action is not a magical wand that will lessen the problems arising from its initial presence; however, its adoption will gradually create more collective awareness because through dialogue, the mutual formulation of human identity can be achieved. In this case, it is not only the educator's but also the student's identity. Habermas is looking for rationality in the configurable, post-modern landscape – a communicative rationality that will shape, through communication action, a collective identity. In the context of discourse, both teacher and student should be transformed into communicative subjects in order to regain autonomy, which can be accomplished with a curriculum (legal system) that requires functioning in a more rational way. This is, essentially, the proposal of the modern philosophy of communicative action: the democratization of tomorrow on every level of a given relationship, which is always governed by authority. The world will never be free from bias if people do not openly discuss such issues or free subjects from stereotypes imposed on them by society.



## Conclusion

Habermas' (1984) contribution, the theory of communicative action, presents a method by which both educator and student can participate in activities of critical language awareness, mutually formulating the picture of each and every type of law (e.g., the curriculum). The transition Habermas proposes, from discourse as a tool to discourse as a communicative consensus, gives the opportunity for a context of communication to flourish in the classroom in which claims of validity have the opportunity to be applied. These validity claims can be the communication framework between students and teachers, creating a democratic learning environment. These claims of validity create the prerequisites for each language awareness process; they constitute the criteria by which students can critically encounter each text and instance of language production occurring in the school community.

Students, under democratic conditions, can participate in democratic decision-making by putting forth the effort to claim power over communicative action. The claims of validity, truth, realism, and honesty are shielding – in a methodological way – the process of acquiring critical communicative awareness, not only for students, but also for the educator, thus creating an ontological-dialogic type of awareness among all participants. This awareness is based on a dialogue-type consciousness associated with a morality-type consciousness. The theory of communicative action can play the role of instructional application, where the distinction can be made between success-oriented action and consensus-oriented action. Critical pedagogy requires a consensus-oriented action. In a framework like this, one cannot hold a discussion about an intellectual reformer teacher. The foundation of morality can no longer be found in *a priori* structures of rational subjectivity, but in investigating the conditions of inter-subjective communication power, the rational structure of communication, and the necessary conditions for communication. In this way, the communicative discourse is seen as a morality-practical thought that follows the rules of rationality on which it is founded.

Summarizing all the above, it can be concluded that Habermas (1984) provides the solution to the phenomenon of reification, or resisting “the discourse of rule.” Habermas attempts to globalize the communicative discourse; such a globalization presupposes the adjustment of all types of action that emerge in society to communicative action. In the educational field, such a generalization may contribute to the strengthening of metacognitive skills of both students and teachers. The interlocutors gradually form a dialogic, moral-type consciousness that enables the development of metacognitive skills aimed at reflection. Moreover, it contributes to feedback of the learning process. The consultation follows the validity of claims by strengthening, methodologically, the metacognitive processes.

Dialogue is the critical tool approach; it guarantees the investigation of phenomena in a democratic landscape. In the light of the implementation of the theory of



communicative action, teachers are also able to resist a dominant educational scheme that expects the acquisition of practical skills for future job placement. As such, they can resist an educational scheme that aims to provide a competitive merit-based education model in terms of objectification. There may be resistance to an educational system where the emphasis is on acquiring economic and political "capital," according to Bourdieu (1986), which aims at economic prosperity within the structural framework of a market economy in which the cultural capital is ignored.

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## Anti-Racist Education – From Theory to Praxis: A Natural Sciences Educational Program

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### Abstract

*Does public school reproduce social and political problems, or act as a means toward their resolution? Confronted with this query, a teacher cannot help but take a stand. Our belief is that teaching is a political act, and therefore, educators should contribute to the mitigation of these problems. Racism constitutes an old and well-known phenomenon. In present-day Greece, though, with the financial crisis having turned thousands of refugees and immigrants into scapegoats, it appears that the teacher’s contribution to the management of the issues has raised, and the preparation of the students to assert their right to emancipation of all kinds plays a decisive role. Within this context, an attempt was made concerning the cooperation of refugee students of Eleonas Refugee Camp and the students of a senior high school located in the center of Athens. The cooperation of the two student groups aimed at acquainting the students and having them share a common experience. A six-hour educational program was designed and materialized, and was carried out during three visits of the refugee students to the morning senior high school. They had the opportunity to attend a “regular” school, interact with peers under genuine circumstances, and participate and carry out simple experiments and educational activities. Moreover, the students of the morning school had the opportunity to meet and discuss with refugee students of their age, and work together during a series of educational activities. We present an analytical presentation of the effort made toward the active incorporation of science and history of sciences at the service of an anti-racist education program in “real place and time,” provoking an intense concern about the educational needs of refugee students as well as thoughts and perspectives concerning anti-racist education in general. Our aim is thus to expand the dialogue on exactly that basis.*

### Keywords

anti-racist science education, refugees, history, philosophy of science

The present study is based on the assumption (or the idea) that Greek public school has the opportunity either to reproduce social and political problems or to act as a means toward their resolution. Problems such as poverty, inequality, racism, illiteracy, discrimination, and unemployment are present in today’s Greek public schools, especially in urban regions. Confronted with this query, a teacher cannot help but take a stand. Even if keeping a neutral stand toward emerging social and political problems is an idea that a lot of teachers, parents, and students alike would choose because of its ease and convenience, there is no neutral and apolitical education; it is an illusion that serves several interests other than those of a just society. Our belief is that teaching is a political act, and therefore, educators should contribute to the mitigation of these problems.



### Anti-Racist Education

Racism constitutes an old and well-known phenomenon. In present-day Greece, though, with the financial crisis having turned thousands of refugees and immigrants into scapegoats, it appears that the teacher's contribution to the management of the issues has raised, and the preparation of the students to assert their right to emancipation of all kinds plays a decisive role. Greek society suffers from poverty, financial insecurity, and unemployment. At the same time, refugees and immigrants – usually victims of wars, poverty, and dictatorships – arrive in Greece looking for a better future in Europe. Their presence often causes anxiety and fear in natives, who usually accuse refugees and immigrants of being responsible for their own poverty and low standard of living. Most of them live in already-degraded regions in awful conditions, such as in containers, tents, and old and derelict buildings, and are exposed to harsh weather conditions.

Financial crisis and refugee flows have directly or indirectly increased the racist attitude and behavior of Greece's citizens. This is reflected both in the rise of the neo-Nazis' Golden Dawn party and in the conservative views of citizens on the issue of refugees' rights. Such conservative views have entered schools, manifested by certain students – mostly under parental influence – and are usually expressed through provocative questions and statements, such as, “Why did they not stay and fight for their freedom in their countries, like we [Greeks] did many years ago?” “We don't have the essentials for ourselves; how can we help these people manage with their lives?” “Their aim is to convert us to Islam!” “Get out of our country!” and so on. In this context, it is obvious that teachers and the educational community, including unions, need to take initiatives to tackle the two-sided problem: on the one hand, they should try to protect refugees' rights and limited opportunities to build a better future, and on the other hand, they should attempt to explain to their students that refugees are humans like themselves, who share the same rights and need our support in order to sustain them.

Toward this direction, the education for human rights and anti-racist education derive from a political interest in contributing to the improvement of both refugees' and non-refugees' living conditions, with the prospect of a fairer society and a more peaceful world. Teachers who are involved in such topics are determined to struggle, in their own way and means, for a just society; they consider themselves responsible for developing their students' attitudes toward a peaceful world, governed by equality and without human exploitation. In such programs, students are informed about the causes of wars, which turn people into refugees, and the serving interests behind such wars. They are also informed about the difficulties refugees have to surpass, such as leaving their home and their rights. Teachers are the ones who must find the time, the means, and the courage to inform their students about different states' laws on refugees' stay, and how these laws usually contradict the Geneva Convention concerning their rights.



Let's go a step beyond the principles of an anti-racist school. If we take into account that the school is an institution of the State, it cannot do a lot directly. On the other side, the school can develop several activities which help young people build their own value system. A school that seeks to eradicate racism has some of the following characteristics (Pantazis, 2015, p. 123):

- There is a climate of respect originating from the students themselves. Pupils are asked to contribute to school life because it is their own school for which they themselves have some kind of responsibility.
- The teacher exhibits anti-racist behavior. He or she represents the values of the school through his/her own behavior and life and respects the students, uses no form of violence, and is always ready to recognize his/her mistakes. This teaches students how to forgive and how to reconcile.
- There is an attempt to include parents in its educational activities: speeches, solidarity actions, theatrical events, and screen projections.
- Some “modern values,” such as the commercialization of everything, the American businessman dream, competitiveness, the “mind your own business” slogan, etc., are directly criticized. On the contrary, values such as solidarity, active participation in society, collective action, and conscience are emphasized.
- Students are offered real experiences of solidarity with refugees, immigrants, and other vulnerable social groups. It breaks free from the narrow framework of educational visits by non-governmental organizations, such as Amnesty International, and cooperates with local bodies and movements in favor of solidarity with refugees. An anti-racist school suggests not only awareness, but action as well.
- Criticism should be exerted on press reports referring to racist violence images, cases involving offenses towards immigrants or refugees, and the positions of the official state on the question of whether or not refugees are legal or illegal. A critical stand toward both the subject and the interpretation of the events by journalists should be taken, whereas the tendency of the mass media to manipulate the public should be underlined.

Education against racism plays an important role in the social and emotional development of students; there is no need for it to be added as a separate subject in the school curriculum. Instead, it has to run throughout all of school life and be cultivated through all cognitive subjects.

At this point, it would be useful to clarify the difference between intercultural and anti-racist education. Intercultural education aims at managing the different ways of thinking, habits, languages, religions, and cultures within a classroom (Parkay; 2013; Raihani, 2014, p. 19). There, special attention is paid to the issues of different cultures within the classroom. On the other hand, anti-racist education programs focus on the difference of power between the majority, which is in power, and the minority (immigrants, refugees, women, and so on). There is the belief that racism stems from the unequal distribution of power between certain groups, and its mission is to change these “racist” structures (Thompson, 2002). It does not benefit



the students so much as it is a political solution to the issues raised. In this case, the difference lies not in culture but in the oppression of the minority by the majority. This difference is very important at the beginning of the training program. Here, the aim is not to deal with cultural differences, but how the majority in solidarity will find ways to support and empower the refugees in need. The difference between the two approaches also lies in taking actions toward the emancipation of minorities. In anti-racist programs, students and teachers do not limit themselves to awareness-raising activities, but try to work together with institutional and extra-institutional actors to improve living conditions, assert refugees' rights and freedoms, and ultimately, empower them.

### **Anti-Racist Science Education**

Regarding the role of science education in anti-racist education, the point is the cultural gap that influences teaching and learning science in terms of scientific concepts and explanations of phenomena (Hodson, 1993). Which is the science that we should teach? The two distinct views are the ones of the *multiculturalists* and the *universalists*. The multiculturalists, for example, have pointed out that non-Western approaches to science are not included in the current science curriculum. The universalist response to this has been to recognize the contribution of other cultures to Western science, but at the same time, deny that the knowledge systems of such cultures should be understood as “science” (Stanley & Brickhouse, 1994, p. 389). It is obvious that the definition of what counts as science, which is a rather philosophical issue, is very important in modern curricula.

Natural science has supported anti-racist education for decades, especially through biological issues, such as the theory of evolution and the notion of race (Hodson, 1993). Moreover, teaching interventions have been designed to display the unreliability of IQ tests referring to white and black people, and other scientific topics related to society and politics. In the present study, we propose the introduction of history and philosophy of science in an anti-racist context. Examples from the history of sciences can be used to illustrate how the purposes, theories, and methodologies of Western science have changed and been a part of larger cultural changes. It is important for students to realize that the purposes of scientific activity have varied in different cultures and historical times. They can also learn that the form of contemporary Western science is not universal or unchangeable. Such understanding is necessary to encourage critical thinking toward the purposes Western science has served, and how these could be changed in order to meet the needs of social justice. Today's Western science has its origins in Ancient Greece, in the Arabic world, in the Roman ages, and the Renaissance. It is a product of human thought that took its present form after the cooperation of a lot of people in different cultures and ages. In the context of this study, adopting a realistic philosophy, an attempt is made to bridge the gap between the universalist and



multiculturalist views using historical episodes of Arabic science and technology in order to meet the needs of a multicultural group of students.

### **A Natural Sciences Educational Program**

**Purpose.** The present study is part of a four-year tradition of anti-racist education and education for human rights. Specifically, the present project follows on from a series of theatrical plays related to human rights and politics, such as *Biological Immigrant* by Arkas (school years 2013-2014 and 2016-2017), *The life of Galileo* by B. Brecht (school year 2014-2015), and *Copenhagen* by Michael Freyn (school year 2015-2016). Moreover, there is ongoing and increased awareness in terms of organizing anniversaries, such as International Holocaust Remembrance Day, International Day Against Racism and Fascism, International Women’s Day, and so on. The general context of this particular project addresses a group of students from a state high school in Athens. The students are involved in studying, analyzing, and discussing refugees, particularly on the education of young refugees. The study aims at investigating the possibility of a cooperation between two student groups (15 students from the senior high school and 15 from Eleonas Refugees Camp). The profile is that of a case study, which forms an educational proposal for strengthening anti-racist education, and not that of a research project, the results of which can be generalized. The specific research questions raised were:

- Are students from a general high school able to co-exist creatively and collaborate with peer students from a refugee camp – Eleonas Camp in particular – within the regular school program?
- Can history and philosophy of science be an appropriate framework for achieving communication?

**Context.** The present study was conducted at a senior high school located in the center of Athens. It is a school found in an urban environment, very close to the industrial zone. Students attending it usually belong to vulnerable social groups, and their status impacts their educational outcomes. Some of them suffer from a lack of cognitive, cultural, and social stimuli. Due to high levels of poverty and unemployment, in relation with the neighboring refugee camp (Eleonas), there is a considerable number of students and parents who take a conservative stand toward refugees and their hardships. We could say that there is a special need for anti-racist awareness and action so that students of this particular district do not take the attitude of extreme behaviors. Taking this into consideration, during the last four years, anti-racist programs have been conducted, including the following: theatrical performances, educational visits by Amnesty International, events dedicated to the International Day Against Racism and Fascism, experiencing activities, and solidarity activities. With moderate optimism, we could say that this particular school, despite the difficulties, has built what we call an “anti-racist culture.”



The project lasted for a whole school year (2016-2017). It was conducted in the context of the curriculum subject, called “Project,” which is a two-hour weekly lesson. Needless to say, the particular anti-racist program was highly supported by the general school spirit, which is democratic and is used for programs concerning human rights. Thirty students, males and females, actively participated in the project. Half of them were students attending the senior high school, whereas the other half came from Eleonas Open Hospitality Center. The age of the high school students was 16 years old, and they were randomly selected. Half of these students were second-generation immigrants themselves, coming mostly from the Balkans. The other half of the students who took part in the project were refugee students currently staying at the Open Hospitality Center, which is located in Eleonas, just a kilometer away from the morning school. They were boys and girls whose ages varied from 13 to 16, and with different countries of origin, such as Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Iran. Many of these students have abandoned school due to conflicts, wars, and the constant movement of their families, and have been deprived of education for a long time – even for years. At that time, all members of the Eleonas group attended evening classes at Reception Facilities for Refugee Education (RFREs).

**Project phases.** The project covered at least three phases. During the first phase, students were informed about what a refugee is, the rights of the refugees, and what the present situation is in Greece is (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2010). A lot of issues were raised regarding the mechanism that generates refugees and the role of Europe regarding it. It is a political issue that is little difficult to negotiate at their age, so students’ research focused on the type of current education provided to refugees in Greece by studying the RFREs. They realized that refugees had access to education but only under certain conditions and special circumstances. This finding was the starting point for the third part of the project that we will analyze later.

During the second phase of the project, anti-racism activities were organized in which students from all over the school participated. The activities aimed at raising awareness among students and actively engaging them with issues of solidarity. Thus, a solidarity activity was designed in the context of which we made calendars for the New Year for anyone who offered clothing to the refugees of the Samos Camp. This activity proved to be very successful. Most students actively participated, not only by bringing clothing for the refugees in need, but also by dealing with the matter more broadly. They were interested in becoming informed about the living conditions, the ages of people living in the camp, the prospects for improving the living conditions of refugees, and the asylum legislation in particular. Students also organized a three-hour school activity on the 21<sup>st</sup> of March, which is the International Day Against Racism and Fascism. The activity called “We are all refugees” aimed at highlighting the difficulties refugees have to face.

The third phase of the project concerned the cooperation among the refugee students of Eleonas Refugee Camp and the students of the senior high school. As





soon as high school students were informed about the refugees' "special" school, they expressed their dissatisfaction. They believed it was not fair for refugees to be isolated from the local population and attend their school in the evening after the morning school finishes. They decisively called for a meeting with a group of students from Eleonas. After strenuous efforts on behalf of all three parties, the students themselves, the headmaster – focusing mainly on tackling bureaucracy – and the two groups of students managed to meet. The cooperation of the two student groups (15 from the high school and 15 from Eleonas) aimed at acquainting the students and having them share a common experience.

A six-hour educational program was designed and materialized, consisting of activities related to Arabic science and technology, which functioned as meeting points of different civilizations throughout human history. The project was carried out via three different visits by the refugee students to the morning senior high school. They had the opportunity to attend a "regular" school, interact with peers under genuine circumstances, participate, and carry out simple experiments and educational activities. Moreover, the students of the morning school had the opportunity to get acquainted and discuss with refugee students of their age, and work together in a series of educational activities, such as the following: "Match the Numbers" (Arabic and English ones); "What is Science?" where students ask questions and suggest experiments that facilitate the answers; "Camera Obscura," studying and then constructing a camera; and "Newton's Color Disc and Rainbow."

**Educational material.** During the first phase of the project, students studied the 1951 Refugee Convention (UNHCR, 2017) concerning refugees' rights. They also studied and discussed today's situation in Greece through a site called "Refugee and Migration Coordination," which is a coordination of unions and organizations in which activists participate. Students were informed in a more authentic way about the real conditions under which refugees live and their problems with seeking asylum, while they received everyday feedback about the conditions in the camps.

During the second phase of the project, in order to make the calendars, students drew issues related to the theme of "Monologues across the Aegean Sea." It comprised a collection of 28 testimonies of unaccompanied refugee children from Syria, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran, Morocco, and Egypt. These children were forced to leave their homeland and arrive alone in Greece by crossing the Aegean Sea. Their stories were recorded in the book, *Monologues Across the Aegean Sea: The Journey and Dreams of Unaccompanied Refugee Children*, published in Greek and English by the Hellenic Theatre/Drama and Education Network, the UNHCR, and the UN Refugee Agency.

During the third phase, students studied the context in which Arabic science and technology developed using the book entitled *History of Sciences and Technology*, which is published by the Greek Ministry of Education and is addressed to high school students. They also studied the educational material of 1001 Inventions, an award-winning international science and cultural heritage organization. The London



Science Museum hosted the exhibition in 2010 under the title, “1001 Inventions: Discover the Muslim Heritage of Our World.” Students studied and drew ideas and activities from the corresponding teachers’ book, *1001 Inventions*, which they implemented along with the refugee group.

### Conclusion

The results of this study are reflected in at least three interrelated levels. The first is the level of the students of the morning high school, who were involved in organizing the project. The second is the level of the school unit and the local community, and the third is the level concerning refugee students. The school and the local community realized that the refugees of Eleonas – in whose faces we see every refugee – are teenagers like our “own” students, with the same needs and expectations, who can co-exist in the morning schools. Through sustained solidarity actions that resulted in refugee visits to the school, the majority of students and teachers, as well as the local community, moved from theory to action. It was an unprecedented experience for all those who directly or indirectly were involved in the project, which stimulated the anti-racist spirit of both the school and the neighborhood.

As far as students are concerned, both groups – those of the general high school and the Eleonas Camp – gained unique experiences of co-existence and cooperation. Despite the difficulties both groups faced because of language and cultural differences, it seems that their willingness to help their peers and gain “normal life” experiences made them work together harmoniously. Both groups of students expressed their interest in further cooperation.

Regarding the educational program, the present study brings to light what is already mentioned as “significant cross-cultural differences in the way people conceptualize and interact with the natural world” (Hodson, 1999, p. 780). There is a profound incompatibility between the Western science worldview and Asian refugees’ worldview. Needless to say, these problems are not confined to multicultural teaching environments; they are also met in every single social group and subgroup (e.g., between Christians and atheists, Orthodox and Catholics, and so on.). Some of the refugee students seemed to feel uncomfortable when discussing the causes of phenomena and scientific notions, such as what light is.

There is evidence that history and philosophy of science can provide students from different cultures with an appropriate framework for communication. The history of sciences highlights the universal character of science: the fact that science is an integral part of the cultural heritage that belongs to all people, regardless of nationality, seeking to bridge the present gaps. Despite the promising prospects of the educational program, it should be noted that much more time is needed in order to deeply engage in scientific issues and promote a more rational way of thinking, free from metaphysical views, which are mainly related to students’ cultures. We



could say that our educational program moderately offered us some ideas for future attempts.

In short, learning is a complex, uncertain, and socio-culturally-based activity. Talking about anti-racist science education means to open the dialogue regarding alternative methods in order for scientific ideas to become more persuasive. In the present study, an effort was made toward the active incorporation of science and the history of sciences at the service of an anti-racist education in “real place and time.” As every attempt of its kind, ours likewise provokes an intense concern about the educational needs of refugee students as well as thoughts and perspectives concerning anti-racist education in general. The study aimed to expand the dialogue on exactly that basis.

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# VII ICSE

7<sup>ο</sup> Διεθνές Συνέδριο  
Κριτικής Εκπαίδευσης

## Κριτικοί Αναστοχασμοί για τον Νεοφιλελευθερισμό στην Εκπαίδευση

Πρακτικά Συνεδρίου  
Τόμος II – Ελληνικές εργασίες

ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑ:

Γούναρη Παναγιώτα  
Λιάμπας Αναστάσιος  
Ντρενογιάννη Ελένη  
Παυλίδης Περικλής





## VII ICCE

### 7<sup>ο</sup> ΔΙΕΘΝΕΣ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟ ΚΡΙΤΙΚΗΣ ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΣΗΣ (VII ICCE)

«Κριτικοί Αναστοχασμοί για τον Νεοφιλελευθερισμό στην Εκπαίδευση» - “Rethinking Alternatives to Neoliberalism in Education”

#### Πρακτικά Συνέδριου

Επιμέλεια έκδοσης: Γούναρη Παναγιώτα, Λιάμπας Αναστάσιος, Ντρενογιάννη Ελένη, Παυλίδης Περικλής  
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## VII ICCE

### 7ο ΔΙΕΘΝΕΣ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟ ΚΡΙΤΙΚΗΣ ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΣΗΣ (VII ICCE)

#### «Κριτικοί Αναστοχασμοί για τον Νεοφιλελευθερισμό στην Εκπαίδευση»



#### Εισαγωγή

Ζούμε σε εποχές κρίσης, μιας κρίσης οικονομικής μέσα στην οποία η εκπαίδευση βρίσκεται υπό την πολιορκία του νεοφιλελευθερισμού και του νεοσυντηρητισμού, καθώς και ενός επιθετικού εθνικισμού. Με τους εκπαιδευτικούς και τους ακαδημαϊκούς δασκάλους να προλεταριοποιούνται και τους νέους να ενοχοποιούνται. Τις κοινωνίες να απογυμνώνονται από την πρόνοια, τα κοινωνικά αγαθά και δικαιώματα. Τα σχολεία και τα πανεπιστήμια να μετατρέπονται σε εμπορεύματα. Σ' αυτή την εποχή η Κριτική εκπαίδευση ως θεωρία και ως κίνημα, δηλαδή ως *πράξη*, δεν είναι μόνο επίκαιρη, είναι *εν τοις πράγμασι* μια αναγκαιότητα. Διεθνείς ενώσεις κριτικών εκπαιδευτικών και ακτιβιστών εργάζονται μαζί, παράλληλα με άλλα κινήματα, για να οικοδομήσουν σθεναρή αντίσταση σ' εκείνες τις διαδικασίες που παρεμποδίζουν εκπαιδευτικές και κοινωνικές αλλαγές προς μια περισσότερο δίκαιη και ισότιμη κοινωνία.

Οι Κριτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί στα σχολεία στο πλαίσιο μιας αντι-ηγεμονικής Παιδαγωγικής, ως οργανικοί διανοούμενοι των καταπιεζόμενων και εκμεταλλευόμενων, εξανθρωπίζουν την παιδαγωγική σχέση και αποκαλύπτουν τον κανονιστικό λόγο του σχολείου που είναι ενσωματωμένος στην κουλτούρα του σχολικού μηχανισμού. Ενός κανονιστικού λόγου, που εμπεριέχεται στη σχολική γνώση, τις παιδαγωγικές πρακτικές, τις συμπεριφορές, τις χειρονομίες, τις σκέψεις, τους ρητούς και άρητους κανόνες, τις συνήθειες, την αυθεντία, τον αρχιτεκτονικό σχεδιασμό των σχολικών εγκαταστάσεων κι ο οποίος καθιερώνει και διαιωνίζει σχέσεις κυριαρχίας και υποταγής, ανταγωνιστικότητας και ατομικισμού, εκπαιδευτικής ανισότητας και αποκλεισμού. Επομένως, οι μαθητές εξελίσσονται σε κριτικούς δρώντες με την υποστήριξη εκπαιδευτικών, κριτικών διανοουμένων που τους βοηθούν να αναπτύξουν ταξική συνείδηση, μέσω της επίγνωσης της ταξικής τους θέσης, των κυρίαρχων σχέσεων και ιδεών. Οι μαθητές, επιπλέον, γνωρίζουν την ποικιλομορφία των αντιπαραθέσεων στην καπιταλιστική κοινωνία και των εκδηλώσεών τους στην καθημερινότητα, καθώς και τις δυνατότητες που οι ίδιοι έχουν να παρεμβαίνουν και να αναλαμβάνουν δράση για το ριζοσπαστικό μετασχηματισμό των κοινωνικών σχέσεων.

Οι Κριτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί στα σχολεία αγωνίζονται για να αντιμετωπίσουν την επιβολή του καπιταλιστικού ελέγχου, των πατερναλιστικών και ιεραρχικών σχέσεων και δεσμεύονται στην ιδεολογική κριτική των πρακτικών που συμβάλλουν στην κοινωνική αναπαραγωγή. Πρωταρχικό τους μέλημα είναι η ολόπλευρη ανάπτυξη του δυναμικού των μαθητών, να προσέχουν τις φωνές όχι μόνο των μαθητών τους, αλλά κι εκείνων των εκπαιδευτικών που υπερασπίζονται τις ανάγκες τους.

Οι Κριτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί σε συνδικάτα εργαζομένων και ενώσεις της εργατικής τάξης παρεμβαίνουν και αναλαμβάνουν δράση. Επηρεάζουν τις ζωές των γονέων, των μαθητών και των κοινοτήτων εστιάζοντας στην εκπαίδευση των καταπιεζόμενων και εκμεταλλευόμενων τάξεων, εντός και εκτός σχολείων και πανεπιστημίων, σε ποικίλους χώρους της κοινωνικής ζωής και δράσης.



Οι Κριτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί ενδυναμώνουν τους δεσμούς τους με κοινότητες και κοινωνικές ομάδες που στερούνται, για να διασφαλίσουν τη δημόσια παροχή κοινωνικών αγαθών και τη δημοκρατική λειτουργία του σχολείου με τη συμμετοχή των δασκάλων, των γονέων και των μαθητών τους.

Η παρούσα συλλογή κειμένων συγκεντρώνει διαφορετικές φωνές εκπαιδευτικών που εργάζονται στο πλαίσιο της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής και επιχειρούν να κάνουν ευρέως αντιληπτές με κριτικό πνεύμα τις διαφορετικές όψεις του σχολείου και της εκπαίδευσης.

**Παναγιώτα Γούναρη**

**Τάσος Λιάμπας**

**Ελένη Ντρενογιάννη**

**Περικλής Παυλίδης**



## Οι αντιλήψεις των δασκάλων για την Επαγγελματική τους Αυτονομία, τον Ρόλο τους και την Ταυτότητα τους

**Δέσποινα Αθανασιάδου**

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### Περίληψη

Η Επαγγελματική Αυτονομία των εκπαιδευτικών αναφέρεται στον βαθμό ελευθερίας που έχει ο εκπαιδευτικός στο εκπαιδευτικό του έργο. Συγκεκριμένα, στο να λαμβάνει αποφάσεις που αφορούν τη σχολική του τάξη και να μπορεί να υλοποιεί αυτές τις αποφάσεις. Από την άλλη, η Παιδαγωγική Δεοντολογία περιλαμβάνει διάφορες αντιλήψεις του εκπαιδευτικού σχετικά με το πώς προσλαμβάνει και πως νοηματοδοτεί τον ρόλο του, τον τρόπο που γίνεται αντιληπτό το επάγγελμα του εκπαιδευτικού, την άποψη του για περιεχόμενο της σχολικής γνώσης, την αντίληψη του για την κοινωνία και τη θέση του σχολείου μέσα σ' αυτήν. Σκοπός της παρούσας εισήγησης είναι η ανάδειξη της Παιδαγωγικής Δεοντολογίας των εκπαιδευτικών και η μετέπειτα σύγκριση αυτής με τις αντιλήψεις που εκφράζει για την Επαγγελματική του Αυτονομία. Στοιχείο κλειδί γι' αυτή τη σύγκριση αποτελούν οι διδακτικές πρακτικές των εκπαιδευτικών. Στα συμπεράσματα της έρευνας συγκαταλέγεται το γεγονός ότι η Παιδαγωγική Δεοντολογία των εκπαιδευτικών επηρεάζει άμεσα την αντιλαμβανόμενη Επαγγελματική Αυτονομία των εκπαιδευτικών και τον προσανατολισμό στη μάθηση τους.

### Λέξεις κλειδιά

Teacher, Professional Autonomy, Teacher Role, Teacher Pedagogical Deontology, Teacher Professionalism

### Εισαγωγή

Σκοπός της παρούσας εισήγησης είναι η προσέγγιση του θέματος της Επαγγελματικής Αυτονομίας των εκπαιδευτικών. Η Επαγγελματική Αυτονομία αναφέρεται στον βαθμό ελευθερίας που έχει ο εκπαιδευτικός μέσα στη σχολική τάξη. Η Επαγγελματική Αυτονομία συνίσταται στο να λαμβάνει ο εκπαιδευτικός αποφάσεις που αφορούν το εκπαιδευτικό του έργο (π.χ. επιλογή περιεχομένων διδασκαλίας, επιλογή στόχων διδασκαλίας, επιλογή μέσων και μορφής διδασκαλίας και επιλογή κριτηρίων αξιολόγησης μαθητών), και να μπορεί να πραγματοποιεί αυτές τις αποφάσεις (Day et al., 1998).

Σύμφωνα με τη διεθνή βιβλιογραφία (Little, 1990) φαίνεται ότι οι εκπαιδευτικοί, ανεξαρτήτως του νομικού πλαισίου κάθε χώρας, αντιλαμβάνονται ένα διαφορετικό βαθμό Επαγγελματικής Αυτονομίας. Μερικοί εκπαιδευτικοί θεωρούν ότι τα πλαίσια αυτονομίας τους είναι περιορισμένα, άλλοι καλλιεργούν την ψευδαίσθηση της πλήρους αυτονομίας τους ενώ υπάρχουν και εκείνοι που είναι ικανοποιημένοι από τα περιθώρια αυτονομίας τους και επιθυμούν τη διατήρησή τους.



Η Επαγγελματική Αυτονομία των εκπαιδευτικών, αναλόγως της οπτικής που υιοθετείται, προσεγγίζεται με διαφορετικό τρόπο:

1. Στις έρευνες με επαγγελματική οπτική: τονίζεται η Επαγγελματική Αυτονομία ως απαραίτητο χαρακτηριστικό των επαγγελματιών εκπαιδευτικών (Fullan & Hargreaves, 1992, Day, 2003).
2. Στις έρευνες με κριτική οπτική: τονίζεται η ανάγκη διεκδίκησης αυτονομίας από τους εκπαιδευτικούς προκειμένου να φτάσουν στο επίπεδο να ελέγχουν οι ίδιοι το εκπαιδευτικό τους έργο (Lortie, 1975, Giroux & McLaren, 1986, Giroux, 1988, Φολερού-Τσερούλη & Φρειδερίκου, 1993).
3. Στις έρευνες με βιογραφική οπτική: περιγράφεται το πώς εκλαμβάνεται από τα υποκείμενα η αυτονομία τους και πως αυτή βιώνεται μέσα στο πλαίσιο εργασίας τους (Ball & Goodson, 1985, Nias, 1989).
4. Στις έρευνες με κονστρουκτιβιστική οπτική: η αυτονομία μεταφράζεται ως αυτενέργεια κατά την άσκηση του καθημερινού εκπαιδευτικού έργου (Ξωχέλλης, 2000, Καλαϊτζοπούλου, 2001, Παπαναούμ, 2003).

Από την άλλη, η θεωρία του ρόλου υποδηλώνει ότι η συμπεριφορά του ατόμου καθοδηγείται τόσο από τις προσωπικές του προσδοκίες όσο και τις προσδοκίες άλλων ομάδων αναφοράς που σχετίζονται με τον συγκεκριμένο κοινωνικό ρόλο (Τσαρδάκης, 2004). Μεταφέροντας τη θεωρία του ρόλου για την ανάλυση της σύλληψης του ρόλου από τον εκπαιδευτικό συμπεραίνεται το εξής. Ο τρόπος με τον οποίο αντιμετωπίζει ένας εκπαιδευτικός τις υποχρεώσεις του ρόλου του συνδέεται άμεσα με τον τρόπο που προσλαμβάνει τον ρόλο του, τον εαυτό του και τη λειτουργία του σχολείου ως κοινωνικού οργανισμού (Ντούσκας, 2005). Ενώ, οι ομάδες αναφοράς, με τις προσδοκίες των οποίων έρχεται σε επαφή ο εκπαιδευτικός, είναι π.χ. ο σύμβουλος, ο διευθυντής, οι γονείς, οι μαθητές αλλά και πιο γενικές προσδοκίες όπως π.χ. από το κράτος και την κοινωνία.

Η θεωρία του Ρόλου, όπως και εκείνη της Επαγγελματικής Αυτονομίας, ακολουθεί διαφορετικές κατευθύνσεις (Παπαοικονόμου, 2011):

1. Τη δομική-φονξιοναλιστική, σύμφωνα με την οποία ο ρόλος ορίζεται ως οι προσδοκίες που συνδέονται με μια συγκεκριμένη κοινωνική θέση (Merton, 1961, Parsons, 1968, Linton, 2007).
2. Την ιντεραξιονιστική προσέγγιση, κατά την οποία δίνεται έμφαση στις ιδέες που προσανατολίζουν τις πράξεις του ατόμου που έχει αναλάβει μια κοινωνική θέση (Mead, 1965, Turner, 1978, Blumer, 1986).
3. Τη δομική εκδοχή του ιντεραξιονισμού, που αποτελεί σύνθεση των δυο παραπάνω, και αφορά τον τρόπο με τον οποίο ένα άτομο συμπεριφέρεται ενώ καλείται να εκπληρώσει συγκεκριμένες προσδοκίες που συνδέονται με τον ρόλο που έχει αναλάβει (Stryker, 1980).

Στην παρούσα εργασία υιοθετείται η κριτική οπτική, ως προς την αντίληψη για την Επαγγελματική Αυτονομία, και η δομική εκδοχή του ιντεραξιονισμού, ως προς τη θεωρία του Ρόλου. Για τη λογική σύνδεση αυτών των δύο διαφορετικών προσεγγίσεων αξίζει να επισημανθεί ότι και οι δυο δίνουν στα υποκείμενα τη



δυνατότητα δράσης μέσα στο υπάρχον σύστημα με δοσμένες κοινωνικά προσδοκίες. Με άλλα λόγια, και οι δυο ερευνητικοί κλάδοι λαμβάνουν υπόψη τόσο το άτομο όσο και την κοινωνία.

Στην αρχή του κειμένου καταγράφεται ο λόγος για τον οποίο επιλέγεται ως παράγοντας διαφοροποίησης των εκπαιδευτικών η Παιδαγωγική Δεοντολογία τους. Έπειτα, αιτιολογείται η κατηγοριοποίηση των εκπαιδευτικών σύμφωνα με μια τυπολογία και παρατίθενται οι αντιλήψεις των εκπαιδευτικών για την αιτιολόγηση της επιλογής της συγκεκριμένης τυπολογίας. Ακολούθως, παρουσιάζεται ο προσανατολισμός της μάθησης των εκπαιδευτικών αντίστοιχα με την Παιδαγωγική Δεοντολογία που εκφράζουν. Με την ολοκλήρωση της περιγραφής της Παιδαγωγικής δεοντολογίας των εκπαιδευτικών επιχειρείται η σύνδεση της Παιδαγωγικής Δεοντολογίας των εκπαιδευτικών με το θέμα της Επαγγελματικής Αυτονομίας. Για τον λόγο αυτό, αρχικά σκιαγραφείται το πλαίσιο αυτονομίας, έτσι όπως ορίζεται από εκπαιδευτικούς με διαφορετικά εκφρασμένη Παιδαγωγική Δεοντολογία, και έπειτα συγκρίνονται οι διδακτικές πρακτικές που συνδέονται με την Επαγγελματική Αυτονομία (επιλογή περιεχομένων, επιλογή στόχων, επιλογή μέσων και μορφής διδασκαλίας και επιλογή κριτηρίων αξιολόγησης των μαθητών). Αφού ολοκληρωθεί η σύγκριση, καταγράφονται τα συμπεράσματα της έρευνας αναφορικά με τη σύνδεση της Παιδαγωγικής Δεοντολογίας του εκπαιδευτικού με την αντιλαμβανόμενη Επαγγελματική Αυτονομία του.

***Ποιος είναι ο παράγοντας που ωθεί κάποιους στη συντήρηση και κάποιους στη διεκδίκηση της αυτονομίας τους;***

Μέσα στα περιορισμένα πλαίσια του ελληνικού εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος αξίζει να διερευνήσουμε εάν «*συνειδητοποιούνται πλαίσια σχετικής αυτονομίας από τους εκπαιδευτικούς και με τι προσανατολισμό αξιοποιούνται*». Στο ερώτημα αυτό εστιάζει η παρούσα εργασία, η οποία αποτελεί μέρος της διπλωματικής μου διατριβής με ομώνυμο, της παρούσας εισήγησης, τίτλο: «*Οι αντιλήψεις των δασκάλων για την Επαγγελματική τους Αυτονομία, τον Ρόλο τους και την Ταυτότητα τους*». Σκοπός της παρούσας εισήγησης είναι η ανάδειξη της Παιδαγωγικής δεοντολογίας των εκπαιδευτικών και η μετέπειτα σύγκριση αυτής με τις αντιλήψεις που εκφράζουν για την Επαγγελματική τους Αυτονομία.

Για την εκπλήρωση των σκοπών της έρευνας επιλέγεται η ποιοτική διερεύνηση καθώς εξυπηρετεί τη διεισδυτική περιγραφή του θέματος. Τα δεδομένα συλλέχθηκαν μέσα από 16 ημι-δομημένες συνεντεύξεις σε εκπαιδευτικούς δύο δημοτικών σχολείων. Η επιλογή των δύο συγκεκριμένων σχολείων έγινε με βάση την ακτινοβολία τους στην τοπική τους κοινότητα. Ως υπόθεση της εργασίας θεωρείται ότι η Παιδαγωγική δεοντολογία του εκπαιδευτικού επηρεάζει την αντίληψη για την Επαγγελματική Αυτονομία.

Από προηγούμενες έρευνες, που προσπαθούν να «μετρήσουν» τον βαθμό Επαγγελματικής Αυτονομίας που αντιλαμβάνονται οι εκπαιδευτικοί (Pearson & Hall, 1993, Pearson & Moomaw, 2005, Pearson & Moomaw, 2006), έχει διαπιστωθεί ότι



οι παράγοντες: φύλου, ηλικίας και χρόνων προϋπηρεσίας δεν συνδέονται με την αντιλαμβανόμενη Επαγγελματική Αυτονομία των εκπαιδευτικών.

Με την παρούσα εργασία, αξιοποιώντας τα ερευνητικά πορίσματα των παραπάνω ερευνών, αλλά προτάσσοντας μια εξ ολοκλήρου ποιοτική διερεύνηση του θέματος, υποστηρίζεται ότι ο παράγοντας που φαίνεται να οδηγεί τους εκπαιδευτικούς να αντιλαμβάνονται διαφορετικό βαθμό Επαγγελματικής Αυτονομίας είναι η Παιδαγωγική Δεοντολογία τους.

Η Παιδαγωγική Δεοντολογία διαμορφώνεται μέσα από προσωπικές εμπειρίες, βιώματα και γνωστικά, ιδεολογικά, πολιτιστικά πρότυπα που διαμόρφωσε ο εκπαιδευτικός ήδη από τις σπουδές του (Φολερού-Τσερούλη & Φρειδερίκου, 1993). Κατά τους Sharp και Green (1983) αφορά ένα σύνολο απόψεων για τον άνθρωπο, τη γνώση, για τα κίνητρα μάθησης του μαθητή, για τη σχέση σχολείου-κοινωνίας, τα καθήκοντα του δασκάλου, τον προσανατολισμό της μάθησης του, τις ειδικές δεξιότητες και τεχνικές που απαιτεί ο ρόλος, και τέλος τα κριτήρια αυτό-αξιολόγησης της ικανότητας του και της εκπαιδευτικής του κατάρτισης (όπως αναφέρεται στο Φολερού-Τσερούλη & Φρειδερίκου, 1993).

Με βάση τα δεδομένα της έρευνας, οι απαντήσεις των εκπαιδευτικών για τα παραπάνω θέματα αξιοποιούνται ως βασικό στοιχείο διάκρισης τους. Οι κατηγορίες θεμάτων ανακατασκευάστηκαν προκειμένου να ανταποκρίνονται πιστά στα δεδομένα. Τα θέματα που απαντώνται είναι κατά σειρά: η προσωπική σύλληψη του ρόλου από τον εκπαιδευτικό, η έμφαση που δίνεται από τον εκπαιδευτικό είτε στην Εκπαιδευτική ταυτότητα είτε στον Εκπαιδευτικό ρόλο είτε στην Ταυτότητα ρόλου, η προτεραιότητα στην εκπλήρωση των προσδοκιών των ομάδων αναφοράς (κράτος, κοινωνία, διευθυντής, συνάδελφοι, γονείς, μαθητές), ο τρόπος που γίνεται αντιληπτό το επάγγελμα του εκπαιδευτικού, η άποψη για το περιεχόμενο της σχολικής γνώσης, η αντίληψη για την κοινωνία και τη θέση της εκπαίδευσης μέσα σ' αυτήν, και τέλος ο προσανατολισμός που δίνει στη μάθηση του.

Πιο αναλυτικά, η προσωπική σύλληψη του ρόλου αναφέρεται στο πως ο ίδιος συλλαμβάνει τον ρόλο που ανέλαβε από την κοινωνία.

Η έμφαση στην Εκπαιδευτική ταυτότητα, τον Εκπαιδευτικό ρόλο ή την Ταυτότητα ρόλου αναφέρεται στον τρόπο που νοηματοδοτεί ο εκπαιδευτικός τον ρόλο του. Δηλαδή, οι εκπαιδευτικοί που δίνουν έμφαση στην Εκπαιδευτική ταυτότητα σχηματίζουν μια εμπειρική αντίληψη για τον ρόλο τους σύμφωνα με την οποία κινούνται στην εκπαιδευτική πράξη. Οι εκπαιδευτικοί που δίνουν έμφαση στον Εκπαιδευτικό ρόλο ενδιαφέρονται περισσότερο για την εκπλήρωση των προσδοκιών που συνδέονται με τον ρόλο τους. Ενώ, οι εκπαιδευτικοί που δίνουν έμφαση στην Ταυτότητα ρόλου τους εξατομικεύουν την αντίληψη για τον ρόλο τους σύμφωνα με τις δικές του προσδοκίες.

Η προτεραιότητα προσδοκιών ομάδων αναφοράς συνδέεται άμεσα με τον τρόπο που συλλαμβάνει ο εκπαιδευτικός τον ρόλο του και την έμφαση που δίνει είτε στην Εκπαιδευτική ταυτότητα είτε στον Εκπαιδευτικό ρόλο ή στην Ταυτότητα ρόλου. Αναφέρεται στη σειρά με την οποία εκπληρώνει ο εκπαιδευτικός τις προσδοκίες



άλλων για τον ρόλο του (κράτος, κοινωνία, διευθυντής, συνάδελφοι, γονείς, μαθητές).

Ο τρόπος που αντιλαμβάνεται ένας εκπαιδευτικός το επάγγελμα του διαχωρίζεται στις εξής κατηγορίες: αποστολή, λειτουργήμα και επάγγελμα. Όπως ανακύπτει από τα δεδομένα, η αποστολή βασίζεται στη έννοια του Φρέιρε για το επάγγελμα του εκπαιδευτικού ως αποστολή για την αλλαγή της κοινωνίας (Freire, 1974). Η έννοια του λειτουργήματος παραπέμπει, σύμφωνα με την κοινωνιολογική προσέγγιση των επαγγελματιών, στη δομολειτουργιστική οπτική κατά την οποία ο επαγγελματίας έχει φτάσει σε σημαντικά επίπεδα αυτονομίας ώστε να ελέγχει τις παραμέτρους που αφορούν το έργο του (Parsons, 1954). Ενώ, η έννοια του επαγγέλματος τονίζει τη συνύπαρξη επιστημονικής και υπαλληλικής σχέσης στο επάγγελμα του εκπαιδευτικού.

Η άποψη για το περιεχόμενο της σχολικής γνώσης σχετίζεται με το αν οι εκπαιδευτικοί θεωρούν κατάλληλες (ή μη) τις γνώσεις που προωθεί το εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα.

Η αντίληψη για την κοινωνία και τη θέση του σχολείου μέσα σ' αυτήν διαχωρίζεται σε δυο κατευθύνσεις. Υπάρχουν οι εκπαιδευτικοί που υιοθετούν μια μικρο-κοινωνιολογική οπτική και βλέπουν το σχολείο ως αποκομμένο θεσμό ή ως μέρος της ευρύτερης τοπικής κοινότητας στην οποία υπάγεται. Ενώ, από την άλλη, υπάρχουν εκπαιδευτικοί που υιοθετούν μια μακρο-κοινωνιολογική οπτική και βλέπουν το σχολείο ως θεσμό που συνδέεται άμεσα με το κράτος.

Τέλος, ο προσανατολισμός στη μάθηση δείχνει το προς τα πού κινείται ο εκπαιδευτικός ανάλογα των διδακτικών πρακτικών του. Σύμφωνα με τα δεδομένα της έρευνας αναδεικνύονται οι εξής προσανατολισμοί: Κριτικός, Κοινωνικός-Ανθρωπιστικός, Μαθητοκεντρικός, Στοχοκεντρικός, Επιστημονικός.

Σε μια βαθύτερη ανάγνωση των δεδομένων, φαίνεται πως από το σύνολο των χαρακτηριστικών που αντλήθηκαν από την έρευνα, το βασικότερο είναι: η προσωπική σύλληψη του ρόλου από τον εκπαιδευτικό. Σύμφωνα με αυτό το πλαίσιο, αναζητήθηκε ένα θεωρητικό εργαλείο που λαμβάνει υπόψη αυτόν τον παράγοντα ως βασικό στοιχείο διάκρισης της Παιδαγωγικής δεοντολογίας των εκπαιδευτικών.

Για την κατηγοριοποίηση των εκπαιδευτικών, ανάλογα της Παιδαγωγικής Δεοντολογίας τους, αξιοποιείται η τυπολογία των Aronowitz και Giroux (2003), οι οποίοι στηρίχτηκαν στην αντίληψη του Gramsci (1949) και στη θέαση των εκπαιδευτικών ως διανοούμενων. Σύμφωνα με αυτή τη τυπολογία υπάρχουν: α) οι αναμορφωτές εκπαιδευτικοί, β) οι κριτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί, γ) οι βολεμένοι εκπαιδευτικοί<sup>1</sup> (Γούναρη & Γρόλλιος, 2010).

<sup>1</sup>Προς αποφυγή παρανοήσεων σχετικά με την ορολογία, επισημαίνεται ότι η συγκεκριμένη ονομασία αποτελεί μετάφραση της τυπολογίας των Aronowitz και Giroux από τον Κώστα Θεριανό στο βιβλίο Κριτική Παιδαγωγική: μια συλλογή κειμένων των Γούναρη, Γρόλλιος (2010). Στο βιβλίο του Aronowitz και Giroux (2003), η τυπολογία αναφέρεται ως εξής: a) Transformative intellectuals, b) Critical intellectuals, c) Accommodating intellectuals.





Οι Αναμορφωτές εκπαιδευτικοί χρησιμοποιούν τη γλώσσα της κριτικής και της αυτοκριτικής ούτως ώστε μέσα από τη διδασκαλία τους να φανερώσουν τα θεμέλια της κριτικής παιδαγωγικής στους μαθητές και την ευρύτερη κοινωνία. Στόχος τους είναι «να κάνουν το παιδαγωγικό πιο πολιτικό και το πολιτικό πιο παιδαγωγικό» (Γούναρη & Γρόλλιος, 2010: 179). Αυτό σημαίνει «εισαγωγή της εκπαίδευσης στην πολιτική σφαίρα» γιατί οι σχέσεις εξουσίας διαπερνούν το σχολείο (Γούναρη & Γρόλλιος, 2010: 179). Στις παιδαγωγικές πρακτικές δίνουν έμφαση στον κριτικό αναστοχασμό και τη δράση που αποσκοπεί στην ανάπτυξη της κριτικής ικανότητας των μαθητών τους προκειμένου να κατανοήσουν τις κοινωνικές συνθήκες και τελικά να τις αλλάξουν. Χρησιμοποιούν μορφές παιδαγωγικής «που μεταχειρίζονται τους μαθητές ως κριτικούς φορείς δράσης, προσεγγίζουν τη γνώση ως πρόβλημα, χρησιμοποιούν το διάλογο και νοηματοδοτούν τη γνώση, την κάνουν κριτική και τελικά χειραφετική» (Γούναρη & Γρόλλιος, 2010: 180).

Οι Κριτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί, «τοποθετούνται με ιδεολογικά εναλλακτικό τρόπο στους υπάρχοντες θεσμούς και τύπους σκέψης, αλλά δεν βλέπουν τους εαυτούς τους συνδεδεμένους με έναν συγκεκριμένο κοινωνικό σχηματισμό ή ως εκείνους που επιτελούν γενική κοινωνική λειτουργία η οποία είναι φανερά πολιτικής φύσης» (Γούναρη & Γρόλλιος, 2010: 181). Διαμαρτύρονται για στοιχεία του σχολικού συστήματος (π.χ. ύλη, βιβλία) χωρίς, ωστόσο, να βλέπουν το εποικοδόμημα του σχολικού θεσμού στην ολότητα του. Αντιλαμβάνονται τις σχολικές ανισότητες αλλά δεν τις ανάγουν σε κοινωνικές ανισότητες. Διατηρούν απολιτική στάση γεγονός που φανερώνει ότι προσλαμβάνουν τον ρόλο του εκπαιδευτικού ως διανοούμενου. Δηλώνουν κατά της πολιτικής δράσης των εκπαιδευτικών καθότι θεωρούν ξεπερασμένους και ανήμπορους τους συνδικαλιστικούς συλλόγους. Οι ιδέες και οι πρακτικές τους προσιδιάζουν στις ιδέες του Διαφωτισμού περί αλήθειας, αντικειμενικού λόγου, ισότητας και καθιέρωσης πανανθρώπινων δικαιωμάτων. Γενικώς, «οι κριτικοί διανοούμενοι ξεχνούν ότι η χειραφέτηση δεν μπορεί να έρθει από τα έξω» (Γούναρη & Γρόλλιος, 2010: 183).

Οι πρακτικές και οι απόψεις των Βολεμένων εκπαιδευτικών συμβάλλουν στην αναπαραγωγή της παρούσας εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής. Δεν έχουν επίγνωση των πράξεων τους παρόλο που η παιδαγωγική τους προάγει τα συμφέροντα της κρατικής εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής. Θεωρούν πως δεν υπάρχει σύνδεση μεταξύ πολιτικής και σχολείου καθώς αυτά αποτελούν διαφορετικές σφαίρες. Τονίζουν την έννοια της επαγγελματικής ταυτότητας του εκπαιδευτικού προκειμένου να αποφύγουν την έννοια του πολιτικού εαυτού. Οι πρακτικές τους υπηρετούν πλήρως τις αρχές που ορίζει το πολιτικό σύστημα για την εκπαίδευση και οδηγούν στην αναπαραγωγή του (Γούναρη & Γρόλλιος 2010: 183).

Από τα δεδομένα, όμως, αναδεικνύεται η ανάγκη ενίσχυσης αυτής της τυπολογίας με τη συμπερίληψη τριών επιπλέον υποκατηγοριών στην κατηγορία των Βολεμένων εκπαιδευτικών. Η τυπολογία που ανταποκρίνεται εναργέστερα στα δεδομένα των εκπαιδευτικών είναι εκείνη των Ματσαγγούρα και Χέλμη (2002) και συγκεκριμένα επιλέγονται οι εξής κατηγορίες εκπαιδευτικών: Παιδότροποι, Δημόσιοι υπάλληλοι



και Αποτελεσματικός δάσκαλος. Ο πρώτος αποβλέπει στη γνωστική, συναισθηματική και ψυχοκινητική ανάπτυξη του παιδιού, στην ανάπτυξη της αυτο-εκτίμησής του και της ικανότητάς του για αυτο-ρύθμιση. Ο δεύτερος αντιλαμβάνεται το ρόλο του ως υλοποιητή του επίσημου αναλυτικού προγράμματος. Ο τρίτος χρησιμοποιεί τη διδακτική τεχνογνωσία και τεχνολογία για τη μεγιστοποίηση της διδακτικής αποτελεσματικότητας (Ματσαγγούρας & Χέλμης, 2002).

**Πως η Παιδαγωγική Δεοντολογία του εκπαιδευτικού επηρεάζει τον προσανατολισμό του στη μάθηση;**

Αναφορικά με την Παιδαγωγική Δεοντολογία που έχει διαμορφώσει ο εκπαιδευτικός (προσωπική σύλληψη ρόλου, έμφαση σε ρόλο/ταυτότητα, προτεραιότητα προσδοκιών, αντίληψη για επάγγελμα, άποψη για περιεχόμενο σχολικής γνώσης, αντίληψη για σχέση σχολείου-κοινωνίας) και τον προσανατολισμό του στη μάθηση, συμπεραίνονται τα εξής:

Παιδαγωγική Δεοντολογία	Ρόλος/Ταυτότητα	Προσανατολισμός μάθησης	Στόχος εκπ. πράξης
Αναμορφωτές εκπαιδευτικοί	Ταυτότητα ρόλου	Κριτικός	Ανάδειξη αντιφάσεων
Κριτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί	Εκπαιδευτική ταυτότητα	Κοινωνικός-Ανθρωπιστικός	Μετάδοση πανανθρώπινων αξιών
Βολεμένοι εκπαιδευτικοί			
Παιδότροποι	1. Εκπαιδευτική ταυτότητα	1. Μαθητοκεντρικός	1. Ψυχολογική ωρίμανση μαθητή
Δημόσιοι Υπάλληλοι	2. Εκπαιδευτικός ρόλος	2. Στοχοκεντρικός	2. Υλοποίηση Α.Π.
Αποτελεσματικός	3. Εκπαιδευτική ταυτότητα	3. Επιστημονικός	3. Επιστημονική προσέγγιση γνώσης

Πίνακας 1: Παιδαγωγική Δεοντολογία Εκπαιδευτικών

**1. Προσωπική σύλληψη ρόλου**

Οι εκπαιδευτικοί που εντάσσονται στην κατηγορία των Αναμορφωτών εκπαιδευτικών προσλαμβάνουν τον ρόλο του εκπαιδευτικού είτε ως μετασχηματιστή των υπάρχουσών κοινωνικών συνθηκών και διαμεσολαβητή της γνώσης, είτε ως καθοδηγητή που αναλαμβάνει να οργανώσει, με κατάλληλο τρόπο, την πορεία προς τη γνώση.

Από την άλλη, οι Κριτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί προσλαμβάνουν τον ρόλο τους ως «Πολίτη του κόσμου», ως διανοητή, που στόχο έχει να φέρει τους μαθητές σε επαφή με πανανθρώπινες αξίες π.χ. αγάπη, ειρήνη, σεβασμός του διαφορετικού.



Οι Παιδότροποι προσλαμβάνουν τον ρόλο του εκπαιδευτικού ως εμπυχωτή. Στόχος τους είναι περισσότερο η συναισθηματική και ψυχοκινητική ανάπτυξη του παιδιού, η ανάπτυξη της αυτο-εκτίμησής του και της ικανότητάς του για αυτο-ρύθμιση (Ματσαγγούρας & Χέλμης, 2002 ) παρά η γνωστική ετοιμότητα των μαθητών.

Αντίθετα, οι εκπαιδευτικοί που εντάσσονται στην κατηγορία των Δημόσιων Υπαλλήλων προσλαμβάνουν τον ρόλο του εκπαιδευτικού ως αυθεντία και ηθικό πρότυπο και πρωτεργάτη της κοινωνίας.

Τέλος, ο εκπαιδευτικός που εντάσσεται στην κατηγορία του Αποτελεσματικού δασκάλου προσλαμβάνει τον ρόλο του ως επαγγελματία-επιστήμονα εκπαιδευτικού με την έννοια ότι κατέχει την επαγγελματική κατάρτιση και τα εφόδια για να εργάζεται αποτελεσματικά στην εκπαιδευτική πράξη πετυχαίνοντας τους στόχους διδασκαλίας.

### 2. Έμφαση σε εκπαιδευτική ταυτότητα, εκπαιδευτικό ρόλο ή ταυτότητα ρόλου

Οι Αναμορφωτές εκπαιδευτικοί δίνουν έμφαση στην Ταυτότητα ρόλου τους γιατί προσδίδουν ένα εξατομικευμένο νόημα στην Παιδαγωγική δεοντολογία τους και δεσμεύονται σε σκοπούς που προεκτείνονται έξω από τα πλαίσια του σχολείου οδηγώντας τους σε αυτό-προσδιοριζόμενη δράση και συμπεριφορά.

Από την άλλη, οι Κριτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί δίνουν έμφαση στην Εκπαιδευτική τους ταυτότητα γιατί θεωρούν ότι η Ταυτότητα του δασκάλου ακολουθεί τον εκπαιδευτικό εντός και εκτός σχολικού πλαισίου.

Εξίσου, οι Παιδότροποι εκπαιδευτικοί δίνουν έμφαση στην Εκπαιδευτική τους Ταυτότητα έναντι του Εκπαιδευτικού Ρόλου τους, γιατί μεταφέρουν πολλά ατομικά χαρακτηριστικά της προσωπικότητας τους στη διδασκαλία.

Οι Δημόσιοι υπάλληλοι δίνουν έμφαση στον Εκπαιδευτικό Ρόλο έναντι της Εκπαιδευτικής τους ταυτότητας γιατί θεωρούν ότι ανέλαβαν να εκπληρώσουν ένα ρόλο από την Πολιτεία που συνοδεύεται από συγκεκριμένα καθήκοντα.

Ο Αποτελεσματικός δάσκαλος κινείται προς την Εκπαιδευτική Ταυτότητα καθότι θεωρεί πως το πολιτισμικό του υπόβαθρο, δηλαδή το που έχει ζήσει και το τι αντιλήψεις έχει σχηματίσει, επηρεάζουν καθοριστικά τον τρόπο που προσεγγίζει την εκπαιδευτική πράξη.

### 3. Προτεραιότητα προσδοκιών ομάδων αναφοράς

Οι Αναμορφωτές, θέτουν σε προτεραιότητα τις δικές τους προσδοκίες για την κοινωνία αντισταθμίζοντας τις προσδοκίες που τους απευθύνουν άλλοι (κράτος, κοινωνία, διευθυντής, συνάδελφοι, γονείς, μαθητές) με επιστημονικό-παιδαγωγικά επιχειρήματα, ακόμη κι αν χρειαστεί να συγκρουστούν μαζί τους.

Οι Κριτικοί, θέτουν σε προτεραιότητα τις προσωπικές τους προσδοκίες, με στόχο την κοινωνική ευαισθητοποίηση των μαθητών σε ανθρωπιστικά ζητήματα. Αν και προσπαθούν, με παιδαγωγικά και επιστημονικά επιχειρήματα, να αντισταθμίσουν τις διαφοροποιημένες προσδοκίες των ομάδων αναφοράς (κράτος, κοινωνία, διευθυντής, συνάδελφοι, γονείς, μαθητές) (Φρυδάκη, 2015: 39-41) τελικά



καταλήγουν να θέτουν σε προτεραιότητα τόσο τις κρατικές όσο και εκείνες των γονέων.

Οι Παιδότροποι εκπαιδευτικοί θέτουν σε προτεραιότητα τις προσδοκίες των μαθητών τους χωρίς ωστόσο να φτάνουν ποτέ στο σημείο της σύγκρουσης με τις ομάδες αναφοράς (κράτος, κοινωνία, διευθυντής, συνάδελφοι, γονείς, μαθητές).

Οι Δημόσιοι υπάλληλοι συμμορφώνονται στους κανόνες και τις προσδοκίες που τους απευθύνει το κράτος και οι υπόλοιπες ομάδες αναφοράς (κοινωνία, διευθυντής, συνάδελφοι, γονείς, μαθητές).

Ο Αποτελεσματικός εκπαιδευτικός, παρά τους ισχυρισμούς του περί έμφασης στην Εκπαιδευτική Ταυτότητα, θέτει σε προτεραιότητα τις προσδοκίες που του απευθύνουν άλλοι (κράτος, κοινωνία, διευθυντής, γονείς, μαθητές) καθώς θεωρεί υποχρέωση να εκπληρώνει τα καθήκοντα που συνδέονται με τον ρόλο του.

#### 4. Αντίληψη για επάγγελμα

Οι Αναμορφωτές αντιλαμβάνονται το επάγγελμα τους είτε ως αποστολή για την αλλαγή της κοινωνίας είτε ως λειτούργημα, με την έννοια της αγάπης για το επάγγελμα και τους μαθητές, της αφιέρωσης χρόνου για τις σχέσεις μεταξύ δασκάλου και μαθητή, της καλλιέργειας στάσεων και συμπεριφοράς στους μαθητές που αφορά τόσο τη σχολική όσο και την εξωσχολική ζωή. Τα χαρακτηριστικά προσιδιάζουν στα προσόντα του προοδευτικού δασκάλου: αγάπη, θάρρος, αποφασιστικότητα (Freire, 2009).

Οι Κριτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί αντιλαμβάνονται το επάγγελμα τους ως λειτούργημα με την έννοια ότι δεν μπορεί ένας εκπαιδευτικός να δίνει απλώς έμφαση στην επαγγελματική του ιδιότητα γιατί ο εκπαιδευτικός δεν είναι στυγνός επαγγελματίας αλλά λειτουργός. Θεωρούν ότι ο δάσκαλος, ως πολίτης του κόσμου, μεταφέρει τις ιδέες του στους μαθητές του, φανερώνει τη φιλοσοφική του στάση (ενδιαφέροντα και απόψεις για τον κόσμο π.χ. για περιβάλλον, για εκπαιδευτικούς, για το σχολείο). Απαξιώνουν την έννοια της αυθεντίας των εκπαιδευτικών επισημαίνοντας ότι στη σημερινή κοινωνία ο δάσκαλος δεν είναι ο μοναδικός φορέας γνώσεων αλλά πιστεύουν ότι αναγκαστικά ο δάσκαλος λειτουργεί ως πρότυπο στους μαθητές του. Με παρόμοιο τρόπο αντιλαμβάνονται το επάγγελμα τους και οι Παιδότροποι εκπαιδευτικοί. Βλέπουν τον εκπαιδευτικό ως λειτουργό παρά ως επιστήμονα-παιδαγωγό. Θεωρούν απαραίτητη προϋπόθεση για να γίνει κάποιος εκπαιδευτικός το να αγαπά τους μαθητές και το σχολείο. Γι' αυτό αδυνατούν να συγκρίνουν το επάγγελμα του εκπαιδευτικού με άλλα επαγγέλματα.

Οι Δημόσιοι υπάλληλοι, όπως και οι περισσότεροι εκπαιδευτικοί της έρευνας, αντιλαμβάνονται το επάγγελμα ως λειτούργημα. Όμως, σε αντίθεση με τις υπόλοιπες κατηγορίες εκπαιδευτικών, δίνουν έμφαση στην εκπλήρωση των καθηκόντων του ρόλου τους προκειμένου να λειτουργεί εύρυθμα ο σχολικός θεσμός.

Από την άλλη, ο Αποτελεσματικός εκπαιδευτικός δεν συμερίζεται την έννοια του λειτουργήματος και δίνει περισσότερη έμφαση στην επαγγελματική, υπαλληλική



και συμβουλευτική πλευρά του επαγγέλματος. Θεωρεί ότι πρέπει να υπάρχει μια επαγγελματική αντιμετώπιση των πραγμάτων από τους εκπαιδευτικούς και φυσικά να τηρούνται τα καθήκοντα που ορίζει η υπαλληλική τους σχέση με το κράτος.

##### 5. *Άποψη για περιεχόμενο σχολικής γνώσης*

Ως προς το περιεχόμενο της σχολικής γνώσης, οι Αναμορφωτές εκπαιδευτικοί, τονίζουν την προσπάθεια ανάπτυξης της κριτικής και λογικής σκέψης των μαθητών τους και γι' αυτό συμπεραίνεται ότι αντιλαμβάνονται τη γνώση ως εργαλείο για την αλλαγή των κοινωνικών συνθηκών (Freire, 1974). Εξίσου, επισημαίνουν την έλλειψη αυτών των παραμέτρων στο ελληνικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα και ασκούν κριτική στην ύλη και στα σχολικά εγχειρίδια.

Αντίθετα, οι Κριτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί πιστεύουν στην έννοια των διαφορετικών γνωστικών επιπέδων και σταδίων ωρίμανσης των μαθητών. Θεωρούν ότι διαδραματίζει σημαντικό ρόλο, στο πως κινούνται στη διδασκαλία τους, το γνωστικό επίπεδο του μαθητή. Επισημαίνουν πως ο εκπαιδευτικός καλείται να κατεβάσει τη γνώση στο επίπεδο των μαθητών του ενώ πιστεύουν πως η γνώση έχει «γυμνασιοποιηθεί» στο δημοτικό.

Στην ίδια κατεύθυνση, με τους Κριτικούς εκπαιδευτικούς, κινούνται και οι Ισχυρισμοί των Παιδότροπων εκπαιδευτικών αναφορικά με τη γνώση που προωθεί το σχολικό σύστημα. Κρίνουν ως κατάλληλη τη γνώση προωθεί το εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα και τον τρόπο που διαβαθμίζεται ανάλογα με το γνωστικό επίπεδο των μαθητών. Οι πρακτικές τους, όμως, διαφέρουν από εκείνες των Κριτικών εκπαιδευτικών καθώς δίνουν μεγαλύτερη έμφαση στη βιωματική γνώση και στην παροχή κατάλληλης αγωγής στους μαθητές παρά στην κατάκτηση των γνωστικών στόχων.

Οι Δημόσιοι υπάλληλοι, ως προς τη γνώση, διατηρούν μια εξίσου συντηρητική οπτική καθώς θεωρούν πως οι γνώσεις που προάγει το εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα είναι και οι καταλληλότερες για το ηλιακό και νοητικό επίπεδο των μαθητών τους.

Ο Αποτελεσματικός εκπαιδευτικός, ως προς τη γνώση, τονίζει την ανάγκη επιστημονικής προσέγγισης της γνώσης προκειμένου να εξοικειωθούν οι μαθητές με την επιστημονική αναζήτηση και τα επιστημονικά εργαλεία. Δίνει έμφαση στις θετικές επιστήμες (φυσική, μαθηματικά, αστρονομία) χωρίς να πραγματοποιεί οποιαδήποτε αναφορά σε γλωσσικά μαθήματα. Στις περισσότερες ερωτήσεις τονίζει ότι προσπαθεί να βλέπει επιστημονικά τη δουλειά του και να βοηθάει τους μαθητές του να ερμηνεύουν τα φαινόμενα.

##### 6. *Η αντίληψη για την κοινωνία και τη θέση του σχολείου μέσα σ' αυτήν*

Ως προς τη σχέση σχολείου-κοινωνίας, οι Αναμορφωτές εκπαιδευτικοί, υποστηρίζουν τη δημιουργία «ρωγμών», «μικρο-ανατροπών» μέσα στο σχολείο προκειμένου να πάψει να λειτουργεί ως σωφρονιστικός μηχανισμός. Να δεθεί με την κοινωνία, να υπάρχει επαφή του σχολείου με την κοινωνική πραγματικότητα.

Οι Κριτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί τάσσονται με ιδεολογικά εναλλακτικό τρόπο στους υπάρχοντες θεσμούς και τύπους σκέψης, αλλά δεν βλέπουν τους εαυτούς τους





συνδεδεμένους με έναν συγκεκριμένο κοινωνικό σχηματισμό ή ως εκείνους που επιτελούν μια γενική κοινωνική λειτουργία η οποία είναι φανερά πολιτικής φύσης (Γούναρη & Γρόλλιος, 2010). Αντικρούουν οποιαδήποτε προσπάθεια σύνδεσης πολιτικής με τη διδασκαλία.

Οι Παιδότροποι εκπαιδευτικοί διατηρούν, εξίσου όπως οι Κριτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί, μια αδέσμευτη στάση ως προς τη σχέση σχολείου-κοινωνίας καθώς δεν αντιλαμβάνονται πλήρως τους εαυτούς τους «ως φορείς δράσης του κατεστημένου», αν και η πρακτική τους προάγει τα συμφέροντα της κρατικής πολιτικής (Γούναρη & Γρόλλιος, 2010: 183). Αυτό φαίνεται από τις δηλώσεις τους σχετικά με την ελευθερία που συνοδεύει τις αποφάσεις ενός εκπαιδευτικού, τον υπερτονισμό της προσωπικότητας του ως στοιχείο κλειδί για τη διεκδίκηση της αυτονομίας του και την αποφυγή αναφοράς σε περιορισμούς που επιβάλλονται από την κρατική πολιτική ως προς την Επαγγελματική Αυτονομία τους.

Οι Δημόσιοι υπάλληλοι, με βάση όσα προαναφέρονται, θεωρούν το σχολείο «καθρέφτη» της κοινωνίας (Πολυχρονόπουλος, 1992: 158). Γι' αυτούς το σχολείο προετοιμάζει τους μαθητές για όσα θα συναντήσουν ως πολίτες. Θεωρούν την κοινωνία είτε ως σταθερή και αμετάβλητη, είτε επιδεχόμενη αλλαγών προκειμένου να λειτουργεί αποτελεσματικότερα είτε δεν εκφράζουν την προσωπική τους άποψη για σχέση σχολείου-κοινωνίας αλλά θεωρούν τον εαυτό τους ως κοινωνικό πρωτεργάτη.

Ο Αποτελεσματικός εκπαιδευτικός, ως προς τη σχέση σχολείου-κοινωνίας, αντιλαμβάνεται τη σχέση αυτή σε επίπεδο σύνδεσης με την τοπική κοινότητα μέσω επιστημονικών εκδηλώσεων (π.χ. αστροπαρατήρησης) ή άλλων δράσεων και δεν προεκτείνει τη σκέψη του στην κοινωνία. Εγκλωβίζεται στον μικρόκοσμο του σχολείου και της τοπικής κοινότητας καθώς θεωρεί ότι μέσω των δικών τους δράσεων μπορούν να βοηθήσουν στην αντιμετώπιση των κοινωνικών αναγκών ολόκληρης της κοινότητας.

## 7. Προσανατολισμός στη μάθηση

### Οι Αναμορφωτές-Κριτικός προσανατολισμός μάθησης

Οι Αναμορφωτές εκπαιδευτικοί προσανατολίζουν τη μάθηση κριτικά καθώς δίνουν έμφαση: α. στην ανάδειξη των αντιφάσεων της ύλης, β. στη διδασκαλία μέσω ενασχόλησης με κοινωνικά θέματα και στη σύνδεση του γνωστικού αντικειμένου με τις εμπειρίες των μαθητών, και τέλος, γ. στην κριτική της οργάνωσης και διάταξης του Α.Π.:

- Στην ανάδειξη των αντιφάσεων της ύλης

Χαρακτηριστικά αναφέρουν ότι βάζουν καινούργια πράγματα στα περιεχόμενα σε μια κατεύθυνση που μπορεί να οδηγήσει σε αλλαγές στην εκπαίδευση. Γιατί πιστεύουν ότι ο ρόλος του δάσκαλου, εκτός από αναπαραγωγικός του συστήματος, οφείλει να είναι και αποκαλυπτικός. Δηλαδή να αποκαλύψει ορισμένες κοινωνικές σχέσεις. Τους ενδιαφέρει να μπορούν οι μαθητές να σκέφτονται κριτικά, δηλαδή να βλέπουν πίσω από την εικόνα ή από τα λόγια ενός τραγουδιού, να σκέφτονται για





έννοιες όπως ειρήνη ή βία, και να φτάνουν στο σημείο να αναρωτιούνται το «γιατί» και να μπορούν να απαντήσουν.

- Στη διδασκαλία μέσω ενασχόλησης με κοινωνικά θέματα και στη σύνδεση του γνωστικού αντικειμένου με τις εμπειρίες των μαθητών:

Κυρίως μέσα από πρότζεκτ και προγράμματα προσπαθούν να εξοικειώσουν τους μαθητές με τον εντοπισμό κοινωνικών προβλημάτων τα οποία μετέπειτα παρουσιάζουν στο σχολείο και, γενικότερα, στην τοπική κοινότητα. Τα θέματα αυτά φροντίζουν να άπτονται στις εμπειρίες των μαθητών δίνοντας, πάντοτε, μια κοινωνική κατεύθυνση.

- Στην κριτική της οργάνωσης και διάταξης του Α.Π.

Οι Αναμορφωτές εκπαιδευτικοί ασκούν κριτική στο περιεχόμενο της ύλης και στη διάταξη του Α.Π. ενώ υποσκάπτουν τις φαινομενικά προοδευτικές κινήσεις της εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής. Χαρακτηριστικά επισημαίνουν ότι παλαιότερα όσοι εκπαιδευτικοί χρησιμοποιούσαν τη μέθοδο πρότζεκτ βρίσκονταν εκτός της κυρίαρχης λογικής που βασιζόταν στη μετωπική μορφή διδασκαλίας. Μετέπειτα το σύστημα πήρε αυτή τη μέθοδο και την τοποθέτησε στις ενδεικτικές μεθόδους διδασκαλίας χωρίς, ωστόσο, να την κάνει κυρίαρχη μέθοδο. Με αυτόν τον τρόπο προσπάθησε να ελέγξει το έργο των εκπαιδευτικών ενώ παράλληλα έδωσε την εντύπωση ότι ακολουθεί προοδευτικές μεθόδους.

Στόχος της εκπαιδευτικής τους πράξης των Αναμορφωτών εκπαιδευτικών είναι η ανάπτυξη της κριτικής ικανότητας των μαθητών και η κοινωνικό-πολιτική προέκταση της μάθησης. Μακροπρόθεσμος σκοπός τους είναι η βελτίωση και αναδόμηση της κοινωνίας, η εκπαίδευση για την κοινωνική αλλαγή (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2009:56) ή διαφορετικά το σημερινό σχολείο αντιπροσωπεύει την αυριανή κοινωνία (Πολυχρονόπουλος, 1992).

Συμπεραίνεται πως οι στόχοι των Αναμορφωτών εκπαιδευτικών προεκτείνονται έξω από το σχολείο αφού οραματίζονται μια κοινωνία με κριτικά συνειδητοποιημένους πολίτες που μάχονται για την ανατροπή των κοινωνικών αδικιών (Freire, 1974).

#### Οι Κριτικοί -Κοινωνικός-Ανθρωπιστικός προσανατολισμός μάθησης

Από την άλλη οι Κριτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί προσανατολίζουν τη μάθηση κοινωνικά-ανθρωπιστικά καθώς δίνουν έμφαση: α. στην καλλιέργεια του αλληλοσεβασμού για άλλους και στην εξοικείωση των μαθητών με πανανθρώπινες αξίες, β. στην καλλιέργεια ισχυρών δεσμών μεταξύ των μαθητών, γ. στον εθισμό των μαθητών στη φιλαναγνωσία (λογοτεχνία, ποίηση), και τέλος, δ. στην ανάπτυξη του γραπτού λόγου των μαθητών και στην κινητοποίηση για συγγραφή κειμένων:

- Στην καλλιέργεια του αλληλοσεβασμού για άλλους και στην εξοικείωση των μαθητών με πανανθρώπινες αξίες:

Για παράδειγμα, διδάσκουν μέσα από μια διαθεματική προσέγγιση τα μαθήματα των θρησκευτικών και της αγωγής του πολίτη προκειμένου να αποφύγουν μια θρησκευτική κατήχηση και να μιλήσουν για πανανθρώπινες αξίες.



- Στην καλλιέργεια ισχυρών δεσμών μεταξύ μαθητών:

Για παράδειγμα, η μια εκπαιδευτικός της κατηγορίας αναφέρει πως κάθε φορά που προκύπτει πρόβλημα ανάμεσα στους μαθητές σχηματίζουν ένα κύκλο, πιάνουν τα χέρια και λένε ότι καθένας παίρνει δύναμη από τον διπλανό του. Ακόμα κι αν φύγει η δασκάλα οι μαθητές συνεχίζουν να κρατούν ενωμένα τα χέρια τους.

- Στον εθισμό των μαθητών στη φιλιαναγνωσία (λογοτεχνία, ποίηση):

Τους ενδιαφέρει η εξοικείωση των μαθητών με τη λογοτεχνία και την ποίηση καθότι θεωρούν πως λείπουν εντελώς από το περιεχόμενο των σχολικών εγχειριδίων. Γι' αυτό τον λόγο οργανώνουν δράσεις φιλιαναγνωσίας και αναθέτουν κάθε Χριστούγεννα και Πάσχα στους μαθητές να διαβάζουν ένα λογοτεχνικό βιβλίο.

- Στην ανάπτυξη του γραπτού λόγου των μαθητών και στην κινητοποίηση για συγγραφή κειμένων:

Δίνουν μεγάλη έμφαση στην ανάπτυξη του γραπτού λόγου των μαθητών τους γιατί θεωρούν ότι διευρύνει τη σκέψη και την αντίληψη τους. Στις μεγάλες τάξεις παρακινούν τους μαθητές τους ακόμα και για σύνθεση κειμένων ενώ στις μικρότερες τους ενδιαφέρει η εκμάθηση της δόμησης του λόγου.

Στόχος της εκπαιδευτικής τους πράξης είναι η ανάδειξη των αντιφάσεων της ύλης χωρίς ωστόσο να προχωρούν σε πολιτική προέκταση των θεμάτων και σε σύνδεση με τις εμπειρίες των μαθητών τους. Ως απώτερο σκοπό θέτουν τη δημιουργία κοινωνικά ευαισθητοποιημένων πολιτών στα πλαίσια της υπάρχουσας κοινωνίας. Μακροπρόθεσμος σκοπός τους είναι η συμβολή στην καλλιέργεια κοινωνικά ευαισθητοποιημένων πολιτών που θα οδηγήσουν σε μια ειρηνικότερη, δικαιοτέρα, ανθρωπινότερη κοινωνία (Πολυχρονόπουλος, 1992).

#### Οι Παιδότροποι-Μαθητοκεντρικός προσανατολισμός μάθησης

Οι Παιδότροποι εκπαιδευτικοί προσανατολίζουν τη μάθηση μαθητοκεντρικά καθώς δίνουν έμφαση α. στην προώθηση της ομαδικής εργασίας, β. στη δημιουργία θετικού κλίματος, γ. στην καλλιέργεια της αγάπης των μαθητών προς το σχολείο και τη μάθηση, δ. στην παρακολούθηση του ρυθμού μάθησης των μαθητών και όχι της ύλης, ε. στον συνδυασμό παραδοσιακών (ανάγνωση κειμένων, ορθογραφία, ασκήσεις γραμματικής) και νεωτερικών μέσων ή μεθόδων/μορφής διδασκαλίας (π.χ. δραματοποίηση ή αφήγηση).

- στην προώθηση της ομαδικής εργασίας

Οι Παιδότροποι εκπαιδευτικοί ενδιαφέρονται για το χτίσιμο ισχυρών δεσμών μεταξύ των μαθητών τους και γι' αυτό προωθούν την ομαδική εργασία. Προσπαθούν να περάσουν το μήνυμα στους μαθητές τους ότι η συνεργασία και όχι ο ανταγωνισμός ωθούν στη μάθηση.

- στη δημιουργία θετικού κλίματος

Για τους εκπαιδευτικούς αυτής της κατηγορίας, πρωταρχικός στόχος είναι η δημιουργία ευχάριστου περιβάλλοντος προκειμένου να προχωρήσουν στη μάθηση. Γι' αυτό αξιοποιούν είτε μέσα είτε μεθόδους/μορφές διδασκαλίας που στόχο έχουν



την ψυχική ηρεμία των ίδιων και των μαθητών τους (π.χ. μέσω της χρήσης δραματοποίησης ή αφήγησης).

- στην καλλιέργεια της αγάπης των μαθητών προς το σχολείο και τη μάθηση
- Ο συνδυασμός των δυο παραπάνω παραγόντων οδηγεί στον τρίτο στόχο της διδασκαλίας τους που είναι η καλλιέργεια της αγάπης των μαθητών για το σχολείο και τη μάθηση. Θεωρούν πως στόχος των εκπαιδευτικών πρωτοβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης δεν είναι η παροχή γνώσεων όσο αγωγής και εκμάθησης του τρόπου μάθησης και ανακάλυψης της γνώσης.

δ. στην παρακολούθηση του ρυθμού μάθησης των μαθητών και όχι της ύλης

Οι συγκεκριμένοι εκπαιδευτικοί δεν ενδιαφέρονται να εκπληρώσουν μια συγκεκριμένη ύλη γιατί, όπως τονίζεται παραπάνω, έχουν διαφορετική σκοποθεσία. Κύριος στόχος τους είναι, λοιπόν, η παρακολούθηση του προσωπικού ρυθμού μάθησης κάθε μαθητή και η κάλυψη των αναγκών του προκειμένου να φτάσουν σε ένα βασικό γνωστικό επίπεδο που ορίζει κάθε τάξη.

ε. στον συνδυασμό παραδοσιακών και νεωτερικών μέσων ή μεθόδων/μορφής διδασκαλίας

Οι Παιδότροποι εκπαιδευτικοί συνδυάζουν παραδοσιακές με νεωτερικές μεθόδους προκειμένου να γίνει πιο ευχάριστη η διδασκαλία τους. Γι' αυτό οι επιλογές τους, ως προς τις νεωτερικές μεθόδους, είναι κυρίως η δραματοποίηση ή η χρήση αφήγησης. Παράλληλα, αξιοποιούν παραδοσιακές μεθόδους (όπως π.χ. ανάγνωσης, ορθογραφίας, ερωταποκρίσεων) γιατί θεωρούν πως έχει αποδειχθεί σε βάθος χρόνου ότι οι μέθοδοι αυτές είναι αποτελεσματικές.

Ως γενικό συμπέρασμα, φαίνεται πως στόχος της εκπαιδευτικής τους πράξης των συγκεκριμένων εκπαιδευτικών είναι η ανάπτυξη των κλίσεων των μαθητών, ο σεβασμός του διαφορετικού ρυθμού μάθησης των μαθητών, η δημιουργία ατμόσφαιρας συνεργασίας των μαθητών και η δημιουργία θετικού κλίματος στην τάξη προκειμένου να προχωρήσουν στη μάθηση. Μακροπρόθεσμος σκοπός τους είναι η δημιουργία «καλών ανθρώπων» στα πλαίσια της υπάρχουσας κοινωνίας.

#### Οι Δημόσιοι υπάλληλοι - Στοχοκεντρικός προσανατολισμός μάθησης

Οι Δημόσιοι υπάλληλοι προσανατολίζουν τη μάθηση στοχοκεντρικά καθώς δίνουν έμφαση: α. στη μετάδοση συγκεκριμένων και επιλεγμένων γνώσεων και στην υλοποίηση του επίσημου Α.Π. και β. στην παρακολούθηση μιας πορείας διδασκαλίας που βασίζεται σε συμπεριφοριστικά πρότυπα και παραδοσιακούς κανόνες, στην εκπλήρωση των γνωστικών στόχων με εμφανή παραμέληση των συναισθηματικών-ψυχοκινητικών.

- στη μετάδοση συγκεκριμένων και επιλεγμένων γνώσεων και στην υλοποίηση του επίσημου Α.Π.

Οι εκπαιδευτικοί της κατηγορίας των Δημόσιων υπαλλήλων, στην ερώτηση σχετικά με τον χαρακτήρα της σχολικής γνώσης, επισημαίνουν πως οι γνώσεις που προωθεί το εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα είναι και οι καταλληλότερες για το ηλικιακό και γνωστικό επίπεδο των μαθητών. Στη βάση αυτού του πλαισίου κινούνται οι ισχυρισμοί τους



για τον προσανατολισμό της μάθησης. Θεωρούν πως στόχος της μάθησης οφείλει να είναι η εκπλήρωση των ενδεδειγμένων στόχων γιατί διαφορετικά θα είναι αποτυχημένοι ως εκπαιδευτικοί.

- στην υιοθέτηση μιας πορείας διδασκαλίας που βασίζεται σε συμπεριφοριστικά πρότυπα και παραδοσιακούς κανόνες, στην εκπλήρωση των γνωστικών στόχων με εμφανή παραμέληση των συναισθηματικών-ψυχοκινητικών.

Οι συγκεκριμένοι εκπαιδευτικοί ακολουθούν, κατά κύριο λόγο, παραδοσιακές μεθόδους και μέσα διδασκαλίας καθότι θεωρούν ότι αυτά είναι και τα καταλληλότερα για την εκπλήρωση των γνωστικών στόχων. Επιμένουν στην επανάληψη και την αποστήθιση ως μέθοδο εκμάθησης ενός νέου γνωστικού στόχου και στη χρήση παραδοσιακών μεθόδων (π.χ. ορθογραφία, ανάγνωση, ερωταποκρίσεις). Ακόμα κι όταν αξιοποιούν διαφορετικά μέσα διδασκαλίας φροντίζουν να εναρμονίζονται με τα περιεχόμενα και τους στόχους του σχολικού βιβλίου.

Συμπεραίνεται πως στόχος της εκπαιδευτικής τους πράξης είναι η υλοποίηση του επίσημου Α.Π. μέσω της επίτευξης των ενδεδειγμένων γνωστικών στόχων. Σκοπός τους είναι η προσαρμογή των αυριανών πολιτών στα πλαίσια της υπάρχουσας κοινωνίας.

#### Ο Αποτελεσματικός δάσκαλος-Επιστημονικός προσανατολισμός μάθησης

Ο Αποτελεσματικός δάσκαλος προσανατολίζει τη μάθηση επιστημονικά καθώς στοχεύει: α. σε μια όσο τον δυνατόν πιο προηγμένη γνωστικά διδασκαλία και β. σε μια διευρυμένη προσέγγιση των γνωστικών αντικειμένων, όπου εμβαθύνουν και προχωρούν οι μαθητές τους πέρα από μια επιφανειακή κάλυψη της ύλης.

- Σε μια όσο τον δυνατόν πιο προηγμένη γνωστικά διδασκαλία

Η έμφαση του Αποτελεσματικού δασκάλου σε μια όσο το δυνατόν πιο προηγμένη γνωστικά διδασκαλία συμπεραίνεται πρωταρχικά από το γεγονός ότι ως κριτήρια για μια επιτυχημένη διδασκαλία ορίζει το πολιτισμικό υπόβαθρο των μαθητών. Ως πολιτισμικό υπόβαθρο ορίζει τόσο τις προηγούμενες γνώσεις των μαθητών όσο και εμπειρίες και ερεθίσματα που έχουν κατακτήσει από το σχολικό και οικογενειακό περιβάλλον. Κάτω από αυτές τις προϋποθέσεις, ένας δάσκαλος καταρτισμένος, μπορεί να προσφέρει τα κατάλληλα εργαλεία και γνώσεις για να μεγεθύνει την αποτελεσματικότητα. Ενδεικτικά, σε ερώτηση για το σχολείο που βρίσκεται σε μια σχετικά υποβαθμισμένη πολιτισμικά περιοχή, πιστεύει ότι το χαμηλό πολιτισμικό υπόβαθρο δεν προσφέρει τόσες εκπαιδευτικές επιλογές γιατί ξεκινούν από διαφορετική αφετηρία.

- Σε μια διευρυμένη προσέγγιση των γνωστικών αντικειμένων, όπου εμβαθύνουν και προχωρούν οι μαθητές πέρα από μια επιφανειακή κάλυψη της ύλης

Στην ερώτηση σχετικά με τη διδασκαλία του, αναφέρει ότι ακολουθεί το Α.Π. και προσπαθεί να εμβαθύνει ή να προσθέσει πράγματα πάνω σε αυτό ενώ φροντίζει



πάντοτε να συμμετέχει με τους μαθητές του σε καινοτόμα προγράμματα και δράσεις ή να εφαρμόζει πρότζεκτ. Χρησιμοποιεί πολλαπλές μεθόδους διδασκαλίας καθώς, όπως αναφέρει, οι μέθοδοι είναι γνωστές και εφαρμόζονται η καθεμιά στην ώρα της. Εξίσου, προσπαθεί να προσεγγίζει διαθεματικά τα μαθήματα και να εναλλάσσει τις μεθόδους ανάλογα με τις ανάγκες των μαθητών του. Ως αποτελέσματα, αυτής της γνωστικά προηγμένης διδασκαλίας, θέτει το να αυτονομούνται οι μαθητές, το να προτείνουν πράγματα και να γίνονται προγράμματα είτε με τη μορφή πρότζεκτ είτε καινοτόμα τα οποία να ξεκινάνε και να τελειώνουν οι μαθητές.

***Συνειδητοποιούνται πλαίσια σχετικής αυτονομίας από τους εκπαιδευτικούς και με τι προσανατολισμό αξιοποιούνται;***

Η Παιδαγωγική δεοντολογία στο προηγούμενο κεφάλαιο φάνηκε να επηρεάζει άμεσα τις αντιλήψεις των εκπαιδευτικών αλλά και τον προσανατολισμό στη μάθηση τους. Στο παρόν κεφάλαιο σχηματίζεται η υπόθεση ότι η Παιδαγωγική δεοντολογία, επηρεάζει τις απόψεις και τις διδακτικές πρακτικές των εκπαιδευτικών. Για τον λόγο αυτό, πρώτα σκιαγραφείται το πλαίσιο αυτονομίας, όπως οικοδομείται από εκπαιδευτικούς με διαφορετική Παιδαγωγική δεοντολογία. Κατόπιν, παρατίθενται οι διδακτικές πρακτικές των εκπαιδευτικών μέσα στα πλαίσια αυτονομίας που περιγράφουν.

Το πλαίσιο αυτονομίας του εκπαιδευτικού αναφέρεται στον βαθμό ελευθερίας που νιώθει στην εκπαιδευτική πράξη ως προς την επιλογή περιεχομένων, την επιλογή στόχων, την επιλογή μέσων και μεθόδων/μορφής διδασκαλίας και τέλος στην ελευθερία καθορισμού των κριτηρίων αξιολόγησης των μαθητών (Day et al., 1998).

Η αυτονομία στις διδακτικές πρακτικές αναφέρεται στον βαθμό ελευθερίας του εκπαιδευτικού κατά την εκπαιδευτική πράξη: να παρεκκλίνει από περιεχόμενα και στόχους, να επιλέγει τα περιεχόμενα διδασκαλίας, να αξιοποιεί πολλαπλά μέσα και μεθόδους διδασκαλίας, να παραχωρεί αυτονομία στους μαθητές του, και τέλος, να θέτει τα κριτήρια για την αξιολόγηση των μαθητών του. Με βάση τα παραπάνω, στις διδακτικές πρακτικές, μπορεί να υπάρξει: περιορισμένη αυτονομία, σχετική αυτονομία ή απόλυτη αυτονομία.

➤ Η περιορισμένη αυτονομία υποδεικνύει ότι ο εκπαιδευτικός δεν μπορεί να λαμβάνει πολλές αποφάσεις που αφορούν το εκπαιδευτικό του έργο (επιλογής περιεχομένων, στόχων, μέσων, μεθόδων/μορφής, κριτηρίων αξιολόγησης μαθητών).

➤ Η σχετική αυτονομία προϋποθέτει ότι ο εκπαιδευτικός έχει σημαντικά επίπεδα ελευθερίας στην επιλογή δεδομένων που αφορούν το εκπαιδευτικό του έργο (επιλογής περιεχομένων, στόχων, μέσων, μεθόδων/μορφής, κριτηρίων αξιολόγησης μαθητών).

➤ Η απόλυτη αυτονομία θεωρεί ότι ο εκπαιδευτικός έχει απόλυτη ελευθερία να ελέγχει όλες τις παραμέτρους που αφορούν το εκπαιδευτικό του έργο (επιλογής





περιεχομένων, στόχων, μέσων, μεθόδων/μορφής, κριτηρίων αξιολόγησης μαθητών).

<i>ΠΑΙΔΑΓΩΓΙΚΗ ΔΕΟΝΤΟΛΟΓΙΑ</i>	<i>ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΔΑΚΤΙΚΕΣ ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΕΣ</i>
<i>Αναμορφωτές εκπαιδευτικοί</i>	<i>Διεκδικητική στάση</i>
<i>Κριτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί</i>	<i>Κριτική στάση</i>
<i>Βολεμένοι Εκπαιδευτικοί</i> <i>Παιδότροποι εκπαιδευτικοί</i>	<i>Μαθητοκεντρική στάση</i>
<i>Δημόσιοι υπάλληλοι</i>	<i>Διεκπεραιωτική στάση</i>
<i>Αποτελεσματικός δάσκαλος</i>	<i>Επιστημονική στάση</i>

*Πίνακας 2: Παιδαγωγική Δεοντολογία και Αυτονομία στις Διδακτικές Πρακτικές*

### 1. Πλαίσιο αυτονομίας

#### ➤ Περιορισμένη Αυτονομία

##### *Οι Αναμορφωτές*

Το πλαίσιο της αυτονομίας για τους συγκεκριμένους εκπαιδευτικούς είναι περιορισμένο. Θεωρούν πως οι εκπαιδευτικοί έχουν σχετικά περιθώρια αυτονομίας ως προς την επιλογή μεθόδων και μέσων και ως προς το 30% των περιεχομένων ενώ δεν έχουν ελευθερία ως προς την επιλογή των στόχων διδασκαλίας.

##### *Οι Κριτικοί*

Από την κατηγορία των Κριτικών εκπαιδευτικών, η μια εκπαιδευτικός προσδιορίζει το πλαίσιο αυτονομίας με περιοριστικούς όρους. Η αυτονομία της έγκειται, όπως αναφέρει, στο γεγονός ότι προσπαθεί να επικεντρώνεται στην ομαδική εργασία, στο ότι μπορεί να διαμορφώσει μια σχολική γιορτή στο σχολείο με τον τρόπο που θέλει και στο ότι στα πλαίσια των πρότζεκτ κινείται με σχετική αυτονομία.

#### ➤ Σχετική αυτονομία

##### *Οι Κριτικοί*

Η δεύτερη εκπαιδευτικός της κατηγορίας των Κριτικών εκπαιδευτικών αντιλαμβάνεται σχετική αυτονομία. Το πλαίσιο αυτονομίας της ορίζεται ως τα πλαίσια της τάξης αλλά και του σχολείου της. Ως προς την τάξη, θεωρεί αυτονομία το γεγονός ότι κάθε χρόνο προσαρμόζει την ύλη στις ανάγκες των μαθητών της και δεν την ενδιαφέρει να φέρει σε πέρας την ύλη παρά να κατακτήσουν όλοι οι μαθητές το γνωστικό αντικείμενο. Ως προς το σχολείο θεωρεί αυτονομία το γεγονός ότι έχουν οι εκπαιδευτικοί την ελευθερία να διοργανώσουν μια σχολική γιορτή που φυσικά απώτερο στόχο θα έχει το καλό των μαθητών.

##### *Οι Παιδότροποι*

Σχετική αυτονομία αντιλαμβάνονται και οι εκπαιδευτικοί της κατηγορίας των Παιδότροπων εκπαιδευτικών. Αξίζει να σημειωθεί ότι η εκπαιδευτικός της κατηγορίας των Κριτικών εκπαιδευτικών και οι Παιδότροποι εκπαιδευτικοί φαίνεται





να αντιλαμβάνονται μεγαλύτερα επίπεδα αυτονομίας απ’ ότι οι Δημόσιοι υπάλληλοι αν και τοποθετούνται στην ίδια κατηγορία. Οι Παιδότροποι εκπαιδευτικοί ορίζουν την αυτονομία: ως την ελευθερία να επιλέγουν τον τρόπο και τα μέσα για την επίτευξη του γνωστικού στόχου με βάση τις ανάγκες των μαθητών τους, να κινούνται ορμώμενοι των δικών τους προσδοκιών και όχι αυτών που τους απευθύνουν άλλες ομάδες αναφοράς (γονείς, διευθυντής, σύμβουλος, κοινωνία), να πραγματοποιούν διδασκαλία σε πλαίσιο εκτός σχολικής τάξης, και τέλος, να αποκτούν ισχυρούς δεσμούς με τους μαθητές τους.

#### *Οι Δημόσιοι υπάλληλοι*

Οι Δημόσιοι υπάλληλοι αντιλαμβάνονται σχετική αυτονομία αλλά διαφέρουν από τους Παιδότροπους στο εξής σημείο. Αντίθετα από τους Παιδότροπους οι εκπαιδευτικοί της κατηγορίας των Δημόσιων υπαλλήλων είτε θεωρούν πως δεν μπορούν να βγουν έξω από τα συγκεκριμένα πλαίσια της αυτονομίας τους είτε παρερμηνεύουν την έννοια της αυτονομίας είτε δεν αντιλαμβάνονται τον έλεγχο που τους ασκείται.

#### *Ο Αποτελεσματικός*

Σχετική αυτονομία αντιλαμβάνεται και ο Αποτελεσματικός δάσκαλος σε επίπεδο τάξης αλλά και σχολείου. Ως ατομική αυτονομία θεωρεί την εφαρμογή καινοτόμων προγραμμάτων και μεθόδων διδασκαλίας (όπως π.χ. τη μέθοδο πρότζεκ) από τον εκπαιδευτικό, όπως αναφέρει στην ερώτηση για το πώς ορίζει την αυτονομία του. Ενώ, ως αυτονομία σε επίπεδο σχολείου θεωρεί τη δυνατότητα των εκπαιδευτικών να συνεργάζονται με αποτέλεσμα να προωθείται τελικά μια εικόνα αυτονομίας του σχολείου στην τοπική κοινότητα.

## 2. Αυτονομία και Διδακτικές πρακτικές

#### *Οι Αναμορφωτές*

Οι Αναμορφωτές στις διδακτικές τους πρακτικές: παρεκκλίνουν από τα περιεχόμενα όταν θεωρήσουν ότι ένα θέμα που ανέκυψε είναι σημαντικότερο της παρακολούθησης της ροής του προγράμματος, χρησιμοποιούν ως κύρια μορφή διδασκαλίας τον διάλογο με τους μαθητές και τη μέθοδο πρότζεκτ μέσω της ενασχόλησης με θέματα, προσεγγίζοντας πολλές φορές διαθεματικά τα θέματα αυτά, προσπαθούν να φέρουν στην επιφάνεια τις εμπειρίες των μαθητών τους και να εργαστούν πάνω σε αυτές π.χ. μέσω της δημιουργίας ταινίας από τους μαθητές για ένα κοινωνικό φαινόμενο, θεωρούν την γνώση όπλο για την αλλαγή της κοινωνίας γι’ αυτό και επιμένουν σε γνωστικούς στόχους και τέλος θέτουν ως κριτήρια αξιολόγησης των μαθητών τους την κριτική τους ικανότητα και την προσπάθεια, με έμφαση στην κριτική ικανότητα.



#### *Οι Κριτικοί*

Οι εκπαιδευτικοί της κατηγορίας των Κριτικών εκπαιδευτικών στις διδακτικές τους πρακτικές: παρεκκλίνουν από περιεχόμενα όταν αυτό είναι δυνατό αλλά προσπαθούν να διδάξουν το μεγαλύτερο ποσοστό των στόχων προκειμένου να μην υπάρξουν αντιδράσεις, χρησιμοποιούν κύρια την ομαδοσυνεργατική και ευκαιριακά τη μέθοδο πρότζεκτ γιατί θεωρούν ότι χρειάζεται πολλή καλή οργάνωση και γνώση των αντικειμένων, θέτουν ως κριτήρια αξιολόγησης των μαθητών τους την προσπάθεια και την επίδοση, με περισσότερη έμφαση στην προσπάθεια.

#### *Οι Παιδότροποι*

Οι εκπαιδευτικοί της κατηγορίας των Παιδότροπων εκπαιδευτικών στις διδακτικές τους πρακτικές, μολονότι θεωρούν ότι έχουν απόλυτη ή σχετική αυτονομία, στην ουσία: παρεκκλίνουν ελάχιστα από τα περιεχόμενα και τους στόχους του μαθήματος, χρησιμοποιούν κύρια την μετωπική και ελάχιστα την ομαδοσυνεργατική αποδίδοντας την ευθύνη για τη μη συχνή χρήση στους ίδιους τους μαθητές ενώ τα πρότζεκτ αφορούν κυρίως το μάθημα της Ευέλικτης, και τέλος ως κριτήριο αξιολόγησης των μαθητών τους ορίζουν την προσπάθεια καθώς ενδιαφέρονται περισσότερο για την ψυχική και συναισθηματική ανάπτυξη των μαθητών τους απ' ότι για την επίδοση.

#### *Οι Δημόσιοι υπάλληλοι*

Οι εκπαιδευτικοί της κατηγορίας των Δημόσιων υπαλλήλων στις διδακτικές τους πρακτικές, τις οποίες μπορούμε να χαρακτηρίσουμε ως παραδοσιακές: παρεκκλίνουν ελάχιστα από στόχους και περιεχόμενα γιατί θεωρούν ότι η ενδεδειγμένη ύλη είναι και η καταλληλότερη για το νοητικό και ηλιακό επίπεδο των μαθητών, χρησιμοποιούν ως κύριο μέσο το σχολικό βιβλίο και τη μετωπική μορφή διδασκαλίας, ενώ ως κριτήριο αξιολόγησης των μαθητών τους θέτουν την επίτευξη (ή μη) των στόχων του Α.Π.

#### *Ο Αποτελεσματικός*

Ο Αποτελεσματικός δάσκαλος, στις διδακτικές πρακτικές, αν και θεωρεί ότι έχει κατακτήσει ένα μερίδιο αυτονομίας επειδή αξιοποιεί καινοτόμα προγράμματα κάθε χρόνο, τελικά παρεκκλίνει ελάχιστα από περιεχόμενα και στόχους. Από την άλλη, θεωρεί ότι έχει αυτονομία να αξιοποιεί όποια μέθοδο ενδείκνυται αναλόγως της ενότητας που βρίσκεται και τις ανάγκες των μαθητών. Παραχωρεί αυτονομία στους μαθητές του καθώς, όπως αναφέρει, όταν προκύπτει ανάγκη για την ενασχόληση με κάποιο θέμα αμέσως σχηματίζει από κοινού με τους μαθητές του ένα σχέδιο εργασίας. Επισημαίνει ότι έχουν ελευθερία να επιλέγουν τα κριτήρια για να αξιολογούν τους μαθητές τους κι αυτό αποδεικνύεται από την Π.Α. που εφάρμοσαν σε συνεργασία με τον σύμβουλο τους.



### Συμπεράσματα

Στην ενότητα αυτή, αφού έχει προηγηθεί ο καθορισμός του πλαισίου αυτονομίας και έχει παρουσιαστεί ο προσανατολισμός στη μάθηση από εκπαιδευτικούς με εκφρασμένη διαφορετική Παιδαγωγική δεοντολογία, δίνεται η απάντηση στο κεντρικό ερώτημα: «Αν συνειδητοποιούνται πλαίσια σχετικής αυτονομίας από τους εκπαιδευτικούς και με τι προσανατολισμό αξιοποιούνται».

#### *Οι Αναμορφωτές*

Οι αναμορφωτές εκπαιδευτικοί θεωρούν πως τα πλαίσια αυτονομίας των εκπαιδευτικών στο ελληνικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα είναι περιορισμένα. Παρόλα αυτά, προσπαθούν να διεκδικούν περιθώρια αυτονομίας στην εκπαιδευτική τους πράξη και να τα αξιοποιούν με μετασχηματιστικό προσανατολισμό. Αυτό αποδεικνύεται από το γεγονός ότι προσπαθούν να παρεκκλίνουν από τα περιεχόμενα και εντάσσουν στόχους στη διδασκαλία τους που παραμερίζονται από το υπάρχον Α.Π. (π.χ. κοινωνικούς, συναισθηματικούς, ψυχο-κινητικούς). Αξιοποιούν πολλαπλές μεθόδους και μέσα διδασκαλίας ανάλογα με τις ανάγκες των μαθητών τους. Θέτουν ως κριτήρια αξιολόγησης των μαθητών τους την ανάπτυξη της κριτικής τους ικανότητας και έχουν ως μακροπρόθεσμο σκοπό την αλλαγή της κοινωνίας.

#### *Οι Κριτικοί*

Η μια εκπαιδευτικός της κατηγορίας των Κριτικών εκπαιδευτικών, θεωρεί τα πλαίσια αυτονομίας των εκπαιδευτικών περιορισμένα. Σε αντίθεση, όμως, με τους Αναμορφωτές εκπαιδευτικούς δεν διεκδικεί περιθώρια αυτονομίας προκειμένου να μην έχει αντιδράσεις από τις ομάδες αναφοράς (κοινωνία, διευθυντής, συνάδελφοι, γονείς, μαθητές). Για τον λόγο αυτό, παρεκκλίνει, σε ορισμένες περιπτώσεις μόνο, από τα περιεχόμενα και τους στόχους διδασκαλίας. Χρησιμοποιεί κατά κύριο λόγο την ομαδοσυνεργατική μέθοδο διδασκαλίας ενώ τα πρότζεκτ αφορούν μόνο τα πλαίσια της Ευέλικτης ζώνης. Αξιοποιεί διαφορετικά μέσα διδασκαλίας (π.χ. λογοτεχνικά κείμενα) απ' ό,τι το σχολικό βιβλίο και τέλος ως κριτήρια αξιολόγησης των μαθητών της θέτει την προσπάθεια.

Η επόμενη εκπαιδευτικός της κατηγορίας των Κριτικών εκπαιδευτικών, θεωρεί τα πλαίσια της αυτονομίας των εκπαιδευτικών σχετικά ελεύθερα. Εντούτοις, το πλαίσιο αυτονομίας που περιγράφει προσκρούει στις διδακτικές της πρακτικές στις οποίες παρεκκλίνει ελάχιστα από περιεχόμενα, στόχους, ρυθμού ύλης. Ως προς τα μέσα, τις μεθόδους διδασκαλίας και τα κριτήρια αξιολόγησης των μαθητών, συμβαδίζουν οι πρακτικές της με εκείνες της πρώτης Κριτικού εκπαιδευτικού.

#### *Οι Παιδότροποι*

Οι περισσότεροι δηλώνουν απόλυτη αυτονομίας στον τρόπο που διδάσκουν και σχετική στο τι διδάσκουν. Με βάση αυτό συμπεραίνεται πως η ανυπαρξία άμεσου ελέγχου τους καλλιεργεί την ψευδαίσθηση Επαγγελματικής Αυτονομίας. Σύμφωνα



με τον Μαυρογιώργο (1993) ο υψηλός βαθμός φαινομενικής Επαγγελματικής Αυτονομίας νομιμοποιεί τη διατήρηση ορισμένων περιορισμών ή ακόμα και την επιβολή νέων περιορισμών στην εργασία των εκπαιδευτικών (Μαυρογιώργος, 1993). Εντούτοις, στις διδακτικές τους πρακτικές παρεκκλίνουν ελάχιστα από περιεχόμενα και στόχους διδασκαλίας. Βέβαια, προσπαθούν να αξιοποιούν μέσα διδασκαλίας και να ακολουθούν πολλαπλές μεθόδους διδασκαλίας ενώ ως κριτήρια αξιολόγησης των μαθητών θέτουν την προσπάθεια.

#### *Οι Δημόσιοι υπάλληλοι*

Οι εκπαιδευτικοί της κατηγορίας των Δημόσιων υπαλλήλων αντιλαμβάνονται σχετική αυτονομία αλλά διαφέρουν από τους Παιδότροπους στο εξής σημείο. Αντίθετα από τους Παιδότροπους οι εκπαιδευτικοί της κατηγορίας των Δημόσιων υπαλλήλων είτε θεωρούν πως δεν μπορούν να βγουν έξω από τα συγκεκριμένα πλαίσια της αυτονομίας τους είτε παρερμηνεύουν την έννοια της αυτονομίας είτε δεν αντιλαμβάνονται τον έλεγχο που τους ασκείται. Οι διδακτικές τους πρακτικές, διαφέρουν κατά πολύ από εκείνες των Παιδότροπων εκπαιδευτικών καθότι οι περισσότεροι ακολουθούν πιστά την ύλη και το Α.Π., παρεκκλίνουν ελάχιστα από τα περιεχόμενα και τους στόχους διδασκαλίας, χρησιμοποιούν κατά κύριο λόγο τα σχολικά εγχειρίδια και ακολουθούν τη μετωπική μορφή διδασκαλίας, ενώ, σε αντίθεση με τις υπόλοιπες κατηγορίες εκπαιδευτικών, ως κριτήρια αξιολόγησης των μαθητών τους θέτουν την επίτευξη (ή μη) των στόχων που ορίζει το Α.Π.

#### *Ο Αποτελεσματικός δάσκαλος*

Ο Αποτελεσματικός δάσκαλος δηλώνει εξίσου σχετικά περιθώρια αυτονομίας των εκπαιδευτικών στο εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα. Θεωρεί αυτονομία, σε ατομικό επίπεδο, το γεγονός ότι μπορεί να εφαρμόζει καινοτόμα προγράμματα και νέες μεθόδους διδασκαλίας. Ενώ, ως αυτονομία σε σχολικό επίπεδο τη δυνατότητα των εκπαιδευτικών ενός σχολείου να εφαρμόζουν από κοινού καινοτόμα προγράμματα (π.χ. περιγραφική αξιολόγηση σε επίπεδο σχολικής μονάδας). Οι διδακτικές του πρακτικές συγκλίνουν στα πλαίσια αυτονομίας που περιγράφει καθώς παρεκκλίνει ελάχιστα από περιεχόμενα και στόχους διδασκαλίας αλλά προσπαθεί να αξιοποιεί πολλαπλές μεθόδους και μέσα διδασκαλίας προκειμένου να έρθουν σε επαφή οι μαθητές του με τις θετικές επιστήμες (π.χ. φυσική, χημεία) και να εξοικειωθούν με τη χρήση τεχνολογικών μέσων. Τέλος, ως κριτήρια αξιολόγησης των μαθητών του θέτει την επίτευξη των στόχων του Α.Π. και τον βαθμό αυτονόμησης των μαθητών κατά τη χρήση τεχνολογικών εργαλείων/μέσων.

Ως γενικό συμπέρασμα για την επαγγελματική αυτονομία των εκπαιδευτικών, φαίνεται πως οι Έλληνες εκπαιδευτικοί έχουν σχετική έως περιορισμένη αυτονομία, όπως επιβεβαιώνεται και από διεθνείς ευρωπαϊκές έρευνες (Eurydice, 2007·Ευρυδίκη, 2008).

Ως ειδικότερο συμπέρασμα σχετικά με τα δεδομένα, φαίνεται ότι ο προσανατολισμός της μάθησης (κριτικός, κοινωνικός-ανθρωπιστικός,



μαθητοκεντρικός, στοχοκεντρικός, επιστημονικός) ανάλογα της Παιδαγωγικής τους δεοντολογίας (Αναμορφωτές, Κριτικοί, Παιδότροποι, Δημόσιοι υπάλληλοι, Αποτελεσματικός) συνδέεται άμεσα με τις διδακτικές πρακτικές των εκπαιδευτικών που αφορούν την Επαγγελματική Αυτονομία (παρέκκλιση από περιεχόμενα, στόχους, επιλογή μέσων και μορφής διδασκαλίας και επιλογή κριτηρίων αξιολόγησης των μαθητών).

Οι Αναμορφωτές εκπαιδευτικοί, που προσανατολίζουν τη μάθηση κριτικά, παρεκκλίνουν από τα περιεχόμενα δίνοντας μια κριτική κατεύθυνση, εντάσσουν νέους στόχους (κοινωνικούς, συναισθηματικούς), αξιοποιούν πολλαπλά μέσα και μορφές διδασκαλίας (όπως τη μέθοδο πρότζεκτ και την ομαδοσυνεργατική) και ως κριτήριο αξιολόγησης των μαθητών τους θέτουν την ανάπτυξη της κριτικής τους ικανότητας. Οι απόψεις αυτές προσιδιάζουν στις αρχές της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής.

Οι Κριτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί, που προσανατολίζουν τη μάθηση κοινωνικά-ανθρωπιστικά, παρεκκλίνουν περισσότερο στα περιεχόμενα δίνοντας μια ανθρωπιστική κατεύθυνση (αξίες ειρήνης, σεβασμού στο διαφορετικό κ.α.) και λιγότερο στους στόχους διδασκαλίας. Αξιοποιούν κυρίως την ομαδοσυνεργατική γιατί τους ενδιαφέρει να μάθουν οι μαθητές τους να συνεργάζονται. Ως κριτήρια αξιολόγησης των μαθητών τους θέτουν την προσπάθεια και την επίδοση γιατί τους ενδιαφέρει τόσο η γνωστική όσο και η παιδαγωγική ανάπτυξη των μαθητών.

Οι Παιδότροποι εκπαιδευτικοί, που προσανατολίζουν τη μάθηση μαθητοκεντρικά, παρεκκλίνουν ελάχιστα από περιεχόμενα, στόχους αλλά κινούνται σύμφωνα με τον ρυθμό των μαθητών τους και όχι της ύλης. Αξιοποιούν πολλαπλά μέσα και ακολουθούν διάφορες μορφές διδασκαλίας προκειμένου να κεντρίσουν το ενδιαφέρον των μαθητών τους. Ενώ, ως κριτήριο αξιολόγησης των μαθητών τους θέτουν την προσπάθεια με εμφανή απουσία του κριτηρίου της επίδοσης.

Οι εκπαιδευτικοί της κατηγορίας των Δημόσιων υπαλλήλων, που προσανατολίζουν τη μάθηση στοχοκεντρικά, παρεκκλίνουν ελάχιστα από περιεχόμενα και στόχους, γιατί θεωρούν ότι τα ενδεδειγμένα περιεχόμενα και οι ενδεδειγμένοι στόχοι είναι οι καταλληλότεροι. Για τον ίδιο λόγο, χρησιμοποιούν κατά κύριο λόγο το σχολικό βιβλίο ως μέσο διδασκαλίας και τη μετωπική μορφή διδασκαλίας. Σε αντίθεση με όλους τους υπόλοιπους εκπαιδευτικούς, ως κριτήριο αξιολόγησης των μαθητών τους θέτουν την υλοποίηση (ή μη) των στόχων του Α.Π.

Ο Αποτελεσματικός δάσκαλος, που προσανατολίζει τη μάθηση επιστημονικά, παρεκκλίνει ελάχιστα από τα περιεχόμενα και εκπληρώνει το μεγαλύτερο ποσοστό των στόχων του Α.Π. Όμως, σε αντίθεση με τους Δημόσιους υπαλλήλους ή τους Παιδότροπους, προσπαθεί να δώσει βάθος στους στόχους και να ενσωματώσει νέα περιεχόμενα, κυρίως στα πλαίσια των πρότζεκτ, προς μια, θετικών επιστημών, κατεύθυνση. Αξιοποιεί πολλαπλές μεθόδους διδασκαλίας προκειμένου να μεγεθύνει την αποτελεσματικότητα των επιδόσεων των μαθητών. Ενώ, ως κριτήριο αξιολόγησης των μαθητών του θέτει την εξοικείωση με τα τεχνολογικά μέσα και εργασία και την ανάπτυξη, σε πρώιμο στάδιο, της επιστημονικής τους σκέψης.





Σύμφωνα με τα παραπάνω, φαίνεται πως ο προσανατολισμός στη μάθηση συνδέεται άμεσα με την εκφρασμένη Παιδαγωγική δεοντολογία του εκπαιδευτικού, όπως εξίσου, και ότι οι διδακτικές πρακτικές του εκπαιδευτικού συνδέονται άμεσα με την αντιλαμβανόμενη Επαγγελματική Αυτονομία του. Με βάση τα στοιχεία που αναδύονται από τη σύγκριση του προσανατολισμού στη μάθηση και των διδακτικών πρακτικών των εκπαιδευτικών φαίνεται να επιβεβαιώνεται η υπόθεση πως η Παιδαγωγική δεοντολογία του εκπαιδευτικού επηρεάζει σημαντικά την αντιλαμβανόμενη Επαγγελματική Αυτονομία του εκπαιδευτικού. Δηλαδή, η Παιδαγωγική Δεοντολογία του εκπαιδευτικού, όπως εκφράζεται μέσα από την προσωπική σύλληψη του ρόλου του, την έμφαση στην/στον Εκπαιδευτική ταυτότητα/Εκπαιδευτικό ρόλο/Ταυτότητα ρόλου, την προτεραιότητα στην εκπλήρωση των προσδοκιών των ομάδων αναφοράς (κράτος, κοινωνία, διευθυντής, συνάδελφοι, γονείς, μαθητές), τον τρόπο που γίνεται αντιληπτό το επάγγελμα του εκπαιδευτικού, την άποψη για το περιεχόμενο της σχολικής γνώσης, την αντίληψη για τη σχέση σχολείου-κοινότητας ή σχολείου-κρατικών θεσμών, και τέλος τον προσανατολισμό της μάθησης του, φαίνεται να συνδέεται με το πλαίσιο αυτονομίας που περιγράφει και τις διδακτικές πρακτικές που ακολουθεί ως προς την επιλογή περιεχομένων και στόχων διδασκαλίας, την επιλογή μέσων και μεθόδου διδασκαλίας και, τέλος, την επιλογή κριτηρίων αξιολόγησης των μαθητών του.

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## Σχολικός Χώρος και Μετανάστευση

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### Περίληψη

Στην παρούσα μελέτη επιχειρούμε να αναδείξουμε πτυχές αλληλεπίδρασης του σχολικού χώρου και της διαμόρφωσης ταυτότητας των εφήβων αλλοδαπών μαθητών και μαθητριών. Θεωρούμε εν γένει ότι η σχέση των μεταναστών και μεταναστριών με το χώρο και τον τόπο είναι πολυεπίπεδη, διαμεσολαβείται πολιτικά και χαρακτηρίζεται από ένα ιδιαίτερο πλέγμα σχέσεων εξουσίας, πειθαρχίας, καταστολής και αντίστασης, καθώς πρόκειται για ανθρώπους που συνήθως στερούνται πολιτικών ή/και κοινωνικών δικαιωμάτων, (ετερο)χαρακτηρίζονται ως πολίτες «δεύτερης» κατηγορίας κι έχουν βιώσει ένα χρονικό και χωρικό ασυνεχές λόγω της βίαιης ή εξαναγκαστικής μετακίνησής τους. Το φαινόμενο της μετανάστευσης επηρεάζει πέρα από τις αλλαγές στον κοινωνικό πλαίσιο, αλλαγές και στον τρόπο που σχεδιάζεται και υλοποιείται η έκαστη εθνική εκπαιδευτική πολιτική, όπου συχνά στηρίζεται σε διαφορετικά εκπαιδευτικά μοντέλα, τα οποία και παρουσιάζουμε συνοπτικά. Όσον αφορά στο σχολικό χώρο δεχόμαστε ότι αφορά ένα κατεξοχήν πολιτικό πεδίο όπου εφαρμόζεται η επίσημη εκπαιδευτική πολιτική του Κράτους και (ανα)παράγονται πρότυπα, αξίες και γνώσεις της κυρίαρχης εθνοτικά ομάδας. Αποτελεί έναν χώρο αναγκαστικής φυσικής παρουσίας και παραμονής για μεγάλο χρονικό διάστημα, στον οποίο δημιουργούνται ή εγκαθιδρύονται διαπροσωπικές σχέσεις, κοινωνικοί ρόλοι, εμπειρίες και βιώματα. Χρησιμοποιώντας κυρίως, την τριμερή διάκριση του γεωγράφου David Harvey για τον χώρο, την προσέγγιση του Henri Lefebvre, το έργο της Doreen Massey και τις μελέτες του Michel Foucault για την σχέση γνώσης κι αλήθειας και τη σχέση εξουσίας/πειθαρχίας επιχειρήσαμε να εξετάσουμε πώς αυτές βρίσκουν εφαρμογή στο σχολικό περιβάλλον. Αντιμετωπίσαμε το χώρο του σχολείου ως πολιτικό πεδίο, μέσα από τρεις διαφορετικές, αλλά ταυτόχρονα αλληλένδετες και αλληλοσυμπληρούμενες διαστάσεις του: Αρχικά, λάβαμε υπόψη το ρόλο του συνόλου των υλικών στοιχείων του όπως το κτήριο, την αυλή, την περιοχή κ.λπ. (υλική διάσταση), δεύτερον το σύνολο των σχέσεων μεταξύ σημείων (υποκειμένων/ αντικειμένων) στο χώρο (σχετική διάσταση) και τέλος στη βάση της σχεσιακής διάστασης παρατηρήσαμε τα βιώματα, τον τρόπο που οι σχέσεις και εμπειρίες εσωτερικεύονται, τις σκέψεις και τις δράσεις τους μέσα σε αυτό το περιβάλλον. Κατά την προσέγγιση της τελευταίας διάστασης (σχεσιακής) σημαντικό ρόλο είχε η οπτική του Foucault για τον τρόπο που εξασκείται και διαχέεται η εξουσία μέσω των μεθόδων, τακτικών, δράσεων και πρακτικών που υλοποιούνται στο σχολικό χώρο.

### Λέξεις κλειδιά

Χώρος, τόπος, ταυτότητα, μετανάστευση, πειθαρχία, γνώση, εξουσία, πολιτική

### Εισαγωγή

Η παρούσα εργασία σκοπό έχει, αφού αναφέρει συνοπτικά τα βασικά εκπαιδευτικά μοντέλα που διέπουν τη διαπολιτισμική εκπαίδευση, να προσεγγίσει θεωρητικά και να περιγράψει τη σχέση που αναπτύσσουν οι μαθητές και μαθήτριες με μεταναστευτική πορεία (ως προσωπικό βίωμα ή ως αφήγηση) με το χώρο και τον τόπο καθώς και τη σχέση που αυτή παίζει στη διαμόρφωση της ταυτότητάς τους. Η



προσέγγιση μας εδράζεται στην πεποίθηση ότι η σχέση αυτή διαφοροποιείται από την αντίστοιχη σχέση των γηγενών, είναι ιδιαίτερα πολύπλευρη και πρέπει να μελετάται ξεχωριστά. Ο κύριος λόγος αυτής της διάκρισης είναι ότι κατά τη, συχνά βίαιη ή εξαναγκαστική, μετακίνησή τους τα παιδιά των μεταναστών και μεταναστριών βιώνουν ένα χρονικό και χωρικό ασυνεχές, ενώ παράλληλα στη νέα χώρα όπου εγκαθίστανται στερούνται ορισμένων δικαιωμάτων και συχνά (ετερο)χαρακτηρίζονται ως πολίτες «δεύτερης» κατηγορίας.

### Κυρίως μέρος

Επιχειρώντας, αρχικά, μια μικρή περιγραφή του φαινομένου της μετανάστευσης στην Ελλάδα θα πρέπει να αναφέρουμε τα εξής: Τα ποιοτικά χαρακτηριστικά των μεταναστευτικών ροών στην Ελλάδα έχουν μεταβληθεί ουσιαστικά κατά τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες. Πρώτα απ' όλα, από το τέλος του 19<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα ως τις πρώτες δεκαετίες του 20<sup>ου</sup> η Ελλάδα ήταν μια χώρα αποστολής μεταναστών ως εργατικό δυναμικό σε περιοχές όπως οι Η.Π.Α., ο Καναδάς, η Αυστραλία, η Γερμανία κ.α. Κατά την δεκαετία του 1970 σημειώθηκε θετικό ισοζύγιο μετανάστευσης, ενώ από εκεί κι έπειτα άρχισαν να καταφτάνουν οι πρώτες ροές μεταναστών προς την Ελλάδα από χώρες της Ασίας, της Αφρικής και αλλού, οι οποίοι κατά κύριο λόγο ζούσαν υπό καθεστώς νομιμότητας. Στην δεκαετία του 1980 και λόγω των ισχυρών γεωπολιτικών αλλαγών που διαδραματίστηκαν όπως η κατάρρευση της Σοβιετικής Ένωσης και των συμμαχών χωρών της, αλλά και της κατάστασης στην Αλβανία, οι ροές που κατέφτασαν στην Ελλάδα αποτελούνταν κυρίως από άτομα της κεντρικής και ανατολικής Ευρώπης. Η διόγκωση των ροών αυτών ήταν τόσο ισχυρή ώστε προκάλεσε αλλαγές στη νομοθεσία της μεταναστευτικής πολιτικής.

Η αντιμετώπιση του φαινομένου που παρουσιάστηκε με την εισροή μεταναστευτικού πληθυσμού αντιμετωπίστηκε με διαφορετικούς τρόπους τόσο σε επίπεδο εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής, όσο και σε κοινωνικής παρότι και οι δύο είναι άμεσα συσχετιζόμενες. Σχετικά με την εκπαιδευτική πολιτική και μέσα από τη διεθνή ανασκόπηση, σύμφωνα με τους Μάρκου, Νικολάου και Γεωργογιάννη οι προσεγγίσεις που μπορούν να διαμορφωθούν συνοψίζονται σε πέντε μοντέλα: το αφομοιωτικό, το μοντέλο ενσωμάτωσης, το πολυπολιτισμικό, το αντιρατσιστικό και το διαπολιτισμικό μοντέλο: Αρχικά, περιγράφοντας το αφομοιωτικό μοντέλο, στη βιβλιογραφία αναφέρεται ότι η αφομοιωτική πολιτική κυριάρχησε μέχρι τα μέσα της δεκαετίας του 1960 και εξακολουθεί ακόμα και σήμερα να παίζει σημαντικό ρόλο στην διαμόρφωση πολιτικών και εκπαιδευτικών ρευμάτων. Η αφομοίωση ορίζεται ως το τελικό στάδιο του επιπολιτισμού (acculturation) που ακολουθεί αυτά της επαφής, της σύγκρουσης και της προσαρμογής. Ως αφομοίωση ορίζεται η διαδικασία αλληλεπίδρασης μεταξύ ατόμων διαφορετικής φυλετικής, ή εθνικής προέλευσης οι οποίοι μπορούν και συμμετέχουν στην καθημερινή ζωή μιας ευρύτερης κοινωνίας, χωρίς να παίζει ρόλο η εθνική τους ταυτότητα. Μια ολοκληρωμένη μορφή αφομοίωσης είναι ταυτόσημη με την ανυπαρξία εθνικών, ή φυλετικών χαρακτηριστικών που διακρίνουν τη δομή μιας σύγχρονης κοινωνίας.



Βασική ιδέα της αφομοιωτικής πολιτικής είναι ότι το έθνος αποτελεί ένα ομογενές σύνολο και οι όποιες διαφορετικές ομάδες θα πρέπει να απορροφηθούν από τον ντόπιο πληθυσμό, ώστε να μπορέσουν τελικά να συμμετέχουν ισοδύναμα στην διαμόρφωση και διατήρηση της κοινωνίας. Όσον αφορά την εκπαιδευτική πολιτική, κυρία θέση του αφομοιωτικού μοντέλου είναι το σχολείο να είναι μονογλωσσικό με κύριο στόχο τα παιδιά να αποκτήσουν επάρκεια στην εθνική γλώσσα θεωρώντας ότι η γρήγορη εκμάθηση της επίσημης γλώσσας είναι το κλειδί για την επίτευξη του στόχου, που είναι η γρήγορη αφομοίωση τους. Επίσης το σχολείο οφείλει να είναι και μονοπολιτισμικό με έμφαση στην διατήρηση της παράδοσης και της εθνικής κληρονομιάς καλλιεργώντας την πίστη στη αξία του εθνικού κράτους. Σχετικά με την διδασκαλία των μητρικών γλωσσών οι υποστηρικτές αυτού του μοντέλου θεωρούν ότι είναι ζήτημα που δεν αφορά το κράτος, ή το σχολείο, ωστόσο δεν το θεωρούν κακό όταν πραγματοποιείται και υποστηρίζεται από μεμονωμένα άτομα, ή ομάδες. Η γρήγορη εκμάθηση της επίσημης γλώσσας των αλλοδαπών μαθητών, χωρίς να παρεμποδίζεται και η πρόοδος των γηγενών οδήγησε στην υιοθέτηση του περιορισμού της παρουσίας των πρώτων στα σχολεία σε ποσοστό που δεν πρέπει να υπερβαίνει το 30%. Το παραπάνω μοντέλο είναι καθαρά εθνοκεντρικό και υποχρεώνει τον μετανάστη να αγνοήσει εντελώς τον πολιτισμό του, να αποκοπεί από τις ρίζες του και του δίνει ως μόνη δυνατότητα ικανοποιητικής βελτίωσης την απόλυτη προσαρμογή του στον πολιτισμό, τη γλώσσα και τις κοινωνικές συνθήκες της χώρας υποδοχής.

Επόμενο μοντέλο είναι αυτό της *ενσωμάτωσης*. Η βασική διαφορά με το προηγούμενο μοντέλο είναι ότι ενώ στην αφομοίωση έχουμε ουσιαστικά αποκοπή από το παρελθόν, στην ενσωμάτωση τα στοιχεία της παράδοσης της κάθε ομάδας αποτελούν μέρος της νέας εθνικής ταυτότητας. Σύμφωνα με τον Γεωργογιάννη ο όρος «ενσωμάτωση» σημαίνει ότι κάθε μεταναστευτική ομάδα δέχεται επιδράσεις από την χώρα υποδοχής αλλά ασκεί επίδραση σε αυτήν και συμμετέχει στην αναδιαμόρφωση της. Η εφαρμογή αυτού του μοντέλου στα εκπαιδευτικά ιδρύματα στόχο έχει και πάλι τη γλωσσική και πολιτισμική ομοιογένεια των κοινωνιών, ωστόσο πέρα από την εκμάθηση της εθνικής γλώσσας σχεδιάζονται πιο λεπτομερή προγράμματα σχολικής και κοινωνικής ενίσχυσης των μεταναστών με στόχο την αποτελεσματικότερη ενσωμάτωση τους στο σχολείο και την κοινωνία. Οι σχεδιασμοί βασίζονται κατά πολύ στην πεποίθηση ότι η γνώση ιστορικών και πολιτισμικών πλευρών των διαφορών εθνικών ομάδων θα οδηγήσει στην αποδοχή των πολιτισμικών διαφορών και διαφοροποιήσεων σε τρόπους ζώνης. Ωστόσο πρέπει να παρατηρήσουμε ότι τα προγράμματα και οι παρεμβάσεις που γίνονται στα σχολεία αξιολογούνται σύμφωνα με τα πολιτισμικά πρότυπα του κυρίαρχου πολιτισμού κι όχι σύμφωνα με τις αξίες των μειονοτικών ομάδων.

Τα δυο παραπάνω μοντέλα έχουν ασαφή όρια διάκρισης και πολλοί κάνουν λόγο για απλή μετεξέλιξη του όρου «αφομοίωση» σε «ενσωμάτωση» η οποία οφείλεται περισσότερο στο πνεύμα των καιρών, παρά σε κάποια πραγματική αλλαγή στάσης και πολιτικής.



Το τρίτο μοντέλο περιγράφεται ως *πολυπολιτισμικό*. Κατά την δεκαετία του 1970 σε πολλές χώρες ξεκίνησε μια μετατόπιση στις Επιστήμες της Αγωγής από τα εθνοκεντρικά μοντέλα στον πολιτισμικό πλουραλισμό, όταν παρατηρήθηκε ότι ο εθνικός διαχωρισμός αναπαράγεται από γενιά σε γενιά. Οι υποστηρικτές του μοντέλου αυτού θεωρούν ότι για να επιτευχθεί η κοινωνική συνοχή απαιτείται εκτός από την αναγνώριση των πολιτισμικών διαφορών των μεταναστών και η διαμόρφωση ενός κοινωνικού πλαισίου όπου θα συνυπάρχουν και θα αναπτύσσονται όλοι οι πολιτισμοί, χωρίς να διαταράσσεται η ασφάλεια του κοινωνικού ιστού. Στην εκπαίδευση δημιουργούνται εκπαιδευτικά προγράμματα με στόχο την καλλιέργεια του σεβασμού στα άτομα με διαφορετική εθνική, ή θρησκευτική προέλευση. Το αδύνατο σημείο του παραπάνω μοντέλου αφορά την μονοδιάστατη προσέγγιση στην έννοια του πολιτισμού. Πιο συγκεκριμένα κάνει λόγο για «πολιτισμούς» με την εθνολογική σημασία του όρου, δηλαδή τις συνήθειες και αξίες που μεταβιβάζονται από το οικογενειακό και κλειστό κοινωνικό πλαίσιο και όχι για τον «πολιτισμό» με την φιλοσοφική του έννοια ο οποίος υπερβαίνει τους (εθνικούς) πολιτισμούς και είναι οικουμενικός. Το πολυπολιτισμικό μοντέλο αρνείται την αμφισβήτηση των εθίμων και ηθών στο όνομα της «υπεράσπισης των πολιτισμών» και ο/η αλλοδαπός/η που υιοθετεί νέες πολιτισμικές πρακτικές είναι ένας άνθρωπος που παθητικά χάνει, ή του στερούν τον πολιτισμό του κι όχι κάποιος που ενεργητικά αφομοιώνεται. Τέλος δίνει πολύ μεγάλη έμφαση στις πολιτισμικές διαφορές βγάζοντας σε δεύτερη μοίρα άλλους παράγοντες όπως οι κοινωνικοί, οι ψυχολογικοί, οι οικονομικοί και οι θεσμικοί.

Επόμενο μοντέλο είναι το *αντιρατσιστικό*. Όπως παρατηρούμε στα μέσα και στο τέλος της δεκαετίας του 1980 στην Αμερική και στην Αγγλία κατά κύριο λόγο, άρχισε να γίνεται λόγος για το αντιρατσιστικό μοντέλο. Το χαρακτηριστικό του μοντέλου αυτού είναι ότι κάνει λόγο για την ανάγκη αναδιάρθρωσης των θεσμών και των δομών της κοινωνίας, και τονίζει ότι οι αντιμετώπιση δεν μπορεί να έρθει από ατομικές προσπάθειες αλλά από πιέσεις ευρύτερων κοινωνικών ομάδων, εφόσον αποτελεί πολιτικό ζήτημα. Το κράτος οφείλει πρώτιστα να είναι κράτος δικαίου, δίνοντας ίσες ευκαιρίες ζωής, ανάπτυξης και συμμετοχής σε όσα η κοινωνία προσφέρει, αλλά και να στηρίζει την χειραφέτηση και απελευθέρωση από ρατσιστικά πρότυπα των καταπιεσμένων και καταπιεστών. Στην εκπαίδευση αυτό πρέπει να γίνει μέσα από αναδιάρθρωση των δομών της, οι οποίες θα εξασφαλίζουν την ουσιαστική ισότητα για όλα τα παιδιά.

Τέλος, γίνεται αναφορά στο *διαπολιτισμικό* μοντέλο. Σε αντίθεση με τον όρο «πολυπολιτισμικός» που χρησιμοποιείται για να εκφράσει μια συγκεκριμένη κοινωνική πραγματικότητα και τη διαδικασία εξέλιξης της, ο όρος «διαπολιτισμικός» δηλώνει μια διαλεκτική σχέση, μια διαδικασία αλληλεπίδρασης, αμοιβαίας αναγνώρισης και συνεργασίας ανάμεσα σε άτομα διαφορετικών μεταναστευτικών ομάδων. Τα βασικά χαρακτηριστικά της διαπολιτισμικής εκπαίδευσης είναι τα εξής:

α) Το πεδίο αναφοράς να είναι η άμεση εμπειρία των παιδιών στις χώρες υποδοχής.





β) Να επιδιώκει να προκληθεί η αμοιβαία επίδραση των πολιτισμών των χωρών καταγωγής και υποδοχής.

γ) Βασικό μέλημα να είναι η επανεξέταση και αναθεώρηση των κοινωνικοκεντρικών και εθνοκεντρικών κριτηρίων του σχολείου.

δ) Μέσω αυτής να γίνεται η αξιολόγηση των ευκαιριών στη ζωή και η επίτευξη της μέγιστης δυνατής κοινωνικής και οικονομικής ένταξης.

Ο Helmut Essinger διατυπώνει τις τέσσερις παρακάτω βασικές αρχές οι οποίες διέπουν το διαπολιτισμικό μοντέλο για την εκπαίδευση

1. Η ενσυναίσθηση (empathy).

Η ικανότητα δηλαδή, να κατανοούμε την οπτική γωνιά των άλλων και την διαφορετικότητά τους. Να μπορούμε να τοποθετούμε τον εαυτό μας στη θέση τους και να βλέπουμε τις καταστάσεις μέσα από τα μάτια τους.

2. Η αλληλεγγύη.

Η δυνατότητα δηλαδή να καλλιεργήσουμε συλλογική συνείδηση η οποία θα υπερβαίνει τα στενά ομαδικά, ή προσωπικά συμφέροντα και θα χαρακτηρίζεται από επιθυμία για εξάλειψη της κοινωνικής αδικίας και ανισότητας.

3. Ο σεβασμός.

Βασική αρχή που πραγματοποιείται με το άνοιγμα μας στους άλλους πολιτισμούς. Το σεβασμό μας στην ιστορική μνήμη αλλά και την πρόκληση των άλλων να συμμετάσχουν στον δικό μας πολιτισμό και κουλτούρα.

4. Η εξάλειψη του εθνικιστικού τρόπου σκέψης.

Η συνολική προσπάθεια με στόχο την απαλλαγή από εθνικές προκαταλήψεις και στερεότυπα που εμποδίζουν την επικοινωνία μεταξύ των λαών.

Ο Smolicz διακρίνει τρεις μορφές εκπαίδευσης σε σχέση με την πολυπολιτισμικότητα και την εκμάθηση της γλώσσας:

α) Την εκπαίδευση και μεταβατική πολυπολιτισμικότητα, όπου οι γλώσσες των μειονοτήτων διδάσκονται μεταβατικά στο επίσημο εκπαιδευτικό πρόγραμμα και λειτουργούν υποστηρικτικά στην εκμάθηση της γλώσσας της χώρας υποδοχής που αποτελεί και τον κύριο στόχο.

β) Την εκπαίδευση και υπολλειματική πολυπολιτισμικότητα, όπου οι γλώσσες κάποιων μειονοτήτων (πρόκειται για τις γλώσσες που έχουν «κύρος») προσφέρονται ως ξένες γλώσσες στο επίσημο εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα, ενώ τα παιδιά των άλλων μειονοτήτων μπορούν να μάθουν την μητρική τους γλώσσα συμπληρωματικά, εκτός του επίσημου εκπαιδευτικού προγράμματος, και

γ) Την εκπαίδευση και διαρκής πολυπολιτισμικότητα. Στην περίπτωση αυτή οι γλώσσες των μειονοτήτων συμπεριλαμβάνονται στο επίσημο πρόγραμμα και προσφέρονται σε κάθε εκπαιδευόμενο.

Ο Δαμανάκης ορίζει τρία αξιώματα που διέπουν την ανάλυση της διαπολιτισμικής προσέγγισης:

1. Το αξίωμα της ισοτιμίας των πολιτισμών: Η αποδοχή της ισοτιμίας των πολιτισμών πηγάζει από την Εθνολογία, αλλά συνεπάγεται πολλά θεωρητικά και πρακτικά προβλήματα. Τα πρακτικά προβλήματα εστιάζονται κυρίως στο ότι όποιος



διαπαιδαγωγεί και εκπαιδεύει είναι υποχρεωμένος να παίρνει αποφάσεις, οι οποίες πολλές φορές είναι προϊόν συγκρίσεων, αξιολογήσεων και ιεραρχήσεων. Στην διαπολιτισμική προσέγγιση, όμως, η μέχρι πρότινος κυρίαρχη αντίληψη είναι ότι πρέπει να αποφεύγεται η αξιολογική σύγκριση των πολιτισμών μια κι όλοι θεωρούνται ισότιμοι μεταξύ τους. Αυτό δεν σημαίνει ότι δεν υπάρχει αξιολόγηση, αλλά ότι ο κάθε πολιτισμός κρίνεται με εσωτερικά –και όχι εξωτερικά– συγκριτικά κριτήρια.

Εκείνο που ενδιαφέρει είναι η «λειτουργικότητα» του κάθε πολιτισμού κάτω από συγκεκριμένες συνθήκες, καθώς και η σημασία του για την πολιτισμοποίηση του ατόμου κι όχι η ανωτερότητα, ή κατωτερότητα του, σε σύγκριση με κάποιους άλλους πολιτισμούς.

Αυτό που τονίζεται στις παιδαγωγικές συζητήσεις, σύμφωνα με τον Δαμανάκη, ως κύριος στόχος είναι το άτομο που έρχεται στο σχολείο με βιώματα, εμπειρίες και παραστάσεις από δυο, ή περισσότερα πολιτισμικά συστήματα να μπορέσει να τα αναπτύξει απρόσκοπτα.

2. Το αξίωμα της ισοτιμίας του μορφωτικού κεφαλαίου: Η αρχή της ισοτιμίας του μορφωτικού κεφαλαίου ανθρώπων διαφορετικής πολιτισμικής προέλευσης αποτελεί προέκταση και συγκεκριμενοποίηση των συζητήσεων γύρω από την «υπόθεση του ελλείμματος» και την «υπόθεση της διαφοράς». Σύμφωνα με την πρώτη υπόθεση το μορφωτικό κεφάλαιο των παιδιών από τα κατώτερα κοινωνικά στρώματα, ή από τις μειονότητες είναι, σε σύγκριση με εκείνο των παιδιών από τα ανώτερα κοινωνικά στρώματα, ελλειμματικό. Βάσει της «υπόθεσης της διαφοράς» (differenzhypothese), τα κοινωνικοπολιτισμικά και γλωσσικά στοιχεία που φέρουν τα παιδιά των κατώτερων κοινωνικών στρωμάτων, ή οι μετανάστες δεν είναι ελλειμματικά αλλά διαφορετικά από των ντόπιων (στην περίπτωση των μεταναστών) ή των παιδιών των μεσαίων και ανώτερων στρωμάτων.

Θα λέγαμε ότι η αποδοχή της ισοτιμίας του μορφωτικού κεφαλαίου κινείται σε ένα μικροεπίπεδο και προϋποθέτει την αρχή της ισοτιμίας των πολιτισμών που κινείται σε ένα μακροεπίπεδο.

3. Το αξίωμα της παροχής ίσων ευκαιριών: Το σχολείο σύμφωνα με αυτό το αξίωμα (αρχή) οφείλει να δεχτεί το παιδί όπως είναι και να του δώσει την ευκαιρία να αναπτύξει τις δυνατότητες του και την προσωπικότητα του με βάση τις δικές του κοινωνικοπολιτισμικές προϋποθέσεις και το δικό του μορφωτικό κεφάλαιο.

Ανεξάρτητα από το εκπαιδευτικό μοντέλο που επιλέγεται, κατά την είσοδο τους στις σχολικές μονάδες οι μετανάστες και μετανάστριες, αναπτύσσουν μια αμφίδρομη σχέση με το χώρο του σχολείου. Προκειμένου να κατανοήσουμε τη σχέση που αναπτύσσουν με το χώρο και τον τόπο, θα επιχειρήσουμε, αρχικά, μια θεωρητική προσέγγιση στην έννοια του χώρου, ενώ στη συνέχεια θα εστιάσουμε στην έννοια του σχολικού χώρου καθώς πρόκειται για το χώρο στον οποίο τα παιδιά αυτά, περνούν το μεγαλύτερο μέρος της ζωής τους και ταυτόχρονα, από την πλευρά της Πολιτείας, αποτελεί τον επίσημο πυλώνα ένταξής τους. Στην ανάλυση μας θα



χρησιμοποιήσουμε, κυρίως, τις μελέτες του David Harvey, του Henri Lefebvre της Doreen Massey και του Michel Foucault.

Ξεκινώντας από τις θέσεις του γεωγράφου David Harvey, παρατηρούμε ότι προτείνει μια τριμερή διαίρεση στον τρόπο κατανόησης του χώρου και πιο συγκεκριμένα ορίζει τον απόλυτο, τον σχετικό και τον σχεσιακό χώρο. Οι διαιρέσεις αυτές, σύμφωνα με τον ίδιο, δεν είναι διακριτές και ανεξάρτητες η μια από την άλλη, αλλά και οι τρεις μαζί συνθέτουν την έννοια του χώρου. Περιγράφοντας τις παραπάνω διαστάσεις ο Harvey, αναφέρει τα εξής: ο απόλυτος χώρος προκύπτει εάν προσεγγίσουμε ό,τι μας περιβάλλει ως ένα πλαίσιο που επιδέχεται κανονικοποιημένη μέτρηση και τεχνικής φύσεως υπολογισμούς. Ο απόλυτος χώρος θεωρείται σταθερός, απόλυτος, με ύπαρξη ανεξάρτητη της ύλης. Σχετίζεται με το χώρο του Νεύτωνα και του Καρτέσιου. Γεωμετρικά είναι ο χώρος του Ευκλείδη, της τοπογραφικής χαρτογράφησης και των πρακτικών της μηχανικής. Κοινωνικά, περιλαμβάνει το χώρο της ιδιωτικής ιδιοκτησίας, τα κράτη, τις διοικητικές ενότητες, τις σαφώς οριοθετημένες χωρικές περιοχές. Στον απόλυτο χώρο, θεωρείται ότι τα πάντα μπορούν να μετρηθούν, να προσδιορισθούν με ορισμένο τρόπο, ενώ δεν υπάρχουν περιθώρια για αμφισημίες (Harvey, 2005:23). Στην περίπτωση του σχολείου, θα λέγαμε ότι περιλαμβάνει το κτίριο, την αυλή, τον τοίχο (ή τα κάγκελα) που τον οριοθετούν, το μέγεθος και τη διάταξη των αιθουσών ή των κοινόχρηστων χώρων (κυλικείο, τουαλέτες κ.λπ.), το τοπίο που περιβάλλει το σχολικό συγκρότημα κ.α.

Ο σχετικός χώρος, είναι η σχέση που αναπτύσσεται ανάμεσα σε «αντικείμενα» που υπάρχουν μόνο γιατί σχετίζονται μεταξύ τους (Harvey, 2005: 22). Συνδέεται με τον Einstein και τις μη-ευκλείδειες γεωμετρίες. Με βάση τη σχετική έννοια του χώρου τώρα, υπάρχουν πολλαπλές γεωμετρίες που δύναται να επιλέξει κανείς, και το χωρικό πλαίσιο που τίθεται εξαρτάται από το υποκείμενο. Η τροχιά -δηλαδή οι εμπειρίες, τα βιώματα και ο τρόπος σκέψης του παρατηρητή- παίζει κρίσιμο ρόλο στην περιγραφή του χώρου. Σε αυτή την προσέγγιση ο χρόνος συνδέεται άρρηκτα με το χώρο δημιουργώντας μια νέα έννοια, αυτή του χωροχρόνου. Με βάση την σχετικότητα του χώρου μπορούν να κατασκευαστούν χάρτες μεταξύ τοποθεσιών διαφοροποιώντας το αν οι αποστάσεις θα μετριοούνται με όρους κόστους, χρόνου κ.λπ. Στην περιγραφή του σχολικού χώρου μέσα από αυτή την οπτική, θα περιλαμβάναμε το διδακτικό προσωπικό και την σχετική θέση-ιεραρχία που υπάρχει ανάμεσα τους, το μαθητικό πληθυσμό με τα χαρακτηριστικά ανομοιογένειας του (φύλο, ηλικία, εθνικότητα κ.α.), το εκπαιδευτικό υλικό που υπάρχει ή διανέμεται (πίνακες, βιβλία), τη σχετική θέση των θρανίων, τη θέση της έδρας, το επίσημο αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα, το χρονικό διάστημα που κάποιος υποχρεούται να βρίσκεται στην αίθουσα κ.λπ.

Η τρίτη προσέγγιση περιγράφεται ως σχεσιακή και αναφέρεται στον χώρο τον περιεχόμενο σε αντικείμενα, υπό την έννοια ότι ένα αντικείμενο μπορεί να θεωρηθεί ότι υπάρχει μόνο στο βαθμό που περιέχει και αναπαριστά στο εσωτερικό σχέσεις με άλλα αντικείμενα (Harvey, 2005: 22). Η σχεσιακή αντίληψη του χώρου



συνδέεται με τον Leibniz, ο οποίος υποστηρίζει ότι δεν υπάρχει κανενός είδους χώρος ή χρόνος έξω από τις διαδικασίες που τις ορίζουν. Οι διαδικασίες δεν συμβαίνουν απλά στο χώρο αλλά ορίζουν το δικό τους χωρικό πλαίσιο. Η έννοια του χώρου είναι συνδεδεμένη με το εσωτερικό της εκάστοτε διαδικασίας και είναι αναπόσπαστα συνδεδεμένη με την έννοια του χρόνου. Βασικό γνώρισμα στη σχεσιακή αντίληψη του χωροχρόνου είναι ότι υποδηλώνεται μια ιδέα μετασχηματισμών των εξωτερικών ερεθισμάτων σε εσωτερικούς συσχετισμούς. Επίσης, ένα γεγονός ή πράγμα σε ένα σημείο του χώρου δεν μπορεί να γίνει κατανοητό εστιάζοντας μόνο σε ό,τι υπάρχει στο σημείο αυτό αλλά χρειάζεται να ληφθεί υπόψη ό,τι το περιβάλλει και ό,τι συμβαίνει γύρω του. Σύμφωνα με τον Harvey, μια μεγάλη ποικιλία ανόμοιων επιδράσεων που υπάρχουν στο χώρο στο παρελθόν, το παρόν και το μέλλον συγκεντρώνεται και συμπυκνώνονται σε κάποιο δεδομένο σημείο ορίζοντας τη φύση του σημείου. Είναι κατανοητό λοιπόν πως το ζήτημα της ταυτότητας διαφέρει αν αναφερόμαστε στο σχεσιακό από ό,τι στον απόλυτο χώρο. Στον σχεσιακό χώρο ο τρόπος που αντιλαμβάνεται κάποιος τα γεγονότα επηρεάζεται από τα χωροχρονικά πλαίσια που τοποθετείται. Οι χώροι και οι χρόνοι που μας περιέχουν και μας περιτριγυρίζουν επηρεάζουν τόσο τις άμεσες εμπειρίες μας όσο και τον τρόπο που ερμηνεύουμε ή κατανοούμε το τι συμβαίνει διαμορφώνοντας εκτός των άλλων και πολιτική συνείδηση. Ο σχολικός χώρος βάσει αυτής της έννοιας, αποτελείται και από τις σχέσεις εξουσίας που εμφανίζονται/δημιουργούνται σε αυτόν, τις επιθυμίες, απογοητεύσεις ή προσδοκίες των χρηστών του κ.α.

Σε καμία από τις παραπάνω προσεγγίσεις, οι διαστάσεις δεν μπορούν να αντιμετωπιστούν ως τρεις ανεξάρτητες έννοιες. Η αρχιτεκτονική ή η γεωγραφική θέση ενός κτηρίου, για παράδειγμα, δημιουργεί εντυπώσεις στους χρήστες του, οι οποίες με τη σειρά τους προκαλούν συναισθήματα, σε άλλη περίπτωση θα αναφέραμε ότι οι εικόνες των τοπίων της παιδικής ηλικίας, ανασύρονται από τη μνήμη φιλτραρισμένες από τα βιώματα του τότε και του τώρα, τέλος, η σχετική θέση στην ιεραρχία που έχουμε π.χ. στον εργασιακό χώρο καθορίζεται ή/και δημιουργεί τρόπους για να βιώσουμε τον χώρο αυτό. Άλλωστε, το σχολείο είναι το μέρος που, σύμφωνα με το νόμο, όλοι υποχρεούμαστε να βρισκόμαστε για συγκεκριμένες ώρες την ημέρα, από την ηλικία των 6 μέχρι αυτή των 15 ετών περίπου. Μέσα από ένα πρόγραμμα (Αναλυτικό Πρόγραμμα), που ορίζει το αρμόδιο υπουργείο, καθορίζονται μια σειρά μεταβλητών που συνιστούν την εκπαιδευτική διαδικασία (γνωστικά αντικείμενα, διδακτέα ύλη, στόχοι και συχνότητα έκαστου μαθήματος κ.λπ.). Η προσέγγιση του Harvey παρουσιάζει κοινά σημεία με την προσέγγιση του Lefebvre για το χώρο, ωστόσο ο Lefebvre, θεωρεί ότι υπάρχουν πολλές μέθοδοι προσέγγισης. Μπορεί δηλαδή κάποιος να μελετήσει το χώρο που αντιλαμβάνεται καθημερινά στο επίπεδο του ατόμου και της ομάδας του, της οικογένειας και της γειτονιάς, περιλαμβάνοντας αυτό που ονομάζεται «περιβάλλον». Αναρωτιέται, αν μπορούμε να δούμε το χώρο ως ένα κοινωνικό κείμενο όπου πρέπει να βρούμε ή να φτιάξουμε τους κώδικες για να



αποκρυπτογραφήσουμε τα μηνύματά του. Για τον Lefebvre, η θεωρητική προσέγγιση της έννοιας του χώρου είναι ουσιώδης, καθώς όπως ισχυρίζεται, στον πυρήνα του αντιληπτού χώρου υπάρχει ήδη ο θεωρητικός, ή αλλιώς «η θεωρητική αφαίρεση υπάρχει ήδη μέσα στη συγκεκριμενοποίηση» (Lefebvre, 2007: 208)

Στην οπτική του Lefebvre, το ζήτημα του συστήματος είναι καίριο. Τονίζει ότι στην επιστημονική μέθοδο, είναι λάθος να θεωρούμε ένα προϋπάρχον σύστημα και μια προϋπάρχουσα λογική, αλλά οφείλουμε, το υπό μελέτη αντικείμενο να το τοποθετούμε στο κέντρο μιας συνολικότητας. Αναφέρει, για παράδειγμα, την νεοκαπιταλιστική κοινωνία όπου δεν πρέπει να αποτελεί αφετηρία καθώς τότε είναι σαν να της αποδίδουμε μια ήδη φτασμένη και πραγματοποιημένη συνοχή. Η παραπάνω συλλογιστική έχει ως συνέπεια την αδυναμία μας, να εξάγουμε τον χώρο από ένα σύστημα, για να τον μελετήσουμε, αντίθετα αυτό που πρέπει να κάνουμε είναι η διερεύνηση της λειτουργίας του μέσα σε αυτό.

Ο Lefebvre, κατά τη μελέτη του πάνω στο χώρο, επισημαίνει ότι τον ενδιαφέρει ο βιωμένος χώρος σε συνάρτηση με την κοινωνική πρακτική καθώς και τα ζητήματα που προκύπτουν από αυτόν κι αφορούν τη χωρικότητα (Lefebvre, 2007: 210). Θεωρεί ότι η προβληματική του βιωμένου χώρου ανήκει στη μελέτη του αστικού (με την έννοια της δυναμικής της πόλης μέσα στη νεοκαπιταλιστική κοινωνία), η οποία με τη σειρά της ανήκει στη μελέτη της κοινωνίας ως σύνολο. Πιστεύει ωστόσο, πως δύναται κι άλλη προσέγγιση όπου ο χώρος αντιμετωπίζεται ως ένα ουδέτερο, «καθαρό» αντικείμενο, ωστόσο δεν φαίνεται να θεωρεί πως οι δυο προσεγγίσεις αλληλοσυμπληρώνονται, καθώς υποστηρίζει ότι η μελέτη του χώρου ως κάτι ουδέτερο αφορά μόνο τους μαθηματικούς ή τους φιλοσόφους (2007:225)

Ο Lefebvre (Lefebvre, 2007:211) διατυπώνει τις παρακάτω «υποθέσεις» που αφορούν την προσέγγιση της έννοιας του χώρου:

α) Σύμφωνα με την πρώτη υπόθεση, ο χώρος είναι η καθαρή μορφή. Η θεώρηση του αποκλείει την ερμηνεία, την ιδεολογία ή τη μη-γνώση. Μέσα από αυτή την προσέγγιση η καθαρή μορφή του χώρου συνδέεται με την καρτεσιανή και καντιανή φιλοσοφία ενώ μπορεί να θεωρηθεί ως είναι μια απόλυτη ιδέα που μοιάζει με τον πλατωνικό αριθμό. Επίσης, οι επιστήμονες είναι αυτοί που δημιουργούν χώρους διαμορφώσεων με ορισμένο πλήθος παραμέτρων και μεταβλητών με αποτέλεσμα ο χώρος να παρουσιάζεται ως ένα μοντέλο συνοχής. Η λειτουργία του χώρου είναι να συνδέει το πνευματικό με το υλικό, το ιδεατό με το αντικειμενικό, το θεωρητικό με το πρακτικό. Ο χώρος εδώ, πέρα από άδειος αρχικά είναι και οπτικός, όπου στη συνέχεια γεμίζει με «χρήστες» και αντικείμενα. Τα αντικείμενα, οι ομάδες, τα άτομα τοποθετούνται στον «πραγματικό», ήδη κοινωνικά πραγματοποιημένο χώρο. Αυτή η θεώρηση του χώρου, δεν μένει μόνο στο επιστημολογικό επίπεδο αλλά οδηγεί μερικούς αρχιτέκτονες να πιστεύουν ότι είναι αποκλειστικά οι ίδιοι οι εμπνευστές και δημιουργοί που πραγματοποιούν μέσα στην κοινωνία τη θεώρηση τους και τον ορισμό τους για το χώρο.

Επίσης, αυτή η προσέγγιση στην έννοια του χώρου, συμβαίνει παράλληλα με την πεποίθηση ότι υπάρχει «απόλυτη» γνώση, η οποία έρχεται από το παρελθόν





(φιλοσοφία, ιδεολογίες κ.α.) και εγγράφεται στο σύγχρονο χώρο (Lefebvre, 2007:213).

β) Σύμφωνα με τη δεύτερη υπόθεση, ο κοινωνικός χώρος αποτελεί προϊόν της κοινωνίας και γίνεται αντιληπτός πρώτα με την αίσθηση, άρα την εμπειρική περιγραφή, ενώ έπεται η θεωρητικοποίησή του. Θεωρείται ως ο χώρος που προκύπτει από την εργασία ή τον καταμερισμό της εργασίας και βάσει αυτού είναι ο ευρύς τόπος των παραγμένων αντικειμένων, το πραγματοποιημένο και αντικειμενοποιημένο σύνολο των πραγμάτων που τον καταλαμβάνουν. Ο χώρος εδώ θεωρείται ως η αντικειμενοποίηση του κοινωνικού και του πνευματικού και με αυτή την έννοια αποτελεί σημείο άφιξης. Η γνώση του, τέλος, βασίζεται στην περιγραφή.

γ) Με βάση την τρίτη υπόθεση, ο χώρος δεν θεωρείται ούτε σημείο έναρξης (όπως στην πρώτη προσέγγιση), ούτε τερματικό σημείο (όπως στη δεύτερη που προσεγγίζεται ως προϊόν) αλλά ένα *ενδιάμεσο* με όλες τις σημασίες, δηλαδή ένα μέσο, ένα όργανο, ένα περιβάλλον και μια μεσολάβηση. Στην υπόθεση αυτή ο χώρος είναι ένα πολιτικό όργανο χειρισμένο με σκοπιμότητα κι ένα μέσο στα χέρια μιας εξουσίας (Κράτους, ομάδας, τάξης κ.α.). Ως μεσολάβηση, αυτός ο χώρος, επιτρέπει είτε την επιβολή δια της βίας μιας κάποιας συνάφειας, είτε την απόκρυψη πίσω από μια φαινομενική λογική και αντικειμενική συνοχή, των αντιφάσεων της πραγματικότητας. Οι όροι «συνάφεια» και «συναχία» σημαίνουν την αναζητούμενη επιθυμητή *ρύθμιση*, η οποία δεν είναι κατ' ανάγκη και πραγματοποιημένη (Lefebvre, 2008:214).

δ) Στην τέταρτη υπόθεση, ο χώρος δεν είναι ούτε ένα προϊόν, ούτε απλά η προϋπόθεση κάθε παραγωγής και κάθε ανταλλαγής. Είναι άρρηκτα δεμένος με την παραγωγή και αναπαραγωγή ορισμένων, κοινωνικών σχέσεων. Αυτός ο χώρος περιλαμβάνει τους χώρους διακοπών, αναψυχής, τον εκπαιδευτικό και της καθημερινής ζωής. Ο χώρος θεωρείται ως ένα δυναμικό σχήμα συσχέτισης, συνένωσης και ένταξης μέσα στους διαχωρισμένους χώρους των αρχιτεκτόνων και πολεοδόμων. Με βάση την υπόθεση αυτή, ο χώρος φαίνεται από τη μια διαχωρισμένος κι εξαρθρωμένος, ενώ από την άλλη είναι οργανωμένος κι επανασυνδεδεμένος από την Εξουσία. Σε αυτόν το χώρο, σύμφωνα με τον Lefebvre (Lefebvre, 2007:220), αντιστοιχεί κι ένας χρόνος με παρόμοιες ιδιότητες: ο χρόνος ως ανώτατο αγαθό ή εμπόρευμα που πουλιέται κι αγοράζεται. Όπως αναφερόμαστε σε χώρους διασκέδασης, εργασίας, αναψυχής, έτσι ορίζουμε και χρόνο διασκέδασης, χρόνο εργασίας, χρόνο ξεκούρασης. Η ενότητα του χώρου και του χρόνου είναι συγχρόνως διαχωρισμένη σε επιμέρους λειτουργίες που καθορίζονται από την οικονομική και πολιτική εξουσία.

Ο Lefebvre (Lefebvre, 2007:220), δεχόμενος την άποψη του Marx, για τον «τριαδικό κανόνα» αναφέρει ότι στην παραγωγή και την αναπαραγωγή των κοινωνικών σχέσεων, στην κοινωνία δηλαδή, υπάρχουν: α) Το κεφάλαιο και το κέρδος του επιχειρηματία και της αστικής τάξης, β) η ιδιοκτησία της γης και γ) η μισθωτή εργασία της εργατικής τάξης. Αυτά τα τρία στοιχεία έχουν παρουσιαστεί ψευδώς





σαν διαχωρισμένα με σκοπό να αντιμετωπιστούν ως τέτοια. Ο διαχωρισμός με αυτό τον τρόπο αποκτά πραγματική σημασία, ενώ χάνεται η εικόνα της ενότητας του συστήματος, που δεν είναι άλλη παρά η κυριαρχία της οικονομικής και πολιτικής αστικής τάξης. Το τριμερές σχήμα του Μαρξ, με το χώρο που περιγράφεται σε αυτή την υπόθεση από τον Lefebvre, σχετίζονται καθώς και στις δυο περιπτώσεις η αποσύνδεση, η τμηματικότητα και η διαίρεση φαίνονται φυσικές και έτσι αντιμετωπίζονται ως πραγματικές. Η αλληλεξάρτηση των τμημάτων και η ενότητα παραγκωνίζονται και η άσκηση της εξουσίας δεν φαίνεται, γι' αυτό τα αποτελέσματα της μοιάζουν φυσικά.

Για τον Lefebvre, ο χώρος με τις ποικίλες, κονιορτοποιημένες δραστηριότητες που λαμβάνουν χώρα σε αυτόν, αποτελεί το σχήμα μέσω του οποίου η αστική, άρχουσα τάξη επιδιώκει να μετατρέψει την κοινωνία σε σύστημα. Αναφέρει βέβαια ότι «η κοινωνία δεν υπακούει σε κάποια λογική, αλλά τείνει προς αυτή, δεν είναι σύστημα, αλλά προσπαθεί να γίνει ενώνοντας τον καταναγκασμό και τη χρήση αναπαραστάσεων» (Lefebvre, 2007:226).

Τέλος, οι αντιφάσεις του χώρου έχουν να κάνουν με τις αντιφάσεις της καπιταλιστικής κοινωνίας, καθώς από τη μια η προσέγγιση και μελέτη του χώρου, φαίνεται εκλογικευμένη, ενώ από την άλλη ο ίδιος είναι παράδοξα τεμαχισμένος, εμπορευματοποιημένος ή πουλημένος τμηματικά.

Εν συνεχεία, μελετώντας το έργο της Doreen Massey, αναδεικνύεται η ιδιαίτερη σχέση που έχει η έννοια του χώρου με την καθημερινή ζωή και την πολιτική (Massey, 2008:9). Πρώτα απ' όλα, η Massey αναφέρει πως ο χώρος δεν ταυτίζεται με τον τόπο. Ο χώρος επίσης, δεν μπορεί, ούτε πρέπει να αναπαρίσταται ως επιφάνεια, καθώς έτσι στερείται ιστορίας, θεωρώντας ότι όταν ο κόσμος δεν περιγράφεται όπως είναι αλλά μέσω ενός ειδώλου (προβολή χωρών, συνόρων κ.α. σε χάρτες) δημιουργείται στρεβλή εντύπωση για αυτόν.

Ως βασικούς άξονες της θεωρητικής προσέγγισης της Massey θα αναφέραμε τους εξής:

α) ο χώρος είναι προϊόν αλληλοσυσχετισμών. Με βάση αυτή την (πολιτική) προσέγγιση τονίζεται η σχεσιακή συγκρότηση των πραγμάτων. Οι ταυτότητες των αντικειμένων ή υποκειμένων δεν είναι δεδομένες, προϋπάρχουσες και αμετάβλητες αλλά προκύπτουν ως προϊόν αλληλεπίδρασης και το κρίσιμο, για τη Massey, είναι η (πολιτική) γεωγραφία αυτών των επιδράσεων ή συσχετισμών συγκρότησης (Massey, 2008:27, 29).

β) αποτελεί τη σφαίρα του πιθανού, του ταυτόχρονου πλουραλισμού και της ετερογένειας καθώς ο χώρος δεν υπάρχει χωρίς πολλαπλότητα και η πολλαπλότητα δεν υπάρχει χωρίς χώρο. Η Massey, δεν εστιάζει στην ανάδειξη μιας οπτικής πέρα από την κλασική, για παράδειγμα την ιστορία του κόσμου πέρα από τη ματιά ή τα πρότυπα της Δύσης, αλλά τονίζει ότι μια αυθεντική και διεξοδική χωρικοποίηση της κοινωνικής θεωρίας και της πολιτικής σκέψης μπορεί να ωθήσει τη φαντασία σε μια πληρέστερη αναγνώριση της ταυτόχρονης ύπαρξης των άλλων με τις δικές τους τροχιές και τις δικές τους ιστορίες προς αφήγηση (Massey, 2008:30).



γ) ο χώρος δεν ολοκληρώνεται ή δεν κλείνει ποτέ, παρά είναι σε συνεχή μετασχηματισμό και κατασκευή. Το μέλλον θεωρείται ως κάτι ανοικτό και η ιστορία δεν κινείται προς μια (έστω γενική) κατεύθυνση. Αντίθετα, τόσο η ιστορία όσο και ο χώρος είναι πεδία ανοιχτά, γιατί μόνο σε έναν τέτοιο χώρο μπορούμε να έχουμε παραγωγή σχέσεων μέσω της πολλαπλότητας. Εάν ο χώρος ήταν σύστημα κλειστό τα προϊόντα θα ήταν προδιαγεγραμμένα και η ιστορία μονόδρομος.

Η Massey, υποστηρίζει ότι είναι προβληματικό να επιχειρούμε διαχωρισμό του χώρου από το χρόνο, σε αντίθεση με τους δομιστές όπως π.χ. ο Henri Bergson, οι οποίοι παρά την πρόθεσή τους να διαχωρίσουν την γεωγραφία από την ιστορική αφήγηση τελικά αντιμετώπισαν το χώρο ως δομή και το χρόνο ως διαδικασία (Massey, 2008:70). Ισχυρίζεται επίσης, πως δεν υπάρχει θέμα προτεραιότητας της μελέτης του χρόνου απ' ότι του χώρου και ότι αυτό δεν είναι κάτι πολιτικά ουδέτερο, αλλά σχετίζεται με τον τρόπο που βλέπουμε τη γνώση, την επιστήμη και τη μέθοδο που επιλέγουμε για να αναζητήσουμε απαντήσεις. Το να αντιμετωπίζουμε το χρόνο σαν κάτι που αλλάζει συνεχώς σε αντίθεση με τον χώρο που είναι σταθερός, αναλλοίωτος και δέχεται (υπό μια έννοια, παθητικά) την επίδραση του χρόνου έχει να κάνει με μια «στενή» αντίληψη μεταξύ γνώσης κι επιστήμης, αντικειμενικότητας και αλήθειας για ό,τι μας περιβάλλει. Εστιάζοντας στο χώρο του σχολείου γίνεται φανερό ότι αυτός αποτελεί πολιτικό πεδίο, η ύπαρξη και η επίδραση του επεκτείνεται πέρα από στοιχεία που περιγράφονται αντικειμενικά, ενώ η ταυτότητα των χρηστών και χρηστριών του συγκροτούνται και μεταβάλλονται μέσα από μια συνεχή επίδραση πολλαπλών ερεθισμάτων.

Η έννοια του χώρου συναντάται επίσης στο έργο του Γάλλου, μεταδομιστή φιλοσόφου Michel Foucault, κυρίως γιατί εισάγει μια νέα έννοια, αυτή της ετεροτοπίας. Τα κύρια ενδιαφέροντα του Foucault αφορούσαν την εξουσία και την παραγωγή του υποκειμένου μέσα από την πειθαρχία, παρόλα αυτά αναγνώρισε την σημασία του χώρου κατά τη διαδικασία συγκρότησης του υποκειμένου και της παραγωγής γνώσης/αλήθειας. Ο Foucault περιέγραψε έξι αρχές στις οποίες στηρίζεται η *ετεροτοπολογία*:

Αρχικά, υποστήριξε ότι όλες οι κουλτούρες δημιουργούν ετεροτοπίες. Στις παλαιότερες κοινωνίες υπήρχαν οι ετεροτοπίες της «κρίσης», δηλαδή τόποι (ιεροί, απαγορευμένοι κ.λπ.) στους οποίους είχαν πρόσβαση μόνο άτομα σε «κρίση» (έγκυες, έφηβοι, ηλικιωμένοι κ.α.), ενώ στις νεότερες επικρατούν οι ετεροτοπίες της «απόκλισης», στις οποίες ζουν άτομα με αποκλίνουσα, ως προς το κυρίαρχο, «ορθό» μοντέλο, συμπεριφορά (κλινικές, φυλακές κ.λπ.). Η δεύτερη αρχή αναφέρεται στο ότι κατά την ιστορική εξέλιξη μιας κοινωνίας η ήδη υπάρχουσα ετεροτοπία, μπορεί να λειτουργήσει με έναν τρόπο διαφορετικό, ενώ παρουσιάζει εδώ το παράδειγμα του νεκροταφείου, ενός χώρου που με το πέρασμα του χρόνου και καθώς υπερίσχυσε ο ορθολογισμός έναντι του θεοκρατισμού, «μεταφέρθηκε» έξω από το κέντρο των πόλεων, διότι συνδέθηκε με τη μετάδοση ασθενειών και τη μόλυνση. Η τρίτη αρχή περιγράφει τη δυνατότητα της ετεροτοπίας να παραθέσει σε έναν τόπο πολλούς χώρους. Τα παραδείγματα που δίνονται αφορούν τη σκηνή του



θεάτρου, την οθόνη του κινηματογράφου και κυρίως τον παραδοσιακό περσικό κήπο, ο οποίος λειτουργεί ως μεταφορά/απεικόνιση του πραγματικού κόσμου (μικρόκοσμος). Τέταρτον, η ετεροτοπία θεωρείται ότι ξεκινά να λειτουργεί πλήρως όταν οι άνθρωποι βρίσκονται σε απόλυτη ρήξη με τον παραδοσιακό τους χρόνο. Τα παραδείγματα που αναφέρονται εδώ είναι αυτά των μουσείων και των βιβλιοθηκών καθώς σε αυτούς τους χώρους συγκεντρώνονται οι ιδέες και η πορεία τους από πολλές διαφορετικές, παρελθοντικές χρονικές περιόδους. Επίσης, αναφέρονται οι γιορτές, «τα χωριά διακοπών της Πολυνησίας» κ.α. καθώς κατά τις περιόδους αυτές ο καθημερινός ρυθμός διαχείρισης του χρόνου μεταβάλλεται, ο χρόνος αποκτά ετερότητα, δημιουργείται δηλαδή μια χρονική ετεροτοπία. Σύμφωνα με την πέμπτη αρχή, οι ετεροτοπίες προϋποθέτουν ένα σύστημα ανοίγματος και κλεισίματος το οποίο τις απομονώνει και συγχρόνως τις καθιστά προσπελάσιμες. Τα παραδείγματα ποικίλουν από τους χώρους της φυλακής, του στρατώνα, του χαμάμ, αλλά και των αμερικάνικων μοτέλ στα οποία από τη μια πλευρά επιτρέπεται η είσοδος σε «παράνομα» ζευγάρια, ωστόσο από την άλλη δεν γίνονται αποδεκτές όλες οι μορφές σεξουαλικότητας. Η τελευταία αρχή αφορά στο ότι οι ετεροτοπίες διαθέτουν μια λειτουργία σε σχέση με τον υπόλοιπο χώρο. Ο Foucault εδώ, αναφέρεται στους (ετεροτοπικούς) χώρους των ψευδαισθήσεων και της αντιστάθμισης. Οι χώροι των ψευδαισθήσεων περιλαμβάνουν τους οίκους ανοχής, όπου η σεξουαλική σχέση μέσω της συζυγικής ζωής αμφισβητείται, οι δε χώροι της αντιστάθμισης περιγράφουν την πλήρως οργανωμένη καθημερινότητα τόσο στον πολεοδομικό σχεδιασμό, όσο και στη χρονική ακολουθία των καθημερινών συμβάντων (ζύπνημα με χτύπημα καμπάνας, ταυτόχρονη έναρξη εργασίας, γεύματα και ώρα ύπνου σε προκαθορισμένους χρόνους).

Η προσέγγιση του, ωστόσο που μας ενδιαφέρει περισσότερο αφορά στη μελέτη της φύσης της σχέσης που υπάρχει μεταξύ γνώσης, αλήθειας κι εξουσίας. Σύμφωνα με τον Foucault η γνώση -όχι μόνο αυτή που (ανα)παράγεται μέσα στο χώρο του σχολείου- διαπερνάται από την εξουσία, καθώς πολλές φορές μοιάζει ως η εξουσία να είναι αυτή που κάνει τα πράγματα «αληθή» κι όχι τα γεγονότα της πραγματικότητας. Γίνεται έτσι, αντιληπτό ότι μέσα στους στόχους και πρακτικές της άσκησης εξουσίας είναι και η ανάγκη/τάση για μια ερμηνευτική των γεγονότων, η οποία θα μετασηματιστεί σε γνώση, μέσω της αποδοχής και της συνήθειας, διαμορφώνοντας κανονικότητες, ηθικούς κώδικες και επιτρεπτές συμπεριφορές. Επιπλέον, μπορούν -οι ερμηνείες της- να φανούν αληθείς επειδή οι άνθρωποι «συμμορφώνονται» με αυτές, κι έτσι οι ενέργειες τους έχουν πραγματικά αποτελέσματα. Γίνεται φυσικά αντιληπτό ότι η έννοια της εξουσίας για τον Foucault, έχει βαρύνουσα σημασία και θέλοντας να αποσαφηνίσει τον όρο την ορίζει ως εξής: «Με τον όρο εξουσία, νομίζω ότι πρέπει καταρχήν να εννοούμε το πλήθος των σχέσεων δύναμης που ενυπάρχουν στο χώρο που ασκούνται και είναι συστατικές της οργάνωσής τους, το παιχνίδι που μέσα από αδιάκοπους αγώνες και συγκρούσεις τις μεταμορφώνει, τις ενδυναμώνει, τις αντιστρέφει. Τα στηρίγματα που αυτές οι σχέσεις δύναμης βρίσκουν μεταξύ τους έτσι που να σχηματίζουν



αλυσίδα ή σύστημα ή αντίθετα τις αναντιστοιχίες, τις αντιφάσεις που απομονώνουν η μια την άλλη. Τέλος, τις στρατηγικές μέσα στις οποίες ενεργοποιούνται και που το γενικό τους σχέδιο ή η θεσμική τους αποκρυστάλλωση υλοποιούνται στους κρατικούς μηχανισμούς, στη διατύπωση του νόμου, στις κοινωνικές ηγεμονίες». Γίνεται επομένως φανερό, ότι η εξουσία δεν ασκείται από κάπου κεντρικά ούτε μεταβιβάζεται, αλλά, ως πλέγμα σχέσεων επεκτείνεται πέρα από τους θεσμούς, ξεπερνά τη συνταγματικότητα-νομιμότητα και υπάρχει τελικά σε όλες τις ανθρώπινες σχέσεις. Δεν είναι προνόμιο της κυρίαρχης τάξης και δεν εξαντλείται σε μια οποιαδήποτε αντίθεση ανάμεσα σε κοινωνικά δίπολα, που το ένα κυριαρχεί πάνω στο άλλο. Αντίθετα, η εξουσία είναι μια μορφή δράσης ενός προσώπου ή μιας ομάδας προσώπων, με σκοπό τη δημιουργία «αποδεκτών» συμπεριφορών. Η άσκηση εξουσίας, δηλαδή, έχει στόχο να οριοθετήσει τις ενδεχόμενες συμπεριφορές των υποκειμένων και «διαπαιδαγωγώντας» τα να συγκροτήσει το επιθυμητό γι' αυτή πεδίο δράσης των «άλλων». Η στρατηγική της εξουσίας ωστόσο, δεν υπολογίζει απλά τη συμπεριφορά του άλλου, αλλά προσπαθεί να κατασκευάσει τους όρους όπου ο άλλος έχει την «ελευθερία» να συμμετάσχει. Οι σχέσεις εξουσίας, ωστόσο, είναι πολλαπλές και τα υποκείμενα που μετέχουν σε αυτές δεν έχουν μια και μοναδική συμμετοχή σε κάποια στάση ή αντίσταση (Σολομών, 1994). Η (αναγκαστική) ύπαρξη στο σχολικό χώρο και συμμετοχή στη σχολική ζωή προκαλούν σχέσεις, εμπειρίες και βιώματα μέσω των δράσεων που πραγματώνονται, όμως «ο τρόπος δράσης πάνω στις δράσεις των άλλων ή το σύνολο δράσεων πάνω σε ενδεχόμενες δράσεις» αποτελεί άσκηση εξουσίας (Foucault, επ. Σολομών, 1994:137). Είναι ένας χώρος, με άλλα λόγια που λειτουργεί ως πεδίο δράσης εξουσιών.

Ο Foucault εισάγει επίσης, την έννοια της πειθαρχίας, η οποία πρώτα από όλα περιλαμβάνει τον έλεγχο του χώρου και του χρόνου και συνίσταται στη δημιουργία εκπαιδευτικών συστημάτων που παράγουν ορισμένα είδη δεξιοτήτων. Τα συστήματα αυτά περιλαμβάνουν τον προσδιορισμό και την τυποποίηση σταδίων προόδου καθώς και τον προγραμματισμό της εκμάθησης (Σολομών, 1994: 26).

Στο επίπεδο του σχολείου ο έλεγχος του χώρου περιλαμβάνει την εξωτερική περίφραξη, την εσωτερική υποδιαίρεση του χώρου δημιουργώντας ξεχωριστές θέσεις για κάθε άτομο ή ομάδα ατόμων ανάλογα με τη χρονική στιγμή (π.χ. οι μαθητές μπορούν να κινούνται μόνο εντός της αίθουσας ή στην αυλή κι όχι στα μπαλκόνια, στις σκάλες ή στα γραφεία καθηγητών, αντίστοιχα οι καθηγητές μπορούν να βρίσκονται, χωρίς άδεια, παντού εκτός από το γραφείο του/της διευθυντή/διευθύντριας κ.ο.κ.). Η οργάνωση ενός χώρου, που ταξινομεί και αναλύει όλα τα στοιχεία που υπάρχουν, παρέχει τη δυνατότητα για μια επιτήρηση τόσο εξατομικευμένη, όσο και συνολική. Σε κάθε περίπτωση, ο χώρος δομείται ως ένας μηχανισμός επίβλεψης -ακολουθώντας την αρχή της ορατότητας- και οπτικού ελέγχου, όπου ανά πάσα στιγμή ο μαθητής τίθεται κάτω από το βλέμμα του εκπαιδευτικού σε μια σχέση «ιεραρχικής επιτήρησης». Σύμφωνα με τον Foucault (Σολομών, 1994: 17) «ένα βλέμμα που επιτηρεί και το οποίο ο καθένας,



αισθανόμενος να βαραίνει πάνω του, θα καταλήξει να εσωτερικεύσει σε σημείο τέτοιο ώστε να αυτοπαρατηρείται». Ο καθένας έτσι θα ασκήσει αυτή την επιτήρηση επάνω και ενάντια στον εαυτό του. Επομένως, ο χώρος του σχολείου αποτελεί χώρο συγκρότησης του κοινωνικού, άρα και των αντιθέσεων, των αντιφάσεων και των ανισοτήτων, τις οποίες συνεπάγεται αυτό το γεγονός. Και ταυτόχρονα δηλώνει την προσπάθεια να εισαχθούν στις σχολικές χωρικές διατάξεις, εκείνες οι κοινωνικές και θεσμικές διατάξεις καθώς και οι μορφές επικοινωνίας, που η εξουσία επιθυμεί να εισάγει. Πρέπει, λοιπόν, να δούμε την οργάνωση του σχολικού χώρου ως μια στρατηγική εξουσίας, που συναρθρώνεται με τις άλλες εξουσιαστικές σχέσεις στο πλαίσιο του σχολείου. Όπως τονίζει ο Foucault (Foucault, 1989: 196) «η πειθαρχία αναπτύσσει σύνθετους χώρους: Από τη μία πραγματικούς που ρυθμίζουν τη διάθεση των κτιρίων, των θαλάμων και της επίπλωσης, και ιδεατούς αφού πάνω σε αυτή τη διευθέτηση εγγράφονται αξιολογήσεις και ιεραρχίες». Στη σχολική αίθουσα, σχηματίζεται ένα πεδίο ώστε να καλλιεργηθούν στρατηγικές ελέγχου και πειθαρχίας.

Η προσπάθεια για επιβολή της σχολικής πειθαρχίας αποσκοπεί στο να θέσει σε λειτουργία μεθόδους και τεχνικές που θα αξιολογούν και θα νομιμοποιούν τις συμπεριφορές στο εσωτερικό της σχολικής μονάδας.

Έτσι προσεγγίζοντας τις αναλύσεις του Foucault, η αντιμετώπιση της αναπαραγωγικής λειτουργίας της εκπαίδευσης, δεν περιορίζεται στον ταξικό της χαρακτήρα, αλλά επιδιώκει να χαρτογραφήσει τους πολύπλευρους μηχανισμούς εξουσίας, που ενυπάρχουν στις σχολικές πρακτικές και τον τρόπο με τον οποίο παράγουν αποτελέσματα. Η περιγραφή που καταλήγει να κάνει για το θεσμό του σχολείου, είναι η εξής: «το σχολείο αποτελεί ένα μπλοκ μέσα στο οποίο η συναρμογή των ικανοτήτων, των δικτύων επικοινωνίας και των σχέσεων εξουσίας, συνιστούν συστήματα ρυθμισμένα και ενορχηστρωμένα. Το σχολείο με τη χωρική του διευθέτηση, τη σχολαστική ρύθμιση που διευθύνει την εσωτερική του ζωή, με τις διαφοροποιημένες δραστηριότητες που οργανώνονται, αποτελεί ένα μπλοκ ικανότητας, επικοινωνίας, εξουσίας. Η δραστηριότητα που εξασφαλίζει την εκμάθηση και την απόκτηση δεξιοτήτων ή τύπων συμπεριφοράς, αναπτύσσεται εκεί διαμέσου ενός ολόκληρου συνόλου ρυθμισμένων επικοινωνιών (μαθήματα, ερωτήσεις και απαντήσεις, διαταγές, παροτρύνσεις, κωδικοποιημένα σημάδια της αξίας του καθενός και των επιπέδων γνώσης) και διαμέσου μιας σειράς μεθόδων εξουσίας (κλείσιμο, επιτήρηση, ανταμοιβή, τιμωρία, πυραμοειδής ιεραρχία)» (Foucault, 1991: 89-90).

Ως ποινές χρησιμοποιούνται μια σειρά από εκλεπτυσμένες μεθόδους, από την ελαφριά σωματική τιμωρία, μέχρι ελάσσονες στερήσεις και μικροταπεινώσεις. Ο Foucault, τονίζει πως το καθεστώς των ποινικών κυρώσεων, μέσα στις πειθαρχίες, προβαίνει σε πέντε διαφορετικές λειτουργίες: «ανάγει τις πράξεις, τις επιδόσεις, τις ατομικές συμπεριφορές, σε ένα σύνολο που είναι ταυτόχρονα πεδίο σύγκρισης, χώρος διαφοροποίησης και θεμελιακή αρχή ενός κανόνα που πρέπει να τηρείται. Διαχωρίζει τα άτομα μεταξύ τους και σε συνάρτηση με το γενικό αυτό κανόνα.





Μετράει με όρους ποσοτικούς και ταξινομεί με όρους αξίας τις ικανότητες, το πεδίο γνώσης και τη φύση των ατόμων. Διαμέσου του αξιολογικού αυτού μέτρου, εξαναγκάζει σε μια συμμόρφωση που πρέπει να πραγματοποιηθεί, χαράζοντας το όριο που θα προσδιορίσει τη διαφορά σε σχέση με όλες τις άλλες διαφορές, το εξωτερικό σύνορο του μη-κανονικού» (Foucault, 1989: 242). Επιπλέον, η διαδικασία της εξέτασης ανατροφοδοτεί όλον τον παιδαγωγικό μηχανισμό και προκαλεί αποτελέσματα (εξουσίας) στα παιδαγωγικά υποκείμενα. Αυτό γίνεται καθώς οι κανόνες αξιολόγησης επιδρούν στην εικόνα που σχηματίζουν οι μαθητές για τις ικανότητες και τις δεξιότητές τους, κάτι που επηρεάζει, εκτός των άλλων, και την εκπαιδευτική σταδιοδρομία τους που κάποιες φορές μπορεί να ευθύνεται για την διακοπή της φοίτησης.

Με βάση τα προαναφερθέντα οφείλουμε βέβαια να κάνουμε ορισμένες επισημάνσεις. Το σύστημα συνόρων που περιγράφηκε πιο πάνω δεν μεταφέρεται αυτούσιο στο σχολικό πλαίσιο. Ορισμένα στοιχεία του, ανάλογα με το τι επιτρέπει η θεωρία αγωγής και το διοικητικό πλαίσιο της συγκεκριμένης εκπαιδευτικής πρακτικής, αναπλαισιώνονται προκειμένου να τοποθετηθούν στο συγκεκριμένο σχολικό πλαίσιο της διδακτικής πράξης και μάθησης, άλλα πάλι, εισάγονται απευθείας, χωρίς άλλη διαμεσολάβηση. Η αναπλαισίωση μπορεί να γίνει και από τους εκπαιδευτικούς σε τοπικό, όμως πάντα, επίπεδο. Οι αρχές αυτής της αναπλαισίωσης οφείλονται σε ένα νεφέλωμα εκπαιδευτικής θεωρίας και κοινωνικοπολιτικών αντιλήψεων, σε ένα είδος δηλαδή, ατομικής (ή μικρο-συλλογικής) θεωρίας αγωγής που υπάρχει στους ανθρώπους που καλούνται να διδάξουν. Το νεφέλωμα αυτό διαμορφώνεται με διαφορετικούς σωρευτικούς ή αντιθετικούς τρόπους ανάλογα με την άμεση εμπειρία των ίδιων των εκπαιδευτικών από την εμπειρία που είχαν ως μαθητές, την επαγγελματική τους εκπαίδευση, το πολιτισμικό πλαίσιο της οικογένειας ή της κοινότητας τους και τέλος από τις προσωπικές κοινωνικές και πολιτικές αντιλήψεις που ασπάζονται. Η πιθανή ύπαρξη ασυμμετρίας ή αναντιστοιχίας που μπορεί να εμφανιστεί ανάμεσα στις «αρχές θεωρίας» του εκπαιδευτικού και στις αρχές που διέπουν τη ρύθμιση του σχολικού πλαισίου, επιτρέπει την δημιουργία ενός περιθωρίου για μια μη συμβατή με τις επίσημες ρυθμιστικές αρχές, λειτουργία της (τοπικής) σχολικής μονάδας. Στο περιθώριο αυτό είναι, κυρίως, που μπορούν να αναπτυχθούν όλες οι πρωτοβουλίες (ατομικές ή συλλογικές) για πρακτικές αντιθετικής παρέμβασης και αλλαγής από την πλευρά των εκπαιδευτικών. Παρ' όλα αυτά, το περιθώριο καλείται να ελέγξει και να περιορίσει εκ νέου, ο ελεγκτικός μηχανισμός, που αποτελείται από επιθεωρητές, συμβούλια, διευθυντές και συμβούλους (θέσεις και φορείς που ο Bernstein αποκαλεί «φύλακες») (Σολομών, 1994: 135, 136).

Ο Bernstein υποστηρίζει, σχετικά με τα παραπάνω, ότι «...η εκπαίδευση είναι ένας κρίσιμος μηχανισμός για το κράτος, καθώς διαμέσου αυτού οι κυρίαρχες αρχές του μπορούν να μετατεθούν μέσα στις μικρο-πρακτικές στο επίπεδο του σχολείου, είτε ως όρια αυτών των πρακτικών, είτε ως ορισμοί αυτών των πρακτικών. Παρ' όλα αυτά, αυτό που επιλέγεται δεν είναι αναγκαστικά αυτό που μεταδίδεται, αυτό που





μεταδίδεται δεν είναι αναγκαστικά αυτό που προσλαμβάνεται κι αυτό που προσλαμβάνεται μπορεί για ορισμένα παιδαγωγικά υποκείμενα να έχει λίγη ή καμία ή, μάλιστα, μια αντιθετική σχέση με τις προθέσεις των επιλογέων ή των μεταδοτών...» (Σολομών, 1994: 136).

Το παραπάνω περιθώριο αντιθετικής δράσης δεν είναι η μόνη μορφή αντίδρασης που μπορεί να συμβεί κατά τη διάρκεια της θεσμοθετημένης εκπαιδευτικής διαδικασίας. Ο εκπαιδευτικός θεσμός συνιστά ένα πεδίο συγκρούσεων και σχέσεων εξουσίας εφόσον όπως αναφέρθηκε και στην αρχή η εξουσία δεν είναι κάτι που ασκείται μονομερώς. Οι μορφές αντίδρασης των παιδαγωγικών υποκειμένων συνίστανται στην διαφορετική ατομική ή ομαδική τακτική αντιμετώπισης μορφών εξουσίας που τους ασκεί το σχολικό περιβάλλον, και είναι απόρροια της διαφορετικής πολιτισμικής προέλευσης, των αντικειμενικών δυνατοτήτων και των προσδοκιών τους όπως αυτές έχουν δημιουργηθεί από την οικογένεια ή την κοινότητα που ανατραφήκαν.

Σε όλα τα παραπάνω έρχεται να προστεθεί η έννοια της ταυτότητας. Η διαδικασία συγκρότησης της ταυτότητας δεν είναι κάτι σταθερό και αναλλοίωτο, είναι μια δυναμική διαδικασία ταύτισης και κυρίως διαφοροποίησης ανάμεσα στο υποκείμενο και το περιβάλλον του, ανάμεσα στο ψυχικό και στο κοινωνικό, ανάμεσα στο «μέσα» και στο «έξω» (Ναυρίδης, 1997). Η διαδικασία συγκρότησης της ταυτότητας πέρα από τη δυναμική που τη χαρακτηρίζει, έχει και ιστορικότητα. Καθορίζεται δηλαδή από την προσωπική ιστορία του υποκειμένου, την οικογενειακή του ιστορία, αλλά και από την ιστορία των κοινωνικών σχέσεων μέσα από τις οποίες βιώνει και αντιλαμβάνεται την ύπαρξη του. Όταν κάποιος ερωτάται ή διερωτάται για την έννοια του αυτοχαρακτηρισμού και της μοναδικότητας του προστρέχει σε ένα σύνολο αναπαραστάσεων που τον αφορούν. Τα αισθήματα τότε αυτοαποδοχής, αβεβαιότητας ή και απόρριψης καθορίζονται σε μεγάλο βαθμό από το κοινωνικό περιβάλλον το οποίο μπορεί να αμφισβητεί ή να αντιτίθεται στις προσδοκίες για ταύτιση ή διαφοροποίηση του υποκειμένου ή αντίθετα να τις επιβεβαιώνει και να τις στηρίζει (Bruner, 1997). Παρατηρούμε τότε, ότι η πίστη στον εαυτό μας κλονίζεται ή αναζωπυρώνεται καθώς το κοινωνικό πεδίο φαίνεται άλλοτε ως αντικείμενο νέων ευκαιριών κι άλλοτε ως αντικείμενο που αφαιρεί από το άτομο την δυνατότητα της αυτοαναγνώρισης ή της αίσθησης της συνέχειας.

Σύμφωνα με τον Mead (Jenkins, 2007:47) δεν μπορούμε να δούμε τον εαυτό μας χωρίς τον δούμε επίσης, όπως τον βλέπουν οι άλλοι. Αυτό το «άλλοι», βέβαια, δεν αντιστοιχεί μόνο σε άτομα, αλλά περιλαμβάνει επίσης κάθε κοινωνική ομάδα ή θεσμό με τα οποία το άτομο έρχεται καθημερινά σε επαφή. Επίσης ο Goffman (2006) αναφέρει ότι πολλές φορές είναι τόσο σημαντικό να γίνουμε αποδεκτοί ή αρεστοί από τους γύρω μας, ώστε ακολουθούμε συγκεκριμένες συμπεριφορές, σαν να υποδύμαστε θεατρικούς ρόλους, προκειμένου να δημιουργήσουμε μια εικόνα η οποία όμως συχνά είναι διαφορετική από αυτή που έχουμε οι ίδιοι για τον εαυτό μας. Το επίπεδο αυτού του «ψευδούς» ποικίλει από το πιο βαθύ και ασυνείδητο μέχρι την πιο επιφανειακή και συνειδητή εξαπάτηση. Καθοριστικό σημείο της



κοινωνικής δομής, υποστηρίζει, είναι η διατήρηση ενός κοινού ορισμού της κατάστασης και η αποφυγή ή η αντιμετώπιση της αμηχανίας. Κεντρική ιδέα στη μελέτη του, θεωρείται ότι η πρόσωπο με πρόσωπο αλληλεπίδραση είναι κοινωνικά οργανωμένη και συνιστά μια ιδιότυπη πραγματικότητα.

Τα παραπάνω, γίνονται πιο έντονα, όταν αναφερόμαστε σε ανθρώπους που έχουν μεταναστεύσει. Πρώτα από όλα, η ίδια η διαδικασία της μετανάστευσης περιέχει μια ανισορροπία και μια συμβολική βία, που βιώνεται μέσα από τον πόνο που προκαλεί η απομάκρυνση από τις ρίζες, η απώλεια δηλαδή αναφοράς σε ένα οικείο θεμελιώδες σύστημα αξιών, η απώλεια του οικογενειακού περιβάλλοντος ή η απώλεια του τοπίου της παιδικής ηλικίας. Η βία αυτή γίνεται ακόμα πιο ισχυρή όταν δεν διαφαίνεται η δυνατότητα αντικατάστασης των δεσμών που χάθηκαν με άλλους. Οι άνθρωποι αυτοί, συχνά βιώνουν ένα «εμπειρικό κενό» (Cummins, 2003) αδυνατώντας να αποκτήσουν εκ νέου τις κοινωνικές δεξιότητες που απαιτούνται στο νέο κοινωνικό-πολιτισμικό πλαίσιο.

Από τα προαναφερθέντα μπορούμε να ισχυριστούμε ότι ο ρόλος του κράτους και των θεσμών του, είναι καθοριστικής σημασίας για τον τρόπο που οι μετανάστες (κι όχι μόνο) αντιλαμβάνονται τον εαυτό τους και κατά συνέπεια οργανώνουν τη ζωή τους ή θέτουν στόχους. Η διακύβευση, για παράδειγμα, των δικαιωμάτων τους, για πρόσβαση σε κοινωνικές υπηρεσίες (μια από τις οποίες είναι και η δημόσια εκπαίδευση) αποτελεί πρακτική αποκλεισμού και διαφοροποίησης από τους υπόλοιπους πολίτες μιας χώρας. Η έννοια του «πολίτη» δεν αναφέρεται με τη στενή σημασία του όρου, δηλαδή του έλληνα υπηκόου, αλλά ως του «κοινωνικού πολίτη» δηλαδή του μέλους του κοινωνικού συνόλου. Το εξωτερικό αυτό είδος συνόρου που υφίσταται ο μετανάστης μπορεί να εσωτερικευθεί και να οδηγήσει σε σύγκρουση με τον ίδιο του τον εαυτό.

### Συμπεράσματα

Η έννοια του χώρου αποτελεί μια έννοια σύνθετη, που χαρακτηρίζεται από μεταβλητότητα, υποκειμενικότητα και ιστορικότητα, ενώ ερευνητικά έχει προσεγγιστεί από θεωρητικούς της Κοινωνιολογίας, της Γεωγραφίας, της Φιλοσοφίας, των Πολιτικών Επιστημών κ.λπ. Επιδρά άμεσα και με καίριο τρόπο στη διαδικασία συγκρότησης ταυτότητας του υποκειμένου, ιδιαίτερα όταν αναφερόμαστε στο σχολικό χώρο ο οποίος αποτελεί ισχυρό πυλώνα κοινωνικοποίησης των παιδιών. Στην περίπτωση που ο μαθητικός πληθυσμός αποτελείται από παιδιά με μεταναστευτική πορεία ο χώρος του σχολείου αποκτά βαρύνουσα σημασία τόσο γιατί μέσα σε αυτόν αναπτύσσουν την κοινωνική τους ζωή, όσο και γιατί μέσω αυτού επιχειρούν να γεφυρώσουν το χωρικό και χρονικό ασυνεχές που δημιουργείται κατά τη (συχνά βίαιη) μετάβαση από ένα κοινωνικοπολιτισμικό πλαίσιο σε ένα άλλο. Η διαπολιτισμική θεωρία θα πρέπει να λάβει υπόψη της και αυτές τις παραμέτρους, καθώς πρόκειται για στοιχεία με κρίσιμη σημασία για το σχεδιασμό της διαπολιτισμικής εκπαίδευσης.



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## Τα Πρότυπα Πειραματικά Σχολεία: ένα νεοφιλελεύθερο παράδειγμα;

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Δασκάλα, Μεταπτυχιακό στις Επιστήμες της Αγωγής ΠΤΔΕ-ΑΠΘ

### Περίληψη

Το Μάιο του 2011 ψηφίστηκε από την Ελληνική Βουλή ο Νόμος 3966 «Θεσμικό πλαίσιο των Πρότυπων Πειραματικών Σχολείων, Ίδρυση Ινστιτούτου Εκπαιδευτικής Πολιτικής, Οργάνωση του Ινστιτούτου Τεχνολογίας Υπολογιστών και Εκδόσεων «ΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ» και λοιπές διατάξεις», ο οποίος, μεταξύ άλλων, επιχείρησε να ρυθμίσει συνολικά το θεσμικό πλαίσιο των πειραματικών σχολείων της χώρας. Ο Νόμος αυτός ψηφίστηκε στην περίοδο της βαθιάς οικονομικής κρίσης, η οποία οδήγησε σε μεγάλα προβλήματα και ελλείψεις, πλήττοντας σημαντικά την ποιότητα της ελληνικής εκπαίδευσης. Παράλληλα, η οικονομική κρίση έχει χρησιμοποιηθεί ως πρόσχημα για την προώθηση μιας νεοφιλελεύθερης και συνάμα νεοσυντηρητικής αναδιάρθρωσης της εκπαίδευσης, στα πλαίσια της οποίας η τελευταία επιχειρείται να μετατραπεί σε εμπόρευμα που θα αυξάνει τα κέρδη της κυρίαρχης οικονομικής τάξης. Με το Νόμο 3966/2011 συντελέστηκε μία ριζική αλλαγή στα ήδη υπάρχοντα πειραματικά σχολεία, τόσο στο επίπεδο της στοχοθεσίας τους όσο και στο επίπεδο της λειτουργίας τους, γεγονός που είχε ως αποτέλεσμα τη δημιουργία ενός νέου τύπου σχολείου, του Πρότυπου Πειραματικού Σχολείου. Πιο αναλυτικά, ανάμεσα στις μεταβολές που ψηφίστηκαν περιλαμβάνονται η επιδίωξη του στόχου της αριστείας- μέσω της συγκρότησης ομίλων που αξιοποιούν τις ιδιαίτερες κλίσεις των «ταλαντούχων» μαθητών/τριών-, η εφαρμογή αυστηρών αξιολογήσεων σε όλα τα επίπεδα (σχολική μονάδα, εκπαιδευτικοί, μαθητές/τριες), η καθιέρωση νέων τρόπων επιλογής του εκπαιδευτικού και μαθητικού δυναμικού και η συγκρότηση ενός νέου παντοδύναμου διοικητικού οργάνου, της Διοικούσας Επιτροπής των Πρότυπων Πειραματικών Σχολείων. Από τη μελέτη των παραπάνω διατάξεων κατέστη φανερή η προσπάθεια συγκρότησης σχολείων «τρίτης ταχύτητας» των οποίων βασικό γνώρισμα συνιστά η επιβολή νεοφιλελεύθερων πρακτικών από κοινού με την προώθηση νεοσυντηρητικών στοιχείων. Είναι έκδηλη, λοιπόν, η προσπάθεια να αναδειχθούν ως πρότυπες, οι σχολικές μονάδες οι οποίες υλοποιούν κατά γράμμα την επίσημη εκπαιδευτική πολιτική και ενσωματώνουν τις νεοφιλελεύθερες- νεοσυντηρητικές πολιτικές.

### Λέξεις κλειδιά

Πρότυπα Πειραματικά Σχολεία, Νόμος 3966/2011, αριστεία, νεοφιλελεύθερες πρακτικές, νεοσυντηρητικά στοιχεία.

### Εισαγωγή

Το Μάιο του 2011 ψηφίστηκε ο Νόμος 3966 «Θεσμικό πλαίσιο των Πρότυπων Πειραματικών Σχολείων, Ίδρυση Ινστιτούτου Εκπαιδευτικής Πολιτικής, Οργάνωση του Ινστιτούτου Τεχνολογίας Υπολογιστών και Εκδόσεων «ΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ» και λοιπές διατάξεις». Ο συγκεκριμένος Νόμος ψηφίστηκε από την κυβέρνηση του Π.Α.Σ.Ο.Κ., στην οποία Υπουργός Παιδείας ήταν η Άννα Διαμαντοπούλου. Με το Νόμο αυτό μετασχηματίστηκε ριζικά το πλαίσιο λειτουργίας των πειραματικών σχολείων της



χώρας και συγκροτήθηκε ένας νέος τύπος σχολείου, το Πρότυπο Πειραματικό Σχολείο (Π.Π.Σ.). Το νέο αυτό σχολείο, όπως υποδηλώνεται και από το όνομα του, περιλαμβάνει στοιχεία των παρελθοντικών πρότυπων και πειραματικών σχολείων αλλά και μία σειρά νέων χαρακτηριστικών, τα οποία συνδέονται με τις παρούσες κοινωνικοοικονομικές εξελίξεις. Στόχος της παρούσας εισήγησης είναι η μελέτη των Π.Π.Σ. Πιο αναλυτικά θα επιχειρηθεί η εξέταση του κοινωνικού χαρακτήρα που προωθήθηκε για τα Π.Π.Σ. από τις διατάξεις του Νόμου 3966/2011.

### Ιστορικό και εκπαιδευτικό πλαίσιο

Τα Π.Π.Σ. ιδρύθηκαν σε μια εξαιρετικά ταραγμένη πολιτικοοικονομική συγκυρία, δεδομένης της βαθιάς οικονομικής κρίσης την οποία βιώνει η ελληνική κοινωνία από το 2010. Η κρίση αυτή και οι μνημονιακές στρατηγικές αντιμετώπισής της έχουν επιφέρει καταστρεπτικές συνέπειες προκαλώντας σοβαρή υποβάθμιση στο επίπεδο ζωής των πληττόμενων στρωμάτων. Αναφέρεται χαρακτηριστικά ότι λίγο καιρό μετά την ψήφιση του μνημονίου, το Δεκέμβριο του 2011, το ποσοστό του άνεργου πληθυσμού ανήλθε στο 21%, ενώ ένα χρόνο αργότερα το ποσοστό αυτό αυξήθηκε ακόμη περισσότερο φτάνοντας στο 26,8% του οικονομικά ενεργού πληθυσμού (Ελληνική Στατιστική Αρχή, 2012· «Eurostat: Στο 26,8% το ποσοστό ανεργίας στην Ελλάδα, τον Οκτώβριο», 2013). Η άνοδος της ανεργίας, σε συνδυασμό με τις άλλες εξοντωτικές πολιτικές που εφαρμόστηκαν για τους/τις εργαζόμενους/ες, οδήγησαν τα λαϊκά στρώματα σε συνθήκες ανέχειας. Έτσι, σύμφωνα με στοιχεία της Τράπεζας της Ελλάδας για το 2014, το 34,6% του πληθυσμού βρισκόταν υπό τον κίνδυνο της φτώχειας ή σε κατάσταση κοινωνικού αποκλεισμού, ενώ ο αριθμός των ατόμων που ζούσαν σε οικογένειες στις οποίες δεν εργαζόταν κανένα μέλος ή εργαζόταν για λιγότερο από τρεις μήνες το χρόνο ανερχόταν σε 1.010.900 άτομα (Τσούχλος κ.α., 2014).

Η κατάσταση αυτή επέφερε τραγικές συνέπειες στη ζωή των παιδιών, αναγκάζοντας 440.000 από αυτά να ζουν κάτω από το όριο της φτώχειας, ήδη από το 2010. Σύμφωνα με έρευνα που πραγματοποίησε η Unicef, το 18,4% των φτωχών παιδιών μεγαλώνουν σε οικογένειες που δυσκολεύονται να καλύψουν τα έξοδα θέρμανσης και να ικανοποιήσουν στοιχειώδεις ανέσεις στο νοικοκυριό τους. Μέσα σε αυτές τις συνθήκες, η χορήγηση χρημάτων για την κάλυψη αναγκών των παιδιών (ένδυση, σχολικά είδη, σχολικές ή άλλου είδους δραστηριότητες) αναπόφευκτα υφίσταται σημαντικό περιορισμό, γεγονός που με τη σειρά του συμβάλλει στην περαιτέρω ενίσχυση των ανισοτήτων μεταξύ φτωχών και μη φτωχών παιδιών και αυξάνει τα συναισθήματα μειονεξίας των πρώτων (Ελληνική Επιτροπή Unicef, 2012: 31, 63).

Παράλληλα, η οικονομική κρίση χρησιμοποιήθηκε ως πρόσχημα για την πραγματοποίηση μιας νεοφιλελεύθερης αναδιαμόρφωσης της οικονομίας. Στα πλαίσια της τελευταίας, καθίσταται φανερό η κατိσχυση της αγοράς σε τομείς που προηγουμένως αποτελούσαν δημόσιες υπηρεσίες. Έτσι, λαμβάνει χώρα σε μεγάλη κλίμακα η ιδιωτικοποίηση της υγείας, της παιδείας, των μέσων μεταφοράς και πολλών άλλων υπηρεσιών που στοχεύει στην αποκόμιση επιπλέον κερδών για τις





κυρίαρχες τάξεις. Ταυτόχρονα, είναι αισθητή η προσπάθεια συρρίκνωσης του δημοσίου τομέα. Πιο αναλυτικά, κατά το διάστημα 2009-2013 ο αριθμός των εργαζόμενων στο Δημόσιο μειώθηκε κατά 267.095. Την ίδια στιγμή, τομείς και υπηρεσίες του δημοσίου υποβαθμίστηκαν σημαντικά ή καταργήθηκαν παντελώς (παραδείγματα αποτελούν οι σχολικές μονάδες, τα νοσοκομεία κ.λπ.). Αρκετές δημόσιες υπηρεσίες (παιδικοί σταθμοί, υγεία, καθαριότητα) ανατέθηκαν, επίσης, σε ιδιώτες, οι οποίοι ανέλαβαν την κάλυψη των αναγκών τους (Α.Δ.Ε.Δ.Υ., 2014: 3-5).

Παράλληλα με τον οικονομικό τομέα, ραγδαίες μεταβολές συντελέστηκαν και στο εκπαιδευτικό επίπεδο, γεγονός που δεν μας προξενεί καμία εντύπωση αν αναλογιστούμε το μη ουδέτερο χαρακτήρα της εκπαίδευσης και τη σοβαρή εξάρτησή της από τις εξελίξεις στην οικονομία. Όπως υποστηρίζεται από τους Γρόλλιο κ.α. η εκπαίδευση όλων των βαθμίδων βρίσκεται στα πλαίσια μιας νεοφιλελεύθερης και συνάμα νεοσυντηρητικής αναδιάρθρωσης, κατά την οποία *«εφαρμόζονται νεοφιλελεύθερες πολιτικές και εγχαράσσεται ένα νεοσυντηρητικό σύστημα αξιών που υπάγονται στον έλεγχο και την επιρροή των κυρίαρχων μερίδων της καπιταλιστικής εξουσίας, με σκοπό να υπηρετηθεί η μεγέθυνση της κερδοφορίας του κεφαλαίου»* (Γρόλλιος κ.α., 2015: vii).

Η εξέταση ορισμένων μέτρων που λήφθηκαν από τις κυβερνήσεις κατά την περίοδο αυτή λειτουργούν επιβεβαιωτικά προς την παραπάνω άποψη. Έτσι, στο κείμενο «Το Νέο Σχολείο: Πρώτα ο Μαθητής» -όπου αποτυπώνεται ο βασικός σχεδιασμός της κυβέρνησης του ΠΑ.ΣΟ.Κ.- αναφέρεται μεταξύ άλλων ότι κεντρική επιδίωξη της κυβέρνησης αποτελεί η οικοδόμηση ενός σχολείου «χωρίς τοίχους», ανοιχτού σε πρωτοβουλίες το οποίο θα εφοδιάζει όλους/ες τους/τις μαθητές/τριες με τις απαραίτητες γνώσεις και δεξιότητες, που θα επιτρέπουν τη συνεχή κοινωνική τους πρόοδο και επιτυχία. Παράλληλα, μεγάλη σημασία αποδίδεται στη θέσπιση της αυτό-αξιολόγησης και αξιολόγησης της σχολικής μονάδας (Υπουργείο Παιδείας, Δια Βίου Μάθησης και Θρησκευμάτων, χχ: 4,20). Προς εφαρμογή των παραπάνω δηλώσεων, καθιερώθηκε με το Νόμο 3848/2010 η αυτοαξιολόγηση των σχολικών μονάδων, κατά την οποία τα σχολεία υποχρεούνται να συντάσσουν σχέδιο δράσης και στη συνέχεια να αξιολογούν την επίτευξη των οριζόμενων στόχων τους, γνωστοποιώντας τα αποτελέσματά τους στις οικογένειες των παιδιών και αναρτώντας τα στην ιστοσελίδα του σχολείου (Ν 3848/2010, άρθ.32).

Παράλληλα σημειώθηκε σοβαρή υποβάθμιση του δημοσίου σχολείου με τις δαπάνες για την εκπαίδευση να μην ξεπερνούν το 2015 το 2,47% του ΑΕΠ (Κοτσιφάκης, 2014). Οι μειώσεις της χρηματοδότησης της παιδείας οδήγησαν στην πραγματοποίηση σημαντικών αλλαγών στο εκπαιδευτικό τοπίο, όπως ήταν οι καταργήσεις και συγχωνεύσεις μεγάλου αριθμού σχολείων. Επιπρόσθετα, αποφασίστηκε η αύξηση των μαθητών/τριών ανά τμήμα, ενώ δεν είναι λίγες οι περιπτώσεις που διενεργούνται υποχρεωτικές μετακινήσεις μαθητών/τριών σε άλλα σχολεία, έτσι ώστε να αποτραπεί η δημιουργία μικρότερων τμημάτων. Στη λίστα των καταστροφικών -για την εκπαίδευση- επιπτώσεων της οικονομικής κρίσης





προστίθεται και η κατάργηση εκπαιδευτικών υποστηρικτικών δομών, όπως είναι η ενισχυτική διδασκαλία, οι βιβλιοθήκες και οι δομές Σχολικού Επαγγελματικού Προσανατολισμού.

Ταυτόχρονα, ο αριθμός των εκπαιδευτικών μειώθηκε κατά 30% στο χρονικό διάστημα 2010-2013 ενώ το εργασιακό ωράριο των εκπαιδευτικών της δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης αυξήθηκε κατά δύο ώρες. Αξιοσημείωτο είναι το γεγονός ότι η αύξηση του εργασιακού ωραρίου δεν είχε ως αποτέλεσμα την αντίστοιχη άνοδο των απολαβών των εκπαιδευτικών, αλλά τη μείωση των μισθών τους (Τσούχλος κ.α., 2014). Την ίδια στιγμή μειώσεις σημειώθηκαν στις συντάξεις και στο εφάπαξ των εκπαιδευτικών, ενώ πολλά από τα επιδόματα που λάμβαναν μειώθηκαν σημαντικά ή καταργήθηκαν εξ' ολοκλήρου.

Η επιβολή νεοφιλελεύθερων και νεοσυντηρητικών μέτρων στους όρους εργασίας των εκπαιδευτικών οδήγησε στην περαιτέρω υποβάθμιση του εργασιακού τους καθεστώτος. Πιο αναλυτικά, με το ΠΔ 152/2013, αρθ. 5 καθιερώθηκε η αξιολόγηση των εκπαιδευτικών, η οποία επέβαλε την κατάταξη τους στη βάση ποσοτικών μετρήσεων και ταυτόχρονα, οι επιδόσεις των εκπαιδευτικών κατά τις διαδικασίες αξιολόγησης ορίστηκαν ως οι καταλυτικοί παράγοντες για τη βαθμολογική και μισθολογική τους εξέλιξη (Ν 4024/2011, άρθ. 12). Ακολούθως, την περίοδο του μνημονίου σημειώθηκε μια επαναδιαμόρφωση του πειθαρχικού δικαίου διευκολύνοντας την τοποθέτηση των εκπαιδευτικών σε αργία και συμβάλλοντας έτσι στην ενίσχυση της ανασφάλειάς τους. Στη διευκόλυνση της τοποθέτησης των εκπαιδευτικών σε αργία, συμβάλει σημαντικά η ασάφεια ορισμού των πειθαρχικών παραπτωμάτων στο Νόμο στον οποίο καθορίζεται το νέο πειθαρχικό δίκαιο (Ν 4057/2012, αρθ. 107).

### **Ο νόμος 3966/2011 για το θεσμικό πλαίσιο λειτουργίας των Πρότυπων Πειραματικών Σχολείων**

Ο χαρακτήρας που προωθήθηκε για τα Π.Π.Σ. κατέστη σαφής ήδη από την αιτιολογική έκθεση του Νόμου, όπου μεταξύ άλλων αναφέρεται ότι τα σχολεία αυτά θα εξυπηρετούν τις ανάγκες που έχουν προκύψει από την κοινωνία της γνώσης. Επιδιώκεται, συγκεκριμένα, η διαμόρφωση μορφωμένων και δια βίου εκπαιδευόμενων πολιτών, οι οποίοι/ες θα είναι ικανοί/ες να προσαρμόζονται στις διαρκείς κοινωνικοοικονομικές και τεχνολογικές αλλαγές, συμβάλλοντας στην ανάπτυξη της χώρας και στην ενίσχυση της θέσης της μέσα στο συνεχώς εντεινόμενο διεθνή ανταγωνισμό. Στο πλαίσιο, λοιπόν, της απαιτούμενης αναβάθμισης της παιδείας, τα νέα αυτά σχολεία προσδοκείται ότι θα «αποτελέσουν τα εργαστήρια ανασυγκρότησης της ελληνικής εκπαίδευσης», συμπληρώνοντας το έργο που έχει αρχίσει μέσω του Νέου Σχολείου και των υπόλοιπων εκπαιδευτικών μεταβολών (Αιτιολογική έκθεση στο σχέδιο νόμου, 2011: 12).

Αξιοσημείωτο κρίνεται επίσης το γεγονός ότι τα Π.Π.Σ. καλούνται να αναπτύξουν προγράμματα και πρωτοβουλίες που θα διαφέρουν από το ένα σχολείο στο άλλο. Άλλωστε, όπως η ίδια η Υπουργός ανέφερε κατά τη συζήτηση του Νόμου στη



Βουλή, τα σχολεία αυτά αναμένεται να λειτουργήσουν ως εργαλεία για την επίτευξη της διαφοροποίησης στην εκπαίδευση απορρίπτοντας την καταστρεπτική ομοιομορφία. Το ζητούμενο, κατά τη διατύπωση της Α. Διαμαντοπούλου, είναι «να περάσουμε από τη μαζική ομοιόμορφη εκπαίδευση στη μαζική αλλά με δυνατότητα διαφοροποίησης εκπαίδευση» (Πίνακας Περιεχομένων, Συνεδρίαση ΡΛ', 2011).

Αναφορικά με τους στόχους που ορίστηκαν για τα Π.Π.Σ. καθίσταται φανερό ότι παρουσιάζουν μια σχετική ποικιλία. Πιο αναλυτικά, η παροχή δημόσιας, δωρεάν και υψηλής ποιότητας παιδείας, που απευθύνεται προς όλους/ες τους/τις μαθητές/τριες και συνεισφέρει στην πλήρη ανάπτυξή τους, αποτελεί τον πρώτο στόχο των σχολείων αυτών. Εν συνεχεία, τίθεται ο στόχος της ενίσχυσης της εκπαιδευτικής έρευνας, σε συνεργασία με τα ΑΕΙ, σε όλους τους τομείς της εκπαιδευτικής διαδικασίας (διδασκτική γνωστικών αντικειμένων, ψυχοπαιδαγωγικός τομέας, οργάνωση και διοίκηση, αξιολόγηση και διαχείριση σχέσεων). Ως τρίτος στόχος των Π.Π.Σ. ορίζεται η πρακτική άσκηση των σπουδαστών/τριών και των μελλοντικών εκπαιδευτικών, σε συνεργασία με τα αντίστοιχα πανεπιστημιακά τμήματα και σχολές, ενώ επιδιώκεται και «η επαγγελματική ανάπτυξη των εκπαιδευτικών της ευρύτερης εκπαιδευτικής κοινότητας, σε συνεργασία με τα Α.Ε.Ι. και το Ι.Ε.Π.». Κομβικό, επίσης, ρόλο καλούνται να διαδραματίσουν τα σχολεία αυτά στην προαγωγή της δημιουργικότητας, της αριστείας και της καινοτομίας, με τη συγκρότηση αντίστοιχων ομίλων. Ο τελευταίος στόχος των Π.Π.Σ., ο οποίος σχετίζεται με τον πειραματικό τους χαρακτήρα, περιλαμβάνει την εφαρμογή, σε πειραματικό επίπεδο, νέων προγραμμάτων και πρακτικών σε ποικίλους τομείς της εκπαιδευτικής διαδικασίας (Ν 3966/ 2011, άρθ. 36).

Εξετάζοντας τους όρους λειτουργίας των Π.Π.Σ. κρίνεται σημαντική η μελέτη του τρόπου εισαγωγής των μαθητών/τριών στα εν λόγω σχολεία. Έτσι, στα Πρότυπα Πειραματικά Νηπιαγωγεία (Π.Π.Ν.) η εισαγωγή των μαθητών/τριών γίνεται με κλήρωση. Στα Πρότυπα Πειραματικά Δημοτικά (Π.Π.Δ.), τα οποία δεν συνδέονται με κάποιο Π.Π.Ν. η εισαγωγή πραγματοποιείται επίσης με κλήρωση. Δεν υπάρχει, ωστόσο, η ίδια πρόβλεψη για τα μη συνδεδεμένα Πρότυπα Πειραματικά Γυμνάσια (Π.Π.Γ.). Πιο συγκεκριμένα, εφόσον το Π.Π.Γ. δεν συνδέεται με κάποιο Π.Π.Δ. ή στην περίπτωση που επιδιώκεται η κάλυψη επιπλέον θέσεων στα συνδεδεμένα Π.Π.Γ., η εισαγωγή των μαθητών/τριών πραγματοποιείται με προϋποθέσεις που ορίζονται από τη Διοικούσα Επιτροπή των Πρότυπων Πειραματικών Σχολείων (Δ.Ε.Π.Π.Σ.) κατόπιν προτάσεως του Επιστημονικού Εποπτικού Συμβουλίου (ΕΠ.Ε.Σ.). Τα Πρότυπα Πειραματικά Λύκεια (Π.Π.Λ.), με τη σειρά τους, δύνανται να επιλέγουν το μαθητικό δυναμικό τους κατόπιν εξετάσεων ή δοκιμασιών (τεστ) δεξιοτήτων. Εκτός από τις προαναφερθείσες προβλέψεις, υπάρχει και η δυνατότητα εγγραφής μαθητών/τριών με «πιστοποιημένες ιδιαίτερες ικανότητες σε αριθμό που δεν υπερβαίνει το 1% των μαθητών του σχολείου», κατόπιν αποφάσεως της Δ.Ε.Π.Π.Σ. Δυνατότητα, επίσης, εγγραφής έχουν θεωρητικά όλοι/ες οι μαθητές/τριες, ανεξάρτητα από τον τόπο κατοικίας τους, με τα έξοδα μεταφοράς τους να βαραινούν αποκλειστικά τις οικογένειές τους (Ν 3966/ 2011, άρθ. 44).



Στο σημείο αυτό θα πρέπει να αναφερθεί ότι παρά την πρόβλεψη για ευελιξία στον τρόπο εισαγωγής των μαθητών/τριών στα Π.Π.Γ., στην πράξη εφαρμόστηκε απόλυτη ομοιομορφία και οι μαθητές/τριες όλων των σχολείων εισήχθησαν με εξετάσεις. Η επιβολή των εξετάσεων -και μάλιστα κοινών για όλα τα σχολεία- συνδέεται, κατά τη γνώμη μας, με την αλλαγή του πολιτικού σκηνικού και την άνοδο του κόμματος Ν.Δ. Η πεποίθησή μας αυτή πηγάζει από το γεγονός ότι τα μέλη του συγκεκριμένου κόμματος υποστήριξαν θερμά, κατά τη συζήτηση του Νομοσχεδίου στη Βουλή, τη διενέργεια αυστηρών εξετάσεων, οι οποίες θα πρέπει να εφαρμόζονται σε όλα τα Π.Π.Γ. με αποκλειστική ευθύνη του Υπουργείου (Πίνακας Περιεχομένων, Συνεδρίαση ΡΛΑ', 2011). Προς επίρρωση αυτής της θέσης λειτουργεί και η τροποποίηση του Νόμου, που είχε προηγηθεί, και όριζε ότι η εισαγωγή των μαθητών/τριών στα Π.Π.Γ. και Π.Π.Λ. θα διενεργείται αποκλειστικά με εξετάσεις, στις οποίες η επιλογή των θεμάτων και η αξιολόγηση των γραπτών θα πραγματοποιούνται κεντρικά, από επιτροπές που θα έχουν συσταθεί με ευθύνη της Δ.Ε.Π.Π.Σ. (Ν 4186/ 2013, άρθ. 36).

Επιπρόσθετα, διαφοροποίηση προβλέπεται στη χρηματοδότηση των σχολείων αυτών συγκριτικά με τις υπόλοιπες σχολικές μονάδες. Πιο αναλυτικά, τα Π.Π.Σ., εκτός από τη χρηματοδότηση που λαμβάνουν όλες οι δημόσιες σχολικές μονάδες, έχουν τη δυνατότητα να χρηματοδοτηθούν από τον Ειδικό Λογαριασμό Κονδυλίων Έρευνας των ΑΕΙ, με τα οποία συνδέονται, ή από οποιοσδήποτε άλλο φορέα. Επίσης, μπορούν να λαμβάνουν δωρεές, χορηγίες, κληρονομιές και κληροδοσίες από άλλες πηγές (Ν 3966/2011, άρθ. 38).

Μία ακόμη ιδιομορφία των Π.Π.Σ. εντοπίζεται στη διοικητική τους δομή με την ύπαρξη της Δ.Ε.Π.Π.Σ. και των ΕΠ.Ε.Σ. Αναφορικά με την πρώτη, θα πρέπει να αναφερθεί ότι πρόκειται για μια επταμελής επιτροπή, η οποία συγκροτείται με απόφαση του/της Υπουργού Παιδείας, Δια Βίου Μάθησης και Θρησκευμάτων και η θητεία της είναι τριετής. Οι αρμοδιότητες της Δ.Ε.Π.Π.Σ. είναι εξαιρετικά διευρυμένες και αφορούν ποικίλες λειτουργίες των Π.Π.Σ. Μεταξύ αυτών περιλαμβάνονται η γνωμοδότηση προς τον/την Υπουργό Παιδείας, Δια Βίου Μάθησης και Θρησκευμάτων για τον ορισμό των Π.Π.Σ., η επιλογή των διευθυντών/τριών, των εκπαιδευτικών, των υπεύθυνων σχολικών συμβούλων και των εκπαιδευτικών που συμμετέχουν στο Ε.Π.Ε.Σ., η έγκριση και ο συντονισμός των ερευνητικών και επιμορφωτικών δραστηριοτήτων τους, η κατ' εξαίρεση εγγραφή μαθητών/τριών με πιστοποιημένες ιδιαίτερες ικανότητες, η προσέλκυση δωρεών και κάθε είδους παροχών, η πραγματοποίηση της εξωτερικής αξιολόγησης του έργου των Π.Π.Σ. κ.α. (Ν 3966/2011, άρθ. 40).

Το ΕΠ.Ε.Σ., με τη σειρά του, είναι πενταμελές και η θητεία του διαρκεί τρία χρόνια. Αποτελείται από ένα μέλος Δ.Ε.Π. ή Ε.Π. ΑΕΙ ή από εκπαιδευτικό της πρωτοβάθμιας ή δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης με αυξημένα προσόντα, ως πρόεδρο, από τον/την υπεύθυνο/η σχολικό/ή σύμβουλο του Π.Π.Σ., από το/τη διευθυντή/τρια του σχολείου και από δύο εκπαιδευτικούς που επιλέγονται με βάση τα ακαδημαϊκά προσόντα που διαθέτουν στις επιστήμες της εκπαίδευσης. Όσον αφορά τις



αρμοδιότητές του, το Ε.Π.Ε.Σ. «προγραμματίζει τις ερευνητικές και επιμορφωτικές δραστηριότητες του σχολείου, καθώς και τις δράσεις που αφορούν την προσφορά του στην τοπική κοινωνία». Πιο αναλυτικά, το συμβούλιο αυτό είναι, μεταξύ άλλων, υπεύθυνο για τη συγκρότηση των ομίλων και των τμημάτων της ενισχυτικής διδασκαλίας, για τις αλλαγές στο αναλυτικό και στο ωρολόγιο πρόγραμμα, για τη συνεργασία με τους φορείς που συνδέεται το σχολείο, για την οργάνωση και τον προγραμματισμό των εγκεκριμένων από την Δ.Ε.Π.Π.Σ. ερευνητικών δραστηριοτήτων και για το συντονισμό της εσωτερικής αξιολόγησης (Ν 3966/2011, άρθ. 41).

Αυστηρές είναι και οι προδιαγραφές του εκπαιδευτικού προσωπικού που καλείται να στελεχώσει τα Π.Π.Σ., το οποίο περνά από διαδικασίες αξιολόγησης, προκειμένου να κριθεί κατάλληλο και επιστημονικά επαρκές για να επιτύχει τους ιδιαίτερους στόχους των σχολικών αυτών μονάδων. Συγκεκριμένα, ο/η διευθυντής/τρια του σχολείου επιλέγεται από τη Δ.Ε.Π.Π.Σ. για θητεία τεσσάρων χρόνων. Ως κριτήρια επιλογής των διευθυντών/τριών ορίζονται η επιστημονική τους κατάρτιση, η υπηρεσιακή τους κατάσταση και η διοικητική τους εμπειρία. Επίσης, συνεκτιμάται η «συμβολή του υποψηφίου στο εκπαιδευτικό έργο από τις θέσεις στις οποίες έχει υπηρετήσει, με έμφαση στις διοικητικές θέσεις της εκπαίδευσης» αλλά και η συμβουλή του/της υποψηφίου/ας σε καινοτόμες και δημιουργικές δράσεις. Σημαντικό κριτήριο αποτελεί, επίσης, η γενικότερη συγκρότηση του/της υποψηφίου/ας, η οποία αξιολογείται με συνέντευξη που διενεργείται από τη Δ.Ε.Π.Π.Σ. (Ν 3966/2011, άρθ. 42).

Οι εκπαιδευτικοί, οι οποίοι/ες απαιτείται να έχουν τετραετή προϋπηρεσία στη δημόσια ή ιδιωτική εκπαίδευση, επιλέγονται από τη Δ.Ε.Π.Π.Σ. με κριτήρια τις σπουδές τους, την επιστημονική τους κατάρτιση και την εμπειρία τους. Παράλληλα, αξιολογείται η επαγγελματική ικανότητα τους, όπως αυτή προκύπτει από τις τυχόν υπάρχουσες αξιολογικές εκθέσεις, από τους προσωπικούς φακέλους τους και από την παρατήρηση της εργασίας τους στην τάξη, η οποία διενεργείται από τους/τις υπεύθυνους/ες σχολικούς/ές συμβούλους. Όπως εξηγείται στο νόμο, κατά την αξιολόγηση της επαγγελματικής ικανότητας λαμβάνονται υπ' όψιν η «διδασκτική και παιδαγωγική επάρκεια, η αποδοτικότητα των μαθητών των υποψηφίων με βάση τους στόχους του προγράμματος σπουδών, η ανάπτυξη καινοτόμων εκπαιδευτικών δράσεων, η χρήση νέας τεχνολογίας και η αξιοποίηση ποικίλου υλικού και πηγών στη διδασκαλία, η εφαρμογή διαφοροποιημένης παιδαγωγικής στη διδακτική πράξη και η ανάπτυξη συνεργατικών δράσεων στο σχολείο και την κοινότητα». Η γενικότερη συγκρότηση του/της υποψηφίου/ας, η οποία εξετάζεται μέσω προφορικής συνέντευξης που πραγματοποιείται με τη Δ.Ε.Π.Π.Σ., αποτελεί ένα ακόμη στοιχείο που λαμβάνεται υπ' όψιν για την πρόσληψη των εκπαιδευτικών (Ν 3966/2011, άρθ. 48). Άξιο αναφοράς κρίνεται το γεγονός ότι οι εκπαιδευτικοί επιλέγονται να εργαστούν στα Π.Π.Σ. με πενταετή θητεία, κατά τη διάρκεια της οποίας δεν διαθέτουν τη δυνατότητα απόσπασης ή μετάθεσης προκειμένου να ολοκληρώσουν το έργο τους (Αιτιολογική Έκθεση, 2011: 14).



Στο Νόμο υπάρχουν κάποια ακόμη στοιχεία που προκαλούν διαφοροποιήσεις στο εργασιακό καθεστώς των εκπαιδευτικών στα Π.Π.Σ. Κατ' αρχάς, προβλέπεται η δυνατότητα τροποποίησης του διδακτικού ωραρίου των υπηρετούντων εκπαιδευτικών στα σχολεία αυτά σε σχέση με το ωράριο των εκπαιδευτικών των υπόλοιπων σχολείων, κατόπιν αποφάσεως του/της Υπουργού Παιδείας. Επιπρόσθετα, ρυθμίζεται η καταβολή ειδικού επιδόματος στους/στις εκπαιδευτικούς, στους/στις διευθυντές/τριες και στους/στις υποδιευθυντές/τριες (Ν 3966/2011, άρθ. 48).

Αναπόσπαστο κομμάτι της λειτουργίας των Π.Π.Σ. συνιστά και η διαρκής εσωτερική και εξωτερική αξιολόγηση του έργου τους και του εκπαιδευτικού τους προσωπικού, όπως αυτή ορίζεται στο άρθρο 50 του Νόμου. Στο πλαίσιο του σχολείου, κάθε Π.Π.Σ. έχει την υποχρέωση να ετοιμάζει σχέδιο που περιλαμβάνει τους εκπαιδευτικούς στόχους για τα δύο προσεχή έτη. Έπειτα, πριν τη λήξη κάθε δεύτερου σχολικού έτους, το Π.Π.Σ. θα πρέπει να συντάσσει την έκθεση εσωτερικής αξιολόγησης στην οποία αξιολογεί την απόδοση του σχολείου, την επίτευξη των στόχων που είχαν τεθεί, τις επιτυχίες, τα προβλήματα και τις αδυναμίες που αντιμετωπίστηκαν κατά τα δύο έτη. Στο σημείο αυτό πρέπει να αναφερθεί ότι τόσο το σχέδιο δράσης όσο και η έκθεση εσωτερικής αξιολόγησης δημοσιεύονται στη ιστοσελίδα του σχολείου και είναι προσβάσιμα από τις οικογένειες των μαθητών/τριών. Παράλληλα, με βάση την έκθεση εσωτερικής αξιολόγησης διενεργείται η εξωτερική αξιολόγηση από τη Δ.Ε.Π.Π.Σ., η οποία πραγματοποιείται κάθε τέσσερα χρόνια, και καθορίζει το εάν θα συνεχίσει το σχολείο να λειτουργεί ως Πρότυπο Πειραματικό ή εάν θα αποχαρακτηριστεί.

Η αξιολόγηση των διευθυντών/τριών των Π.Π.Σ. διενεργείται κάθε δύο χρόνια και ένα τρίμηνο πριν από την λήξη της τετράχρονης θητείας τους. Με βάση λοιπόν τον φάκελο του/της διευθυντή/τριας και την έκθεση αξιολόγησης του Περιφερειακού Διευθυντή Εκπαίδευσης, το ΕΠ.Ε.Σ του Π.Π.Σ. συντάσσει τη δική του έκθεση αξιολόγησης. Αξιοποιώντας την έκθεση αυτή, η Δ.Ε.Π.Π.Σ. πραγματοποιεί την αξιολόγηση των διευθυντών/τριών, η οποία σε περίπτωση που είναι αρνητική οδηγεί στη λήξη της θητείας των αξιολογούμενων. Αντίθετα, μία θετική αξιολόγηση οδηγεί σε ανανέωση της θητείας τους για ακόμη τέσσερα χρόνια, χωρίς τη δυνατότητα περαιτέρω ανανέωσης.

Καταληκτικά, το εκπαιδευτικό προσωπικό των Π.Π.Σ. αξιολογείται και αυτό μετά το πέρας της διετίας και τρεις μήνες πριν από την λήξη της θητείας του. Η αξιολόγηση πραγματοποιείται από το ΕΠ.Ε.Σ. με βάση τον προσωπικό φάκελο του/της εκπαιδευτικού και την αξιολογική έκθεση που συντάσσεται από τον/την σχολικό/η σύμβουλο μετά από παρατήρηση στην τάξη. Τα κριτήρια αξιολόγησης των εκπαιδευτικών είναι ίδια με τα κριτήρια που λαμβάνονται υπ' όψιν για την πρόσληψή τους. Όπως και στις παραπάνω περιπτώσεις, αν η αξιολόγηση είναι αρνητική λήγει η θητεία του/της εκπαιδευτικού, ενώ αν είναι θετική η θητεία μπορεί να ανανεωθεί για άλλα πέντε έτη, χωρίς τη δυνατότητα περαιτέρω ανανέωσης (Ν 3966/2011, άρθ. 50).





### Ο κοινωνικός χαρακτήρας των Πρότυπων Πειραματικών Σχολείων

Η εξέταση του ρόλου, που προορίζονται να διαδραματίσουν τα Π.Π.Σ. στη σύγχρονη κοινωνικοοικονομική πραγματικότητα, θεωρείται εξαιρετικά σημαντική για την ανίχνευση του κοινωνικού τους χαρακτήρα. Εκκινώντας από τις διακηρύξεις της τότε Υπουργού Παιδείας, Άννας Διαμαντοπούλου, καθίσταται σαφές ότι τα σχολεία αυτά καλούνται να αναπτύξουν ένα σημαντικό ρόλο στην εξυπηρέτηση των αναγκών της εμφανιζόμενης «κοινωνίας της γνώσης». Στοχεύουν στην ουσία με τα καινοτόμα και πρωτοποριακά τους προγράμματά στην παραγωγή εργατικού δυναμικού, ικανού να ανταποκρίνεται στις ανάγκες της σύγχρονης αγοράς. Στην εισηγητική έκθεση, λοιπόν, δηλώνεται ρητά ότι ο στόχος του σχολείου είναι η παραγωγή δημιουργικών, καινοτόμων και ευπροσάρμοστων εργαζομένων, ικανών να δρουν αξιοποιώντας τις γνώσεις και τη φαντασία τους. Αν και τα χαρακτηριστικά που αναμένεται να αναπτύξουν οι μαθητές/τριες θα μπορούσαν, σε μία αυθεντική κοινωνία της γνώσης, να συνδεθούν με την ανάπτυξη όλων των πτυχών της προσωπικότητας των ατόμων, στη δεδομένη κοινωνικοοικονομική συγκυρία στοχεύουν στην εξυπηρέτηση των συμφερόντων των εκάστοτε επιχειρήσεων για την απόσπαση του μέγιστου κέρδους. Μεγάλη σημασία δίνεται, ακόμη, στην καλλιέργεια της ευελιξίας των εκπαιδευόμενων στα σχολεία αυτά, αποσκοπώντας, στην ουσία, στην παραγωγή ευέλικτων εργαζομένων σε όλους τους τομείς, από τις συμβάσεις εργασίας τους έως τα προσόντα και την εργασιακή τους κινητικότητα. Με άλλα λόγια, στόχος τους είναι η δημιουργία εργαζομένων που *«ως πασπαρτού θα «κολλάν» με διαφορετικές κάθε φορά εξειδικεύσεις, σε διαφορετικά περιβάλλοντα εργασίας»*, ενώ θα μάθουν να εκπαιδεύονται δια βίου σε ταχύρρυθμα προγράμματα, το κόστος των οποίων θα είναι υποχρεωμένοι/ες να καλύπτουν μόνοι/ες τους (Παπαποστόλου, 2011: 87). Εντούτοις, οι εργαζόμενοι/ες απαιτείται να είναι συνάμα «υπάκουοι/ες» και δεκτικοί/ες για να μην διαταραχθεί η ομαλή ροή των πραγμάτων (Apple, 2010: 626).

Βασικό χαρακτηριστικό των Π.Π.Σ. αποτελεί η απόλυτη προσαρμογή τους στις ανάγκες της νεοφιλελεύθερης φάσης της καπιταλιστικής ανάπτυξης. Στη φάση αυτή, κεντρική επιδίωξη συνιστά η κυριαρχία των δυνάμεων της αγοράς σε κάθε επίπεδο του ανθρώπινου βίου, με την απόσυρση των δημόσιων υπηρεσιών από πεδία που η αγορά θεωρείται ότι δύναται να εξυπηρετήσει αποτελεσματικότερα (Giroux, 2010: 646). Κατά τη διατύπωση του Σταμάτη, *«οι δυνάμεις του κεφαλαίου διεκδικούν την ορμητική είσοδο τους σε χώρους του κοινωνικού βίου και σε δημόσια αγαθά εκτός συναλλαγής, όπου μέχρι τώρα πρυτάνευαν άλλα κριτήρια διαχείρισης από αυτά της κερδοσκοπίας»* (Σταμάτης, 2005: 29).

Στα Π.Π.Σ. η είσοδος της αγοράς αποτυπώνεται, κατ' αρχάς, στις προβλέψεις για τη χρηματοδότησή τους, οι οποίες παρέχουν τη δυνατότητα σε εξωτερικούς φορείς να αναλαμβάνουν την κάλυψη των εξόδων των σχολείων. Καθίσταται ορατή, λοιπόν, η προσπάθεια περιορισμού και υποχώρησης του κράτους και η ταυτόχρονη έλευση της αγοράς, η οποία σαν «από μηχανής θεός», θα επιλύσει αποτελεσματικότερα





όλα τα προβλήματα. Εντούτοις, η κίνηση αυτή συνδέεται και με την προσπάθεια αποκέντρωσης και αυτονομίας των σχολείων, η οποία έχει ήδη εκκινήσει στην περίπτωση της Ελλάδας με την αποκέντρωση της χρηματοδότησης σε τοπικό επίπεδο, στους δήμους. Στην προκειμένη περίπτωση, τα Π.Π.Σ. καλούνται, ως ατομικά υποκείμενα, να αναλάβουν την εξεύρεση των κατάλληλων πόρων.

Παράλληλα, βασικό στοιχείο των Π.Π.Σ., αποτελεί η ανάπτυξη εξωστρεφούς χαρακτήρα και η σύνδεση με την τοπική κοινότητα. Εντούτοις, όπως υποστηρίζει η Παπαποστόλου, πίσω από τη ρητορική αυτή κρύβεται η προσπάθεια προσαρμογής του σχολείου στις ανάγκες της αγοράς. Κατά τη διατύπωσή της, *«πίσω από το «ανοιχτό» σχολείο κρύβεται η πλήρης υποταγή του περιεχόμενου της εκπαίδευσης στην ανάγκη του επιχειρείν»* (Παπαποστόλου, 2011: 95). Η δυνατότητα εμπλοκής εξωτερικών παραγόντων στο έργο του σχολείου θεσμοθετείται και με την πρόβλεψη συμμετοχής στη Δ.Ε.Π.Π.Σ. αλλά και στο πενταμελές συμβούλιο του σχολείου, εξωσχολικών προσώπων, τα οποία προβλέπεται να λαμβάνουν σημαντικές αποφάσεις για τη λειτουργία τους.

Ταυτόχρονα, η προαναφερθείσα πολιτική επιλογή για την εκπαίδευση συμβάλλει στην ανομοιομορφία και στην όξυνση της ανισότητας και του ανταγωνισμού μεταξύ των σχολείων. Πιο αναλυτικά, τα σχολεία που θα καταφέρουν να αποσπάσουν υψηλή χρηματοδότηση από εξωσχολικές πηγές θα έχουν τη δυνατότητα να εξασφαλίσουν την ομαλή και αποτελεσματική λειτουργία τους, συνθήκη, η οποία δεν θα έχει ισχύ για τα σχολεία τα οποία δεν θα μπορέσουν να εξασφαλίσουν τις ίδιες χορηγίες και δωρεές. Θα προκύψουν, λοιπόν, με αυτό τον τρόπο, τα «επαρκή» και τα «ανεπαρκή» σχολεία. Η διαδικασία αυτή δύναται να εφαρμοστεί και στα Π.Π.Σ., εγκαθιδρύοντας ένα σύστημα κατάταξης μεταξύ τους. Την ίδια στιγμή, η εμπλοκή εξωτερικών παραγόντων και η οικονομική εξάρτηση του σχολείου από εξωτερικές πηγές παρέχει τη δυνατότητα στις εκάστοτε επιχειρήσεις και στους άλλους εμπλεκόμενους φορείς να παρεμβαίνουν στο εκπαιδευτικό έργο, ετεροκατευθύνοντάς το, έτσι ώστε να επιτυγχάνεται η ικανοποίηση αλλότριων συμφερόντων. Χαρακτηριστικό είναι το παράδειγμα που αναφέρει ο Apple, για την προώθηση προϊόντων από εμπορικούς διαφημιστές σε σχολεία των Ηνωμένων Πολιτειών. Μέσα σε αυτά τα πλαίσια, τα παιδιά και τα σχολεία *«γίνονται εμπορεύματα τα οποία αγοράζονται και πωλούνται, με τον ίδιο τρόπο που αγοράζεται και πωλείται οτιδήποτε άλλο»* (Apple, 2010: 620).

Ένα ακόμη μέτρο, που προωθείται και συμβαδίζει απόλυτα με την προσπάθεια επιβολής μιας αγοραίας λογικής στη λειτουργία των Π.Π.Σ., είναι η δυνατότητα επιλογής σχολείου από τους/τις μαθητές/τριες και τις οικογένειες τους. Συγκεκριμένα, στο Νόμο προβλέπεται ότι στα Π.Π.Σ. μπορούν να φοιτήσουν παιδιά από διάφορες περιοχές, χωρίς τον περιορισμό της εντοπιότητας της κατοικίας σε σχέση με το σχολείο. Η φοίτηση δηλαδή στα σχολεία αυτά αποτελεί αποκλειστική απόφαση και επιλογή των οικογενειών των μαθητών/τριών. Υπάρχουν, βέβαια, προσκόμματα στη φοίτηση των παιδιών, όπως είναι τα μέτρα της κλήρωσης και των



εξετάσεων, αλλά και πάλι η συμμετοχή στις διαδικασίες αυτές προϋποθέτει την επιλογή των σχολείων από τις οικογένειες των παιδιών.

Αναφορικά με τη λογική της επιλογής σχολείου, θα πρέπει να αναφερθεί ότι είναι απόλυτα συνδεδεμένη με τη νεοφιλελεύθερη αντίληψη για την ελευθερία του ατόμου στον οικονομικό τομέα. Πιο αναλυτικά, το άτομο θα πρέπει να διαθέτει την αυτονομία, ως καταναλωτής, να επιλέξει το τι θα καταναλώσει. Αναλόγως, στο πλαίσιο μιας εκπαιδευτικής αγοράς, το άτομο-καταναλωτής θα μπορεί να επιλέξει τις εκπαιδευτικές υπηρεσίες που θα του επιτρέψουν να εξυπηρετήσει τα συμφέροντά του και να οικοδομήσει το «ανθρώπινο κεφάλαιο» το οποίο θα τον καταστήσει ελκυστικό και ανταγωνιστικό στον εργασιακό τομέα (Σταμάτης, 2005: 57-58, 146). Σε τέτοιες συνθήκες, η εκπαίδευση μετατρέπεται σε προϊόν κατανάλωσης, ενώ παράλληλα επιτυγχάνεται η όξυνση της ταξικής ανισότητας: διότι, τα άτομα που δεν διαθέτουν την απαιτούμενη αγοραστική δύναμη, δεν έχουν τη δυνατότητα να επιλέξουν, μεταξύ των εκπαιδευτικών υπηρεσιών, «τις καλύτερες», απορρίπτοντας ταυτόχρονα άλλες, εξαιτίας της ανεπάρκειάς τους (Παυλίδης, 2012: 118). Επιπρόσθετα, ο Καλημερίδης επισημαίνει ότι η σχολική επιλογή ασκείται κυρίως από τα μεσαία στρώματα, τα οποία, εξαιτίας του πολιτισμικού κεφαλαίου που διαθέτουν, αξιοποιούν τις αγοραίες λογικές προς όφελός τους και μπορούν να διακρίνουν τα «καλά σχολεία» που θα εξασφαλίσουν υψηλά εφόδια για τους γόνους τους (Καλημερίδης, 2006: 368).

Στα Π.Π.Σ. η δυνατότητα επιλογής περιορίζεται, εκτός των άλλων, και από τη γεωγραφική τους κατανομή σε μεγάλες κυρίως πόλεις. Η χωρική τους τοποθέτηση αποκλείει αυτόματα τα παιδιά που κατοικούν σε αγροτικές περιοχές αλλά και τα παιδιά των κατώτερων στρωμάτων, των οποίων ο περιορισμένος χρόνος και το χαμηλό εισόδημα δεν επιτρέπει την κάλυψη των εξόδων μετακίνησης στα σχολεία. Επιπλέον, όπως υποστηρίζει ο Μαυρογιώργος, πολλές οικογένειες χαμηλών κοινωνικοοικονομικών στρωμάτων αγνοούν την ίδια την ύπαρξη των Π.Π.Σ., γεγονός που καθιστά αδύνατη την επιλογή φοίτησης σε αυτά (Μαυρογιώργος, 2015). Ο ανταγωνισμός μεταξύ των σχολείων για την προσέλκυση των περισσότερων μαθητών-καταναλωτών, συνιστά ένα ακόμη απότοκο της διαδικασίας της γονεϊκής επιλογής σχολείου, ενώ, την ίδια στιγμή, τέτοιου είδους διαδικασίες εγκαθιδρύουν τη λογική της αναγκαίας προσαρμογής στις απαιτήσεις και στον έλεγχο των γονέων-καταναλωτών.

Στο σημείο αυτό θα πρέπει να διευκρινιστεί ότι, πέρα από την εφαρμογή αγοραίων μέτρων στα Π.Π.Σ., τα οποία προωθούνται στο σύνολο της εκπαίδευσης, τα σχολεία αυτά αναμένεται να διατηρήσουν ένα διακριτό-εκλεκτικό ρόλο στην ελληνική εκπαιδευτική πραγματικότητα. Εμφανιζόμενα σε συνθήκες βαθιάς οικονομικής κρίσης, τα Π.Π.Σ. αποτελούν την καλύτερη επιλογή δωρεάν εκπαίδευσης για τα μικροαστικά στρώματα, τα οποία, εξαιτίας της έντονης και διαρκούς υποβάθμισης που υφίστανται, δεν δύνανται να καλύψουν τα έξοδα της φοίτησης των παιδιών τους σε ακριβά ιδιωτικά σχολεία (Χαραλάμπους, 2012: 153). Η άποψη αυτή επιβεβαιώνεται ρητά και από τους/τις εκπροσώπους του ίδιου του κόμματος που



ανέλαβε την πρωτοβουλία της ίδρυσης των Π.Π.Σ., οι οποίοι/ες υποστήριξαν ότι τα σχολεία αυτά συνιστούν τη λύση για τις οικογένειες που επιθυμούν τα παιδιά τους να φοιτήσουν σε ιδιωτικά σχολεία αλλά δεν διαθέτουν πια την οικονομική δυνατότητα για να στηρίξουν την επιλογή τους αυτή (Πίνακας Περιεχομένων, Συνεδρίαση ΡΛ', 2011). Η ίδια η γεωγραφική κατανομή των σχολείων μαρτυρά τη στενή τους σχέση με την μεσαία τάξη, καθώς, όπως αναφέρει ο Γκαράς, τα Π.Π.Λ. βρίσκονται σε μεσοαστικές συνοικίες ή κοντά σε αυτές, *«σε γειτνίαση με τις μεγαλοαστικές συνοικίες, όπου βρίσκονται τα ακριβά ιδιωτικά σχολεία»* (Γκαράς, 2014: 421).

Παράλληλα, η συγκρότηση των Π.Π.Σ. εντάσσεται στα πλαίσια της προωθούμενης διαφοροποίησης των σχολείων, μιας ανάγκης, η οποία, όπως υποστηρίχτηκε και από τους/τις διαμορφωτές/τριες του νέου τύπου σχολείου, έχει προκύψει από την καταπιεστική ομοιομορφία της μαζικής εκπαίδευσης, που οδηγεί σε μέτρια αποτελέσματα. Στην πραγματικότητα βέβαια η κίνηση αυτή πηγάζει από τη λογική της αγοράς για προσφορά ποικιλίας προϊόντων, προκειμένου να καλύπτονται όλες οι επιθυμίες του καταναλωτικού κοινού. Παράλληλα, καθίσταται εμφανής, στο σημείο αυτό, η προσπάθεια υπονόμησης του ενιαίου χαρακτήρα της εκπαίδευσης. Στην πραγματικότητα, η ίδρυση των Π.Π.Σ. συνδέεται με τη στοχοθεσία της δημιουργίας εργατικού δυναμικού διαφορετικών ταχυτήτων, το οποίο θα δέχεται και την αντίστοιχη εκπαίδευση. Τα σχολεία, λοιπόν, αυτά σε καμία περίπτωση δεν εντάσσονται στο πλαίσιο των ιδρυμάτων που στοχεύουν στην παροχή μιας στοιχειώδους εκπαίδευσης στη μεγάλη μάζα των εργαζομένων. Αντίθετα, έχουν δημιουργηθεί με σκοπό να μετατραπούν σε κέντρα μέσα στα οποία θα παρέχεται ανώτερη και ποιοτικότερη μόρφωση σε ένα μικρό τμήμα μαθητών/τριών, προκειμένου να αναπτύξουν εκείνες τις δεξιότητες που θα τους/τις παρέχουν τη δυνατότητα να αναλάβουν μελλοντικά την άσκηση διευθυντικών καθηκόντων. Η τάση αυτή αποτυπώνεται ρητά, σύμφωνα με την Παπαποστόλου, στις κατευθύνσεις της Ε.Ε. για την ανάγκη ταυτόχρονης δημιουργίας *«ενός στρατού «αποσχολήσιμων»»* και *«μιας ελίτ της γνώσης»*, η οποία θα αποκτά την απαραίτητη γνώση μέσα σε θύλακες αριστείας για να αναλαμβάνει τη διαχείριση του ανθρωπίνου δυναμικού (Παπαποστόλου, 2011: 90).

Ταυτόχρονα, η ίδρυση των Π.Π.Σ. στηρίχτηκε στην πεποίθηση ότι, στο πλαίσιο του συγκεκριμένου δικτύου, θα δοθούν ευκαιρίες για περαιτέρω ανάπτυξη των ταλέντων και των ιδιαίτερων κλίσεων των χαρισματικών παιδιών. Στο ίδιο πλαίσιο θεσμοθετήθηκε και η ίδρυση ομίλων αριστείας, ώστε να καλλιεργούνται οι αυξημένες ικανότητες ορισμένων μαθητών/τριών. Καθίσταται λοιπόν εμφανής η κυριαρχία των θεωριών των χαρισματικών παιδιών, οι οποίες υποστηρίζουν ότι η ευφυΐα και οι υψηλές επιδόσεις αποδίδονται αποκλειστικά στις ιδιαίτερες ικανότητες και στα ταλέντα των παιδιών, παραγνωρίζοντας την καταλυτική επίδραση που ασκεί η οικονομική και κοινωνική τους θέση στην πορεία που θα ακολουθήσουν. Η οργάνωση των Π.Π.Σ., στη βάση μιας τέτοιας θεωρίας, συνεπάγεται, επίσης, ότι η λειτουργία τους βασίζεται στην παραδοσιακή αντίληψη



που συνδέει τη σχολική επιτυχία με τις εγγενείς νοητικές ικανότητες και την αποτυχία με την απουσία τους. Οι μαθητές/τριες, λοιπόν, θεωρούνται από τη φύση τους προορισμένοι/ες να πετύχουν, ενώ όσοι/ες δεν τα καταφέρνουν δεν θεωρούνται φυσικά προικισμένοι/ες. Με την επικράτηση τέτοιων θεωρήσεων, ωστόσο, αποσιωπάται ο κοινωνικός προσδιορισμός της σχολικής πορείας, η οποία εξαρτάται, στην πραγματικότητα, σε μεγάλο βαθμό, από την ταξική προέλευση των μαθητών/τριών (Κάτσικας& Καββαδίας, 2000: 35-36).

Απόψεις αυτού του είδους μαρτυρούν, παράλληλα, την κυριαρχία των νεότερων εκφάνσεων του Κοινωνικού Δαρβινισμού, οι οποίες υποστηρίζουν ότι η πρόοδος της κοινωνίας επιτυγχάνεται χάρη στη δράση μιας ελίτ που βρίσκεται σε υψηλότερο επίπεδο και κυριαρχεί πάνω στον όχλο (Παπαδόπουλος, 2010-2011: 82). Άλλωστε, κυρίαρχη είναι η αντίληψη που υποστηρίζει ότι στις επιχειρήσεις οι ταλαντούχοι/ες εργαζόμενοι/ες αποτελούν το βασικό μοχλό για την ανάπτυξη τους και την εξασφάλιση των μέγιστων κερδών. Στα πλαίσια ιδιαίτερα της βαθιάς οικονομικής κρίσης, την οποία αντιμετωπίζει η ελληνική κοινωνία -και λαμβάνοντας υπ’ όψιν την υποβάθμιση που παρατηρείται στην υπόλοιπη δημόσια εκπαίδευση- η ίδρυση των επιλεκτικών σχολείων θα μπορούσε να προσληφθεί ως απόδειξη της πολιτικής σκοπιμότητας για παροχή εκπαίδευσης υψηλής ποιότητας σε περιορισμένο αριθμό ατόμων, προκειμένου να πετύχουν τα μέγιστα, παρά για διαμοιρασμό της σε όλους/ες τους/τις μαθητές/τριες (Γκαράς, 2014: 422).

Στη διαμόρφωση του επιλεκτικού χαρακτήρα των Π.Π.Σ. σημαντικό ρόλο διαδραματίζει, μεταξύ άλλων, η θέσπιση αυστηρών μηχανισμών επιλογής του μαθητικού και εκπαιδευτικού δυναμικού τους. Εκκινώντας από το επίπεδο των μαθητών/τριών, ο Νόμος προέβλεπε την καθιέρωση εξετάσεων για την εισαγωγή τους στο γυμνάσιο και στο λύκειο. Η μέθοδος αυτή θεωρήθηκε εξαιρετικά αξιοκρατική και ικανή να παρέχει στους/στις ταλαντούχους/ες μαθητές/τριες, από οποιαδήποτε κοινωνική τάξη και αν προέρχονται, τη δυνατότητα να πάρουν την ποιοτική εκπαίδευση που τους/τις αρμόζει και να ανελιχθούν κοινωνικά. Μέσα, λοιπόν, από αυτή τη θεωρία προβάλλει ο μύθος του σχολείου ως κοινωνικού εξισωτή, το οποίο χειριζόμενο όλα τα παιδιά με τον ίδιο ακριβώς τρόπο, παρέχει ίσες ευκαιρίες προόδου σε όλους/ες το αξίζουν.

Εντούτοις, η άποψη αυτή συνιστά ένα κοινό αστικό μύθο. Όπως χαρακτηριστικά αναφέρουν οι Κάτσικας& Καββαδίας, η επίκληση της αξιοκρατικής επιλογής αποτελεί μία φενάκη, καθώς «επιτρέπει στον εκπαιδευτικό μηχανισμό να ανταποκριθεί στα αναπαραγωγικά καθήκοντα, στα πλαίσια των κοινωνικών σχέσεων εξουσίας που περιορίζουν τα όποια περιθώρια ταξικής κινητικότητας μέσα από την εκπαίδευση» (Κάτσικας& Καββαδίας, 2000: 28). Την ίδια στιγμή, δεν λαμβάνεται υπ’ όψιν και αποκρύπτεται ηθελημένα ότι οι επιδόσεις των παιδιών δεν αποτελούν ένα ατομικό χαρακτηριστικό που εξαρτάται από τις φυσικές ικανότητες τους, αλλά καθορίζονται σε τεράστιο βαθμό από τα κοινωνικοοικονομικά χαρακτηριστικά τους. Άλλωστε, το μορφωτικό κεφάλαιο, που έχουν αποκτήσει οι μαθητές/τριες πριν ακόμη εισέλθουν στο σχολείο, επηρεάζει κομβικά τη στάση και



την πορεία τους μέσα σε αυτό. Λαμβάνοντας, λοιπόν, υπ’ όψιν το γεγονός ότι τα ανώτερα κοινωνικά στρώματα διαθέτουν την ευκαιρία της εξοικείωσης με τις διανοητικές πρακτικές και δραστηριότητες μέσα από μια ωσμωτική διαδικασία, προνόμιο που δεν έχουν τα κατώτερα στρώματα, καθίσταται εύκολα κατανοητό ότι τα πρώτα δύνανται να ακολουθήσουν μία εύκολη και σίγουρη εκπαιδευτική πορεία, σε αντίθεση με τα δεύτερα που πρέπει να μοχθήσουν ιδιαίτερα μέσα σε ένα κλίμα ανασφάλειας (Φραγκουδάκη, 1985: 126-127). Επομένως, στην προκειμένη περίπτωση, είναι πολύ πιο εύκολο για τα παιδιά των μεσαίων και ανώτερων στρωμάτων να υποβληθούν σε εξετάσεις και να επιτύχουν υψηλές επιδόσεις, εξασφαλίζοντας μία θέση στα Π.Π.Σ.

Ακόμη, τα παιδιά είναι πιθανό να μην επιδιώκουν τη συμμετοχή τους στις δοκιμασίες αυτές από φόβο προς τις εξετάσεις, φόβος ο οποίος δημιουργείται εξαιτίας της απόστασης των μαθητών/τριών των κατώτερων κοινωνικοοικονομικών στρωμάτων από το κυρίαρχο πολιτισμικό κεφαλαίο, με βάση το οποίο λειτουργεί και το οποίο αναπαράγει η εκπαίδευση. Μη διαθέτοντας, λοιπόν, τα παιδιά τις κατάλληλες έξεις, έρχονται αντιμέτωπα με ξένες και ανοίκειες διαδικασίες, που δεν περιλαμβάνουν στοιχεία του δικού τους habitus και απαιτούν μια σειρά από γνωστικές, πολιτισμικές ικανότητες και χαρακτηριστικά, τα οποία δεν έχουν αναπτύξει (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2014: 211). Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, οι μαθητές/τριες των κατώτερων κοινωνικοοικονομικών στρωμάτων μπορούν να υποβάλουν τον εαυτό τους σε μια «αυτοαπόρριψη» από τα σχολεία αυτά, χωρίς να υποβληθούν καν στη διαδικασία των εξετάσεων, διότι κατανοούν ότι οι έξεις τους δεν ανταποκρίνονται στην κουλτούρα των επιλεκτικών Π.Π.Σ. Η συνθήκη αυτή δύναται να έχει ισχύ και στη διαδικασία της κλήρωσης, για την οποία ο Μαυρογιώργος αναφέρει ότι πολλά παιδιά αποφεύγουν να λάβουν μέρος, αυτοαποκλείοντας στην ουσία τον εαυτό τους, διότι φοβούνται ότι δεν θα καταφέρουν να ανταπεξέλθουν στις απαιτήσεις του σχολείου και στον ανταγωνισμό με τους/τις υπόλοιπους/ες συμμαθητές/τριές τους (Μαυρογιώργος, 2015).

Θα πρέπει να αναφερθεί, επίσης, ότι ο περιορισμός των εξεταζόμενων αντικειμένων στους τομείς της γλώσσας, των μαθηματικών και της φυσικής καταδεικνύει τον προσανατολισμό των σχολείων αυτών προς συγκεκριμένα γνωστικά περιεχόμενα. Η κατεύθυνση προς τους κλάδους αυτούς δεν μπορεί να μην εξεταστεί σε σύνδεση με τις ανάγκες των επιχειρήσεων, οι οποίες επιδιώκουν εργαζόμενους/ες εξοικειωμένους/ες με τα συγκριμένα αντικείμενα. Αναδεικνύεται, έτσι, η τάση για προσέλκυση μαθητών/τριών που διαθέτουν γνώσεις πάνω σε αντικείμενα που θεωρούνται χρήσιμα για την αγορά και δεν δίνεται η ανάλογη σημασία στην εξοικείωση με την τέχνη και τις κοινωνικές επιστήμες, καθώς οι τελευταίες δεν συνδέονται άμεσα με τις ανάγκες των επιχειρήσεων.

Θα πρέπει να επισημανθεί ότι η διαδικασία της επιλογής των μαθητών/τριών διαδραματίζει κομβικό ρόλο στην αναπαραγωγή και στην επίταση της ταξικής ανισότητας, εξασφαλίζοντας ευκαιρίες ανέλιξης για τα παιδιά των ανώτερων στρωμάτων. Όπως αναφέρει η Φραγκουδάκη, «η κοινωνιολογική έρευνα πάνω στην





εκπαίδευση ανακάλυψε [...] ότι το σύγχρονο σχολείο, το αξιοκρατικό σχολείο, με τις σχολικές μεθόδους αξιολόγησης (βαθμολογία, διαγωνίσματα, εξετάσεις), ασκεί επιλογή αυστηρά κοινωνική. Η σχολική αξιολόγηση αντιστοιχεί στην κοινωνική διαστρωμάτωση, δηλαδή η σχολική επιλογή αναπαράγει την κοινωνική ανισότητα» (Φραγκουδάκη, 1985: 18-19). Κατανοούμε, λοιπόν, ότι αν και η συγκεκριμένη διαδικασία εφαρμόζεται στο σύνολο της εκπαίδευσης, στην περίπτωση των συγκεκριμένων εκλεκτικών σχολείων καθίσταται ακόμα εντονότερη. Επομένως, μέσω των εξετάσεων νομιμοποιούνται οι διακρίσεις κατατάσσοντας τους/τις μαθητές/τριες σε επιτυχημένους/ες και αποτυχημένους/ες, ενώ το ιδεολόγημα της αξιοκρατίας λειτουργεί, ως επί το πλείστον, ως μέσο συγκάλυψης του επιλεκτικού τους χαρακτήρα (Παπακωνσταντίνου, 2002: 127-128, 135), αλλά και ως μέσο νομιμοποίησης της επιλογής που έχει διενεργηθεί. Με άλλα λόγια, οι μαθητές/τριες, μέσω των εξετάσεων, οι οποίες παρουσιάζονται ως αξιόπιστες και αντικειμενικές, καταλήγουν στην εσωτερίκευση των αρνητικών ετυμηγοριών που δύνανται να εισπράξουν, ανάγοντάς τες σε προσωπικά ελλείμματα.

Αυστηρά είναι τα κριτήρια που εφαρμόζονται και για την επιλογή του εκπαιδευτικού προσωπικού, στο πλαίσιο των εκλεκτικών προδιαγραφών που θεσπίστηκαν για τα Π.Π.Σ. Επιχειρείται, λοιπόν, η συγκρότηση μιας κατηγορίας σχολείων, που, κατά τη διατύπωση του Χαραλάμπους, προσπαθούν «να αλιεύσουν τους ‘καλούς’ μαθητές και να τους παραδώσουν στα χέρια των ‘καλών’ καθηγητών» (Χαραλάμπους, 2012: 153). Χαρακτηριστικό στοιχείο της προσπάθειας συγκρότησης ενός διακριτού εκπαιδευτικού σώματος συνιστά η πρόβλεψη καταβολής επιπλέον επιδόματος για τους/τις εργαζόμενους/ες των Π.Π.Σ. αλλά και η απόδοση επιπλέον μορίων, έτσι ώστε να έχουν στη συνέχεια τη δυνατότητα να καλύπτουν διοικητικές θέσεις. Από τη μεριά μας, κρίνουμε ότι η πρόβλεψη καταβολής επιπλέον επιδομάτων στην προβληματική κοινωνικοοικονομική συγκυρία που διέρχεται η χώρα, με τις συνεχείς περικοπές των μισθών και των επιδομάτων και τη διαρκή απορρύθμιση των εργασιακών συμβάσεων, συνιστά ένα δυσερμήνευτο μέτρο. Ολόκληρη, εντούτοις, η προσπάθεια συγκρότησης των Π.Π.Σ., που προβλέπεται να λειτουργούν με πλήρες προσωπικό και επιπλέον δομές, οι οποίες στα υπόλοιπα σχολεία χαρακτηρίζονται ως πολυτέλειες, αποτελεί πρόκληση για την ελληνική κοινωνία. Οι εργαζόμενοι/ες εκπαιδευτικοί, με τη σειρά τους, δείχνουν να έχουν αφομοιώσει, έως ένα βαθμό, τον ελιτίστικο αυτό χαρακτήρα, γεγονός που καταδεικνύεται από τη συγκρότηση ξεχωριστού συνδικαλιστικού οργάνου και από τη διεξαγωγή συνεδρίων, στα οποία δεν συμμετέχουν τα «κοινά» σχολεία (Γκαράς, 2014: 423).

Εντούτοις, παρά την ύπαρξη των ευνοϊκών ρυθμίσεων, στο Νόμο προβλέπονται και μία σειρά μέτρων, τα οποία συμβάλλουν στην υποβάθμιση της θέσης των εκπαιδευτικών. Η κατάργηση της οργανικής θέσης, η οποία συμβάλλει στη δημιουργία ενός κλίματος επισφάλειας, αποτελεί ένα από τα μέτρα αυτά. Την ίδια στιγμή, η υποχρέωση των εκπαιδευτικών να παραμένουν για μία πενταετία στα Π.Π.Σ. χωρίς τη δυνατότητα μετακίνησης, δημιουργεί ένα κλίμα εγκλωβισμού στα





σχολεία αυτά, καθώς, ακόμη και στην περίπτωση μετακίνησης για εξαιρετικά σοβαρούς λόγους, προβλέπονται τιμωρητικά μέτρα (αδυναμία υποβολής αίτησης για κάλυψη θέσης στα Π.Π.Σ. για τα επόμενα τρία χρόνια). Στη δημιουργία κλίματος ανασφάλειας συμβάλλει και η πρόβλεψη για λήξη της θητείας των εκπαιδευτικών των Π.Π.Σ., σε περίπτωση που αξιολογηθούν αρνητικά. Μέσα σε αυτό το πλαίσιο, προκειμένου να εξαλείψουν οι εκπαιδευτικοί την πιθανότητα μιας αρνητικής αξιολόγησης, επιδίδονται σε ένα διαρκή και αγχώδη αγώνα συγκέντρωσης πιστοποιητικών, διαδικασία η οποία απέχει από μία ουσιαστική προσπάθεια εμπλουτισμού και ανάπτυξης των γνώσεων και των μορφωτικών εμπειριών τους. Επιχειρώντας, εν συνεχεία, να αναλύσουμε ορισμένα χαρακτηριστικά του εργασιακού καθεστώτος των εκπαιδευτικών, θα πρέπει αρχικά να αναφερθεί ότι για τη διαδικασία πρόσληψής τους προβλέπεται η εφαρμογή μέτρων, που ομοιάζουν σε μεγάλο βαθμό με τις τακτικές των επιχειρήσεων. Η δυνατότητα επιλογής του προσωπικού, το οποίο θα καταστήσει τα σχολεία αποτελεσματικά και ικανά να ανταποκριθούν στους σκοπούς τους, αποτελεί ένα πρώτο αγοραίο χαρακτηριστικό. Η διαδικασία της συνέντευξης, η οποία διενεργείται από επιτροπές της Δ.Ε.Π.Π.Σ., αποτελεί, με τη σειρά της, ένα ακόμη μέτρο που αξιοποιείται από τις επιχειρήσεις. Ο/Η διευθυντής/τρια, ως μάνατζερ, καλείται, επίσης, να συντάξει αξιολογικές εκθέσεις για το προσωπικό του αλλά και εκθέσεις αυτοαξιολόγησης, φροντίζοντας, από κοινού με το ΕΠ.Ε.Σ. του σχολείου, για τη διατήρηση της αποτελεσματικής λειτουργίας των Π.Π.Σ., έτσι ώστε να είναι τα τελευταία ικανά να ανταποκρίνονται στη στοχοθεσία τους.

Μεγάλη σημασία θα πρέπει να δοθεί στην καθιέρωση συγκεκριμένων κριτηρίων για την αξιολόγηση των εκπαιδευτικών, τα οποία μάλιστα για να καταστούν φαινομενικά «αντικειμενικότερα», ποσοτικοποιούνται. Η διαδικασία αυτή προσιδιάζει στη λογική της σχολικής αποτελεσματικότητας, κατά την οποία θεωρείται εφικτή η περιγραφή της σχολικής πραγματικότητας με ταξινομίες, λίστες ελέγχου και δείκτες απόδοσης (Γρόλλιος, 2001). Αξιοποιώντας μοντέλα του επιχειρηματικού κόσμου, επιχειρείται, λοιπόν, η μέτρηση της απόδοσης και της αποτελεσματικότητας των υποψηφίων στη βάση ποσοτικών κριτηρίων. Νομιμοποιήθηκε, μάλιστα, μέσω της αξιολόγησης, η κατάταξη και ιεράρχηση των εκπαιδευτικών, έτσι ώστε να αναδειχθούν οι «καλύτεροι/ες» για την στελέχωση των σχολείων.

Στόχος της συγκεκριμένης διαδικασίας είναι η συμμόρφωση του/της εκπαιδευτικού στην προωθούμενη εκπαιδευτική πολιτική του κράτους. Άλλωστε, η αξιολόγηση δεν συνιστά μια ουδέτερη διαδικασία αλλά εκκινεί από συγκεκριμένες κοινωνικοπολιτικές αφετηρίες (Μαυρογιώργος, 1984: 13), οι οποίες απαιτούν τη χειραγώγηση των εκπαιδευτικών. Εγκαθίσταται, έτσι, ένα καθεστώς επιτήρησης και μάλιστα προβλέπεται η αποπομπή των εκπαιδευτικών που δεν ανταποκρίνονται επάξια στο ρόλο που τους έχει ανατεθεί.

Η αξιολόγηση παρουσιάζεται, επίσης, ως ατομική υπόθεση του κάθε εκπαιδευτικού, αποκρύπτοντας σκοπίμως την επίδραση που ασκούν στην ποιότητα



της εκπαιδευτικής πράξης όλοι οι φορείς, οι οποίοι δραστηριοποιούνται στο εκπαιδευτικό πλαίσιο (Μαυρογιώργος, 1984: 14). Με άλλα λόγια, επιχειρείται η ποσοτικοποίηση του έργου των εκπαιδευτικών, χωρίς να λαμβάνονται υπ’ όψιν οι ιδιομορφίες των τάξεων, των μαθητών/τριών, καθώς και η προσωπική κατάσταση των ίδιων των εκπαιδευτικών. Μάλιστα, η συμπερίληψη των επιδόσεων των μαθητών/τριών, ως κριτήριο αξιολόγησης των εκπαιδευτικών, σηματοδοτεί την προσπάθεια μετάθεσης της ευθύνης των επιδόσεων αποκλειστικά στους/στις εκπαιδευτικούς, χωρίς να λαμβάνονται υπ’ όψιν οι παράγοντες που συνδιαμορφώνουν καθοριστικά την εκπαιδευτική πορεία των μαθητών/τριών (κοινωνικοοικονομική προέλευση μαθητών/τριών, ψυχολογική τους κατάσταση κ.λπ.). Η πρόβλεψη για παρατήρηση των εκπαιδευτικών, κατά τη διάρκεια της διδασκαλίας τους από τους/τις υπεύθυνους/ες σχολικούς συμβούλους, είναι επίσης προβληματική, διότι υπονοεί ότι τα στοιχεία της εκπαιδευτικής πράξης *«μπορούν να ελεγχθούν σε συγκεκριμένες χρονικές στιγμές, κυριολεκτικά εντός ελάχιστων στιγμιότυπων της σχολικής καθημερινότητας, και να υπολογισθούν με τρόπο που να παρουσιάζει την ατομική δραστηριότητα κάθε εκπαιδευτικού με τη μορφή μιας συνολικής βαθμολογίας»*. Στην ουσία, η ίδια η προσπάθεια απόδοσης της εκπαιδευτικής πράξης με ποσοτικά δεδομένα θεωρείται αδύνατη, διότι υπάρχουν ποιοτικές πτυχές της εκπαιδευτικής πράξης που δεν καθίσταται δυνατό να μετρηθούν (Παυλίδης 2014).

Οι παραπάνω συνθήκες ισχύουν για το σύνολο του σχολικού δικτύου, όπου η αξιολόγηση, η οποία βασίζεται σε προκαθορισμένα ποσοτικά κριτήρια, προβλέπεται να διαδραματίσει κομβικό ρόλο. Προβλέπεται, μάλιστα, η εφαρμογή της αυτοαξιολόγησης των Π.Π.Σ., η οποία εφαρμόζει τις διατάξεις του Νόμου 3848/2010. Η έκθεση αυτοαξιολόγησης θα πρέπει να κοινοποιείται στους γονείς και να αναρτάται στο διαδίκτυο για να ενημερώνει τους/τις δυνάμει καταναλωτές/τριες για το έργο της υπηρεσίας που θα επιλέξουν. Παράλληλα, μέσω της αξιολόγησης, καθίσταται δυνατή η ιεράρχηση και κατάταξη των σχολείων, προκειμένου να αναδειχθούν τα εκλεκτότερα. Η διαδικασία αυτή ήταν ιδιαίτερα έντονη κατά την πρώτη αξιολόγηση, η οποία καθόρισε ποιες σχολικές μονάδες θα χαρακτηριστούν ως Π.Π.Σ. Φυσικά, μια τέτοια πρακτική οδηγεί αναπόφευκτα στην άνοδο του ανταγωνισμού μεταξύ των σχολείων.

Αναφορικά με τα κριτήρια αξιολόγησης, θα πρέπει να αναφερθεί ότι ανταποκρίνονται απόλυτα στο προωθούμενο νέο σχολείο και την ίδια στιγμή επιρρίπτουν ευθύνες στα σχολεία για ζητήματα που δεν εξαρτώνται μόνο από τα ίδια (χαρακτηριστικό παράδειγμα αποτελεί το κριτήριο της υλικοτεχνικής υποδομής). Η προσπάθεια χειραγώγησης και ετεροκατεύθυνσης του σχολικού έργου είναι και σε αυτή την περίπτωση υπαρκτή και συνοδεύεται από την εγκαθίδρυση ενός καθεστώτος απόλυτου ελέγχου. Μέσα σε αυτό το πλαίσιο, ο διαρκής κίνδυνος του αποχαρκτηρισμού και μετάπτωσης ενός Π.Π.Σ. σε ένα «κοινό» σχολείο λειτουργεί ως μέσο πειθάρχησης στην επιβαλλόμενη πολιτική.



Θα πρέπει, στο σημείο αυτό, να αναφερθεί ότι η έμφαση που αποδίδεται στις αυστηρά προσδιορισμένες αξιολογικές διαδικασίες λογοδοσίας, εκλαμβάνεται, από τη μεριά μας, ως μια μορφή ενίσχυσης του ρόλου του κράτους, στο πλαίσιο μιας νεοσυντηρητικής εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής, η οποία συντονίζει τα βήματά της με το νεοφιλελεύθερο δόγμα. Επίσης, παρά τη φιλολογία για την ανάγκη διαφοροποίησης της εκπαίδευσης, η καθιέρωση αυστηρών κοινών κριτηρίων συμβάλλουν στον κομφορμισμό των σχολείων και στην επιβολή μιας ομοιομορφίας, προκειμένου να καταστεί δυνατή η μέτρηση και η σύγκρισή τους (Γρόλλιος, 2001). Παράλληλα, καθίσταται ορατή η μετακύληση των ευθυνών, για ζητήματα που καθορίζονται άμεσα από τις πολιτικές πρακτικές και προβλέψεις, στις ίδιες τις σχολικές μονάδες και τους/τις εκπαιδευτικούς. Αναφέρεται, για παράδειγμα, το κριτήριο της παρακολούθησης εκπαιδευτικών επιμορφώσεων ή άλλων επιστημονικών προγραμμάτων, το οποίο δεν εξαρτάται αποκλειστικά από τους/τις εκπαιδευτικούς, αλλά και από τις αντίστοιχες προβλέψεις και πρακτικές του Υπουργείου Παιδείας, το οποίο θα πρέπει να μεριμνήσει για τη δημιουργία του πλαισίου που θα επιτρέψει στους/στις εκπαιδευτικούς να συμμετέχουν σε ανάλογα προγράμματα. Ταυτόχρονα, κρίνεται ότι η υπερβολική έμφαση στις διαδικασίες διαρκούς αξιολόγησης δύναται να οδηγήσει στη μετατόπιση του ενδιαφέροντος από την ουσία της εκπαιδευτικής διαδικασίας στην επίτευξη προκαθορισμένων και τυποποιημένων στόχων (Καλημερίδης, 2006: 403). Τελευταίο αλλά εξίσου σημαντικό, το αυστηρό πλαίσιο επιτήρησης και ελέγχου, σε συνδυασμό με την διαρκή επιδίωξη της μέγιστης αποτελεσματικότητας, λειτουργεί ευνοϊκά προς τη διαμόρφωση μιας εργαλειακής στάσης απέναντι στα παιδιά, τα οποία αντιμετωπίζονται ως μέσα για τη διατήρηση του χαρακτηρισμού των Π.Π.Σ.

Η διοίκηση των Π.Π.Σ. αποτελεί ένα ακόμη χαρακτηριστικό που διακρίνει τα σχολεία αυτά από τα υπόλοιπα δημόσια. Η Δ.Ε.Π.Π.Σ., σε εθνικό επίπεδο, και τα ΕΠ.Ε.Σ., σε επίπεδο σχολικής μονάδας, αποτελούν τα κεντρικά διοικητικά όργανα τα οποία αποφασίζουν για όλα τα ζητήματα, μέσω μίας κάθετης γραφειοκρατικής ιεραρχικής δομής. Ο αυστηρός έλεγχος που ασκεί η συγκεντρωτική Δ.Ε.Π.Π.Σ., στερεί από τα σχολεία τη δυνατότητα υλοποίησης δικών τους πρωτοβουλιών και αποσκοπεί στην «υλοποίηση και προώθηση της επίσημης εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής και στην καθιέρωση της παιδαγωγικής του εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος ως πρότυπης» (Λιάμπας, 2011: 83). Το πλαίσιο αυτό λειτουργεί δημιουργεί μία εξαρχής προσανατολισμένη και προδιαγεγραμμένη πορεία, προστατεύοντας από οποιαδήποτε παρέκκλιση εφαρμογής μη εγκεκριμένων αλλαγών (Μαυρογιώργος, 2015). Στην πραγματικότητα, η γραφειοκρατική και συγκεντρωτική αυτή δομή αποτελεί ένα ακόμη αποδεικτικό στοιχείο των νεοσυντηρητικών χαρακτηριστικών των Π.Π.Σ. και του αυξημένου ελεγκτικού ρόλου του κράτους, τα οποία, όπως προαναφέρθηκε, εμφανίζονται από κοινού με το νεοφιλελεύθερο χαρακτήρα των σχολείων. Κατά το Λιάμπα, «στα πλαίσια των νεοφιλελεύθερων αλλαγών στην εκπαιδευτική πολιτική με τα Π.Π.Σ. επιχειρείται να οικοδομηθεί το εκπαιδευτικό μας



*μέλλον μέσα από τον εναγκαλισμό με το συντηρητικό εκπαιδευτικό μας παρελθόν»*  
(Λιάμπας, 2011: 83).

### Συμπεράσματα

Το Μάιο του 2011 ψηφίστηκε από την Ελληνική Βουλή ο Νόμος 3966, ο οποίος, μεταξύ άλλων, επιχείρησε να ρυθμίσει συνολικά το θεσμικό πλαίσιο των Πειραματικών Σχολείων της χώρας. Ο Νόμος αυτός ψηφίστηκε στην περίοδο της βαθιάς οικονομικής κρίσης, η οποία είχε ξεσπάσει στην ελληνική κοινωνία- από το 2010- και είχε προκαλέσει σοβαρή υποβάθμιση του βιοτικού επιπέδου των εργαζομένων. Στα πλαίσια της ελληνικής εκπαίδευσης, η δεινή οικονομική κατάσταση οδήγησε σε μεγάλα προβλήματα και ελλείψεις, πλήττοντας σημαντικά την ποιότητα της. Παράλληλα, η οικονομική κρίση έχει χρησιμοποιηθεί ως πρόσχημα για την προώθηση μιας νεοφιλελεύθερης και συνάμα νεοσυντηρητικής αναδιάρθρωσης της εκπαίδευσης, στα πλαίσια της οποίας η τελευταία επιχειρείται να μετατραπεί σε εμπόρευμα που θα αυξάνει τα κέρδη της κυρίαρχης οικονομικής τάξης.

Τα Π.Π.Σ. διατήρησαν τους στόχους των πρότερων πειραματικών σχολείων, οι οποίοι αφορούσαν στην πρακτική άσκηση των φοιτητών/τριών, στην επαγγελματική ανάπτυξη των εν ενεργεία εκπαιδευτικών και στην εφαρμογή πειραματικών προγραμμάτων. Εντούτοις, στα σχολεία αυτά προστέθηκαν τρεις ακόμη στόχοι, οι οποίοι περιλαμβάνουν την παροχή υψηλής δημόσιας παιδείας, την προώθηση της εκπαιδευτικής έρευνας και, κυρίως, την καλλιέργεια της αριστείας, μέσω της συγκρότησης ομίλων που αξιοποιούν τις ιδιαίτερες κλίσεις των ταλαντούχων μαθητών/τριών. Επιπλέον, σημειώθηκαν σημαντικές αλλαγές στη λειτουργία των συγκεκριμένων σχολείων. Η εφαρμογή αυστηρών αξιολογήσεων σε όλα τα επίπεδα (σχολική μονάδα, εκπαιδευτικοί, μαθητές/τριες), η καθιέρωση νέων τρόπων επιλογής του εκπαιδευτικού και μαθητικού δυναμικού και η συγκρότηση ενός νέου παντοδύναμου διοικητικού οργάνου αποτελούν μερικές από αυτές.

Αναφορικά με τον κοινωνικό χαρακτήρα των Π.Π.Σ., κομβικό στοιχείο αποτελεί η προσαρμογή τους στις ανάγκες της νεοφιλελεύθερης καπιταλιστικής ανάπτυξης, στα πλαίσια της οποίας καθίσταται ορατή η δυναμική εισχώρηση της αγοράς σε όλους τους τομείς του ανθρώπινου βίου, με την ταυτόχρονη υποχώρηση του κράτους. Πιο αναλυτικά, η νεοφιλελεύθερη στροφή αποτυπώνεται, κατ' αρχάς, στη διάταξη για χρηματοδότηση των σχολείων από εξωτερικούς φορείς. Η πρακτική αυτή συνδέεται άμεσα με την προωθούμενη πολιτική του περιορισμού του κράτους και της κατίσχυσης της αγοράς, ενώ συμβάλλει στη δημιουργία επαρκών και ανεπαρκών σχολείων, με τις ανάλογες συνέπειες στην ποιότητα του έργου τους. Ταυτόχρονα, η προώθηση της εξωτερικής χρηματοδότησης εντάσσεται στο πλαίσιο της νεοφιλελεύθερης πρακτικής για αποκέντρωση και αυτονομία των σχολείων, μέσα στην οποία τα Π.Π.Σ. καλούνται να φροντίσουν ως ατομικά υποκείμενα για την εξεύρεση των οικονομικών πόρων που θα εξασφαλίσουν την ομαλή λειτουργία τους. Η εμπλοκή εξωτερικών παραγόντων θεσμοθετείται και με τη συμμετοχή



εξωτερικών προσώπων στη Δ.Ε.Π.Π.Σ. και στα πενταμελή συμβούλια των σχολείων, πρακτική η οποία παρέχει τη δυνατότητα της ετεροκατεύθυνσης του εκπαιδευτικού έργου από εξωσχολικούς φορείς. Η πολιτική επιλογή για συγκρότηση σχολείων, τα οποία διαφοροποιούνται από τα άλλα δημόσια, πηγάζει, επίσης, από την αγοραία λογική της προσφοράς ποικιλίας προϊόντων, προκειμένου να καλύπτονται οι επιθυμίες όλων των καταναλωτών/τριών.

Η διάταξη για τη διαμόρφωση εξωστρεφούς χαρακτήρα από τα Π.Π.Σ., εντάσσεται, με τη σειρά της, στη νεοφιλελεύθερη λογική της οικοδόμησης ενός σχολείου χωρίς τοίχους, προκειμένου να μεταβιβάζονται άμεσα οι επιτυχημένες πρακτικές, οι οποίες διασφαλίζουν τη μέγιστη αποτελεσματικότητα των σχολείων. Ένα ακόμη χαρακτηριστικό των Π.Π.Σ., το οποίο φανερώνει την κατίσχυση αγοραίων πρακτικών σε αυτά, σχετίζεται με τη δυνατότητα που παρέχεται στους γονείς να επιλέγουν τα συγκεκριμένα σχολεία για να φοιτήσουν εκεί τα παιδιά τους. Η εισαγωγή των μαθητών/τριών δεν πραγματοποιείται, λοιπόν, με βάση τις διατάξεις που ισχύουν στα υπόλοιπα σχολεία, αλλά κατόπιν αιτήσεως των γονέων για τη συμμετοχή των παιδιών τους στην κλήρωση ή στις εξετάσεις. Μέσα σε αυτό το πλαίσιο, οι γονείς εμφανίζονται ως καταναλωτές ικανοί να επιλέξουν τις καλύτερες υπηρεσίες που θα καταναλώσουν τα παιδιά τους. Επιπλέον, η δυνατότητα επιλογής των Π.Π.Σ. οδηγεί στην όξυνση της κοινωνικής ανισότητας, διότι τα κατώτερα κοινωνικοοικονομικά στρώματα δεν έχουν τη δυνατότητα επιλογής, μιας και δεν διαθέτουν την οικονομική άνεση της κάλυψης των εξόδων μετακίνησης των παιδιών τους, ενώ δεν είναι λίγες οι οικογένειες που αγνοούν την ίδια την ύπαρξη των σχολείων αυτών.

Τα Π.Π.Σ. δεν αποτελούν, ωστόσο, «κοινά» σχολεία αλλά προορίζονται να λειτουργήσουν ως επιλεκτικά σχολεία, τα οποία θα αλιεύσουν τους/τις καλούς/ες μαθητές/τριες και θα τους/τις παραδώσουν στα χέρια των άριστων εκπαιδευτικών. Στην πραγματικότητα, εμφανίστηκαν στη δεδομένη κοινωνικοοικονομική συγκυρία, προκειμένου να καλύψουν τις ανάγκες της μεσαίας τάξης, η οποία εξαιτίας της οικονομικής της αφαίμαξης δεν μπορούσε πλέον να καλύψει τα έξοδα φοίτησης των γόνων της σε ιδιωτικά σχολεία. Οι αυξημένες δεξιότητες που προσδοκείται να αποκτήσουν τα παιδιά από τη φοίτησή τους στα εν λόγω σχολεία, συνδέονται, με τη σειρά τους, με την πρόθεση για τη δημιουργία ενός σώματος εργαζομένων, που θα διαθέτουν τα απαραίτητα προσόντα για την κάλυψη διευθυντικών θέσεων, καθώς οι τελευταίες παρουσιάζουν μια σημαντική αύξηση, εξαιτίας της διεθνοποίησης της οικονομίας.

Για την εξασφάλιση του επιλεκτικού χαρακτήρα των σχολείων, προωθούνται αυστηροί μηχανισμοί επιλογής, οι οποίοι, μάλιστα, προβάλλονται ως αντικειμενικά και αξιόπιστα μέσα που δύνανται να εξασφαλίσουν την κοινωνική κινητικότητα για όσους/ες μαθητές/τριες καταβάλλουν τις απαιτούμενες προσπάθειες. Θα πρέπει να επισημανθεί, στο σημείο αυτό, ότι ο ρόλος που διαδραματίζουν οι εξετάσεις στην αναπαραγωγή της εκπαιδευτικής και κοινωνικής ανισότητας, αποκρύπτεται στη συγκεκριμένη διαδικασία. Τα παιδιά των κατώτερων κοινωνικοοικονομικών στρωμάτων, λοιπόν, δεν διαθέτουν το αντίστοιχο πολιτισμικό κεφάλαιο, που είναι





κυρίαρχο στα σχολεία αυτά, γεγονός που δύναται να τα οδηγήσει σε αποτυχία ή να τα υποχρεώσει σε μια διαδικασία αυτοαπόρριψης από τα Π.Π.Σ., επειδή τα τελευταία λειτουργούν με ανοίκειες διαδικασίες, στις οποίες φρονούν ότι δεν μπορούν να ανταπεξέλθουν.

Διαδικασίες αυστηρής επιλογής προβλέπονται και για το εκπαιδευτικό προσωπικό των σχολείων, για το όποιο, μάλιστα, υπήρχε η πρόβλεψη της καταβολής επιπλέον επιδόματος. Η αξιολόγηση, άλλωστε, συνιστά αναπόσπαστο στοιχείο της λειτουργίας των Π.Π.Σ. και διενεργείται στη βάση ποσοτικοποιημένων κριτηρίων, εγκαθιστώντας ένα πλαίσιο κατάταξης, ιεράρχησης και επιλογής των σχολείων και των εκπαιδευτικών. Η διαδικασία αυτή είναι απόλυτα συνδεδεμένη με τον στόχο της αριστείας, η οποία προϋποθέτει τη σύγκριση, κατάταξη και επιλογή των μαθητών/τριών και των σχολείων, δημιουργώντας «νικητές» και «ηττημένους» και αποκλείοντας αναγκαστικά ορισμένα ιδρύματα ή άτομα από τους κόλπους της. Ο κίνδυνος του αποχαρκτηρισμού των Π.Π.Σ. ή της «απόλυσης» των εκπαιδευτικών, σε περίπτωση που δεν κριθούν επαρκείς στην αξιολόγηση, συμβάλλει, με τη σειρά του, στη χειραγώγηση του εκπαιδευτικού έργου και στην εγκαθίδρυση ενός καθεστώτος λογοδοσίας και απόλυτου ελέγχου, που υποχρεώνει τα Π.Π.Σ. να υποταχθούν πλήρως στην προωθούμενη εκπαιδευτική πολιτική. Η διαδικασία αυτή-σε συνδυασμό με τη συγκεντρωτική διοίκηση των Π.Π.Σ.- μαρτυρούν το νεοσυντηρητικό χαρακτήρα που προωθείται παράλληλα με τον νεοφιλελεύθερο προσανατολισμό στις εν λόγω σχολικές μονάδες. Καθίσταται φανερό, λοιπόν, η προσπάθεια να αναδειχθούν ως πρότυπες, οι σχολικές μονάδες, οι οποίες υλοποιούν κατά γράμμα την επίσημη εκπαιδευτική πολιτική και ενσωματώνουν τις νεοφιλελεύθερες- νεοσυντηρητικές πολιτικές.

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## Εναλλακτική Παραγωγή Ταινιών από παιδιά στα πλαίσια της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής και του Απελευθερωτικού Θεάτρου

**Βουρτσάκη Ευαγγελία**

Εκπαιδευτικός Πρωτοβάθμιας Εκπαίδευσης - Θεατρολόγος Α.Π.Θ.

**Καυκιά Βασιλική**

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**Χατζηθεοδωρίδου Μαρία**

Εκπαιδευτικός Πρωτοβάθμιας Εκπαίδευσης - Υποψήφια διδάκτορας στο Π.Τ.Δ.Ε. - Α.Π.Θ.

### Περίληψη

Η παρούσα εργασία παρουσιάζει μία παρέμβαση που πραγματοποιήθηκε από τις τρεις εισηγήτριες με μία ομάδα εφήβων μαθητών/τριών και μαθητών/τριών δημοτικού στον κριτικό γραμματισμό στα μέσα, η οποία ομάδα είναι σταθερή τα τελευταία χρόνια. Η παρέμβαση στηρίζεται στο θεωρητικό πλαίσιο της κριτικής παιδαγωγικής και για τον κριτικό γραμματισμό στα μέσα και για το απελευθερωτικό θέατρο. Οι δύο εισηγήτριες (Χατζηθεοδωρίδου Μαρία και Καυκιά Βασιλική) λειτουργούν ως συντονίστριες της παρέμβασης στις συναντήσεις, ενώ η ομάδα των μαθητών/τριών διερευνά μέσα από ταινίες και άλλα είδη κειμένων, θέματα και προβλήματα που σχετίζονται με το προσφυγικό ζήτημα. Παράλληλα, με τη συμβολή της πρώτης εισηγήτριας – θεατρολόγου και εκπαιδευτικού (Βουρτσάκη Ευαγγελίας), η οποία σχεδιάζει τις διάφορες θεατρικές δράσεις, διερευνάται η συμβολή του απελευθερωτικού θεάτρου τόσο στον Κριτικό Γραμματισμό στα Μέσα όσο και στη συνειδητοποίηση και την αλλαγή στάσεων. Στο τέλος, οι μαθητές/τριες παρεμβαίνουν με τη δημιουργία μιας εναλλακτικής ταινίας μικρού μήκους, όπου μέσα από αυτή προβάλλουν τις σκέψεις και τις προτάσεις τους, αμφισβητώντας τους κυρίαρχους τρόπους αναπαράστασης και αποκλεισμού.

### Λέξεις-κλειδιά

Κριτικός Γραμματισμός στα Μέσα, Κριτική Κινηματογραφική Εκπαίδευση, Κριτική Παιδαγωγική, Απελευθερωτικό θέατρο, Εναλλακτική Παραγωγή Ταινιών, Νεοφιλελευθερισμός

### Εισαγωγή

Η παρούσα εργασία αποτελεί μια μελέτη περίπτωσης σε κριτικό εθνογραφικό πλαίσιο και σκοπό έχει να διερευνήσει εάν ομάδα μαθητών/τριών που έχει εκπαιδευτεί στον κριτικό γραμματισμό στα Μέσα (με εστίαση στις ταινίες) τα τελευταία πέντε χρόνια στα πλαίσια μιας ευρύτερης παρέμβασης για την οικονομική κρίση, οδηγείται: α) στην κατανόηση των συμβάσεων μιας ταινίας - ιδιαίτερα μέσα από την παραγωγή δικών της ταινιών - και β) σε αλλαγή στάσεων, κριτική συνειδητοποίηση και δράση σε σχέση με το προσφυγικό ζήτημα με το οποίο έχει έρθει αντιμέτωπη η χώρα μας τα δύο τελευταία χρόνια. Για τον λόγο αυτό, στη διάρκεια της παρέμβασης για το προσφυγικό χρησιμοποιούνται ως κείμενα, κύρια



οι ταινίες που είναι και το βασικό αντικείμενο ενασχόλησης της ομάδας, καθώς και διάφορα άλλα είδη κειμένων.

Η παρέμβαση, βασίστηκε στο θεωρητικό πλαίσιο του κριτικού γραμματισμού στα μέσα από την οπτική της κριτικής παιδαγωγικής και στη μέθοδο του κριτικού γραμματισμού του Freire και πραγματοποιήθηκε σε έξι συναντήσεις διάρκειας δύο ωρών με ομάδα μαθητών/τριών που τα τελευταία χρόνια αποτελείται από τρεις έφηβους μαθητές/τριες λυκείου (δύο κορίτσια και ένα αγόρι), τρεις μικρότερους μαθητές/τριες δημοτικού (δύο κορίτσια και ένα αγόρι) και τρεις εκπαιδευτικούς οι οποίες είναι συντονίστριες, σε χώρο εκτός σχολείου, στην Ανατολική Θεσσαλονίκη. Τα έξι παιδιά της ομάδας είναι ελληνικής καταγωγής, εκ των οποίων τα δύο είναι δίγλωσσα (έχουν παράλληλα και αραβική καταγωγή). Το προσφυγικό εντάχθηκε στη θεματολογία της κρίσης που ερευνά η ομάδα και τα παιδιά έφερναν κάθε φορά στις συναντήσεις εμπειρίες. Οι τρεις πρώτες συναντήσεις έγιναν σε μη τακτά χρονικά διαστήματα, ενώ οι τρεις τελευταίες ήταν συνεχόμενες.

### **Νεοφιλελευθερισμός – Εκπαίδευση και Δημόσια Παιδαγωγική**

Οι νεοφιλελεύθερες πολιτικές που υπηρετούν τις ανάγκες της αγοράς και εφαρμόζονται σήμερα στην εκπαίδευση με την επιμονή τους στην τυποποίηση (standards) και στην αξιολόγηση με τεστ ακολουθούν μια «κουλτούρα της σκληρότητας», την οποία επιδιώκουν να απλωθεί σε ολόκληρη την κοινωνία. Από την άλλη, καταστέλλουν τόσο τη δημιουργική διδασκαλία όσο και τα πιο ανοιχτά προγράμματα σπουδών με αποτέλεσμα η φαντασία, η δημιουργικότητα και η κριτική διδασκαλία να εξαλείφονται εντελώς για το κυνήγι του κέρδους. Όπως υποστηρίζει ο Giroux, πρόκειται για μία «παιδαγωγική της καταστολής», σύμφωνα με την οποία, οι μαθητές/τριες προετοιμάζονται να ξεχνούν οτιδήποτε θα μπορούσε να συνδέει την εκπαίδευση με την κοινωνική αλλαγή (Giroux, 2013).

Στην εποχή του νεοφιλελευθερισμού, ο επιδραστικός ρόλος που διαδραματίζουν τα μέσα στην μορφή, την οργάνωση και τη μετάδοση πληροφοριών, ιδεών και αξιών, δημιουργούν, κατά τον Giroux, μια πολύ ισχυρή δημόσια παιδαγωγική (Kellner & Share, 2007a: 3, 2007b: 59, Share, 2009: 2). Όσον αφορά τις ταινίες, στις οποίες όλοι/ες σήμερα έχουμε μεγαλύτερη πρόσβαση – ακόμη και τα παιδιά - αυτές και ψυχαγωγούν και εκπαιδεύουν, καθώς μας προσφέρουν θέματα για συζήτηση και προβληματισμό, αλλά και μας επηρεάζουν ασυνείδητα (Giroux, 2001: 585).

Στο πλαίσιο του νεοφιλελεύθερου λόγου, η ισχύς των εταιρειών σηματοδοτεί μια νέα μορφή δημόσιας παιδαγωγικής, στην οποία η παραγωγή, η διάδοση και η κυκλοφορία ιδεών αναδύονται από την εκπαιδευτική δύναμη του ευρύτερου πολιτισμού. Με αυτή την έννοια, η δημόσια παιδαγωγική, αναφέρεται σε ένα ισχυρό σύνολο ιδεολογικών και θεσμικών δυνάμεων που αποσκοπεί στην παραγωγή ανταγωνιστικών ατόμων, τα οποία αγωνίζονται για τα δικά τους υλικά και ιδεολογικά οφέλη. Έτσι, η δημόσια παιδαγωγική που υπηρετεί το κεφάλαιο διαμορφώνει τον πολιτισμικό ορίζοντα που θα συμβάλλει στην δημιουργία αξιών, ταυτοτήτων και πρακτικών της αγοράς (Giroux, 2010a: 486).



Οι μαθητές/τριες, αντί να διδαχθούν να γίνουν ανεξάρτητοι στοχαστές, γίνονται παθητικοί/ές και υπάκουοι/ες σε μια κοινωνία που στηρίζεται στην εξουσία, στην υλική ευημερία, στο χρήμα και σε πληθώρα ανισοτήτων. Στα πλαίσια αυτά, γίνονται συνδυασμοί ιδεολογιών και παιδαγωγικών, οι οποίοι επιδιώκουν να εμποδίσουν στους/στις μαθητές/τριες κάθε πιθανότητα να αναπτύξουν κριτικές, δημιουργικές και συνεργατικές μορφές σκέψης και δράσης που κρίνονται απαραίτητες για τη συμμετοχή τους σε μια ουσιαστική δημοκρατία (Giroux, 2013).

Σύμφωνα με τον Giroux, (2013), στο επίκεντρο αυτών των πολιτικών υπάρχει η δέσμευση για μια «παιδαγωγική της καταστολής» η οποία βασίζεται στη συμμόρφωση, στην παθητικότητα, στην απομνημόνευση, και στα τεστ υψηλού ρίσκου. Η «παιδαγωγική της καταστολής», αντί να δημιουργεί μαθητές/τριες αυτόνομους/ες, με κριτική σκέψη και πολιτική συνείδηση, σκοτώνει τη φαντασία, αποπολιτικοποιεί κάθε πλευρά της μάθησης και της διδασκαλίας και αποσκοπεί ουσιαστικά στο κέρδος και στην πειθαρχία. Επιπλέον, κάθε θέμα διδάσκεται ξεκομμένο μέσα από μεμονωμένες πληροφορίες χωρίς να τις συνδέουν κοινές έννοιες.

Στην τρέχουσα εποχή του νεοφιλελευθερισμού, οι εκπαιδευτικοί αντιμετωπίζουν την πρόκληση να δημιουργήσουν τις προϋποθέσεις στους/στις μαθητές/τριες ώστε να αντιληφθούν τον τρόπο με τον οποίο μεταδίδεται η γνώση σε σχέση με τη δύναμη του αυτοπροσδιορισμού τους και της κοινωνικής τους αυτονομίας, έτσι ώστε στη συνέχεια, να δράσουν για μία ουσιαστική δημοκρατία και να αγωνίζονται για μία πιο δίκαιη κοινωνία χωρίς διακρίσεις και ανισότητες (Giroux, 2013).

Για την κριτική παιδαγωγική, οι μαθητές/τριες δεν είναι αποταμιευτικά δοχεία που αφομοιώνουν παθητικά στείρες γνώσεις. Η κριτική παιδαγωγική περιλαμβάνει μορφές διδασκαλίας που προκαλούν τους/τις μαθητές/τριες να μετασχηματίζουν τη γνώση σε στοχασμό και δράση, ενώ παράλληλα, αποτελεί και ένα ισχυρό αντίδοτο κατά της νεοφιλελεύθερης επίθεσης στη δημόσια εκπαίδευση. Ακόμη, πρέπει να υποστηρίζεται και από κοινωνικά κινήματα τα οποία ενδιαφέρονται για την εκπαιδευτική μεταρρύθμιση προς την κατεύθυνση της δημοκρατικής αλλαγής καθώς ο αγώνας για τη δημόσια εκπαίδευση συνδέεται στενά με τον αγώνα κατά της φτώχειας, της βίας, του ρατσισμού, του πολέμου, των ανισοτήτων και πολλών άλλων κοινωνικών αδικιών (Giroux, 2013).

Συγκεκριμένα, όταν μια παιδαγωγική εργασία βασίζεται στην απελευθερωτική κριτική παιδαγωγική οφείλει να στηρίζεται στη συστηματική έρευνα των εκπαιδευτικών για θέματα που έχουν νόημα στην πλειονότητα των μαθητών/τριών και προέρχονται από το λαό, καθώς οι περισσότεροι μαθητές/τριες θα μπορούν να αναγνωρίσουν σε αυτά τα δικά τους ενδιαφέροντα και το δικό τους πολιτισμικό κεφάλαιο (Γρόλλιος, 2016α βλ. και Γρόλλιος, 2016b). Όπως υποστηρίζει ο Giroux, όταν ενσωματώνονται τα κείμενα της καθημερινής κουλτούρας των μέσων (στην περίπτωση μας, των ταινιών) στο έργο της κριτικής παιδαγωγικής, δημιουργούν τη δυνατότητα συνδυασμού κειμενικών, ιδεολογικών, ιστορικών και πολιτικών αναλύσεων με τρόπους που βοηθούν τους εκπαιδευτικούς και τους μαθητές να





ξεπεράσουν τα όρια της περιχαράκωσης και των παραδοσιακών επιστημονικών ορίων. Κατά συνέπεια, η «θεωρία του πολιτισμού» του Γίρουκ, ανοίγει έναν χώρο όπου αναδύεται η δυνατότητα για αλλαγή (Nam, 2010: 15).

Σύμφωνα με τον Γίρουκ, η παιδαγωγική σήμερα είναι πρωταρχικά δημόσια εφόσον δεν περιορίζεται πια στους παραδοσιακούς χώρους μάθησης όπως το σχολείο και η οικογένεια. Κατά τον ίδιο: «Ενώ η δημόσια παιδαγωγική αποτελεί συνέπεια των νέων δημόσιων τεχνολογιών, οι συγκεκριμένες μορφές και ιδεολογίες τις οποίες παράγει είναι πάντοτε αντικείμενο αγώνα και ανοιχτές σε αντιστάσεις. Η έννοια της δημόσιας παιδαγωγικής απαιτεί ένα ριζοσπαστικό αναστοχασμό σχετικά με το πώς οι οπτικές τεχνολογίες παράγονται, κυκλοφορούν και προσαρμόζονται σε ποικίλους τόπους της παιδαγωγικής. Αυτοί οι τόποι γεννούν μορφές γνώσης, οι οποίες διαμεσολαβούνται από συγκεκριμένες κοινωνικές σχέσεις και κινητοποιούν επιλεγμένες ιδεολογίες, ιστορίες και μνήμες» (Γρόλλιος, 2009).

Οι νεοφιλελεύθερες πολιτικές επιχειρούν να διαμορφώσουν ολοκληρωτικά την προσωπικότητα των μαθητών/τριών και των εκπαιδευτικών. Έτσι όμως, η εκπαίδευση μετατρέπεται σε πράγμα, γίνεται «τραπεζική» μεταβίβαση γνώσης και χάνει το ανθρωπιστικό της περιεχόμενο. Αποσκοπεί, ως μία «εκπαιδευτική νεκροφιλία», στη διαπαιδαγώγηση των μαθητών/τριών με τη λογική της αγοράς και του κέρδους, διαπλάθοντας τον αυριανό διαχειρίσιμο, απανθρωπισμένο και υπάκουο εργαζόμενο. Για αυτόν τον λόγο, προβάλλει επιτακτική η αναγκαιότητα, οι κριτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί να δράσουν, γνωρίζοντας ότι οι σχέσεις εκπαίδευσης και κοινωνίας είναι διαλεκτικές, ιστορικές και αντιφατικές (Γρόλλιος κ.ά., 2015: x-xi).

Ο Γίρουκ (2010b) επισημαίνει ότι, ενάντια στο παραπάνω πλαίσιο που αφαιρεί όλα τα κριτικά στοιχεία της διδασκαλίας και της μάθησης, μπορούμε να αναστοχαστούμε τη σημασία που έχει το έργο του Paulo Freire, ο οποίος θεωρεί ότι όλη η εκπαίδευση με την ευρύτερη έννοια είναι μέρος ενός σχεδίου ελευθερίας που προσφέρει στους μαθητές τις προϋποθέσεις για αυτοκριτική, για αυτοδιαχειριζόμενη ζωή και για κριτική πρακτική (βλ. Freire, 1972, 1985). Αλλά και σύμφωνα με τον Γρόλλιο (2016b), η απάντηση στο ερώτημα τι μπορούν να κάνουν σήμερα οι υποστηρικτές της απελευθερωτικής κριτικής παιδαγωγικής βρίσκεται στην «κριτική συνειδητοποίηση», που προϋποθέτει κατανόηση της πραγματικότητας και συλλογική δράση για τον μετασχηματισμό της, δηλαδή, μια ριζοσπαστική και απελευθερωτική πράξη. Ο ίδιος διευκρινίζει ότι η κριτική συνειδητοποίηση είναι συλλογική και όχι ατομική υπόθεση, συμβάλλει στην απελευθέρωση από την κυρίαρχη αστική ιδεολογία, ενώ παράλληλα είναι και ο βασικός παιδαγωγικός σκοπός της απελευθερωτικής κριτικής παιδαγωγικής.

### **Κουλτούρα των μέσων – Γραμματισμός στα μέσα**

Ο Kellner (2000a: 246, 2000b: 197) υποστηρίζει ότι, στη σημερινή εποχή δραματικών τεχνολογικών αλλά και κοινωνικών αλλαγών που διανύουμε, όπως είναι η προσφυγιά και η μετανάστευση, είναι αναγκαίο πλέον η εκπαίδευση να καλλιεργήσει μια ποικιλία νέων τύπων γραμματισμού και ότι το κρίσιμο στοιχείο





είναι να κατανοήσουμε τις νέες τεχνολογίες για να τις χρησιμοποιήσουμε και για να καταλάβουμε τον κόσμο μας, αλλά και για να τον μετασηματίσουμε. Ταυτόχρονα, υποστηρίζει ότι κεντρικός στόχος είναι να εισαχθούν νέοι γραμματισμοί για να ενδυναμωθούν άτομα και ομάδες που είναι συνήθως αποκλεισμένα, ώστε να μπορέσει έτσι να αναδομηθεί η εκπαίδευση για να ανταποκριθεί πιο αποτελεσματικά στις προκλήσεις για μια δημοκρατική και πολυπολιτισμική κοινωνία.

Επίσης, ο Michael Corpps επισημαίνει ότι «σε μια κουλτούρα όπου τα μέσα διαδίδονται και διεισδύουν, τα παιδιά πρέπει να σκέφτονται κριτικά για αυτά που βλέπουν, ακούν και διαβάζουν. Η εκπαίδευση του παιδιού δεν μπορεί να ολοκληρωθεί χωρίς αυτό.» (Nam, 2010: 7).

Οι Kellner & Share (2005: 373, 2007b: 62-63) τονίζουν ότι οι κριτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί οφείλουν να διδάξουν στους/στις μαθητές/τριές τους πώς η κουλτούρα των μέσων μπορεί να προάγει τον ρατσισμό, τον σεξισμό, τον εθνοκεντρισμό αλλά και άλλες μορφές προκατάληψης, όπως είναι η παραπληροφόρηση και οι προβληματικές ιδεολογίες (βλ. και Kellner, 2000a: 251, Daniels, 2009).

Σύμφωνα με την Hobbs (1997: 176), το νέο αυτό όραμα του γραμματισμού τοποθετεί τους/τις μαθητές/τριες στο κέντρο των διαδικασιών της πρόσβασης, της ανάλυσης, της αξιολόγησης και της μεταβίβασης μηνυμάτων. Κατά την ίδια είναι πολύ σημαντικό ότι ο γραμματισμός στα μέσα επικεντρώνεται στην ενδυνάμωση, την οποία ορίζει με τα λόγια του McLaren ως «τη διαδικασία διαμέσου της οποίας οι μαθητές μαθαίνουν να ιδιοποιούνται κριτικά τη γνώση που υπάρχει έξω από την άμεση εμπειρία τους για να διευρύνουν την κατανόηση των εαυτών τους, του κόσμου και τις πιθανότητες να μετασηματίσουν τις αντιλήψεις που θεωρούνται δεδομένες γύρω από τον τρόπο που ζουν».

### **Κριτικός γραμματισμός στα μέσα – Εναλλακτική παραγωγή μέσων**

Μία από τις πολλές και συχνά αντικρουόμενες μεταξύ τους προσεγγίσεις για τον γραμματισμό στα μέσα είναι και ο κριτικός γραμματισμός στα μέσα (βλ. Χατζηθεοδωρίδου κ.ά. 2015: 1291). Ο κριτικός γραμματισμός στα μέσα κάνει έκκληση για ανάλυση της κουλτούρας των μέσων ως τεχνολογίες κοινωνικής παραγωγής και αγώνα, ενώ διδάσκει στους μαθητές και στις μαθήτριες να είναι κριτικοί στις αναπαραστάσεις και στις συζητήσεις των μέσων, καθώς δίνει έμφαση στη σημασία της μάθησης που χρησιμοποιεί τις τεχνολογίες των μέσων ως μορφές αυτο-έκφρασης και κοινωνικού ακτιβισμού (Leistyna & Mollen, 2008, Kellner, 1995, Kahn & Kellner, 2005, Kellner & Share, 2007a, Hobbs, 2008).

Ο κριτικός γραμματισμός στα μέσα, ασχολείται με ζητήματα του φύλου, της φυλής, της τάξης, της σεξουαλικότητας και της εξουσίας, για να ανακαλυφθούν έτσι οι διασυνδέσεις που υπάρχουν μεταξύ μέσων, πολιτισμικών σπουδών<sup>1</sup> και κριτικής

<sup>1</sup> Στο πλαίσιο των παραδόσεων της κριτικής κοινωνικής θεωρίας και της πολιτισμικής κριτικής, υπάρχουν πολλά μοντέλα πολιτιστικών σπουδών που έχουν ασχοληθεί με τις σχέσεις μεταξύ



παιδαγωγικής, ενώ η εναλλακτική παραγωγή των μέσων, μπορεί να συμβάλλει στην εμπλοκή των μαθητών/τριών, ώστε αυτοί/ές να αλλάξουν τα κείμενα και τις αφηγήσεις των μέσων που προβάλλονται ως φυσικά. Ωστόσο, για να μπορέσουν οι μαθητές να παράγουν εναλλακτικές αναγνώσεις των μέσων, θα πρέπει προηγουμένως να εμπλακούν σε κριτική πολιτιστική έρευνα (Kellner & Share, 2005, 2007a, 2007b, Nam, 2003, Nam, 2010).

Κατά τον Giroux (2000:128) παρά τον κίνδυνο της γενίκευσης, τόσο οι κριτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί όσο και οι θεωρητικοί των πολιτισμικών σπουδών ασχολούνται με μορφές πολιτισμικού έργου όπου εντοπίζουν την πολιτική στην αλληλεπίδραση μεταξύ συμβολικών παραστάσεων, καθημερινής ζωής και υλικών σχέσεων εξουσίας. Και οι δύο, εμπλέκουν και την πολιτισμική πολιτική ως "τον τόπο παραγωγής και αγώνα κατά της εξουσίας" και την μάθηση ως αποτέλεσμα βαθύτερης ενασχόλησης και εμπλοκής παρά ως παθητικής λήψης πληροφοριών. Παράλληλα, και οι δύο παραδόσεις έχουν δώσει έμφαση σε αυτό που ο Giroux αποκαλεί «ερμηνευτική παιδαγωγική» (performative pedagogy) και αντικατοπτρίζεται σε αυτό που οι θεωρητικοί όπως ο Lawrence Grossberg ονομάζουν «δράση της πράξης» "the act of doing, δίνοντας βαρύτητα στη σημασία της κατανόησης της θεωρίας ως την θεμελιωμένη βάση για «παρέμβαση σε περιβάλλοντα και εξουσία ... για να επιτρέπουν στους ανθρώπους να ενεργούν πιο στρατηγικά με τρόπους που να μπορούν να αλλάξουν το περιβάλλον τους προς το καλύτερο».

Κομβικό σημείο για την «κριτική παιδαγωγική των αναπαραστάσεων», όπως ονομάζει ο Giroux (1994, σ.47) τη βαθύτερη εμπλοκή με την λειτουργία των

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πολιτισμού και κοινωνίας, όπως τα νεο-μαρξιστικά μοντέλα που κυμαίνονται από το Σχολείο της Φρανκφούρτης μέχρι τα Αλτουσεριανά παραδείγματα «Althusserian Paradigms», νέο-Βεμπεριανά «neo-Weberian», νέο-Ντουρκειμιανά «neo-Durkheimian», μεταδομιστικά «poststructuralist», φεμινιστικές μελέτες του πολιτισμού και υπάρχει κι ένα μεγάλο εύρος προσεγγίσεων που εφαρμόζουν ξεχωριστές κοινωνικές θεωρίες στη μελέτη του πολιτισμού. Κατά τον Kellner, αν και ο όρος "πολιτισμικές σπουδές συνδέεται σαφέστατα τα τελευταία χρόνια με το έργο του Κέντρου Σύγχρονων Πολιτισμικών Μελετών του Μπέρμιγχαμ (Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies) και των παρακλαδιών του, ωστόσο, ο ίδιος υποστηρίζει ότι η Σχολή της Φρανκφούρτης προέβλεψε πολλές από τις θέσεις των Βρετανικών πολιτιστικών σπουδών (Kellner, 2001:395).

Σύμφωνα με τον Hall, ένας από τους πρωταρχικούς σκοπούς της έρευνας στον τομέα των πολιτισμικών σπουδών είναι να κατανοηθεί καλύτερα η λειτουργία της ιδεολογίας στις σύγχρονες δυτικές κουλτούρες. Επιπλέον, η θεωρία του ακροατηρίου και η έννοια ενός ενεργητικού ακροατηρίου του Hall εξετάζουν πώς οι θεατές αποκωδικοποιούν μηνύματα με τρόπους που συχνά δεν συμβαδίζουν με την ιδεολογική πρόθεση των διανεμητών περιεχομένου (Mason, 2016:81-82).

Το πεδίο του κριτικού γραμματισμού στα μέσα πηγάζει άμεσα από την εκπαιδευτική παράδοση της κριτικής παιδαγωγικής, η οποία έχει τις ρίζες της στις παιδαγωγικές θεωρίες του Paulo Freire, στις κριτικές πολιτισμικές θεωρίες της Σχολής της Φρανκφούρτης (Frankfurt School) και στο Κέντρο Σύγχρονων Πολιτισμικών Μελετών του Μπέρμιγχαμ (Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies) από το δεύτερο μισό του εικοστού αιώνα. Ωστόσο, υπάρχει και μια σύγχρονη παραλλαγή που αγκαλιάζει πληρέστερα την μεταμοντέρνα κριτική της κοινωνικής θεωρίας μακροοικονομικού επιπέδου και επικεντρώνεται πιο στενά στο νόημα που δίνουν μεμονωμένοι χρήστες σε συγκεκριμένα πλαίσια (Mason, 2016, p.81).



αναπαραστάσεων, είναι το να δίνεται στους/στις μαθητές/τριες η ευκαιρία να αποδομούν τη μυθική αντίληψη ότι τα κείμενα, οι εικόνες και οι ήχοι απλά εκφράζουν την πραγματικότητα.

Χρησιμοποιώντας την απελευθερωτική παιδαγωγική του Freire, μπορούμε να θεωρήσουμε τον κριτικό γραμματισμό στα μέσα ως μία μετασηματιστική παιδαγωγική πρακτική. Αυτή η εννοιοποίηση βοηθά τους εκπαιδευτικούς των μέσων να οραματιστούν μια εναλλακτική εκπαίδευση για τα μέσα, για να βοηθήσουν τους μαθητές να γίνουν κριτικοί χρήστες των μέσων, όπως επίσης και ικανοί παραγωγοί των μέσων (Nam, 2010: 12).

Σύμφωνα με τον Nam (2010: 17-18) οι κριτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί πρέπει να ενσωματώσουν ενεργά την παραγωγή μέσων στην εκπαίδευση για τον κριτικό γραμματισμό στα μέσα. Ωστόσο, αυτό δεν σημαίνει κατ' ανάγκη ότι πρέπει οι μαθητές να καταρτιστούν άρτια κι επιδέξια στις δεξιότητες παραγωγής σύμφωνα με τα πρότυπα και τις προσδοκίες της κυρίαρχης βιομηχανίας. Αντίθετα, ο ίδιος υποστηρίζει ότι οι μαθητές/τριες πρέπει να ξεκινήσουν και να οργανώσουν τη δική τους εναλλακτική και αντιτιθέμενη κουλτούρα των μέσων και τις πρακτικές τους – με τον τρόπο που η Hobbs χαρακτήρισε ως «εκφραστική» παραγωγή των μέσων, σε αντίθεση με την «επαγγελματική» παραγωγή. Παρόμοια, και οι Lewis και Jhally εφιστούν την προσοχή για την ίδια λανθασμένη προσέγγιση στην παραγωγή των μέσων: «Η διδασκαλία της παραγωγής ως ένα καθαρά σύνολο τεχνικών δεξιοτήτων οδηγεί σε μία βύθιση στη διαδικασία και όχι σε μια κριτική στάση.» Οι ίδιοι υποστηρίζουν ότι για να καταστεί η παραγωγή των μέσων κριτική και πολιτική, «η παραγωγή θα πρέπει να ενσωματωθεί σε μια συνολική θεωρητική προσέγγιση που υπογραμμίζει το ζήτημα της εξουσίας».

Επίσης, ο Giroux τονίζει ότι ο κριτικός γραμματισμός στα μέσα, πρέπει να πάρει σοβαρά τις οπτικές εικόνες. Η σημασία του οπτικού γραμματισμού δεν ανήκει αποκλειστικά σε ανθρωπιστικές ή αισθητικές διαστάσεις, αλλά και σε πολιτική διάσταση. Οι κριτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί, αντί να απορρίπτουν τις οπτικές εικόνες ως ασήμαντες, πρέπει να τις αναγνωρίσουν ως αναπόσπαστο μέρος της καθημερινής κουλτούρας των μέσων των μαθητών/τριών. Ο κριτικός γραμματισμός στα μέσα επιδιώκει να μάθουν οι μαθητές «πώς να διαβάζουν με κριτικό πνεύμα τις νέες τεχνολογικές και οπτικές κουλτούρες που ασκούν ισχυρή επιρροή στις ζωές τους, καθώς και την αντίληψή τους για το τι σημαίνει να είναι κοινωνικά υποκείμενα που ασχολούνται με πράξεις υπεύθυνων πολιτών» (Nam, 2010: 18).

### **Η συμβολή του απελευθερωτικού θεάτρου στον κριτικό γραμματισμό στα μέσα**

Στην παρέμβαση χρησιμοποιείται σε μεγάλο βαθμό και η θεατρική δράση ως εργαλείο. Η διερεύνηση και αποκωδικοποίηση των ταινιών βασίστηκε θεατρικά επάνω στις αρχές του Boal (2002), ο οποίος ίδρυσε το θέατρο των καταπιεσμένων και εφάρμοσε τις αντιλήψεις του Freire στη θεατρική πράξη, καταδεικνύοντας πώς το θέατρο μπορεί να συμβάλλει στον μετασηματισμό και την απελευθέρωση κάθε ανθρώπου. Σύμφωνα με τον Babbage (2004: 35-36) όλες αυτές οι τεχνικές



αποσκοπούν πρώτα στη συνειδητοποίηση της κοινωνικής πραγματικότητας και στη συνέχεια στην αλλαγή της (βλ. Χατζηθεοδωρίδου κ.ά. 2015: 1293-1294).

### Η παρέμβαση

12/9/2015

Είναι η πρώτη μας συνάντηση μετά το τέλος του καλοκαιριού του 2015 κι όλοι/ες ερχόμαστε αναστατωμένοι κι επηρεασμένοι αρνητικά από όλα όσα βιώσαμε την εποχή αυτή. Το θέμα που μας απασχολεί και αποφασίζουμε να συζητήσουμε κατόπιν διαλόγου είναι το προσφυγικό.

Η πρώτη προσέγγιση γίνεται με το διαχωρισμό της έννοιας του μετανάστη από εκείνη του πρόσφυγα. Ήδη, οι μεγάλοι της ομάδας γνωρίζουν τη διαφορά και την επισημαίνουν. Συζητήθηκε ότι «οι πρόσφυγες αναγκάζονται να φύγουν λόγω του πολέμου ή πολιτικών προβλημάτων από τη χώρα τους γιατί κινδυνεύει η ζωή τους». Οι μετανάστες φεύγουν για μια καλύτερη ζωή χωρίς να έχει προηγηθεί βία. Στη συνέχεια εμπλέκονται στη συζήτηση και τα υπόλοιπα παιδιά. Αφού εστιάζουν πρώτα στο μεγάλο πρόβλημα της Μυτιλήνης, αρχίζουν να διηγούνται πολλές ιστορίες που άκουσαν ή είδαν στην τηλεόραση. Οι ιστορίες που θυμούνται τα παιδιά είναι σοκαριστικές.

21/11/2015

Έχουν μεσολαβήσει σχεδόν δύο μήνες που δεν μιλήσαμε για το προσφυγικό, εφόσον η ομάδα παρουσιάζει και διερευνά και άλλα θέματα, πάντα με βάση τα βιώματα και τις ανησυχίες των παιδιών και επιπλέον ασχολείται με τον βασικό κορμό της παρέμβασης που είναι η κρίση.

Επανερχόμαστε και σε αυτή μας την συνάντηση στο θέμα των προσφύγων και η θεματική μας αφορά τον τρόπο που μπορούμε να δείξουμε την αλληλεγγύη μας στα παιδιά των προσφύγων. Τα ερωτήματα που τέθηκαν από τις δύο συντονίστριες ήταν: Έχουμε τη δύναμη να ονειρευόμαστε; Σε αυτή τη χώρα; Με αυτά τα προβλήματα;

Μέσα από τον διάλογο, τα παιδιά καταλήγουν ότι θα πρέπει να είναι έμπρακτα και ουσιαστικά ο ένας κοντά στον άλλο, όπου ο Άλλος, ο Ξένος είναι το παιδί πρόσφυγας.

#### Δράση 1<sup>η</sup>

Με εργαλείο το Θέατρο του Βοαί, κάποιοι παίρνουν τη θέση του παιδιού πρόσφυγα, κάποιοι αυτών που ενοχλούνται από την παρουσία τους και μια άλλη ομάδα τη θέση των θετικά προσκείμενων. Ακολουθεί συζήτηση και σχολιασμός των θέσεων και αντιθέσεων.



### Δράση 2η – Μαγικός καθρέφτης

Ακολούθησαν οι δράσεις μπαίνω στη θέση του «άλλου». Το ρόλο του παιδιού-πρόσφυγα αναλαμβάνει ένα παιδί. Κάθε ένας, ανεξάρτητα σε ποια ομάδα ανήκει, υποστηρικτών ή μη, καλείται να περάσει πίσω από το παιδί-πρόσφυγα και να ανακοινώσει αυτό που σκέφτεται. (Τεχνική ανίχνευσης σκέψεων, μέσα από την οποία αποκαλύπτονται οι εσωτερικές σκέψεις και τα συναισθήματα του παιδιού στη συγκεκριμένη στιγμή και βοηθά στην ευαισθητοποίηση του πώς δημιουργεί η συμπεριφορά μας την απόρριψη).

### Δράση 3<sup>η</sup>

Σε ένα ανθρώπινο περίγραμμα η κάθε ομάδα γράφει στο εσωτερικό μέρος τις σκέψεις και τα συναισθήματα του παιδιού και στο εξωτερικό μέρος τους λόγους απόρριψης. Στη μέση του χώρου υπάρχει γραμμένη σε χαρτόνι η λέξη «μόνος-μόνη». Οι συμμετέχοντες καλούνται να εκφράσουν σκέψεις, απόψεις, συναισθήματα, φράσεις στην ερώτηση: «Τι σας έρχεται στο μυαλό όταν ακούτε πως κάποιος είναι μόνος; Πρέπει κάποιος-κάποια να μένει μόνος-μόνη στις κρίσεις;» Ο στόχος είναι να αντιληφθούν δύσκολες κοινωνικές έννοιες.

**27/2/2016**

Ξεκινάμε με την προβολή ταινίας μικρού μήκους, που δημιουργήθηκε από μαθητές /τριες. Ο τίτλος της ταινίας «*Ηχοι και από...ηχοι*».

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m66XbTFsGQ>

Η ταινία μας ενδιαφέρει περισσότερο από την πλευρά των τεχνικών μέσων και λιγότερο από την θεματολογία της. Το θέμα της ταινίας έχει να κάνει με την τουρκική εισβολή στην Κύπρο. Τα παιδιά διακρίνουν και σχολιάζουν τον τρόπο που έγιναν οι λήψεις, τη σκηνοθετική ματιά, την επιλογή της μουσικής. Σχετικά με τη θεματολογία της εστιάζουμε στα δεινά του πολέμου και στα επακόλουθά του, όπως η προσφυγιά.

Στη συνέχεια παρακολουθούμε την ταινία μικρού μήκους “*Fortress Europe*” από μαθητές της Κω. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5B\\_1xDILKNw](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5B_1xDILKNw)

Η ταινία δίνει ένα πλήθος εναυσμάτων για συζήτηση και ανάλυση. Εντοπίζουμε τα στοιχεία της ταινίας που μας αρέσουν και αποφασίζουμε ως δράση, να κάνουμε μία δική μας ολιγόλεπτη ταινία, σχετικά με το θέμα. Δεν έχουμε αποφασίσει ακόμα τι μορφή θα πάρει η ταινία. Επισημαίνονται έννοιες όπως ο βερμπαλισμός στην απόδοση μιας ταινίας, αρθρωτό σενάριο, η ουσιώδης προσφορά της μυθολογίας ακόμα και σήμερα (μύθος της Ευρώπης), ο τρόπος που θα αποδώσουμε αυτά που θέλουμε να πούμε. Μιλάμε για τις «πέντε ερωτήσεις κλειδιά» των ταινιών. Δηλαδή, ποιος κατασκευάζει την ταινία, με ποιο σκοπό, πού απευθύνεται, τι μέσα χρησιμοποιεί, τι αξίες και ιδεολογίες υπάρχουν (βλ. Χατζηθεοδωρίδου κ.ά. 2015: 1292).

Ένα παιδί προτείνει να δούμε την ταινία «*Εκδρομή*».





<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2cwcTj479DM>

Είναι συγκλονιστική ταινία καθώς αναφέρεται στον πνιγμό αθώων ανθρώπων και μάλιστα παιδιών στα νερά του Αιγαίου. Εστιάζουμε στην ιστορία του Αϊλάν. Ένα κορίτσι αναφέρεται σε δελτίο ειδήσεων που εκφωνείται στα Αραβικά. Ένα αγόρι αναφέρει ότι αναγνωρίζει την αραβική γλώσσα στις ειδήσεις. Τα παιδιά συμφωνούν ότι αυτό είναι μια πολύ καλή κίνηση.

Ο διάλογος που ακολούθησε με τα παιδιά τα προβλημάτισε και τα οδήγησε τις επόμενες μέρες να απεικονίσουν σκηνές που τους έμειναν μέσα από τις εικαστικές τέχνες. Κάποια παιδιά μάλιστα, σχολιάζουν και τη δική τους συμμετοχή στην έκθεση ζωγραφικής στην Εταιρεία Μακεδονικών Σπουδών με θέμα το προσφυγικό.

Θυμόμαστε το Θέατρο του Βοal και «παίζουμε» το διάλογο μεταξύ ενός Έλληνα κι ενός πρόσφυγα που προσπαθούν να συνεννοηθούν. Όλοι σκεφτόμαστε τον εαυτό μας στη θέση του Άλλου.

**2/4/2016**

Ένα μέρος της συνάντησής μας αφορά την απόφασή μας να κάνουμε μία ολιγόλεπτη ταινία μικρού μήκους. Κατόπιν γόνιμου διαλόγου αποφασίζουμε να εστιαστούμε στο παιδί-πρόσφυγα. Κοιτάζοντας μία φωτογραφία με ένα караβάνι προσφύγων, μπήκε ο προβληματισμός πώς ένα παιδί μπορεί να συμμετέχει αγόγγυστα σε αυτή την ατέλειωτη διαδρομή κυνηγώντας την ελπίδα για μία καλύτερη ζωή.

Στη συνέχεια, κοιτάζοντας και πολλές άλλες σχετικές φωτογραφίες τις χρησιμοποιήσαμε ως έναυσμα για τον διάλογο που ακολούθησε σχετικά με τη ζωή του παιδιού-πρόσφυγα σε μία ξένη χώρα.

**9/4/2016**

Ορισμένα παιδιά φέρνουν στη συνάντηση προβληματισμούς για ψεύτικες φήμες που κυκλοφορούν για τους πρόσφυγες (π.χ. το μωρό της Ειδομένης) και η ανησυχία αυτή μας οδηγεί να αναζητήσουμε τον χάρτη των ψευδών ειδήσεων. Ένα κορίτσι καταθέτει μια άποψη που μας ξαφνιάζει όλους. “Κυρία, δεν γεννήθηκε στις λάσπες το μωρό της Ειδομένης. Ήταν ψέματα. Γεννήθηκε στη Θεσσαλονίκη. Μου το είπε η μαμά μιας φίλης μου που δουλεύει στην Ειδομένη ως εθελόντρια γιατρός».

Η ανησυχία του παιδιού για τις φτιαχτές ειδήσεις και τα ψέματα που ενδεχομένως μαθαίνουμε ή όχι μας οδηγεί σε άλλους δρόμους και αναζητήσεις. Στο σημείο αυτό προτάθηκε να επισκεφτούμε την ιστοσελίδα με τις «φτιαχτές» ειδήσεις. Διαβάζουμε σε αντιπαράθεση το ψευδές και την εξήγηση του γιατί είναι ψευδές. Λύνονται έτσι, κάποιες απορίες για το θέμα της Ειδομένης.

Στη συνέχεια, βλέπουμε την νέα ταινία της Ύπατης Αρμοστείας του ΟΗΕ για τους Πρόσφυγες, η οποία εστιάζει στην αντίφαση της ειρηνικής και της ταραγμένης ζωής. Η πλοκή της ταινίας λειτουργεί σε συμβολικό επίπεδο, αντιπαραβάλλοντας ξέγνοιαστες οικογενειακές στιγμές από την μία και την προσπάθεια για επιβίωση





από την άλλη. Η ταινία εντυπωσιάζει τα παιδιά, σχολιάζουν τη μουσική επιλογή και καταλήγουν ότι η θάλασσα μπορεί να είναι και μαγευτική αλλά και θάνατος.

<http://www.sylaristotelis.com/news/i-nea-tainia-tis-ypatis-armosteias-toy-oie-gia-toys-prosfyges/>

Ακολουθούν οι προβολές των ταινιών:

- της Ύπατης Αρμοστείας του ΟΗΕ «Ειρήνη» - Η ιστορία ενός παιδιού πρόσφυγα, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WQJhuAfVTqo>
- Οι τρεις ταινίες κινουμένων σχεδίων της UNICEF «UnfairyTales - Άδικα Παραμύθια» «Η Ivine και το Μαξιλάρι», «Η Malak και η Βάρκα», «η ιστορία του Mustafa», όπου αφηγούνται αληθινές ιστορίες παιδιών που αναγκάστηκαν να φύγουν από τα σπίτια τους για να γλυτώσουν από τις συγκρούσεις. <http://www.stokokino.gr/article/100000000029226/Unfairy-Tales--Adika-Paramuthia---Kapoia-paramuthia-den-einai-gia-paidia-Binteo>
- Η ταινία του Λυκείου Άμφισσας 2016 «Όταν η πατρίδα μένει πίσω». <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-nxmvR2mh4I>

Μετά τη θέαση κάθε ταινίας ακολουθούσε από τα παιδιά σχολιασμός και έμπαιναν διάφορα ερωτήματα, όπως:

Γιατί ήρθαν οι πρόσφυγες στη χώρα μας; Μήπως ήρθαν για διακοπές; Μήπως ήρθαν να μας πάρουν τις δουλειές; Για ποιο λόγο έρχονται εδώ τελικά; Είχαν άλλη επιλογή; Αν γυρίσουν στη χώρα τους τι θα πάθουν; Είναι πολύ διαφορετικοί από εμάς ή έχουμε ομοιότητες; Εμείς ήμασταν ποτέ πρόσφυγες; Υπάρχουν και παιδιά πρόσφυγες;

13/5/2016

Διαβάζουμε από το διαδίκτυο κείμενα, άρθρα, ποιήματα που αφορούν το θέμα μας (συνδυαστικά με εικόνες και φωτογραφίες που αυτά περιέχουν) και επεκτείνουμε με σχόλια από τα παιδιά. Τόσο τα κείμενα όσο και οι ταινίες μικρού μήκους που βλέπουν στη συνέχεια τα παιδιά, αφορούν την μετανάστευση προς την Αμερική και την προσφυγιά των Ελλήνων μετά τη μικρασιατική καταστροφή, στις αρχές του 20<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα προς την Ελλάδα αλλά και σε χώρες όπως η Συρία (κάτι που δεν ήταν ιδιαίτερα γνωστό). Γίνονται οι αντιπαραβολές.

Έπειτα, δείχνουμε το έργο «Μετανάστες» των μαθητών ενός Λυκείου της Λεμεσού, το οποίο δημιούργησαν με μία καθηγήτρια τέχνης που περικλείει το δράμα των προσφύγων, την κρίση αξιών που βιώνουμε αλλά και... τον πόθο που απέπλευσε.

<https://www.alfavita.gr/arhron/ergo-metanastes-ton-mathiton-toy-lykeiou-apostoloy-loyka-kolossioy-paei-londino>

Δράση 4<sup>η</sup> - Γλύπτης-Γλυπτό

Κατόπιν, προχωρούμε σε θεατρική δράση. Κάποιος καλείται να μείνει ακίνητος σαν «άγαλμα» σε μια «καθημερινή» στάση. Ένας άλλος, ο «γλύπτης», καλείται να «διορθώσει» τη στάση ή την έκφραση του αγάλματος κάνοντας μικρές μετατροπές. Ο γλύπτης μπορεί να σηκώσει και κάποιον άλλον για να συμπληρώσει το έργο του.



Η υπόλοιπη ομάδα προτείνει τίτλο για το γλυπτό. Τέλος, ο γλύπτης ανακοινώνει τον δικό του τίτλο. Ο γλύπτης μπορεί να φτιάχνει το έργο του έχοντας στο μυαλό του ένα συγκεκριμένο τύπο ή αντικείμενο, π.χ. τον δάσκαλο, έναν γέρο ή ένα δέντρο κλπ.

Με αφορμή ένα συναίσθημα ή μια μνήμη: Ο γλύπτης μπορεί να φτιάχνει το έργο του έχοντας στο μυαλό του ένα συναίσθημα π.χ. λύπη, χαρά, θυμός, πείνα, προσφυγιά κλπ. Οι υπόλοιποι καλούνται να αναγνωρίσουν το συναίσθημα. Ο εμπυχωτής και η ομάδα μπορεί να έχουν ένα κατάλογο με συναισθήματα από όπου θα διαλέγουν οι γλύπτες.

Στη συνέχεια, παρακολουθούμε το οπτικοποιημένο τραγούδι «*πρόσφυγας*» από το 2ο Δημοτικό Σχολείο Κοζάνης.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7nnYGq5dq1I>

Σχολιάζουμε και πάμε στην επόμενη ταινία «*Κανείς δεν αφήνει την πατρίδα του*», ένα οπτικοποιημένο ποίημα της Ουαρσάν Σάιρ, μιας ποιήτριας από την Κένυα. Το ποίημα αυτό έχει εξελιχθεί σε σύμβολο της προσφυγικής κρίσης.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zahi3ofiu20>

Μετά τον σχολιασμό και αυτής της ταινίας, η οποία εντυπωσίασε τα παιδιά, αυτά προσπαθούν να βρουν τον τρόπο που θέλουν για να δημιουργήσουν τη δική τους ταινία. Αποφασίζουν ο τρόπος αυτός να είναι λιτός και να έχει τη μορφή προβληματισμού και μηνυμάτων αλληλεγγύης προς τους πρόσφυγες. Οι συντονίστριες προτείνουν να αποτυπώσουν γραπτά τις σκέψεις και τα συναισθήματά τους προς αυτούς, με όποια μορφή θέλουν. Τέσσερα από τα έξι παιδιά γράφουν το καθένα, το δικό του κείμενο, ενώ τα δύο μικρότερα παιδιά γράφουν ένα τραγούδι για τους πρόσφυγες, το οποίο και μελοποιούν για να το τραγουδήσουν στην ταινία τους. Μέσα από τα γραφόμενά τους προβάλλεται έντονα η ουσιαστική ευαισθητοποίηση και η αλληλεγγύη στους πρόσφυγες, όπως και η έκκληση στο πιθανό κοινό τους να πράξουν ανάλογα. Στη συνέχεια, σκέφτονται πώς θα το αποδώσουν στην ταινία τους και αποφασίζουν το καθένα από αυτά να απαγγείλει θεατρικά τα όσα έγραψε και τα δύο μικρότερα παιδιά να τραγουδήσουν με τη χρήση ενός καθρέφτη, καθώς επέλεξαν για την ταινία τους, τον συμβολικό τίτλο «ο καθρέφτης σου είμαι εγώ».

### Συμπεράσματα

Τα παιδιά ήρθαν σε επαφή με ένα σύνολο ταινιών και τεχνικών θεάτρου, που τους έδωσε τη δυνατότητα να αποκτήσουν κριτική στάση απέναντι στα Μ.Μ.Ε. και να αναπτύξουν μια πιο κριτική και ενεργητική ματιά στα βαθύτερα νοήματα μιας ταινίας.

Μέσα από την ενασχόληση με ταινίες αλλά και πολλά άλλα είδη κειμένων σχετικά με το προσφυγικό ζήτημα, αποδόμησαν στερεότυπα και προκαταλήψεις.

Αναγνώρισαν την αξία της Αλληλεγγύης και οδηγήθηκαν σε κριτική συνειδητοποίηση και απελευθέρωση μέσα από το Θέατρο του Βοαί και στη συνέχεια σε δράση και σε κοινωνική παρέμβαση. Συμμετείχαν στη συλλογή ειδών



πρώτης ανάγκης ενώ κάποια παιδιά ήρθαν και σε επικοινωνία με προσφυγόπουλα. Έδρασαν μέσα από την δημιουργία μιας ταινίας μικρού μήκους με τις δικές τους σκέψεις σε πολλαπλές μορφές, μέσα από την οποία πέρασαν τα δικά τους μηνύματα, όπως επίσης και με τις ζωγραφιές και τα κείμενά τους. Έγιναν ικανά να κατανοούν τις συμβάσεις των ταινιών όπως προαναφέρθηκε παραπάνω (τις πέντε ερωτήσεις κλειδιά). Εστίασαν πολλές φορές στον ήχο και εξέφρασαν την προσωπική τους άποψη για το πώς θα διάλεγαν εκείνα τον ήχο. Συζήτησαν μεταξύ τους για τα πλάνα, τα οπτικά εφέ και για τους απλούς τρόπους που μπορείς σήμερα να δημιουργήσεις μια ταινία. Μέσα από τα γραφόμενά τους αναδεικνύεται ότι κατανοούν την ολότητα του προβλήματος, όπως: Όλοι έχουν δικαίωμα σε μια αξιοπρεπή ζωή. Οι πρόσφυγες αφήνουν πίσω τη ζωή τους, την πατρίδα τους, γιατί κινδυνεύουν. Το ταξίδι τους είναι γεμάτο δυσκολίες και πολλοί χάνονται στη διαδρομή. Εδώ που ήρθαν, διαβιούν κάτω από πολύ δύσκολες συνθήκες. Κάποιοι προσπαθούν να ενσωματωθούν. Στη χώρα μας έχουμε προβλήματα ενώ οι άλλες χώρες της Ευρώπης δεν μας στηρίζουν. Το πρόβλημα δεν είναι μόνο δικό μας. Υπάρχει ο φόβος για κοινωνικές αναταράξεις στην Ελλάδα. Εύκολα μπορούμε να βρεθούμε στη θέση του παιδιού-πρόσφυγα.

Σύμφωνα με τα παραπάνω, οι αντιθέσεις είναι υπαρκτές. Τα παιδιά συνειδητοποιούν και γνωρίζουν ότι για τη μοίρα των προσφύγων δεν φταίνε οι ίδιοι, αλλά το βλέπουν ως αποτέλεσμα πολέμου, φτώχειας και πολιτικής. Μπορείς να βρεθείς στη θέση τους κι εσύ. «Ο καθρέφτης σου είμαι εγώ», όπως επιγράφεται και η ταινία μας.

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## Κοινωνικοοικονομική κρίση στο πλαίσιο του Νεοφιλελευθερισμού και οι επιπτώσεις στην Πρωτοβάθμια Εκπαίδευση (2010-2015)

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### Περίληψη

Η παρούσα εισήγηση συνιστά σύνοψη μελέτης, η οποία διενεργήθηκε στα πλαίσια του Μεταπτυχιακού Προγράμματος Σπουδών ‘Κοινωνία, Εκπαίδευση και Παιδαγωγική’ του ΠΤΔΕ, ΑΠΘ, το 2016, και παρουσιάζεται εν προκειμένω καθώς κρίνουμε ότι είναι ενδεικτική της σημερινής κοινωνικής και εκπαιδευτικής πραγματικότητας της χώρας. Συγκεκριμένα, σκοπός της ήταν να μελετηθεί κατά πόσο η τρέχουσα κοινωνικοοικονομική κατάσταση στην Ελλάδα με την εφαρμοσμένη δημοσιονομική πολιτική της λιτότητας των τελευταίων χρόνων ενδέχεται να έχει επηρεάσει τον τομέα της εκπαίδευσης, εξετάζοντας από την μια την οικονομική διάσταση του ζητήματος και από την άλλη την κοινωνική διάσταση, όπως εκλαμβάνεται στο πλαίσιο του σχολείου. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, η ανάλυση αφορά την ελληνική πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση· για τις ανάγκες της εργασίας διεξήχθη εμπειρική έρευνα σε δημοτικά σχολεία της Θεσσαλονίκης, λαμβάνοντας συνεντεύξεις από διευθυντές/-τριες και γονείς μαθητών/-τριών με θέμα την κρίση στο σημερινό σχολείο, όπως τη βιώνουν οι ίδιοι/-ες και όπως αντιλαμβάνονται ότι τη βιώνουν οι μαθητές/-τριες. Τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας συνδυάστηκαν με τα βιβλιογραφικά δεδομένα, ώστε να διαμορφωθεί μια πιο ξεκάθαρη εικόνα για τη σχολική πραγματικότητα μεσούσης της κρίσης. Γενικό συμπέρασμα από το όλο εγχείρημα είναι ότι η οικονομική-νεοφιλελεύθερη-πολιτική που ακολουθείται οπωσδήποτε δεν αφορά μόνο τον οικονομικό τομέα, αλλά φέρει βαθύτατες συνέπειες σε όλο το φάσμα της κοινωνίας συμπεριλαμβανομένου και του δημοτικού σχολείου με καταστροφικές επιπτώσεις στο εκπαιδευτικό έργο.

### Λέξεις κλειδιά

Νεοφιλελευθερισμός, Πρωτοβάθμια Εκπαίδευση, Κοινωνικοοικονομική κρίση, Εξορθολογισμός, Αποκέντρωση, Υποχρηματοδότηση

### Εισαγωγή

Στόχος της εργασίας είναι η διερεύνηση αφενός των επιπτώσεων της κοινωνικοοικονομικής κρίσης στο ελληνικό δημοτικό σχολείο και αφετέρου των δράσεων αντιμετώπισης τους. Το χρονικό διάστημα το οποίο μελετήθηκε είναι η περίοδος 2010-2015, και επιλέχθηκε με κριτήριο την εφαρμογή της πολιτικής των μνημονίων στην Ελλάδα, γεγονός που θεωρήθηκε μείζον και άμεσα σχετιζόμενο με την κρίση και την εκπαίδευση. Για την επίτευξη του στόχου, αρχικά παρουσιάζεται η κοινωνική πραγματικότητα των δημοτικών σχολείων από το 2010 και εξής, καθώς και η εκπαιδευτική πολιτική που ακολουθήθηκε στο διάστημα αυτό. Κατόπιν, γίνεται λόγος για την εμπειρική έρευνα που είχε ως σκοπό την εξέταση των





επιπτώσεων της κοινωνικοοικονομικής κρίσης στο σχολικό πλαίσιο και την αντιμετώπιση τους.

Ως γνωστόν η Ελλάδα τα τελευταία χρόνια μαστίζεται από την παγκόσμια χρηματοπιστωτική κρίση, γεγονός που έχει επηρεάσει καθοριστικά την ελληνική κοινωνία, με το χρέος της να φτάνει περίπου το 170% του ΑΕΠ της χώρας (Ιωάννου & Ιωάννου, 2015). Το παραπάνω οικονομικό πρόβλημα επιχειρείται να επιλυθεί μέχρι και σήμερα με την πολιτική των μνημονίων, η οποία ωστόσο φαίνεται ότι αποτυγχάνει παταγωδώς εντείνοντας έτσι την ανέχεια (Καψύλης, 2016). Αξίζει να αναφερθεί ότι η κρίση δεν αφορά μόνο την οικονομία, αλλά ολόκληρο τον κοινωνικό τομέα, καθώς έχει παρατηρηθεί θετική σχέση ανάμεσα στην οικονομική δυσπραγία και στη φτώχεια, στα συμπτώματα κατάθλιψης, στην αύξηση των διαζυγίων, των ανθρωποκτονιών, των αυτοκτονιών, την έξαρση της βίας, της ανισότητας, κ.ά. (Ευθυμίου κ.ά., 2013: 26). Ομοίως και στην εκπαίδευση, η πολιτική της λιτότητας επιφέρει συνεχή εφαρμογή νέων μέτρων, με επακόλουθο όμως τη σοβαρή υποχρηματοδότηση και την υπολειτουργία του δημόσιου σχολικού συστήματος (Καββαδίας, 2015) επιτρέποντας την επέλαση του νεοφιλελευθερισμού στο ελληνικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα (Γρόλλιος κ.ά., 2014).

### **Υποχρηματοδότηση και εργασιακό καθεστώς**

Εστιάζοντας στην πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση παρατηρείται ότι μετά το ξέσπασμα της κρίσης το κράτος όχι μόνο δεν εξασφάλισε περισσότερα κονδύλια για το σχολείο, όπως ενδεχομένως θα αναμενόταν από τις προτάσεις Διαμαντοπούλου για το Νέο Σχολείο (Το Νέο Σχολείο: Πρώτα ο μαθητής, 2010), απεναντίας σημειώθηκε σταδιακή μείωση του κρατικού προϋπολογισμού. Ενδεικτικά αναφέρεται ότι από το 2009 έως και το 2015 ο προϋπολογισμός για την Παιδεία επί του ΑΕΠ της χώρας μειώθηκε κατά 35,6% (Επιτροπή Ελέγχου του Κυβερνητικού Έργου Παιδείας του ΣΥΡΙΖΑ, 2013: 23), ενώ το 2013 η Ελλάδα έρχεται τελευταία σε σύγκριση με 28 ευρωπαϊκές χώρες ως προς τη δημόσια δαπάνη που αναλογεί στην εκπαίδευση, υπολειπόμενη του μέσου όρου της αντίστοιχης δημόσιας δαπάνης των ευρωπαϊκών χωρών μέχρι και κατά 2,7 ποσοστιαίες μονάδες (ΚΑΝΕΠ-ΓΣΕΕ, 2015β: 219).

Και το εργασιακό καθεστώς των εκπαιδευτικών όμως επιδεινώθηκε σημαντικά, καθώς θεσπίστηκαν περικοπές σε όλα τα επιδόματα και σημαντική μείωση του βασικού μισθού, ενώ αποφασίσθηκε το μισθολόγιο τους να μεταβάλλεται ανάλογα με τα αποτελέσματα των διαδικασιών αξιολόγησης και όχι βάσει των χρόνων προϋπηρεσίας (Ν. 4024/2011). Βέβαια, όπως τονίζει ο Σκλάβος ούτε αυτή η διάταξη έχει τεθεί μέχρι στιγμής σε ισχύ, με συνέπεια οι αυξήσεις των μισθών να είναι αδύνατες. Έτσι, από το 2011 έως το 2012 οι δαπάνες για ανθρώπινο δυναμικό στην εκπαίδευση περιορίστηκαν κατά 24% (Σκλάβος, 2014: 24), δημιουργώντας μία ιδιαίτερα αποθαρρυντική εργασιακή πραγματικότητα για τους/-ες εκπαιδευτικούς. Παράλληλα, στο πλαίσιο της δημοσιονομικής λιτότητας η αναλογία ανάμεσα στις συνταξιοδοτήσεις και στους διορισμούς των εκπαιδευτικών τείνει να γίνεται ολοένα και περισσότερο άνιση, με τους διορισμούς να καταλήγουν μηδενικοί το 2014 και το



2015 (Κάτσικας, 2015). Χαρακτηριστικά αναφέρεται ότι από το 2010 έως το 2015 συνταξιοδοτήθηκαν 12.190 εκπαιδευτικοί, ενώ διορίστηκαν μόλις 1.651 (ο.π.), δεδομένου ότι ο ετήσιος αριθμός προσλήψεων από το 2008 υπολογίζεται ότι μειώθηκε κατά 88% (ΟΛΜΕ, 2011). Ασφαλώς, η κατάσταση αυτή οδηγεί τους/-ες εκπαιδευτικούς σε επαγγελματική αστάθεια με συνεχείς μετακινήσεις ανάμεσα στα σχολεία και επισφαλής εργασία ως αναπληρωτές/-τριες (Πολυχρονιάδης, 2015), ενώ οι σχολικές μονάδες υποστελεχώνονται και καλούνται να λειτουργήσουν κάθε χρόνο με λιγότερους/-ες εκπαιδευτικούς (από το [alfavita.gr](http://alfavita.gr) στο <https://goo.gl/TdMHXm>).

Η ανασφάλεια που βιώνουν οι εκπαιδευτικοί λόγω των νέων δεδομένων στον χώρο εργασίας τους αποτυπώνεται σε έρευνα των Α.Τσουνη & Φ.Παπάζη (2013). Από τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας διαφαίνεται –μεταξύ άλλων- ότι η πλειοψηφία των ερωτηθέντων/-εισών εκπαιδευτικών κρίνει ότι η κρίση επηρέασε αρκετά έως πάρα πολύ αρνητικά την καθημερινότητα τους ως προς τους υλικούς όρους διαβίωσης, με την οικονομική τους κατάσταση να επιδεινώνεται και τα έξοδα τους να περιορίζονται σημαντικά (ο.π., 1225). Επίσης, γίνεται λόγος για συναισθηματική ανασφάλεια, αυξημένο άγχος, καθώς και πρόσθετη οικονομική υποστήριξη από τρίτους λόγω των μειωμένων μισθών (ο.π., 1227). Παράλληλα, οι εκπαιδευτικοί παραδέχονται κακή διάθεση, έλλειψη κινήτρων για απόδοση, αναζήτηση ή και ύπαρξη δεύτερης εργασίας (ο.π., 1234, 1237).

Η υποχρηματοδότηση της ελληνικής εκπαίδευσης αντανακλά όμως και στην λειτουργία των σχολικών μονάδων, η οποία βάλλεται έντονα από την έλλειψη κονδυλίων. Ειδικότερα, έκθεση του ΚΑΝΕΠ-ΓΣΕΕ αναφέρει ότι μετά το ξέσπασμα της κρίσης αφενός δεν έχει χτισθεί, ανακαινισθεί ή αναβαθμισθεί καμία σχολική μονάδα στην χώρα, αφετέρου τα ελληνικά σχολεία υπολείπονται σε σχέση με τα ευρωπαϊκά ως προς τους πόρους που διαθέτουν, φυσικούς και εκπαιδευτικούς. Η υποχρηματοδότηση αυτή βέβαια σχετίζεται και με το γεγονός ότι οι Δήμοι πλέον έχουν αναλάβει τη συντήρηση των σχολικών χώρων, έργο που δύσκολα περατώνεται λαμβάνοντας υπόψη την οικονομική ανέχεια των τελευταίων χρόνων (ΚΑΝΕΠ-ΓΣΕΕ, 2015: 8,9).

Σε έρευνα της Ζ. Ζιωντάκη (2014) αναδεικνύονται οι επιπτώσεις της κρίσης στην υλικοτεχνική υποδομή των ελληνικών σχολείων. Μεταξύ άλλων αναφέρεται η αδυναμία για θέρμανση, εξοπλισμό και διατήρηση της καθαριότητας των σχολικών χώρων, ενώ οι εκπαιδευτικοί κρίνουν ότι το έργο τους επηρεάζεται αρνητικά τόσο από τις υλικές ελλείψεις όσο και από τις αλλαγές που βιώνουν οι ίδιοι/-ες ως επαγγελματίες, από τη ψυχολογική φθορά και άρα την αδυναμία να αποδώσουν τα μέγιστα (Ζιωντάκη, 2014: 67-87). Κραυγαλέο επίσης παράδειγμα της κακής κατάστασης των σχολικών χώρων είναι η καταγγελία του Β΄ Συλλόγου Πρωτοβάθμιας Εκπαίδευσης Ανατολικής Θεσσαλονίκης (από το [alfavita.gr](http://alfavita.gr) στο <https://goo.gl/Egtcnm>), όπου γίνεται λόγος για αδυναμία συντήρησης των μονάδων και αποπληρωμής των προμηθευτών που εφοδιάζουν τα σχολεία χωρίς τη κρατική συνδρομή. Επιπλέον, ο Σύλλογος διαμαρτύρεται για την επιβαλλόμενη οικονομική



υποστήριξη του σχολείου από τους γονείς, καθώς και για την τάση που προωθείται από τις τοπικές αρχές για εύρεση χορηγών προς εξυπηρέτηση των αναγκών των μονάδων (ο.π.). Στο πλαίσιο αυτό άλλωστε έλαβε χώρα και το πρόγραμμα ‘Το σχολείο που θέλεις είναι στο χέρι σου’ από την εταιρεία Coca Cola, η οποία, ως χορηγός, ανέλαβε να επισκευάσει σχολικά κτίρια της Θεσσαλονίκης, από αυτά που υποδείχθηκαν ότι χρειάζονται συντήρηση. Μάλιστα το έργο υλοποιήθηκε δύο φορές, σε συνεργασία με Δήμους της ευρύτερης περιοχής της Θεσσαλονίκης (από το rizospastis.gr στο <http://goo.gl/x5j1iV>).

Όπως διαπιστώνουμε από τα παραπάνω δεδομένα, η σοβαρή υποχρηματοδότηση της ελληνικής εκπαίδευσης, ιδιαίτερα από το 2010 και εξής, είναι ένα γεγονός που χαρακτηρίζει όλο το φάσμα της σχολικής ζωής και οφείλεται οπωσδήποτε στη δημοσιονομική κρίση του κράτους. Μάλιστα, μολονότι είναι παραδεδομένο ότι το σχολείο είναι μοχλός ανάπτυξης, ιδιαίτερα σε περιόδους κρίσης, εντούτοις κάθε άλλο παρά σημειώνεται κρατική επένδυση κονδυλίων σε αυτό, στους/-ις μαθητές/-τριες και στους/-ις εκπαιδευτικούς, περιορίζοντας έτσι τις δυνατότητες ανάκαμψης με την αξιοποίηση του ανθρώπινου κεφαλαίου. Εξ’ ού και τα τελευταία χρόνια ένα μεγάλο ποσοστό των απόφοιτων πανεπιστημίου αναγκάζεται να μεταναστεύσει στο εξωτερικό προς αναζήτηση εργασίας λόγω της καλπάζουσας ανεργίας (βλ. και Λακασάς, 2016), γεγονός που οπωσδήποτε λειτουργεί κατασταλτικά για την ανάκαμψη της χώρας και της οικονομίας.

Παράλληλα διακρίνουμε με βάση τα παραπάνω ότι, με την αφορμή της κρίσης, μεταβάλλεται ριζικά το εργασιακό καθεστώς των εκπαιδευτικών, γεγονός που υπονομεύει τη σταθερή και μόνιμη εργασία, επιβάλλει την ελαστικοποίηση του ωραρίου και αλλάζει τον τρόπο πρόσληψης, προσαρμόζοντας τους/-ις εργαζομένους/-ες στις εκάστοτε εργασιακές ανάγκες της νεοφιλελεύθερης οικονομίας. Έτσι, παρατηρείται ότι προκειμένου να επιβληθούν οι νεοφιλελεύθεροι και ταξικοί φραγμοί στην εκπαίδευση, παρουσιάζεται ωςάν το σχολείο και οι εκπαιδευτικοί να είναι υπεύθυνοι/-ες, λόγω της ανεπάρκειας τους, για τα τρέχοντα οικονομικά και κοινωνικά προβλήματα

### **Εξορθολογισμός του σχολικού δικτύου και αποκέντρωση εξουσιών**

Πέρα όμως από την υποχρηματοδότηση του δημόσιου σχολείου, η Πολιτεία -σε μια προσπάθεια περιορισμού της στατάλης- αποφάσισε τον ‘εξορθολογισμό’ του σχολικού δικτύου δρομολογώντας συγχωνεύσεις και καταργήσεις σχολικών μονάδων. Όπως αναφέρεται, η ρύθμιση αυτή αποβλέπει ‘(σ)την ποιοτική αναβάθμιση της παρεχόμενης εκπαίδευσης, (σ)την αξιοποίηση των υποδομών για την εφαρμογή των καινοτόμων μεθόδων διδασκαλίας για όλους τους μαθητές της επικράτειας και (σ)τη διευκόλυνση των εκπαιδευτικών για την παροχή ποιοτικών εκπαιδευτικών υπηρεσιών’ (βλ. «Συνενώσεις – Ιδρύσεις Σχολικών Μονάδων Πρωτοβάθμιας και Δευτεροβάθμιας Εκπαίδευσης για το σχολικό έτος 2011-2012»). Οι συγχωνεύσεις αυτές συνδυάζονται με το πρόγραμμα ‘Καλλικράτης’. Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, διαμορφώθηκε ένα νέο θεσμικό πλαίσιο που αφορά τις σχολικές επιτροπές



των σχολείων, σύμφωνα με τον ‘Καλλικράτη’. Ειδικότερα, με την υπουργική απόφαση 8440/2011 ορίζεται ότι στο εξής για τα σχολεία του κάθε Δήμου θα είναι αρμόδια μία σχολική επιτροπή και στην περίπτωση που υπάρχουν περισσότερα του ενός σχολείου εντός του Δήμου, θα συγκροτούνται συμβούλια για την κάθε μονάδα, τα οποία ουσιαστικά θα μεταβιβάζουν στις επιτροπές τα αιτήματά τους. Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη τις ανάγκες της εκάστοτε μονάδας, η επιτροπή θα κατανέμει αναλόγως τα κονδύλια (Υπουργική Απόφαση 8440/2011). Τα έσοδα της επιτροπής θα προέρχονται κατά βάση από τις εισφορές του Δήμου (ο.π.).

Στην προσπάθεια συγχώνευσης των σχολικών μονάδων, το 2013 το Υπουργείο Παιδείας ζήτησε για πρώτη φορά από τους/-ις διευθυντές/-τριες να στείλουν υποχρεωτικά σαφείς πληροφορίες σχετικά με το πόσα παιδιά χωράει κατ’ εκτίμηση η κάθε σχολική αίθουσα, επισημαίνοντας ότι η μη υπακοή στο παραπάνω αίτημα, εκλαμβάνεται ως παράβαση καθήκοντος (Κάτσικας, 2013). Ταυτόχρονα, το Υπουργείο υπολογίζει ότι αναλογεί 1,5 τ.μ. για κάθε μαθητή/-τρια, παραβιάζοντας τις οδηγίες του ΟΣΚ για την πυρασφάλεια, όπου προβλέπονταν τουλάχιστον 2 τ.μ. για κάθε παιδί (ο.π.). Αξιοσημείωτη μάλιστα είναι η έκδοση του ΦΕΚ 2451/2013, με το οποίο αυξάνεται ο αριθμός των μαθητών/-τριών ανά τμήμα και ορίζεται ότι οι τάξεις θα διαιρούνται, εφόσον οι μαθητές/-τριες είναι άνω των 27.

Όπως προβλέπει το πρόγραμμα ‘Καλλικράτης’ (Ν. 3852/2010), οι νέες περιφέρειες αναλαμβάνουν τη δαπάνη για τις μετακινήσεις των μαθητών/-τριών, τη συντήρηση και την ανακαίνιση των σχολικών κτιρίων, με στόχο την ελάφρυνση του κρατικού προϋπολογισμού. Άλλωστε, οι τοπικές ή περιφερειακές αρχές συμβάλλουν στη χρηματοδότηση της σχολικής εκπαίδευσης από τα δικά τους έσοδα στις περισσότερες ευρωπαϊκές χώρες (Eurgydice, 2014: 24). Η ανάληψη από την μεριά των περιφερειών μέρους των λειτουργικών εξόδων των σχολικών μονάδων, καθώς και οι προτάσεις Διαμαντοπούλου υπέρ ενός αυτόνομου σχολείου για άμεση σύνδεση του σχολείου με την τοπική κοινότητα, συμβαδίζουν με τις θέσεις του ΟΟΣΑ υπέρ ενός περισσότερου αποκεντρωμένου συστήματος διοίκησης, όπου οι άμεσα προϊστάμενοι της εκάστοτε σχολικής μονάδας, δηλαδή οι διοικητικές περιφέρειες, θα αναλαμβάνουν να διαχειριστούν το ανθρώπινο δυναμικό και τον προϋπολογισμό του κάθε σχολείου, με κριτήριο την επίδοση του (ΟΟΣΑ, 2011: 88).

Η παραπάνω πρόταση προκύπτει ως λύση στο υπερβολικά συγκεντρωτικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα, όπου όλες οι ευθύνες για όλους τους τομείς εξαρτώνται από το Υπουργείο Παιδείας, με αποτέλεσμα να μην προσαρμόζονται οι σχολικές μονάδες στις τοπικές ανάγκες (OECD, 2015: 234). Μάλιστα, ο υπερβολικός συγκεντρωτισμός των εξουσιών έχει άμεση επίπτωση στην μικρή ελαστικότητα των ΑΠ και στην ελάχιστη δυνατότητα παρέμβασης από τις σχολικές μονάδες, με αποτέλεσμα ο βαθμός αυτονομίας τους να είναι μικρότερος από το μέσο όρο των χωρών του ΟΟΣΑ (ο.π.), ενώ σύμφωνα με τα στοιχεία που παρουσιάζει και η ‘Ευρυδίκη’ (2013: 103) οι εκπαιδευτικοί δεν έχουν τη δυνατότητα να εμπλακούν σχεδόν καθόλου στην λήψη αποφάσεων για θέματα σχετικά με την εργασία τους,



όπως το περιεχόμενο των Α.Π., την επιλογή των σχολικών βιβλίων, τις μεθόδους αξιολόγησης, κ.ά., στοιχείο που είναι τόσο έντονο μόνο στην Ελλάδα.

Η παροχή μεγαλύτερης αυτονομίας στη σχολική μονάδα και την τοπική κοινότητα - κυρίως ως προς τη διαχείριση των ανθρώπινων πόρων- είναι συμβατή με τη γενικότερη τάση που επικρατεί στις περισσότερες ευρωπαϊκές χώρες η σχολική μονάδα να είναι περισσότερο ‘αυτορυθμιζόμενη’, όπως περιγράφει η έκθεση ‘Ευρυδίκη’ (2012:3), μειώνοντας το συγκεντρωτισμό των εξουσιών σε ανώτερες ιεραρχικά αρχές. Συν τοις άλλοις, ο ΟΟΣΑ (2011:88) θέτει το ζήτημα τα δημοτικά σχολεία να υποστηρίζονται οικονομικά, όχι αποκλειστικά από το κράτος, αλλά και από επιχορηγήσεις που θα χρηματοδοτούν τις περιφέρειες βάσει της αποτελεσματικότητας των σχολείων, ενώ οι περιφέρειες να κατανέμουν τους πόρους με γνώμονα την επίδοση του/-ης μαθητή/-τριας στο πλαίσιο της λογικής ‘τα χρήματα ακολουθούν τον μαθητή’.

Βάσει των παραπάνω, διαπιστώνουμε ότι η έννοια του εξορθολογισμού του σχολικού δικτύου ταυτίζεται εν πολλοίς με την περιστολή των δαπανών και την αύξηση της αποδοτικότητας, της αποτελεσματικότητας και της ανταγωνιστικότητας. Για την επίτευξη του στόχου αυτού, που τονίζεται έντονα σε όλο το εύρος της έκθεσης του ΟΟΣΑ (2011) και σε άλλα δημόσια κείμενα που αφορούν την εκπαίδευση, παρουσιάζονται ως αναγκαίες οι συγχωνεύσεις σχολείων, οι οποίες όμως αναγκαστικά οδηγούν αφενός σε μεγαλύτερες τάξεις μαθητών/-τριών, αφετέρου σε περισσότερες μετακινήσεις παιδιών και εκπαιδευτικών από περιοχή σε περιοχή για τη διεξαγωγή των μαθημάτων. Έτσι, είναι πράγματι αμφίβολο κατά πόσο θα μπορούσε να πραγματοποιηθεί πρακτικά η αποδοτικότητα, όταν μια τέτοια ενέργεια μάλλον δυσκολεύει τη σχολική καθημερινότητα. Παρατηρείται λοιπόν ότι το νεοφιλελεύθερο στοιχείο εισάγεται σταδιακά στις σχολικές τάξεις, καθώς πρωτεύων στόχος γίνεται η απόδοση των μαθητών/-τριών και των εκπαιδευτικών, ωσάν να επρόκειτο για μηχανές. Η βελτίωση επομένως του σχολείου επιχειρείται με περιορισμό των δαπανών και προσαρμογή των εμπλεκομένων.

Επιπλέον, ως προς την προσπάθεια για αποκέντρωση των εξουσιών και την παραχώρηση έτσι στις τοπικές κοινότητες αυξημένων αρμοδιοτήτων και υποχρεώσεων απέναντι στις σχολικές μονάδες, κρίνουμε ότι πρόκειται για μια απόπειρα ελάφρυνσης του κράτους από σημαντικές δαπάνες, τις οποίες όμως επωμίζονται οι Δήμοι σε μια δύσκολη κοινωνικο-οικονομικά συγκυρία. Συγκεκριμένα, εάν ληφθούν υπόψη οι σημαντικές οικονομικές δυσκολίες των ελληνικών Δήμων και νοικοκυριών στα πλαίσια της κρίσης, καθώς και το γεγονός ότι λόγω των συγχωνεύσεων οι δαπάνες τουλάχιστον από την μεταφορά των μαθητών/-τριών αναγκαστικά διογκώνονται, η τοπική κοινωνία επιβαρύνεται ακόμα περισσότερο λόγω εξόδων που κανονικά θα έπρεπε να αναλαμβάνει ο κρατικός μηχανισμός. Έτσι, διαπιστώνεται ότι η παροχή στους Δήμους της δυνατότητας διαχείρισης μέρους του προϋπολογισμού της κάθε σχολικής μονάδας, οδηγεί στην αναζήτηση των απαραίτητων κονδυλίων.





Συνεπώς, οι τοπικές κοινότητες αναπόφευκτα θα δυσκολευτούν, και κυρίως οι λιγότερο προνομιούχες, οι οποίες δε θα μπορούν να καλύπτουν τις ανάγκες των μαθητών/-τριων και να εξοπλίζουν επαρκώς τις σχολικές μονάδες, με αποτέλεσμα να ευνοούνται περισσότερο οι ήδη προνομιούχες κοινότητες και άρα κοινωνικές τάξεις. Μάλιστα, το μέτρο αυτό θα οδηγήσει στη δημιουργία κατηγοριών σχολείων, καθώς, όπως προτείνεται, η χρηματοδότηση θα πραγματοποιείται από εξωτερικούς φορείς βάσει των αποδόσεων. Αυτό άλλωστε ισχύει και στην περίπτωση του Ηνωμένου Βασιλείου, όπου οι σχολικές μονάδες αξιολογούνται και χρηματοδοτούνται με κριτήριο την απόδοση των μαθητών/-τριών και των εκπαιδευτικών (Eurydice, 2014:39). Παρά το γεγονός επομένως ότι η μεγαλύτερη χρηματοδότηση δε λύνει το πρόβλημα των κατώτερων επιδόσεων μη προνομιούχων κοινωνικά ομάδων, όπως έχουν δείξει διάφορες κοινωνιολογικές έρευνες<sup>1</sup> εντούτοις η παροχή κονδυλίων με άξονα την επίδοση οπωσδήποτε δεν προωθεί τη σχολική επιτυχία αυτών που δυσκολεύονται κατά κανόνα στο σχολείο, συνιστώντας έτσι ένα μέτρο που οξύνει την κοινωνική ανισότητα, αναπαράγει την κοινωνική δομή και οδηγεί στον κοινωνικό αποκλεισμό.

Ως προς την πρόταση περί της αναγκαιότητας ενός περισσότερο αποκεντρωμένου εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος, αξίζει να αναφερθεί ότι η πολιτική της αποκέντρωσης των εξουσιών συνιστά βασική αρχή του νεοφιλελευθερισμού. Σύμφωνα με τον Θεριανό (2016), η ανάληψη διοικητικών ευθυνών από τη σχολική μονάδα, θεωρητικά μόνο της παρέχει περισσότερη αυτονομία, εάν ληφθεί υπόψη ότι η πρόταση αυτή συνοδεύεται ιστορικά πάντα από την επιβολή εξωτερικής αξιολόγησης και περισσότερου ελέγχου. Επίσης, η έννοια της ‘αυτορρύθμισης’ του σχολείου μεταφράζεται ως μείωση των δημόσιων πόρων και εξασφάλιση από την κάθε σχολική μονάδα των απαραίτητων για την λειτουργία της, μολονότι τα ΑΠ για παράδειγμα συνεχίζουν να καθορίζονται από το κράτος (ο.π.). Ως επακόλουθο, ασκείται διττός έλεγχος στο σχολείο, οικονομικός και κρατικός (ο.π.).

Επιπροσθέτως, ο Ρέππας (2009) επισημαίνει ότι η έννοια της αποκέντρωσης χρησιμοποιείται ως πολιτικός όρος, τόσο στην εκπαίδευση όσο και σε άλλους τομείς, προκειμένου να μπορέσει η κεντρική διοίκηση του κράτους να απαλλαχθεί από κάποιες ευθύνες της κρατικής πολιτικής, ειδικά όταν πρόκειται για κοινωνικά προβλήματα. Δίνεται δηλαδή η εντύπωση ότι για οποιοδήποτε πρόβλημα ευθύνεται η τοπική κοινωνία, οι αρχές, οι άμεσα υπεύθυνοι/-ες και όχι η κρατική πολιτική. Αυτό επιβεβαιώνεται από το ελληνικό παράδειγμα, όπου οι εκπαιδευτικοί εκλαμβάνονται ως απόλυτα υπεύθυνοι/-ες για ό,τι συμβαίνει στο σχολείο, γεγονός που δεν μπορεί να ισχύει γενικά, αλλά και ιδιαίτερα όταν η εκπαίδευση λαμβάνει χώρα σε τέτοιες κοινωνικοοικονομικές συγκυρίες.

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<sup>1</sup> Ενδεικτικά, η έρευνα του Jenks, η ‘Ανισότητα’ για την ισότητα στην εκπαίδευση, κατέληξε στο συμπέρασμα ότι η αύξηση των δαπανών από μόνη της δε συνιστά λύση στο πρόβλημα των διαφορετικών επιδόσεων ανάμεσα στους/-ις μαθητές/-τριες, αλλά εξαρτάται από άλλους παράγοντες (Φραγκουδάκη Α., 1985: 52).





Επομένως, αξίζει να σημειωθεί ότι η αποκέντρωση των εξουσιών και η παροχή αυτονομίας στα σχολεία μόνο διακηρύσσεται, παρά προωθείται μέσω των μέτρων. Προς επίρρωση αυτής της άποψης, μπορούμε να επικαλεστούμε το γεγονός ότι τίθενται σαφείς εκπαιδευτικοί στόχοι σε κεντρικό επίπεδο που αφορούν όλα τα σχολεία, η πραγμάτωση μάλιστα των οποίων εποπτεύεται από ένα σύστημα ενδεδειγμένης αξιολόγησης. Ο συνδυασμός αυτός οδηγεί στη διαμόρφωση ενός πολύ συγκεκριμένου τύπου σχολείου, καθώς και στη διασφάλιση συγκεκριμένων πολιτικών επιλογών, με αποτέλεσμα να υπάρχει ο λεγόμενος ‘αποκεντρωμένος συγκεντρωτισμός’, όπως ονομάζει την κατάσταση αυτή ο Καλημερίδης (2012). Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, το κράτος διατηρεί τον έλεγχο του συστήματος καθορίζοντας και προσανατολίζοντας τις εκπαιδευτικές πρακτικές, με αποτέλεσμα όχι τον περιορισμό του ίδιου, αλλά την προνοιακή απορρύθμιση και την υποβάθμιση των κοινωνικών κατακτήσεων των εργαζομένων (ο.π.).

Ακόμα, λαμβάνοντας υπόψη τα παραπάνω, και η τάση για αποκέντρωση προωθεί μια ζύμωση υπέρ της εισαγωγής ιδιωτικών φορέων στα δημόσια σχολεία, ως αναγκαιότητα, μια πρόταση η οποία δεν απέχει πολύ από την πραγματικότητα, δεδομένης της μεγάλης οικονομικής στενότητας με την οποία έρχονται αντιμέτωπες οι τοπικές κοινότητες. Ασφαλώς, η ύπαρξη ιδιωτικών φορέων στα δημόσια, μέχρι τώρα, ελληνικά σχολεία, είναι βασική αρχή της νεοφιλελεύθερης λογικής, όπου το κράτος αναδιαμορφώνει τον παρεμβατικό του ρόλο και οι επιχειρήσεις ενδυναμώνονται. Στην περίπτωση αυτή, η ζήτηση των επιχειρήσεων, δηλαδή η αγορά, διαμορφώνει και τις εκπαιδευτικές εξελίξεις.

Έτσι, αντί για παράδειγμα να υπογραμμισθεί η ανάγκη για αφιέρωση ενός μεγαλύτερου ποσοστού του ΑΕΠ της χώρας στην εκπαίδευση, προωθείται η εύκολη λύση παρεμβολής ιδιωτών στα ελληνικά σχολεία, ακόμα και στην προκειμένη περίπτωση, όπου η δωρεάν δημόσια εκπαίδευση προστατεύεται συνταγματικά. Η επιδίωξη αυτή διευκολύνεται από την πολιτική των τεράστιων περικοπών που εφαρμόζεται στην παιδεία, πάντα με τη δικαιολογία της δημοσιονομικής κρίσης. Συν τοις άλλοις προτείνεται οι πόροι να κατανέμονται στα σχολεία βάσει των επιδόσεων τους, ωθώντας μαθητές/-τριες και εκπαιδευτικούς σε ένα συνεχή αγώνα απόδειξης των ικανοτήτων τους και ανταγωνισμού μεταξύ τους και με τα άλλα σχολεία. Εάν μάλιστα ληφθεί υπόψη ότι οι μαθητές/-τριες μεσαίου και υψηλότερου κοινωνικο-πολιτισμικού επιπέδου τείνουν να αποδίδουν καλύτερα βάσει της θεωρίας περί πολιτισμικού κεφαλαίου του Bourdieu, ουσιαστικά οι μαθητές/-τριες των κατώτερων στρωμάτων αποκλείονται από κάθε πιθανότητα επιτυχίας και πρόσβασης σε ποιοτική εκπαίδευση, με αποτέλεσμα να μην είναι ουσιαστικά εφικτή η κοινωνική κινητικότητα. Επομένως, η κοινωνική ψαλίδα φαίνεται να ανοίγει περισσότερο, υπέρ πάντα των προνομιούχων οικογενειών, όταν οι μαθητές/-τριες αναγκάζονται να πασχίζουν μονίμως για την αριστεία, επιβεβαιώνοντας τον νεοφιλελεύθερο και ταξικό χαρακτήρα του μέτρου αυτού.

Γενικότερα, όσον αφορά τα μνημονιακά μέτρα που εφαρμόστηκαν ή πρόκειται να εφαρμοσθούν στον τομέα της εκπαίδευσης, παρατηρείται ότι στοχεύουν στη



διαμόρφωση ενός νεοφιλελεύθερου σχολείου- επιχείρησης. Σύμφωνα με τον Χ. Ρέππα (2014), η εκπαιδευτική αυτή πολιτική ταυτίζεται με την ανάδυση του Νέου Δημόσιου Μάνατζμεντ στην εκπαίδευση, το οποίο προέρχεται από τον χώρο της οικονομίας. Στόχος είναι οι μηχανισμοί της αγοράς να εποπτεύουν και να προσδιορίζουν τη σχολική καθημερινότητα, περιθωριοποιώντας τον ρόλο των εκπαιδευτικών (ο.π.). Επίσης, με την κατηγοριοποίηση και την προώθηση του ανταγωνισμού ανάμεσα στα σχολεία, ανιχνεύονται τα χαρακτηριστικά εκείνα που ανταποκρίνονται καλύτερα στους τιθέμενους στόχους (ο.π.). Παράλληλα, με την τάση για ιδιωτικοποίηση της δημόσιας εκπαίδευσης, η οποία αφορά όλες τις βαθμίδες, εισάγεται στο σχολείο ένα πλήθος τεχνικών, προερχόμενων από τον ιδιωτικό τομέα, όπου κυριαρχούν οι ευέλικτες σχέσεις εργασίας και η μισθοδοσία βάσει των επιθυμητών αποτελεσμάτων (συνήθως σε τυποποιημένες εξετάσεις) (ο.π.). Στα πλαίσια λοιπόν του Νέου Δημόσιου Μάνατζμεντ, το σχολείο μετατρέπεται σε βιομηχανία παροχής υπηρεσιών (ο.π.).

Οι νεοφιλελεύθερες πολιτικές που προτείνονται λοιπόν για την αναδιαμόρφωση της ελληνικής εκπαίδευσης, ασφαλώς δεν είναι ένα αμιγώς εκπαιδευτικό ζήτημα, αλλά απορρέει από την άσκηση νεοφιλελεύθερων πολιτικών σε όλο το φάσμα του κοινωνικοπολιτικού τομέα. Επομένως, διαπιστώνεται ότι η κοινωνικο-οικονομική κρίση και η επίκληση της ανικανότητας του εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος δε συνιστούν παρά τη δικαιολογία για την εφαρμογή των πολιτικών αυτών. Κάτι αντίστοιχο σχολιάζει ο D.B. Saunders (2015) για το αμερικανικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα, όπου με το επιχείρημα της ανάγκης για οικονομική ανάκαμψη της χώρας, η επέλαση του νεοφιλελευθερισμού στο σχολείο παρουσιάστηκε ως μονόδρομος. Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, η έννοια της αριστείας εκλαμβάνεται ουδέτερα και φυσικά, ενώ νομιμοποιείται ως εκπαιδευτικός στόχος, χωρίς να γίνεται λόγος για τις νεοφιλελεύθερες πρακτικές που συνδέονται με την απόδοση και το αποτέλεσμα (ο.π.).

Επίσης, διακρίνεται σε όλη την λογική των προτεινόμενων μέτρων, η ‘παράλειψη’ προσέγγισης των κοινωνικών προβλημάτων που ενυπάρχουν εντός του σχολικού πλαισίου και ασφαλώς προέρχονται από το κοινωνικό πεδίο. Ιδιαίτερα, πρόκειται για προβλήματα που εντείνονται λόγω της κρίσης, με αποτέλεσμα να οξύνουν τις ανισότητες ανάμεσα στους/-ις μαθητές/-τριες και ασφαλώς χωρίς να υπάρχει καμία πρόβλεψη για σχολική επιτυχία όλων αυτών των παιδιών. Έτσι, με δεδομένο το χάσμα ανάμεσα στους/-ις ευνοημένους/-ες και μη μαθητές/-τριες, κάποια παιδιά είναι βέβαιο ότι θα αποκλειστούν. Τα μέτρα ωστόσο, όχι μόνο δε θίγουν τέτοιου είδους ζητήματα, αλλά, επικεντρωμένα αποκλειστικά σε σχολικά θέματα και με το επιχείρημα της ίσης μεταχείρισης των μαθητών/-τριών, αναπαράγουν τα προβλήματα.

Το παραπάνω γεγονός θα λέγαμε ότι είναι ιδιαίτερα οξύμωρο, ιδιαίτερα λόγω της κοινωνικο-οικονομικής κρίσης που διανύουμε, καθώς μολονότι το σχολείο είναι πηγή ανάπτυξης, οι δυνατότητες ενός πλήθους μαθητών/-τριών –κυρίως των κατώτερων στρωμάτων- παραμένουν αναξιοποίητες, με αποτέλεσμα οι ίδιοι/-ες να



μην μπορούν να συμβάλλουν στην οικονομική ανάκαμψη. Με άλλα λόγια, το σχολείο στα πλαίσια του καπιταλιστικού συστήματος καταλήγει ιδιαίτερα επιλεκτικό αποκλείοντας συγκεκριμένες ομάδες μαθητών/-τριών και αφήνοντας έτσι ανεκμετάλλευτα αποθέματα διανοητικού πλούτου (Φραγκουδάκη, 1985: 18-22). Βάσει λοιπόν της θεωρίας του ανθρώπινου κεφαλαίου, είναι εξέχουσας σημασίας η παροχή ίσων ευκαιριών σε όλα τα παιδιά, δεδομένου ότι δυνητικά μπορούν όλοι/-ες να συμβάλλουν στην οικονομική ανάπτυξη του κράτους (ο.π.). Βέβαια, η θεωρία αυτή ενώ αναδεικνύει αποκλειστικά την οικονομική διάσταση της εκπαίδευσης χωρίς να θέτει το ζήτημα της ισότητας των ευκαιριών σε κοινωνικο-πολιτικό επίπεδο, εντούτοις αναγνωρίζει τον κοινωνικό χαρακτήρα της σχολικής επιλογής και κατ' επέκταση τον αναπαραγωγικό ρόλο του σχολείου. Θα μπορούσαμε έτσι να θίξουμε τον αντιφατικό χαρακτήρα του νεοφιλελευθερισμού στο σχολείο, διότι δίνεται απόλυτη προτεραιότητα στον ρόλο του σχολείου σε σχέση με την οικονομία χωρίς να παρέχεται το κατάλληλο πλαίσιο, όπου θα μπορούσαν να αποδώσουν όλοι/-ες οι μαθητές/-τριες, απεναντίας διαμορφώνει με τέτοιο τρόπο το σχολείο, ώστε να αποδίδει κυρίως η κοινωνική ελίτ.

Τέλος, κρίνουμε ότι όλα τα μέτρα που έχουν ληφθεί ή έχουν προταθεί για τον τομέα της εκπαίδευσης την τελευταία πενταετία, ανήκουν στην νεοφιλελεύθερη λογική και ακολουθούν κοινή γραμμή στη διαμόρφωση της εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής, παρά το γεγονός ότι το κυβερνητικό σχήμα έχει αλλάξει τουλάχιστον τέσσερις φορές από το 2010. Επομένως, παρατηρείται πλήρης συμμόρφωση της παρούσας κυβέρνησης με τις ευρωπαϊκές επιταγές καθώς και συνέχιση της εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής των απερχόμενων κυβερνήσεων, ενισχύοντας τα ταξικά χαρακτηριστικά του ελληνικού σχολείου.

### Η έρευνα

Για τη διερεύνηση των επιπτώσεων της κρίσης και των δράσεων αντιμετώπισης της στο δημοτικό σχολείο, δρομολογήθηκε εμπειρική έρευνα σε δημοτικά σχολεία της Θεσσαλονίκης με τη χρήση συνεντεύξεων. Απώτερος στόχος της έρευνας ήταν η εξέταση τού κατά πόσο τα μέτρα που έχουν εφαρμοσθεί στον τομέα της πρωτοβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης μετά το 2010 με την αφορμή της κρίσης, απαντούν ουσιαδώς στις συνέπειες της κρίσης στο σχολικό πλαίσιο. Οι συνεντεύξεις δόθηκαν από διευθυντές/-τριες και γονείς μαθητών/-τριών.

Από τα συμπεράσματα της έρευνας προέκυψε ότι το ελληνικό δημοτικό σχολείο συγκαταλέγεται ανάμεσα στα 'θύματα' της κοινωνικοοικονομικής κρίσης που μαστίζει την χώρα. Όπως διαφαίνεται από τις απαντήσεις των ερωτηθέντων/-εισών, οι σχολικές μονάδες, εν προκειμένω διαφόρων Δήμων της Θεσσαλονίκης, υποχρηματοδοτούνται σοβαρά μετά το ξέσπασμα της κρίσης έχοντας στη διάθεση τους ελάχιστα κονδύλια για την λειτουργία τους, τα οποία μάλιστα τους παρέχονται κάθε χρόνο με μεγάλη καθυστέρηση. Παρά το γεγονός μάλιστα ότι ο προϋπολογισμός δεν είναι ίδιος για κάθε σχολείο, ανάλογα με τα οικονομικά του



κάθε Δήμου, εντούτοις η ανεπάρκεια των πόρων αφορά την μεγάλη πλειοψηφία των μονάδων και είναι εντεινόμενη.

Επιβεβαιώνοντας τα βιβλιογραφικά δεδομένα, άμεσο επακόλουθο του παραπάνω γεγονότος είναι η μεγάλη δυσκολία συντήρησης του σχολικού χώρου, καθώς και εξασφάλισης των βασικών υλικών μέσων για την λειτουργία των σχολείων, όπως γραφική ύλη και είδη καθαριότητας. Έτσι οι υποδομές καταλήγουν να γίνουν ακατάλληλες και η εξασφάλιση της υγιεινής γίνεται πρόκληση. Το πρόβλημα αυτό έγινε μεγαλύτερο μετά τον ‘Καλλικράτη’, λόγω των αυξημένων οικονομικών υποχρεώσεων των Δήμων απέναντι στα σχολεία. Παράλληλα, ούτε το ισχύον θεσμικό πλαίσιο για τη συντήρηση των σχολικών χώρων δεν φαίνεται ιδιαίτερα αποτελεσματικό, καθότι οι διευθυντές/-τριες οφείλουν να ακολουθήσουν μια κοπιώδη γραφειοκρατική διαδικασία υποβολής των αιτημάτων τους στις σχολικές επιτροπές, η ανταπόκριση στα οποία είτε δε συμβαίνει ποτέ είτε καθυστερεί πολύ, ενώ οι ίδιοι/-ες αναζητούν συχνά το συνεργείο με το οποίο συνεργάζονται, αφού προηγηθεί όμως η απαραίτητη έρευνα αγοράς προς εύρεση της πιο συμφέρουσας τιμής. Συν τοις άλλοις, μετά τον ‘Καλλικράτη’ οι σχολικές επιτροπές έχουν στη δικαιοδοσία τους έναν πολύ μεγαλύτερο αριθμό σχολικών μονάδων, τις οποίες –σε συνδυασμό με την έλλειψη πόρων- αδυνατούν να εξυπηρετήσουν έγκαιρα και τελεσφόρα, αφήνοντας τις υλικοτεχνικές ανάγκες τους μετέωρες. Διαμορφώθηκε δηλαδή μετά τον ‘Καλλικράτη’ ένας δυσκίνητος γραφειοκρατικός μηχανισμός, ο οποίος χωρίς αμφιβολία δεν μπορεί να ανταποκριθεί στις ανάγκες των σχολείων.

Και το εκπαιδευτικό έργο βέβαια επηρεάζεται αρνητικά από αυτήν την πραγματικότητα λόγω των ακατάλληλων υλικοτεχνικών υποδομών και του ελλιπούς τεχνολογικού εξοπλισμού που θα μπορούσαν να εξελίξουν τη διαδικασία του μαθήματος και να προάγουν την απόδοση των παιδιών. Έτσι, το μάθημα καταλήγει παραδοσιακό και ανιαρό συχνά για τα παιδιά, κάτι που όμως δεν ισχύει για τους/-ις μαθητές/-τριές εκείνους/-ες που έχουν την τύχη να φοιτούν σε καλύτερα συντηρημένα και εξοπλισμένα σχολικά κτίρια. Ακόμη, η απόδοση των μαθητών/-τριων φαίνεται να βάλλεται και από τη δυσχερέστερη οικονομική κατάσταση των οικογενειών τους, ένας παράγοντας ο οποίος μολονότι δεν αφορά ουσιαστικά το έργο του σχολείου, εντούτοις σχετίζεται νομοτελειακά με αυτό, καθώς αντανακλά στην καθημερινότητα των παιδιών. Η επιδείνωση των οικονομικών των μαθητών/-τριών τα τελευταία χρόνια γίνεται εμφανής τόσο από την αδυναμία τους να συμμετέχουν σε σχολικές δραστηριότητες όσο και από τη δυσκολία των γονέων να τους παρέχουν χρήματα, σχολικά είδη, κάποιες φορές μέχρι και το γεύμα τους, ακόμα δηλαδή και όταν πρόκειται για μικροποσά. Ασφαλώς, η δυσκολία αυτή έχει διαβαθμίσεις ανάλογα με την οικονομική κατάσταση της οικογένειας, πράγμα που, όπως αναφέρουν οι διευθυντές/-τριες, τα παιδιά αναμφίβολα αντιλαμβάνονται. Το οικονομικό λοιπόν χάσμα και η ανισότητα είναι υπαρκτή ακόμα και στην μικροκοινωνία του σχολείου, παρότι οι γονείς τις περισσότερες φορές καταβάλλουν προσπάθεια, ώστε να αποκρύπτουν τα προβλήματα τους.



Η ανέχεια όμως επιδεινώνει και τις επιδόσεις των μαθητών/-τριών, καθώς αφενός η ανησυχία για τα προς το ζην- που δημιουργεί ενδεχομένως ένα κλίμα στρες και έντασης στο σπίτι- δεν επιτρέπει στους γονείς να αφοσιώνονται εξίσου στην απόδοση των παιδιών, αφετέρου οι ίδιοι/-ες οι μαθητές/-τριες που βιώνουν την κρίση και την ανεργία σε όλο το φάσμα της καθημερινότητάς τους απαξιώνουν τη χρησιμότητα του σχολείου ως προς το βιοποριστικό. Εξάλλου, οι ερωτώμενοι/-ες συμφώνησαν ότι τα παιδιά από μικρή ηλικία φαίνονται συνειδητοποιημένα ή και αγχωμένα ως προς το οικονομικό ζήτημα, ενώ δείχνουν να μην πιστεύουν ότι το σχολείο μπορεί να συμβάλλει στη βελτίωση της κατάστασης, γι’ αυτό και δεν διοχετεύουν χρόνο στην μελέτη. Βέβαια, αυτό δεν είναι απόλυτο για όλα τα παιδιά, ενώ οι μαθητές/-τριες που είναι περισσότερο ξέγνοιαστοι/-ες οικονομικά τείνουν να αποδίδουν και καλύτερα στο σχολείο· έτσι, η απόδοση λαμβάνει ταξικά χαρακτηριστικά αναπαράγοντας το φαύλο κύκλο της κοινωνικής ανισότητας. Το γεγονός ότι μαθητές/-τριες διαφορετικής κοινωνικής προέλευσης τείνουν να αποδίδουν διαφορετικά στο σχολείο αναπαράγοντας την κοινωνική δομή, έχει επιβεβαιωθεί από ένα πλήθος κοινωνιολογικών ερευνών, όπως, λόγου χάρη, η θεωρία του ‘μορφωτικού κεφαλαίου’ του Bourdieu, η έκθεση του Coleman που επαληθεύει την ύπαρξη της ανισότητας στο σχολείο ή η θεωρία του Bernstein για τη σχέση της γλώσσας με τη σχολική επιτυχία (Φραγκουδάκη, 1985: 44,138,142).

Η κρίση, επίσης, ενδεχομένως συμβάλλει και στη διαμόρφωση αρνητικού κλίματος ως προς τις κοινωνικές σχέσεις εντός του σχολείου. Πράγματι, οι περισσότεροι/-ες ερωτηθέντες/-είσες της έρευνας έκαναν λόγο για αλλαγή της στάσης τόσο των γονιών όσο και των μαθητών/-τριών απέναντι κυρίως στους/-ις εκπαιδευτικούς. Πρόκειται για ένα φαινόμενο των τελευταίων χρόνων, το οποίο μολονότι δεν μπορεί να εξηγηθεί απόλυτα από την κρίση, εντούτοις θα μπορούσαμε να ανιχνεύσουμε την ύπαρξη κάποιας σχέσης. Ειδικότερα, οι διευθυντές/-τριες κάνουν λόγο για περισσότερο επιθετικά παιδιά, πιο ανυπάκουα και αντιδραστικά, που δεν διστάζουν να αμφισβητήσουν ευθέως τις υποδείξεις των εκπαιδευτικών και να μη σεβαστούν τον λόγο τους. Οι ίδιοι/-ες υποθέτουν ότι η κατάσταση άγχους και γκρίνιας που πιθανώς βιώνουν τα παιδιά στο σπίτι λόγω της ανασφάλειας οπωσδήποτε ευθύνεται ως έναν βαθμό για τις αντιδράσεις των παιδιών. Ομοίως οι γονείς τα τελευταία χρόνια εμφανίζονται πιο αγχωμένοι και πιο παρεμβατικοί στα σχολικά ζητήματα, πιο πιεστικοί απέναντι στους/-ις εκπαιδευτικούς ως προς το πώς ακούν το επάγγελμά τους. Οι διευθυντές/-τριες κρίνουν ότι η αμφισβήτηση αυτή των γονέων απέναντι στο σχολείο επιτείνεται από την υπολειτουργία των μονάδων και από την αδιαμφισβήτητη δυσκολία των εκπαιδευτικών να επιτελέσουν το έργο τους μεσούσης της κρίσης. Παράλληλα, η οικονομική ενίσχυση του σχολείου από τους γονείς, όπως θα φανεί παρακάτω, ασφαλώς επιτρέπει έναν πιο ελεγκτικό ρόλο από μέρους τους.

Το πώς καταφέρνει να λειτουργήσει η εκάστοτε σχολική μονάδα είναι ενδεχομένως η μεγαλύτερη πρόκληση των γονέων και των εκπαιδευτικών. Όπως κατέστη σαφές, οι γονείς και οι εκπαιδευτικοί επιστρατεύουν όλα τα δυνατά μέσα προκειμένου να





μπορέσει το σχολείο να ‘επιβιώσει’ με δεδομένη την υποχρηματοδότησή του. Πράγματι, σχεδόν όλοι/-ες οι διευθυντές/-τριες έκαναν λόγο για την αναγκαία υποστήριξη των σχολείων από τους γονείς των μαθητών/-τριών, εννοώντας τόσο την οικονομική συμμετοχή και την παροχή μέσων όσο και τον προσωπικό τους κόπο, συμβάλλοντας ο καθένας και η καθεμία με οποιονδήποτε τρόπο για την λειτουργικότητα του σχολείου. Έτσι γίνεται λόγος για περιπτώσεις όπου γονείς και εκπαιδευτικοί εμπλέκονται εθελοντικά στη συντήρηση των σχολικών κτιρίων, αγοράζουν υλικά μέσα, όπως είδη καθαριότητας και χαρτικά, παρέχουν τεχνολογικό εξοπλισμό, κ.ά. Σε κάθε περίπτωση, η αυτοοργάνωση των γονέων και των εκπαιδευτικών είναι όχι μόνο μεγίστης σημασίας και ζωτική για την λειτουργία του σχολείου, αλλά υπογραμμίζει emphatically την ανεπάρκεια των κρατικών παροχών. Επίσης, όπως διαπιστώθηκε, δεν είναι και λίγες οι φορές όπου τα σχολεία –στην προσπάθεια να επιβιώσουν- μπαίνουν στη διαδικασία να αιτούνται εξοπλισμό από εξωτερικούς φορείς, άσχετους με το ελληνικό δημόσιο σχολείο, προκειμένου να προμηθευθούν αμεσότερα τα απαραίτητα. Έτσι, αναφέρονται τράπεζες και σουπερμάρκετ που παρέχουν εξοπλισμό, ως χορηγία, στα σχολεία, καθώς το κράτος επιλέγει να μην τα στηρίζει προσανατολίζοντάς τα αναγκαστικά σε τέτοιες διεξόδους.

Παράλληλα, όλοι/-ες οι διευθυντές/-τριες συμφώνησαν ότι και οι ίδιοι/-ες οι εκπαιδευτικοί συνήθως αναγκάζονται να δίνουν χρήματα ως βοήθεια σε μαθητές/-τριες που κρίνουν ότι έχουν κάποια ανάγκη. Πράγματι, οι γονείς και οι εκπαιδευτικοί, όπως έδειξαν τα δεδομένα, δεν περιορίζονται μόνο στην κάλυψη των λειτουργικών αναγκών των σχολείων, αλλά επιχειρούν να συνεισφέρουν και στις οικονομικές δυσκολίες των μαθητών/-τριών, αντισταθμίζοντας την απουσία του προνοιακού κράτους. Έτσι, εντοπίζοντας τα οικονομικά προβλήματα συγκεκριμένων οικογενειών, κάποιοι Σύλλογοι Γονέων, με την υποστήριξη του διδακτικού προσωπικού, αναλαμβάνουν να ενισχύσουν τις οικογένειες σε ρουχισμό, χρήματα και φαγητό, καθώς και ορισμένους/-ες μαθητές/-τριες με την προσφορά καθημερινού γεύματος στο σχολείο. Επίσης, συχνά πληρώνουν τα εισιτήρια των παιδιών αυτών στις εκδρομές. Όλη αυτή η διαδικασία γίνεται πολύ διακριτικά, καθώς η ‘περηφάνια’ που χαρακτηρίζει έντονα τις οικογένειες δυσκολεύει την προσφορά οικονομικής βοήθειας. Η συνεισφορά τους είναι και σημαντική και απαραίτητη, καθώς η κρίση έχει προκαλέσει ποικίλα προβλήματα στα οικονομικά των οικογενειών.

Η εξεύρεση τόσο των χρημάτων που απαιτούνται όσο και των υλικών αγαθών επιτυγχάνεται με την οργάνωση δραστηριοτήτων, όπως χοροί, που διοργανώνονται πολλάκις κατά τη διάρκεια της χρονιάς, διότι είναι ένα βασικό μέσο εξεύρεσης χρημάτων, καθώς επίσης και με τις ετήσιες συνδρομές των Συλλόγων Γονέων. Βέβαια, οι ερωτηθέντες/-είσες δεν παρέλειψαν να τονίσουν ότι κάποιες οικογένειες δυσκολεύονται να συμμετέχουν οικονομικά σε αυτές τις δραστηριότητες, δεδομένου ότι η υποστήριξη του σχολείου είναι αφενός συστηματική, αφετέρου επιβαρυντική για τους/-ις ίδιους/-ες.





Η αυτοοργάνωση επομένως των γονέων και των εκπαιδευτικών μπορεί να καταλήγει αναγκαστική, δεδομένης της κρατικής ολιγωρίας και της αυτοδιοικητικής ανεπάρκειας, ωστόσο, όπως τόνισαν και κάποιοι/-ες διευθυντές/-τριες, δεν είναι η λύση, λαμβάνοντας μάλιστα υπόψη ότι δεν είναι όλοι οι γονείς και όλοι/-ες οι εκπαιδευτικοί σε θέση να διαθέτουν μονίμως ποσά στο ‘δωρεάν’ δημόσιο σχολείο, παρά μόνο οι περισσότερο ευνοημένοι/-ες οικονομικά, με αποτέλεσμα κάποια σχολεία να καθίστανται περισσότερο προνομιούχα.

Τέλος, λόγω του ότι η δυσκολία ορισμένων γονέων να διασφαλίζουν τη σίτιση των παιδιών τους έχει γίνει ήδη εμφανής, εξωσχολικοί φορείς, όπως οι Δήμοι, ή διάφορες οργανώσεις και ιδρύματα (π.χ. η ‘American Relief Association’, η ‘Ένωση Καλλιτεχνών’, το ‘Ίδρυμα Νιάρχος’), έχουν αναλάβει να προμηθεύουν τα σχολεία με μικρά γεύματα για αυτούς/-ες τους/-ες μαθητές/-τριες, ενώ αντίστοιχα επισιτιστικά προγράμματα έχουν δρομολογηθεί και στην Αθήνα (Ματθαίου, 2014). Το στοιχείο αυτό είναι πράγματι πολύ ενδεικτικό της ανθρωπιστικής- πρωτευόντως- κρίσης που διανύουμε. Τα παιδιά αυτά, μολονότι δεν είναι μεγάλος ακόμη ο αριθμός τους, αυξάνονται. Επίσης, οι διευθυντές/-τριες κρίνουν ότι ο αριθμός ενδέχεται να ήταν μεγαλύτερος, εάν όλες οι οικογένειες ήταν απαλλαγμένες από το αίσθημα της ντροπής που συνοδεύει την επιλογή αυτή. Όπως και να έχει, μπορεί το ζήτημα της σίτισης των παιδιών να λύνεται, εντούτοις η λύση αυτή δεν παύει να είναι προσωρινή, δεδομένου ότι το οικονομικό πρόβλημα της πλειοψηφίας των Ελλήνων/-ίδων γίνεται εντονότερο με την παράταση της κρίσης και την αντιμετώπιση του σε ένα φιλανθρωπικό επίπεδο. Ασφαλώς, πρέπει να σημειωθεί ότι η εμπλοκή μη κρατικών παραγόντων στο δημόσιο σχολείο συμβάλλει στην επανάπαυση της πολιτείας ή ακόμη στη σταδιακή αλλαγή του δημόσιου χαρακτήρα της εκπαίδευσης

### Συμπεράσματα

Η ελληνική πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση μετά το ξέσπασμα της κρίσης αντιμετωπίζει πλήθος οικονομικών και κοινωνικών προβλημάτων, γεγονός που επιβεβαιώνεται τόσο βιβλιογραφικά, όσο και εμπειρικά, παρά το γεγονός ότι τα δεδομένα από την ποιοτική έρευνα δεν είναι γενικεύσιμα σε όλα τα σχολεία της Ελλάδας, κρίνουμε ότι είναι αρκετά ενδεικτικά της κατάστασης υπό την οποία καλούνται να λειτουργήσουν τα δημοτικά σχολεία της χώρας. Πρωταρχικό συμπέρασμα είναι ότι το σχολείο αποδεικνύεται έρμαιο αφενός των πολυεπίπεδων επιπτώσεων της κρίσης των τελευταίων χρόνων και αφετέρου των νεοφιλελεύθερων πολιτικών επιλογών που εφαρμόζονται από το 2010 και εξής.

Κατ’ αρχάς, το βασικότερο πρόβλημα με το οποίο έρχονται αντιμέτωπες οι σχολικές μονάδες, λαμβάνοντας υπόψη το παράδειγμα της Θεσσαλονίκης, είναι η ραγδαία μείωση του κρατικού προϋπολογισμού που τις αναλογεί, με επακόλουθο η λειτουργία τους να καθίσταται ολοένα και δυσχερέστερη, καθώς δεν είναι πλέον εφικτή η εξασφάλιση ούτε των στοιχειωδών λειτουργικών υλικών για τις ανάγκες της καθημερινότητας.



Επιπλέον, από το 2010 -και ενώ η κοινωνικο-οικονομική κρίση είναι δεδομένη- οι μεταρρυθμίσεις που έχουν επιχειρηθεί στον τομέα της εκπαίδευσης εξυπηρετούν σαφέστατα τη νεοφιλελεύθερη πολιτική, η οποία αποσκοπεί στην εξοικονόμηση πόρων, παραγκωνίζοντας εμφανώς τις κοινωνικές επιπτώσεις και τις ανάγκες των εκπαιδευτικών και των μαθητών/-τριών. Συγκεκριμένα, το κράτος με βάση τις ευρωπαϊκές διαπιστώσεις για το συγκεντρωτισμό και την αναποτελεσματικότητα του σχολικού διοικητικού συστήματος, εφάρμοσε τον ‘Καλλικράτη’ στο δίκτυο των σχολείων, αποσκοπώντας ταυτόχρονα τόσο στην αποδοτικότητα όσο και στην οικονομία. Ωστόσο, ο ‘Καλλικράτης’ κάθε άλλο παρά διασφάλισε την λειτουργικότητα των σχολείων. Πρώτον, διαμορφώθηκαν μεγάλα σχολικά συγκροτήματα και τάξεις, τα οποία οι σημερινές κτιριακές υποδομές ασφαλώς και δεν μπορούν να εξυπηρετήσουν, και δεύτερον τα πολυπληθή τμήματα, όπως προέκυψαν, οπωσδήποτε δε συμβάλλουν στην απόδοση του/-ης μαθητή/-τριας.

Ακόμη, ενώ ανατέθηκαν στους Δήμους αυξημένες αρμοδιότητες για έναν μεγάλο αριθμό σχολείων, δεδομένης της έλλειψης πόρων αυτό οδηγεί στην επιβάρυνση της τοπικής κοινωνίας με ένα πρόσθετο οικονομικό φορτίο. Το γεγονός ότι πολλοί Δήμοι αδυνατούν να αντεπεξέλθουν στις υποχρεώσεις τους, κρίνουμε ότι σκιαγραφείται εντυπωσιακά από τα δεδομένα της έρευνας, καθώς, όπως φάνηκε, οι ανάγκες συντήρησης και εξοπλισμού των σχολικών χώρων μένουν ουσιαστικά μετέωρες. Ούτε όμως και οι αποκεντρωμένες σχολικές επιτροπές αποδείχθηκαν ιδιαίτερα λειτουργικές, καθότι τα αιτήματα των πολλαπλάσιων πλέον σχολείων που εμπίπτουν στην αρμοδιότητά τους μένουν συχνά αναπάντητα, τόσο λόγω της οικονομικής αδυναμίας όσο και εξαιτίας της δυσκολίας διαχείρισής τους. Η πραγματικότητα αυτή καταδεικνύει ότι το σχολικό δίκτυο, όπως προέκυψε μετά το 2011, όχι μόνο δε συμβάλλει στην αποτελεσματικότητα των μονάδων, αλλά λειτουργεί και ως τροχοπέδη σε καθημερινά ζητήματα. Η τάση λοιπόν για αποκέντρωση των εξουσιών δε φαίνεται να βοήθησε με κάποιον τρόπο το σχολείο στην παρούσα φάση, καθώς οι Δήμοι αντιμετωπίζουν σε γενικές γραμμές οικονομικά προβλήματα και αδυνατούν να στηρίξουν τα σχολεία, ενώ κατά τα άλλα η διάχυση των εξουσιών προς το παρόν μάλλον συνιστά κυρίως ρητορεία, παρά πρακτική. Η ιδέα της αποκέντρωσης είναι χαρακτηριστικό του νεοφιλελεύθερου δόγματος, στην προσπάθεια αναδιαμόρφωσης του ρόλου του κράτους απέναντι στο σχολείο και συμβαδίζει με τις επικρατούσες ευρωπαϊκές υποδείξεις.

Οι αυξημένες υποχρεώσεις των Δήμων σε συνδυασμό με την αδυναμία τους να τις καλύψουν, καθώς και την εντεινόμενη υποχρηματοδότηση των σχολικών μονάδων, έχει ως αποτέλεσμα την αναγκαστική, πλην όμως δυναμική τις περισσότερες φορές, παρέμβαση των γονέων στα σχολικά ζητήματα. Πράγματι, όπως διαπιστώθηκε, οι γονείς αναλαμβάνουν πρωτοβουλίες και δρομολογούν δραστηριότητες, με στόχο την εξασφάλιση πόρων, οι οποίοι στη συνέχεια επενδύονται για το σχολείο και τους/-ις μαθητές/-τριες, συμβάλλοντας έτσι στη διατήρηση της λειτουργικότητας των σχολικών μονάδων. Μολονότι είναι σίγουρο ότι οι γονείς πρέπει να διατηρούν ουσιαστική επαφή με το σχολείο των παιδιών τους και να εμπλέκονται σε τακτικές



διαδικασίες διαλόγου με τους/-ις εκπαιδευτικούς, αυτό δε σημαίνει ότι πρέπει να αντιμετωπίζονται de facto ως υποκατάστατα των αδυναμιών και της ανεπάρκειας του ευρύτερου συστήματος.

Στην ουσία, οι γονείς των μαθητών/-τριών γνωρίζοντας ότι δεν υπάρχει εναλλακτική λύση, υποκαθιστούν την πολιτεία και με αξιοσημείωτη αυτοοργάνωση καταφέρνουν να συμβάλλουν στη βιωσιμότητα του σχολείου. Ασφαλώς, δεν είναι για όλες τις οικογένειες εξίσου εφικτό να χρηματοδοτούν το δημόσιο σχολείο, καθώς η οικονομική κατάσταση των περισσότερων έχει πληγεί από τις οικονομικές εξελίξεις στο εσωτερικό της χώρας, με αποτέλεσμα κάποιοι γονείς να αναπληρώνουν και τη χορηγία όσων οικογενειών αδυνατούν να ανταποκριθούν. Έτσι, παρατηρείται ουσιαστικά από την μία η προθυμία των γονέων να διασφαλιστεί η ποιότητα της παρεχόμενης εκπαίδευσης των παιδιών τους, παρά τις οικονομικές αντιξοότητες που αντιμετωπίζει η πλειοψηφία, και από την άλλη η εκμετάλλευση της στάσης αυτής από το κράτος, το οποίο επικαλούμενο την ανεπάρκεια πόρων, υποθάλλει τις πρακτικές αυτές. Η υποχώρηση του κράτους από την οικονομική στήριξη του σχολείου αφορά ένα ζήτημα μείζονος σημασίας, το οποίο σηματοδοτεί δυναμικά τη σταδιακή άρση της συνταγματικά δωρεάν παιδείας και της διαμόρφωσης ενός τύπου νεοφιλελεύθερου σχολείου με την κλιμακούμενη και αναγκαστική συνδρομή των γονέων, ενώ επιβεβαιώνει τη σταδιακή αναδιαμόρφωση του ρόλου του κράτους μέσα στη δημόσια σφαίρα.

Η εμπλοκή των γονέων στα οικονομικά του σχολείου αναμφίβολα γίνεται αναγκαστικά και για καλό σκοπό - ως απόδειξη αλληλεγγύης-, ενώ προέκυψε και ως συνέπεια της κρίσης για την επιβίωση του σχολείου. Βέβαια, η παρέμβαση των γονέων στο σχολείο προωθείται σκόπιμα και από τις νεοφιλελεύθερες πολιτικές, καθότι έτσι από την μία το κράτος αποδεσμεύεται σταδιακά από την παροχή πόρων, που μέχρι τώρα θεωρούνταν δεδομένη, και από την άλλη η τοπική κοινωνία εισάγεται στη σχολική καθημερινότητα επιτρέποντας στους γονείς να διατηρούν έναν περισσότερο ελεγκτικό ρόλο σε όλο το φάσμα των σχολικών ζητημάτων, όπως ακριβώς προτείνει ο νεοφιλελευθερισμός. Εξάλλου, δεν είναι άσχετο και το γεγονός ότι, όπως έδειξε η έρευνα, οι διευθυντές/-τριες κάνουν λόγο για περισσότερο απαιτητικούς και πιεστικούς γονείς. Η εξέλιξη αυτή δεν πρέπει να αιφνιδιάζει ούτε να προκαλεί απορία καθώς εν μέρει μπορεί να εξηγηθεί και ως εξής: από τη στιγμή που οι γονείς συνδράμουν το σχολείο, μπορούν να απαιτούν σταδιακά και τον λόγο για ό,τι συμβαίνει μέσα στην τάξη. Επομένως, η χαμηλή χρηματοδότηση του εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος και η αναγκαία συνδρομή των γονέων γίνεται ασφαλώς λόγω της έλλειψης πόρων, ωστόσο συμβαίνει ταυτόχρονα και εξ αφορμής της κρίσης, καθώς ο νεοφιλελευθερισμός επιβάλλει οι γονείς να ελέγχουν το εκπαιδευτικό έργο.

Οι χορηγίες ωστόσο δεν αφορούν μόνο τους περισσότερο ευκατάστατους γονείς, αλλά και διάφορους φορείς της αγοράς που προσφέρονται να ‘βοηθήσουν’ το δημόσιο σχολείο. Όπως προέκυψε από τις συνεντεύξεις, δεν είναι λίγες οι φορές που εξωτερικοί παράγοντες αναλαμβάνουν να εξοπλίσουν το σχολείο, απαντώντας



σε διάφορα αιτήματα των διευθυντών/-τριών. Από την μία, το γεγονός αυτό αποδεικνύει την αδυναμία του κράτους να ανταπεξέλθει στην υποστήριξη των σχολικών μονάδων, με αποτέλεσμα οι διευθυντές/-τριες να στρέφονται αναπόφευκτα σε άλλους φορείς αναζητώντας λύσεις: από την άλλη, η ανάμιξη της αγοράς στο δημόσιο είναι ολοφάνερα κρατική επιλογή και νεοφιλελεύθερη πρακτική που έρχεται και από το εξωτερικό. Άλλωστε, υπάρχουν σαφείς υποδείξεις από τον ΟΟΣΑ και την ‘Ευρυδίκη’, υπέρ της εμπλοκής εξωτερικών φορέων στο δημόσιο σχολείο.

Παρά το γεγονός ότι η εκπαιδευτική πραγματικότητα στην Ελλάδα δεν έχει συνδεθεί ακόμα άμεσα με την αγορά, μόλα ταύτα τα στοιχεία παρουσιάζονται δυσοίωνα, ενώ σε γενικές γραμμές είναι φανερό ότι τόσο η παρέμβαση της τοπικής κοινότητας όσο και των ιδιωτικών φορέων είναι προβλεπόμενη και συνιστά μόνο επιφανειακή λύση στην κοινωνικοοικονομική κρίση. Ταυτόχρονα, επιτρέπει στο κράτος να αποποιηθεί των μέχρι τώρα υποχρεώσεων και ευθυνών του, αποδίδοντας τις αδυναμίες του εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος σε άλλους παράγοντες, όπως τους/-ις εκπαιδευτικούς. Έτσι με την κρίση, από την μία το ολοένα μειωμένο ποσοστό του ΑΕΠ που αφιερώνεται από το κράτος στην εκπαίδευση δικαιολογείται, ενώ από την άλλη η παρέμβαση των γονέων και της αγοράς γίνεται ζωτική διέξοδος για τα οικονομικά προβλήματα των σχολείων. Πάντως, οπωσδήποτε τα σχολεία δεν πρέπει να εφησυχάζουν διαθέτοντας τη στήριξη γονέων και φορέων της αγοράς, καθώς έτσι η επίλυση του προβλήματος είναι μεμονωμένη, προσωρινή και φιλανθρωπικού χαρακτήρα. Οπωσδήποτε επιβάλλεται η συλλογική δράση και αντίδραση από τους/-ις εκπαιδευτικούς, τους γονείς και την λοιπή κοινωνία, με στόχο την ανατροπή της παρούσας κατάστασης.

Δεν είναι όμως οι γονείς το μοναδικό έρεισμα του σχολείου, αλλά και οι εκπαιδευτικοί που, όπως διαπιστώθηκε, συμβάλλουν συστηματικά στην λειτουργικότητα των μονάδων με δικά τους χρήματα, καθώς και στην οικονομική στήριξη των μαθητών/-τριών. Η πληροφορία αυτή ασφαλώς αντιφάσκει με τα νέα μισθολόγια για τους δημοσίους υπαλλήλους των τελευταίων χρόνων που πλήττουν δραματικά τα εισοδήματα των εκπαιδευτικών, καθώς και με την εικόνα που έχει διαμορφωθεί έντεχνα εν μέσω κρίσης, ότι δηλαδή οι εκπαιδευτικοί ευθύνονται για όλα τα αρνητικά του δημόσιου σχολείου. Μάλιστα, φαντάζει ως παρωδία το γεγονός ότι υπάρχει όλη αυτή η ρητορική περί αξιολόγησης της διδακτικής και της μαθησιακής διαδικασίας (βλ. π.χ. το Π.Δ. 152/2013), όταν σε πολλά σχολεία οι ελλείψεις σε υλικοτεχνική υποδομή είναι κάθε άλλο παρά αξιοπρεπείς, παρακλύδοντας σημαντικά τη διεξαγωγή της εκπαιδευτικής διαδικασίας.

Με άλλα λόγια, δάσκαλοι/-ες και μαθητές/-τριες καλούνται να αποδώσουν και να αξιολογηθούν σε ένα περιβάλλον λειψό εκπαιδευτικά, εντός ενός κλίματος που δεν συντελεί στην επίτευξη καλύτερων επιδόσεων. Η επιμονή βέβαια όλων των κυβερνήσεων στη διαδικασία της αξιολόγησης δε συνάδει με την υπολειτουργία των μονάδων, συμβαδίζει όμως με την νεοφιλελεύθερη τακτική που ακολουθείται. Αυτή η διείσδυση του νεοφιλελευθερισμού σε όλα τα επίπεδα της σχολικής ζωής,



ασφαλώς και δεν είναι ένα χαρακτηριστικό που αφορά αποκλειστικά την ελληνική εκπαιδευτική πραγματικότητα, αλλά το φαινόμενο είναι έντονο τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες και σε άλλες ευρωπαϊκές χώρες, όπως τη Σουηδία, την Μ. Βρετανία, καθώς και τις ΗΠΑ (Καλημερίδης, 2006: 342-343,347).

Επίσης, οι κυβερνητικές πολιτικές των τελευταίων χρόνων, όπως περιγράφηκαν παραπάνω, αδιαφορούν για την κοινωνική πραγματικότητα των εμπλεκόμενων στην εκπαιδευτική διαδικασία εκτός από τους/-ις εκπαιδευτικούς και το δυσχερές εργασιακό τους καθεστώς, πρόκειται για οικογένειες οι οποίες αντιμετωπίζουν σοβαρά οικονομικά προβλήματα και ανησυχίες, γεγονός που επιδρά στη στάση τους μέσα στο σχολείο. Διάφορες έρευνες, όπως και η παρούσα, κάνουν λόγο για περισσότερο επιθετικά παιδιά ή για αδιάφορους/-ες μαθητές/-τριες απέναντι στη μάθηση, καθώς και για γονείς που αδυνατούν να εξασφαλίσουν χρήματα για τις εκπαιδευτικές δραστηριότητες των παιδιών τους ή ακόμα και για την κάλυψη της σίτισής τους. Αναμφίβολα, η υλοποίηση του εκπαιδευτικού έργου δε διευκολύνεται από την καθημερινή οικονομική επισφάλεια των μαθητών/-τριών, μια πραγματικότητα που όμως παραγνωρίζεται συστηματικά από την πολιτεία. Η αγνόηση της κοινωνικής πραγματικότητας των εμπλεκόμενων επιβεβαιώνει ότι στο νεοφιλελευθερισμό οι μαθητές/-τριες και οι εκπαιδευτικοί εκλαμβάνονται ως μηχανές, όπου η απόδοση τους υπολογίζεται ποσοτικά και γίνεται αυτοσκοπός.

Κατ' επέκταση, αποδεικνύεται ότι εντός καπιταλισμού η πρόσβαση σε υλικά και μη αγαθά, όπως αυτό της παιδείας, καθίσταται αυτόματα διαφοροποιημένη ανάλογα με την προέλευση της κάθε κοινωνικής τάξης, με επακόλουθο εν προκειμένω κάποια παιδιά εκ των πραγμάτων να έχουν λιγότερες ευκαιρίες να επιτύχουν σχολικά και επαγγελματικά, φαινόμενο που εντείνεται λόγω της μάλιστα της κρίσης. Έτσι, το σχολείο καταλήγει, αν και όχι απόλυτα, να αναπαράγει τις υπάρχουσες καπιταλιστικές παραγωγικές σχέσεις, καθρεφτίζοντας την ταξική δομή της κοινωνίας.

Συμπερασματικά, παρά το γεγονός ότι η κρίση δικαιολογεί εν μέρει τις κρατικές περικοπές, εντούτοις δεν μπορεί να αποδοθεί σε αυτήν η επέλαση του νεοφιλελευθερισμού στο σχολείο. Με άλλα λόγια η κρίση, ενώ χαρακτηρίζει όλο το φάσμα της καθημερινότητας των σχολείων, συνιστά μόνο το πρόσχημα για τις κρατικές – νεοφιλελεύθερες- μεταρρυθμίσεις που επιβάλλονται, καθώς καθόλου δεν ανταποκρίνονται στις ανακύπτουσες οικονομικές και κοινωνικές ανάγκες των σχολικών μονάδων. Έτσι, οι κυβερνητικές πολιτικές έχουν επιτρέψει σιωπηρά τη διεύρυνση του νεοφιλελευθερισμού στο σχολείο, ως ορθόδοξη λύση για την εξοικονόμηση πόρων και την επιβολή του ελέγχου. Επομένως, η εκπαιδευτική πολιτική ενεργείται ως σύμπραξη των μνημονιακών πρακτικών και των νεοφιλελεύθερων υποδείξεων, ενώ δεν μεριμνά για την σχολική καθημερινότητα που μαστίζεται από την παρατεταμένη κοινωνικοοικονομική κρίση.





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## Οι απελευθερωτικές διαστάσεις της φαντασίας μέσω εικαστικών δράσεων και ιστοριοπλασίας στην προσχολική ηλικία

Γεωργάκη - Κόλλια Ειρήνη, Ποζίδου Ροζαλία, Ιωαννίδου Αικατερίνη  
Ομάδα παιδαγωγών: Το ατελιέ της Φανταστικής

### Περίληψη

Αναφέρεται συχνά στο δημόσιο λόγο ο τρόπος που το επίσημο εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα περιορίζει σταδιακά όσο ανεβαίνουν οι σχολικές βαθμίδες τη φαντασία των μαθητών-τριών. Σε ένα ολοένα και πιο ακαδημαϊκό πλαίσιο στην προσχολική αγωγή, φαίνεται πως ο χρόνος για παιχνίδι και ονειροπόληση μέσα στη σχολική τάξη θυσιάζεται για την προετοιμασία των νηπίων για το δημοτικό σχολείο. Η παραπάνω τάση προκύπτει από τη μετατροπή του δημόσιου σχολείου σε πεδίο κερδοφορίας με το πρόσχημα της κρίσης στη χώρα, με αποτέλεσμα την ποσοτικοποίηση της γνώσης, το διαχωρισμό «άχρηστων» και «χρήσιμων» ικανοτήτων, την αξιολόγηση των μαθητών-τριών με βάση κριτήρια της αγοράς και την εντατικοποίηση της εκπαιδευτικής διαδικασίας.

Επιδιώκοντας να ενισχύσουμε τη σημασία της φαντασίας και της ομαδικότητας για την ολόπλευρη ανάπτυξη των παιδιών, υποστηρίζουμε τη συστηματική καλλιέργεια και εξάσκηση της φαντασίας σε μη τυπικά πλαίσια οργανωμένων δραστηριοτήτων. Η ομάδα μας επιχειρεί να επικοινωνήσει την απελευθερωτική αξία της φαντασίας, με συλλογική δράση των νηπίων μέσα από τις εικαστικές δράσεις και την ιστοριοπλασία. Η φαντασία μπορεί να είναι μια απελευθερωτική διαδικασία καθώς προκύπτει ως ανάγκη, είτε για την εξομάλυνση των προβληματικών καταστάσεων της πραγματικότητας, είτε για το σχεδιασμό εναλλακτικών σχεδίων δράσης για την αλλαγή του παρόντος, είτε για την ψυχαγωγία και τη χαλάρωση με στόχο τον αναστοχασμό και την ονειροπόληση. Οι εικαστικές δράσεις και η διαμόρφωση της αισθητικής ενισχύουν το πολιτισμικό κεφάλαιο των υποκειμένων, προκαλώντας την ενεργοποίηση της φαντασίας και την άμεση σχέση με την καλλιτεχνική δημιουργία με σκοπό την παραγωγή αυθεντικών έργων τέχνης. Ταυτόχρονα, η σύνδεση της εικαστικής δημιουργίας με την ιστοριοπλασία δημιουργεί πρωτότυπες αφηγήσεις που συν-δημιουργούν τα νήπια με βάση τις πρότερες γνώσεις και αναπαραστάσεις και την προσθήκη νέων στοιχείων. Με παραδείγματα από τη δράση της ομάδας με βάση την απελευθερωτική κριτική παιδαγωγική και την προσέγγιση ReggioEmilia, προτρέπουμε να ανοίξει ο διάλογος για την αλληλοτροφοδότηση των δύο θεωριών και την εφαρμογή νέων μεθόδων και πρακτικών στην προσχολική αγωγή σε τυπικά και μη τυπικά πλαίσια.

### Λέξεις κλειδιά

ReggioEmilia, Φαντασία, Ιστοριοπλασία, Απελευθερωτική Κριτική Παιδαγωγική, Προσχολική ηλικία

### Εισαγωγή

Στην παρούσα εργασία επιδιώκουμε να εξάγουμε χρήσιμα συμπεράσματα από την ενίσχυση της φαντασίας στην προσχολική ηλικία μέσω των εικαστικών, του προφορικού λόγου, της ιστοριοπλασίας και των οπτικών κειμένων. Το πλαίσιο της προσχολικής αγωγής στην Ελλάδα αφορά στο νηπιαγωγείο ως υποχρεωτική εκπαίδευση με αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα και συνακόλουθα στόχους και σκοπούς της



διδασκαλίας. Υποστηρίζουμε πως μετά και την τελευταία αναμόρφωση του νηπιαγωγείου στον Ενιαίο Τύπο Ολοήμερου (ΦΕΚ 2670 στις 26/08/2016), η τάση εξειδίκευσης, εντατικοποίησης και ενίσχυσης των «ακαδημαϊκών γνώσεων» μέσα στην τάξη γίνεται ολοένα και πιο ισχυρή. Σύμφωνα με τις επιταγές του ΟΟΣΑ και τις δεσμεύσεις των ελληνικών κυβερνήσεων απέναντι στους θεσμούς δανεισμού της (Ευρωπαϊκή Επιτροπή, 2016) οι αλλαγές στην προσχολική εκπαίδευση γίνονται με βάση την ικανοποίηση των δεικτών αποτελεσματικότητας και προκειμένου να αυξήσουν μακροπρόθεσμα αφενός την ανταγωνιστικότητα, αφετέρου την καινοτομία και την επιχειρηματικότητα. Παρά το γεγονός ότι υπάρχει ήδη σχολική διαρροή και αναμένεται στα επόμενα χρόνια να υπάρξει μείωση των μαθητών-τριών στην πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση κατά 25%, λόγω υπογεννητικότητας εξαιτίας της κρίσης, οι μέριμνες εκ μέρους της ΕΕ και του Υπουργείου Παιδείας δεν αφορούν στην αντιστροφή του φαινομένου, αλλά στην καλύτερη διαχείρισή του. Ταυτόχρονα, στην υποχρεωτική προσχολική εκπαίδευση δεν εντάσσονται οι παιδικοί και βρεφονηπιακοί σταθμοί. Αυτές οι δομές υπάγονται στους δήμους και όχι στο υπουργείο παιδείας, ενώ οι ιδιωτικοί είναι αναντίστοιχα περισσότεροι από τους δημόσιους, χωρίς να υπάρχουν επίσημα στοιχεία για το πόσα παιδιά φοιτούν σε αυτούς. Πρόσφατα, μια έρευνα ενός νεοφιλελεύθερου οργανισμού τόνισε την ανάγκη «επένδυσης» στην προσχολική αγωγή, προκειμένου να υπάρχει λιγότερη σχολική διαρροή στις μεγαλύτερες βαθμίδες και σε βάθος χρόνου να αποκομίσει περισσότερα κέρδη το κράτος μέσα από τις ατομικές επιτυχίες καριέρας των υποκειμένων. Η έρευνα αυτή βασίστηκε σε στοιχεία της δεκαετίας του 1960 για τον αμερικανικό κοινωνικό σχηματισμό που αναφέρουν ότι «[...], σε μια ζωή 65 ετών το κάθε δολάριο που επενδύθηκε στην ηλικία των 4 ετών "επιστρέφει" στην κοινωνία από 60 έως 300 δολάρια συνολικά ως την ηλικία των 65» (ΟΕΑ, 2017). Ενδεικτικά, άρθρο με τα στοιχεία της έρευνας του 1960 και τις προτάσεις για αύξηση των παιδικών σταθμών με ταυτόχρονη δημιουργία κοινού αναλυτικού προγράμματος, εκπαιδευτικών στόχων και αξιολόγησης, δημοσιεύτηκε σε εφημερίδα προς υποστήριξη των επιλογών κεντρικού σχεδιασμού για τα νηπιαγωγεία.

Οι αναφορές στο δημόσιο λόγο υποδεικνύουν την κατεύθυνση που θα πάρουν οι μεταρρυθμίσεις που θα αφορούν την προσχολική αγωγή, ενώ σχηματοποιούνται οι πλευρές που υποστηρίζουν διαφορετικά οικονομικά συμφέροντα. Στη συζήτηση αυτή συχνά αποσιωπάται η καθημερινή ζωή εντός των σχολικών μονάδων, οι δυσκολίες, οι προκλήσεις, η σύσταση του μαθητικού πληθυσμού, η θετική ή αρνητική σχέση σχολείου και κοινωνίας, ο ρόλος των εκπαιδευτικών και οι απαιτήσεις του, η θετική ή αρνητική σύνδεση των μαθητών/τριών με το σχολείο.

Στο σημείο αυτό, θα επιχειρήσουμε να εστιάσουμε στο αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα σπουδών για το νηπιαγωγείο προκειμένου να διακρίνουμε τους επίσημους στόχους και προσδοκίες της μαθησιακής διαδικασίας. Δυστυχώς, δεν υπάρχει πρόσβαση σε στοιχεία για τους παιδικούς σταθμούς, καθότι υπάγονται στην Τοπική Αυτοδιοίκηση και όχι στο Υπουργείο Παιδείας, ενώ οι ιδιωτικοί είναι υπερδιπλάσιοι από τους



δημοτικούς, γεγονός που δυσχεραίνει περαιτέρω την ανάλυση με βάση τη σύστασή τους.

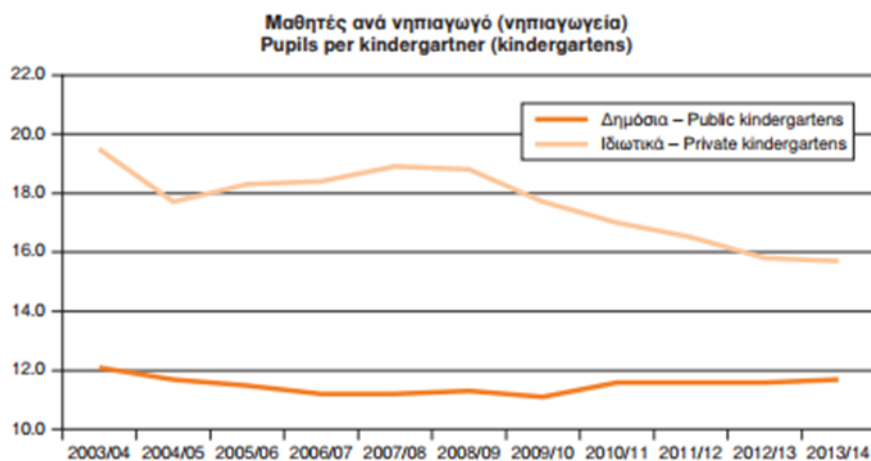
Το ΔΕΠΠΣ – ΑΠΣ για τα νηπιαγωγεία, προβλέπει παιδιά και εκπαιδευτικοί να εργάζονται, «σε ένα κατάλληλα οργανωμένο και ελκυστικό περιβάλλον[...]» (ΥΠΕΠΘ, 2003α), προκειμένου να επιτευχθούν οι ευρύτεροι σκοποί και στόχοι, των διάφορων μαθησιακών πεδίων, μεταξύ αυτών και των εικαστικών. Ωστόσο, οι περικοπές της κρατικής χρηματοδότησης και οι επακόλουθες συγχωνεύσεις και καταργήσεις που πραγματοποιήθηκαν σε σχολικές μονάδες από το 2011 και έπειτα, έχουν δημιουργήσει σοβαρά πλήγματα στη δημόσια εκπαίδευση. Βάσει και της προσωπικής μας εμπειρίας, αυτό που διαπιστώνουμε εργαζόμενες σε διάφορες περιοχές και τάξεις, είναι μια συνολική υποβάθμιση των μονάδων. Συνήθως οι εκπαιδευτικοί είναι αναντίστοιχα λίγοι/ες του αριθμού των μαθητών και μαθητριών (Ελληνική Στατιστική Αρχή, 2015). Το ίδιο οι χώροι και αίθουσες, οι οποίοι είναι σημαντικά περιορισμένοι σε μέγεθος με αποτέλεσμα να μην μπορούν να ενισχύσουν ουσιαστικά την εκπαιδευτική διαδικασία. Το ΔΕΠΠΣ ΑΠΣ εναποθέτει στους/ στις εκπαιδευτικούς την ευθύνη να ξεπεράσουν όλες τις αντικειμενικές δυσκολίες και ελλείψεις και να επιτύχουν τα επιθυμητά μαθησιακά αποτελέσματα. Οι εκπαιδευτικοί εργάζονται σύμφωνα με τις κατευθύνσεις του ΔΕΠΠΣ ΑΠΣ το οποίο διαχωρίζει τομείς μάθησης, ΠΑΙΔΙ ΚΑΙ ΓΛΩΣΣΑ, ΠΑΙΔΙ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΙΚΑ, ΠΑΙΔΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΒΑΛΛΟΝ, ΠΑΙΔΙ ΚΑΙ ΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΙΑ – ΕΚΦΡΑΣΗ (Εικαστικά, Θέατρο, Φυσική Αγωγή, Μουσική), ΠΑΙΔΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΛΗΡΟΦΟΡΙΚΗ. Στην παρούσα εργασία θα εστιάσουμε στο πεδίο της Δημιουργίας και Έκφρασης.

Όπως αναφέρεται στο Αναλυτικό Πρόγραμμα Σπουδών του Νηπιαγωγείου: «Αυτά τα προγράμματα διατηρούν την αυτονομία τους, αλλά διαθέτουν και κοινούς κώδικες. Ενεργοποιούν τις φυσικές ικανότητες των παιδιών, συγκινούν, μαγεύουν, αφυπνίζουν την περιέργειά τους, κινητοποιούν τη φαντασία, ενθαρρύνουν την έκφραση, καλλιεργούν τη δημιουργικότητα και δίνουν ευκαιρίες για πειραματισμό με υλικά και τεχνικές. Συχνά πολλές από τις δραστηριότητες που σχεδιάζονται και οργανώνονται εμπλέκονται και αλληλοσυμπληρώνονται ανοίγοντας νέους δημιουργικούς δρόμους. Η Μουσική για παράδειγμα μπορεί να οδηγήσει σε κίνηση ή σε εικαστική δημιουργία, ενώ το θέατρο μπορεί να ολοκληρώνεται με τη συνοδεία ενός μουσικού κομματιού και μιας εικαστικής δημιουργίας. Με αυτό τον τρόπο συνυπάρχουν οι τέχνες και η κίνηση χωρίς να τονίζεται η εξειδίκευσή τους. Ωστόσο η ανάπτυξη των διαθεματικών δραστηριοτήτων και η εξυπηρέτηση των στόχων που επιδιώκονται προϋποθέτουν τη γνώση και την κατανόηση κάθε προγράμματος από τον εκπαιδευτικό.» (ΥΠΕΠΘ, 2003α)

Φαίνεται πως το πλαίσιο που αναφέρεται δυνητικά είναι άρτιο, πρακτικά όμως συνοψίζεται στην τελευταία πρόταση της παραπομπής που παραθέσαμε, όπου αναφέρεται στις γνώσεις των εκπαιδευτικών ως προαπαιτούμενο για την υλοποίηση του ΑΠΣ. Ενώ ο ρόλος του/της νηπιαγωγού αναδεικνύεται ως θεμελιώδης, απουσιάζει το υποστηρικτικό πλαίσιο για την υλοποίηση του ρόλου αυτού. Οι εκπαιδευτικοί πρωτοβάθμιας αντιμετωπίζουν συχνά προκλήσεις



αναφορικά με το επάγγελμά τους, σχετικές με τον αριθμό παιδιών ανά τάξη, τις αντιλήψεις της κοινωνίας, την έλλειψη επιμόρφωσης, την επαγγελματική εξουθένωση (Φιλοκώστα, 2010).



(Ελληνική Στατιστική Αρχή, 2015)

Έτσι, μέσα στην τάξη του νηπιαγωγείου συχνά οι εκπαιδευτικοί διδάσκουν διεκπεραιωτικά τα γνωστικά αντικείμενα, γιατί αδυνατούν να υλοποιήσουν εναλλακτικά εκπαιδευτικά πλάνα που θα συμπεριλαμβάνουν την πρωτότυπη έκφραση των μαθητών/τριών. Αντίθετα, ακολουθούν το επίσημο ΑΠ και το κρυφό ΑΠ με παρόμοιο τρόπο κάθε σχολική χρονιά, ανεξάρτητα από τα διαφορετικά ποιοτικά χαρακτηριστικά του μαθητικού υποκειμένου. Παραδείγματα σχολικών γιορτών που επαναλαμβάνονται με τον ίδιο τρόπο κάθε χρονιά και έχουν κοινά χαρακτηριστικά, συνήθως τυποποιημένα και αποκομμένα από τη γνώση του ιστορικού γεγονότος ή του εθίμου για το οποίο γίνονται, ενώ προϋποθέτουν την έκθεση των μαθητών/τριών στο κοινό, είναι εικόνες που ενυπάρχουν στη συλλογική μνήμη όλων μας.

### Φαντασία εντός της σχολικής πραγματικότητας

Στον πυρήνα της διδασκαλίας, η ομαδοσυνεργατική διδασκαλία, η ενεργητική ακρόαση των υποκειμένων της μαθησιακής διαδικασίας και ο σχεδιασμός της εκπαιδευτικής πορείας με βάση τις εκπαιδευτικές ανάγκες απέχουν πολύ από την πραγματικότητα της τάξης του νηπιαγωγείου. Η άποψη αυτή προκύπτει από εμπειρικά συμπεράσματα εξαιτίας της επαφής της ομάδας μας με πληθώρα νηπιαγωγείων και δημοτικών σχολείων τη σχολική χρονιά 2016-2017. Δυστυχώς, οι προσβάσιμες έρευνες για τη στερεοτυπία στην καλλιτεχνική έκφραση και εν γένει στη δημιουργικότητα δεν είναι ακόμα επαρκείς για την εξαγωγή συμπερασμάτων προς αυτήν την κατεύθυνση.





Όσον αφορά στην δημιουργικότητα, η ορολογία χρειάζεται να είναι συγκεκριμένη προκειμένου να λειτουργήσει όχι ως αυτοσκοπός, αλλά ως μέσο για την επίτευξη του σκοπού της μαθησιακής διαδικασίας. Σύμφωνα με τον Guilfford, η δημιουργικότητα σχετίζεται με την συνοικοδόμηση των ιδεών πολλών ατόμων, και τις ατομικές ενέργειες των δρώντων ως προς την επίλυση προβλημάτων, την ικανότητα αναστοχασμού, σύνθεσης και ανάλυσης, παραγωγής πρωτότυπων ιδεών (Guilfford, 1987).

Υπό αυτή την έννοια, χρειάζεται ο/η εκπαιδευτικός να σχεδιάσει, να ακούσει ενεργητικά και να αφυπνίσει τους μαθητές και τις μαθήτριες προκειμένου να ενισχύσει τη φαντασία ως γνωστική διαδικασία. Χρειάζεται να δημιουργήσει πλαίσια επίλυσης προβλημάτων που θα ενθαρρύνουν και θα έλκουν τους μαθητές και τις μαθήτριες να διατυπώσουν πρωτότυπες ιδέες επίλυσης χρησιμοποιώντας την πρότερη γνώση τους, το πολιτισμικό τους κεφάλαιο και τη δυναμική της ομάδας δράσης. Η φαντασία και η δημιουργικότητα δεν αποτελούν κατά τη γνώμη μας *ariori* δοσμένα χαρακτηριστικά που αναδύονται αυτόματα από τα υποκείμενα.

Η φαντασία δεν αποτελεί μια έννοια που αφορά στην ψυχολογία ή μια έκφραση της ψυχής. Αντίθετα, είναι μια γνωστική διαδικασία που ναι μεν ενυπάρχει ως δυνατότητα στον ανθρώπινο νου, χρειάζεται δε συστηματική εκγύμναση προκειμένου να λειτουργήσει με αποτελεσματικό για το υποκείμενο τρόπο. Όπως αναφέρει ο Βιγκότσκι, *«Θα ήταν θαύμα πραγματικά αν η φαντασία μπορούσε να δημιουργήσει κάτι από το τίποτα ή αν είχε άλλες πηγές πέρα από την προηγούμενη εμπειρία των δημιουργημάτων της»*. Η πηγή που καθορίστηκε δεν είναι έγκυρη. Συνεπώς, τα νήπια ή τα παιδιά προσχολικής ηλικίας δε χρησιμοποιούν τη φαντασία τους αυτόματα λόγω ηλικίας, αλλά χρειάζονται ένα πλαίσιο αναστοχασμού για την αξιοποίηση της προηγούμενης εμπειρίας τους και ενίσχυσης για τη δημιουργία νέων ιδεών. Το πλαίσιο αυτό δημιουργείται από τον /την εκπαιδευτικό, το περιβάλλον της σχολικής τάξης (διάταξη, αισθητική περιβάλλοντος χώρου) και την αλληλεπίδραση μέσω της ομάδας συνομιλήκων.

Το πλαίσιο δράσης καθορίζει τη συνείδηση και συνακόλουθα και τη φαντασία. Ο τρόπος που θα ενισχυθεί η φαντασία οφείλει κατά τη γνώμη μας να στοχεύει στην κοινωνική αλλαγή και να διαπερνάται από την ομαδικότητα, την αλληλεγγύη και την ηθική. Χρειάζεται πρωτότυπη έκφραση, γνώση των μέσων και των λειτουργιών τους και συνοικοδόμηση μεταξύ των μελών της ομάδας. Σύμφωνα με το Σαρτ *«η φαντασία δεν είναι εμπειρική και επιπρόσθετη δύναμη της συνείδησης, είναι η συνείδηση ολόκληρη σε όσα πραγματοποιεί · κάθε συγκεκριμένη και πραγματική στάση της συνείδησης μες στον κόσμο είναι σπουδαία σε φαντασία, όσο αυτή παρουσιάζεται πάντα σαν ένα ξεπέρασμα του πραγματικού»* (Σαρτ, χχ: 305)

Η επίλυση προβλημάτων ενισχύει τη φαντασία και μπορεί να είναι ταυτόχρονα ψυχαγωγική, ενώ προκύπτει και κατακτάται νέα γνώση. Σύμφωνα με τον Παυλίδη, *«ειδοποιό γνώρισμα της φαντασίας είναι η νοητή απομάκρυνση από την πραγματικότητα (...) η φαντασία λειτουργεί ως συνεκτικός δεσμός μεταξύ των επιθυμιών μας για συγκεκριμένα πράγματα ή καταστάσεις και των ανεπαρκών*



*δυνατοτήτων μας να τις ικανοποιήσουμε.»* (Παυλίδης, 2010-2011) υπό αυτή την έννοια, ένα παιδί μπορεί να χρησιμοποιήσει τη φαντασία προκειμένου να κατανοήσει σε πρώτο επίπεδο την πραγματικότητα, να δει τις εναλλακτικές αν επιθυμεί να την αλλάξει και να μοιραστεί ταυτόχρονα τις ιδέες του/της στην ομάδα. Η ψυχαγωγία μέσα από αυτή τη διαδικασία ανατάσσει τη διάθεση και προκαλεί την αυτοπεποίθηση της πρωτότυπης δημιουργίας.

Στις δράσεις ιστοριοπλασίας της ομάδας μας, που αναλύονται παρακάτω, έχουμε παρατηρήσει ότι τα παιδιά ενώ φτιάχνουν μια ιστορία από την αρχή, να μην αντιλαμβάνονται ότι τα ίδια έφτιαξαν την ιστορία αυτή. Αντίθετα, χαίρονται από τη διαδικασία, αλλά βιώνουν μια αποστασιοποίηση από το αντικείμενο της διανοητικής τους εργασίας, καθώς δεν υπάρχει πρότερη αντίστοιχη εμπειρία πρωτότυπης δημιουργίας με προφορικό λόγο. Στο πεδίο των εικαστικών από την άλλη, δεν παρατηρείται η ίδια αποστασιοποίηση καθώς η φαντασία ενεργοποιείται σταδιακά μαζί με τη δόμηση νέας γνώσης των εργαλείων και των υλικών που συνθέτουν την εικαστική δημιουργία.

Η απελευθερωτική διάσταση της φαντασίας έγκειται στη σκοποθεσία της πρωτότυπης δημιουργίας. Η ποιότητα των ιδεών που επηρεάζουν τα μέλη της ομάδας μπορεί να εκκινά από μία ανάγκη ή μια επιθυμία της ομάδας και να την εκπληρώνει σε πρακτικό ή ουτοπικό επίπεδο. Μπορούμε εδώ να δούμε την αντιστοιχία σε πολιτικό επίπεδο, με την εξάσκηση αφενός στην ομαδική συνεργασία και αφετέρου στη σκοποθετημένη ονειροπόληση και φαντασία για την επίτευξη συλλογικών σκοπών.

Στο νεοφιλελεύθερο σχολείο της «αριστείας» και της αξιολόγησης, αποτελεί κοινή αλλά και ερευνητική διαπίστωση πως δεν «περισεύει» χώρος για την καλλιέργεια και την ανάπτυξη της φαντασίας, η οποία σύμφωνα με το Zhao (2012) παρουσιάζει σταθερή και ραγδαία πτώση κατά τη διάρκεια της σχολικής διαδρομής των μαθητών/-τριών.

Η διαπίστωση αυτή αναδεικνύει δυο κρίσιμα κατά την άποψή μας ζητήματα. Αφενός μετατρέπει τη διαδικασία διδασκαλίας-μάθησης σε μια επαναλαμβανόμενη, μονότονη και έντονα προβλέψιμη διαδικασία ρουτίνας, τόσο για τους/τις εκπαιδευτικούς, όσο και για τους/τις μαθητές/-τριες, κάτι που εντείνεται ανά εκπαιδευτική βαθμίδα (Gerver, 2014). Αφετέρου, ένα σχολείο δίχως φαντασία είναι ένα σχολείο που δεν καλλιεργεί την κριτική εξέταση της βιωμένης πραγματικότητας και την προοπτική του μετασχηματισμού της, αλλά αντίθετα εμφυσά μια παθητική στάση αποδοχής της (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977).

### **Εμπειρικές παρατηρήσεις της ομάδας μας, τρόπος δράσης, προβλήματα**

#### **Φυσιογνωμία της ομάδας - μεθοδολογία δράσεων**

Προκειμένου να παρέμβουμε στην κατάσταση που περιγράψαμε και με δεδομένη την έλλειψη διορισμών στην εκπαίδευση, άρα και τον αποκλεισμό μας από το δημόσιο σχολείο, επιδιώκουμε την παρέμβαση μέσω της ομάδας.



Οι δράσεις της ομάδας εκκινούν από τις ιδέες και τις αρχές της απελευθερωτικής κριτικής παιδαγωγικής και των εκφραστών όπως ο Paulo Freire, της προσέγγισης Reggio Emilia και αντίστοιχων παιδαγωγών και δημιουργών όπως ο Loris Malaguzzi και ο Gianni Rodari. Σε μη τυπικά πλαίσια οργανωμένων διαδραστικών εργαστηρίων πραγματοποιούνται δραστηριότητες αφήγησης - δημιουργίας παραμυθιού, παραγωγής εικαστικών/πλαστικών έργων, καθώς και performance art μέσα από τη σκοπούμενη σωματική έκφραση των παιδιών. Στόχος μας αποτελεί η επαναπροσέγγιση καθημερινών υλικών μέσα από τη χρήση συμβατικών, αλλά και πρωτότυπων εργαλείων, όπως η φωτοτράπεζα και το λογοπαίγνιο, διανύοντας έτσι τη διαδρομή από την παρατήρηση του πραγματικού στην συν-οικοδόμηση του φανταστικού.

Τα εργαστήρια μας, διάρκειας μίας ή μιάμισης ώρας, πραγματοποιούνται εντός σχολικών τάξεων, με τις οποίες δεν υπάρχει πρότερη γνωριμία επομένως το κοινωνικό, πολιτισμικό και γνωστικό υπόβαθρο των παιδιών μας είναι άγνωστο. Τις περισσότερες φορές εξάγουμε κάποια γενικά συμπεράσματα από πληροφορίες των εκπαιδευτικών καθώς και από την περιοχή (της Θεσσαλονίκης) στην οποία βρίσκεται το εκάστοτε σχολείο. Μία αρχική πρόκληση που αναδύεται, είναι το πώς θα επιτευχθεί η ισότιμη και αποτελεσματική ένταξη, στις δράσεις μας, αυτών των διαφορετικών μαθητικών πληθυσμών. Η ενεργή συμμετοχή των παιδιών, αποτελεί πρωτεύον ζήτημα για εμάς καθώς το τελικό «προϊόν» προκύπτει από την δική τους εργασία, τη στιγμή της δράσης. Οι δημιουργίες των παιδιών, είτε αφηγηματικές είτε εικαστικές/κατασκευαστικές κοκ είναι πρωτότυπες και μοναδικές. Παράλληλα, παραμένει σταθερή η φυσιογνωμία των υλικών και εργαλείων που εισάγουμε στις εκάστοτε ομάδες, καθώς και ένα σύνολο ευρύτερων αρχών - σκοπών όπως η είναι η συνεργασία και η αλληλοβοήθεια, η λειτουργία των παιδιών εντός ομάδας, ο διάλογος και η συζήτηση, η κουλτούρα του «μοιράζομαι» αλλά και ο τρόπον τινά, διαλεκτικός τρόπος εργασίας βάσει κάποιου σκοπού, ο οποίος θα μπορούσε να σχηματιστεί ως εξής: σκέφτομαι – σχεδιάζω – ελέγχω – διορθώνω- υλοποιώ- παρουσιάζω – αναστοχάζομαι μέσω της αλληλεπίδρασης με τους υπόλοιπους και τις υπόλοιπες.

### Προβληματισμός

Οι δυσκολίες που ενέχει η απεύθυνση σε εναλλασσόμενες σχολικές τάξεις, με τις κατ' ουσίαν άγνωστες διαφοροποιήσεις που φέρουν, ως προς τα υποκείμενα και το υπόβαθρό τους, είναι πολλές και επιχειρούμε να τις υπερβούμε σε δύο επίπεδα. Το πρώτο εκκινεί από τη φυσιογνωμία και το σχεδιασμό των δράσεων καθαυτές, οι οποίες δεν έχουν διδακτικό χαρακτήρα, είναι ανοιχτές και προσαρμοζόμενες στο πολιτισμικό κεφάλαιο των μαθητών/μαθητριών, με απόλυτα διαδραστικό χαρακτήρα, προκειμένου να εμπλέξουν ενεργά τους μαθητές και τις μαθήτριες στην άσκηση της φαντασίας και στη συλλογική δημιουργία μέσω αυτής. Να σημειώσουμε όμως πως παρότι δεν υπάρχει αναγκαιότητα προαπαιτούμενης γνώσης, το μορφωτικό κεφάλαιο (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1996) και η κοινωνική



προέλευση των παιδιών, επιδρά και επηρεάζει ενεργά τη διεξαγωγή των εργαστηρίων. Έτσι οδηγούμαστε στο δεύτερο επίπεδο υπέρβασης των προαναφερόμενων «εμποδίων» και αφορά τον τρόπο υλοποίησης των σχεδιασμών εντός των σχολικών πλαισίων. Βασικός αρωγός αποτελεί η εφαρμογή (στο επίπεδο του δυνατού) ομαδοσυνεργατικών μεθόδων μάθησης (Baudrit, 2007; Ματσαγγούρας, 2007). Η λειτουργία εντός μικτών ομάδων, οδηγεί στην αλληλεπίδραση των διαφορετικών πολιτισμικών κεφαλαίων, όπου η συμβολή των «ικανών συνομηλίκων (Vygotsky, 1997) έχει καθοριστική σημασία για την προώθηση της εργασίας εντός αυτών (ομάδων), ιδίως στο επίπεδο των αναδυόμενων ιδεών, οι οποίες επιδρούν στα μέλη και αποτελούν κινητήριο μοχλό στην όλη συνθήκη. Αντίστοιχα κρίσιμη είναι και η δική μας συνεχής αλληλεπίδραση με τις ιδέες των παιδιών, προκειμένου αυτές να μεταδοθούν στο σύνολο της ομάδας. Αυτό πραγματοποιείται μέσω της συνεχόμενης παρατήρησης και στοχευμένης παρέμβασης μας στη συζήτηση και εργασία των μαθητών/τριών.

Συνοψίζοντας, μπορούμε να πούμε ότι οι μαθητές και οι μαθήτριες καλούνται να εμπλακούν σε συνθήκες διαλόγου και έκφρασης ιδεών και σκέψεων, ανάλογα με το προσωπικό τους κοινωνικό υπόβαθρο και την πρότερη εμπειρία. Ταυτόχρονα, από τη μεριά μας τροφοδοτούμε τα παιδιά με νέα στοιχεία που εισάγουμε στη σχολική τους καθημερινότητα στοχεύοντας το να μπορούν, σε επόμενο χρόνο να τα αναπτύσσουν και να τα αξιοποιούν *αυτοδύναμα*.

### **Οι δράσεις που σχετίζονται με το λόγο**

Ο αρχικός στόχος (η κατάκτηση του οποίου αποτελεί και εργαλείο για την ανάπτυξη των δραστηριοτήτων) είναι η χαλάρωση των παιδιών μέσω «ασκήσεων φαντασίας» ακολουθώντας τεχνικές του Ροντάρι (Ροντάρι, 2001) τόσο στα εργαστήρια ιστοριοπλασίας όσο και των εικαστικών. Επιδιώκουμε τα παιδιά να απεγκλωβιστούν από την τυποποιημένη και αμιγώς ρεαλιστική σκέψη και θέαση της πραγματικότητας, δίνοντας εναλλακτικές οπτικές σε αυτή, με κυρίαρχο το στοιχείο του φανταστικού. Σταδιακά τα παιδιά εξοικειώνονται με τον διαφορετικό τρόπο θέασης των μέχρι πρότινος οικείων αντικειμένων τους αλλά και με τις νέες ιδιότητες που αυτά μπορούν να προσλάβουν, δια της φαντασίας.

Ο Freire γράφει στις Δέκα επιστολές: «*Η φαντασία βοηθά την περιέργεια και την επινοητικότητα [...]»* (Freire, 2009: 171) και ενώ προχωράει πέρα από το ορατό, το συνηθισμένο και το καθημερινό επαφίεται σε αυτά, καθότι «[...] όταν φανταζόμαστε κάτι, το φανταζόμαστε αναγκαστικά σε σχέση με τις ελλείψεις της συγκεκριμένης πραγματικότητάς μας. Όταν τα παιδιά φαντάζονται ελεύθερα και χαρούμενα σχολεία, είναι επειδή τα πραγματικά τους σχολεία τούς αρνούνται την ελευθερία και τη χαρά.» (Freire, 2009: 172). Πράγματι, όταν οι μαθητές και οι μαθήτριες ξεπεράσουν την άρνηση («δε γίνεται αυτό», «στα ψέματα το λες» κοκ), που προέρχεται από το ρεαλισμό της καθημερινότητας και πλέον ένα «ξε-μολύβι» μπορεί να σβήνει αντί να γράφει και αυτό είναι θεμιτό πια, γιατί δεν είναι ψέμα αλλά φανταστικό, τότε διαπιστώνουν πως δια της φαντασίας και του λόγου, που



την εκφράζει και παράλληλα την καθοδηγεί, μπορούν όλα να μεταμορφωθούν και να λάβουν ιδιότητες πολλαπλές και διαφορετικές. Συνακόλουθα, τα εγκαλούμε να στραφούν σε πλευρές της καθημερινής τους ζωής ώστε να αναζητήσουν στοιχεία σε αυτήν που θα ήθελαν να αλλάξουν ή να μετασχηματίσουν.

### Διάλογος

Οι δράσεις εκκινούν με εμάς να απευθυνόμαστε στο σύνολο των μαθητών/τριών προκειμένου να αναπτυχθεί η εξοικείωση με τις τεχνικές που προαναφέραμε. Ειδικά στην περίπτωση της *ιστοριοπλασίας*, εργάζονται όλες και όλοι μαζί για να επιτευχθεί η σύνθεση μιας κοινής αφηγηματικής πλοκής ή πλαισίου, ώστε στη συνέχεια να προχωρήσουν σε εργασία εντός των ομάδων όπου εξειδικεύουν (μέσω του σχεδίου, των κατασκευών κτλ. ) σε επιμέρους σημεία της αναδυόμενης ιστορίας (π.χ. σχεδιαστική απόδοση των ηρώων ή των χαρακτηριστικών του τόπου όπου διαδραματίζεται η ιστορία ή ακόμα και εναλλακτικές κατάληξης αυτής). Η εργασία των ομάδων ολοκληρώνεται με την παρουσίαση του τελικού αποτελέσματος της καθεμίας ξεχωριστά σε όλες τις υπόλοιπες, το οποίο μάλιστα παραμένει σε ευδιάκριτο σημείο της τάξης με στόχο την επαναφορά των παιδιών σε αυτό ώστε να επιτυγχάνεται ο επιθυμητός αναστοχασμός.

Το μέσο για να επικοινωνήσουμε και να αλληλεπιδράσουμε μεταξύ μας οι παιδαγωγοί αλλά και με τους μαθητές/τριες και κατ' επέκτασιν και οι δεύτεροι μεταξύ τους, είναι ο *διάλογος*. Ο οποίος αποτελεί αναγκαιότητα αφενός, γιατί στα πλαίσια των δράσεών μας κάνουμε εκτεταμένη χρήση του προφορικού λόγου και αφετέρου, επειδή θεωρούμε πως ο *διάλογος* έχει καθαυτόν παιδαγωγική διάσταση καθώς δεν προωθεί απλώς την ομιλία και τη συζήτηση, αλλά σκοπεύει στην καλλιέργεια μιας ευρύτερα διαλογικής κουλτούρας και συλλογικών κοινωνικών στάσεων. Όπως αναφέρουν μάλιστα οι Γρόλλιος κ.ά., σχετικά με την έννοια του διαλόγου στο έργο του Freire «*Ο παιδαγωγικός διάλογος δεν ταυτίζεται με μια συζήτηση, οποιουδήποτε θέματος, που ενδιαφέρει κάποιον από τους συμμετέχοντες*» (Γρόλλιος κ.ά., 2002: xxiii). Ενώ για τον Φρέιρε, «*Ο διάλογος είναι η συνάντηση μεταξύ ανθρώπων, με ενδιάμεσο την πραγματικότητα [...]*» (Φρέιρε, 1977: 102 ) «*[...] είναι η συνάντηση όπου ενωμένες η σκέψη και η δράση των διαλεγόμενων απευθύνονται στον κόσμο που πρέπει ν' αλλάξει και να εξανθρωπιστεί [...]* ο διάλογος αυτός δεν μπορεί να περιορίζεται σε απλή κατάθεση ιδεών του ενός ατόμου στο άλλο [...] είναι μια πράξη δημιουργίας» (Φρέιρε, 1977: 103). Ο διάλογος αποτελεί μια δυναμική συνθήκη εντός των ομάδων όπου διαμορφώνονται διάφορες δομές κοινωνικών σχέσεων (Καρακατσάνης, 1994) και αναπτύσσονται πολλαπλά δίκτυα επικοινωνίας. Τα παιδιά δεν εργάζονται ατομικά στο επίπεδο κάποιου προσωπικού ενδιαφέροντος (χωρίς να αποκλείεται η συμβολή του) αλλά συλλογικά, στη βάση μιας κεντρικής ιδέας η οποία για να γίνει κοινός σκοπός προϋποθέτει επεξεργασία, συζήτηση, επιχειρηματολογία, αλληλεπίδραση με διαφορετικές ιδέες που ανακύπτουν από διαφορετικά μέλη της ομάδας,





συνδιαμόρφωση. Με άλλα λόγια, αποτελεί μια συνθήκη συνεργασίας και συνοικοδόμησης.

Ο ρόλος μας έχει υποστηρικτικό και καθοδηγητικό χαρακτήρα, επιχειρώντας ενεργητική ακρόαση των σκέψεων και λόγων που αναπτύσσονται και εκφράζονται από τα παιδιά, προσπαθούμε να γίνουμε αρωγοί στην ανταλλαγή τους εντός της ομάδας.) Χρησιμοποιούμε το εργαλείο της παρατήρησης για να καταγράψουμε εν είδη χειρόγραφων σημειώσεων τις δράσεις λεκτικές ή/και πρακτικές με την παράλληλη φωτογραφική απαθανάτιση κρίσιμων στιγμών, ώστε να επιτύχουμε την όσο το δυνατόν πιο αποτελεσματική παρέμβαση κι ενίσχυση της εργασίας των παιδιών, υπό το πρίσμα πτυχών της έρευνας δράσης, η οποία σύμφωνα με τον Elliott «[...] θα πρέπει να ορίζεται ως “η Μελέτη μιας κοινωνικής συνθήκης με σκοπό τη βελτίωση της ποιότητας της δράσης μέσα σε αυτήν”» (Elliott, 1991: 69).

### Λόγος

Ο λόγος, κυρίως προφορικός στις προσχολικές ηλικίες, αποτελεί το κατεξοχήν μέσο για τη διενέργεια των εργαστηρίων μας. Συνάμα, στρεφόμενες προς την καλλιέργεια του κριτικού γραμματισμού, ο λόγος και η καλλιέργειά του τίθενται ως σκοπός. Πιο αναλυτικά, ο λόγος, πέρα από το γεγονός ότι αποτελεί κυρίαρχο μέσο για την αλληλεπίδραση, την επικοινωνία και τη συνδημιουργία με τις ομάδες. Τον χρησιμοποιούμε στοχευμένα στην κατεύθυνση αυτού που ο Βυγκότσκι ορίζει ως «ζώνη της επόμενης εξέλιξης» (Βυγκότσκι, 2008: 194) ή/και ζώνη της εγγύτερης ανάπτυξης (στο εξής ΖΕΑ) αναφερόμενος στη «[...] δυνατότητα της κατάκτησης ενός ανώτερου σταδίου των νοητικών δυνατοτήτων μέσω της συνεργασίας [...] αλλά και στο γεγονός ότι η ΖΕΑ «η οποία καθορίζει την περιοχή των προσιτών για το παιδί μεταβάσεων, είναι ακριβώς το καθοριστικό στοιχείο της διδασκαλίας και της αγωγής. [...] Με άλλα λόγια, αυτό που το παιδί κάνει σήμερα από κοινού, αύριο θα είναι ικανό να το κάνει από μόνο του.» (Βυγκότσκι, 2008: 195). Μεταφέροντας το πνεύμα της θεωρίας του Βυγκότσκι στη δική μας πράξη για την καλλιέργεια της φαντασίας, επιδιώκουμε δια του λόγου να ενισχύσουμε τα παιδιά στην κατάκτηση κάποιων εργαλείων που δεν έχουν πρωτύτερα, όπως το λογοπαίγνιο, ώστε στη συνέχεια κάνοντας χρήση του να μπορούν να φτάσουν σταδιακά στη δημιουργία μιας δικής τους μοναδικής ιστορίας.

Η καλλιέργεια του λόγου καθαυτόν, σε επίπεδο γραμματισμού, διαπερνά το σύνολο των δραστηριοτήτων μας καθώς τα παιδιά, με τη συμμετοχή τους σε αυτές, εμπλέκονται σε αυθεντικές επικοινωνιακές συνθήκες, εντός των οποίων έρχονται σε επαφή με ποικίλα είδη και διάφορους τύπους κειμένων (Κωστούλη, 2011). Παράλληλα ενισχύονται να χρησιμοποιούν το λόγο, στην κατεύθυνση μιας αντισεξιστικής χροιάς, ακολουθώντας κοινώς συμφωνημένους κανόνες, αλλά και να παράγουν δικά τους πρωτότυπα πολυτροπικά κείμενα. Ενώ στις περιπτώσεις που γίνεται χρήση κειμένων, πρόκειται πάντοτε για αυθεντικά υλικά, η πλαισίωση των οποίων αποτελεί αναπόσπαστη διαδικασία των δράσεων.





Ο Freire θεωρεί το γραμματισμό πολιτικό ζήτημα, προσδίδει σε αυτόν μια απελευθερωτική διάσταση αφού η κατάκτησή του οδηγεί τα υποκείμενα στην κριτική συνειδητοποίηση και αυτοσυνειδητοποίησή τους, με σκοπό την χειραφέτηση (Φρέιρε, 1977). Αντίστοιχα, ο Kretovics, (1985), περιγράφει τον κριτικό γραμματισμό ως αναπόσπαστο κομμάτι της κριτικής παιδαγωγικής και σε αυτήν την περίπτωση όπως υποστηρίζει δεν παρέχονται στους μαθητευόμενους και τις μαθητευόμενες, επιμέρους λειτουργικές δεξιότητες άλλα όλα τα απαραίτητα εργαλεία που θα τους/τις καταστήσουν ικανούς/νές να κρίνουν και ταυτόχρονα να συμμετέχουν στο κοινωνικό γίνεσθαι με τις ανισότητες και τις αδικίες που το χαρακτηρίζουν. Υπό το πρίσμα μιας κριτικά λειτουργικής προσέγγισης του γραμματισμού, αυτή του Baynham «Ο γραμματισμός αναφέρεται στην ακρόαση, στην ομιλία, στην ανάγνωση, στη γραφή και στην κριτική σκέψη· περιλαμβάνει επίσης τον αριθμητισμό. Περιλαμβάνει την πολιτισμική γνώση η οποία καθιστά ικανό έναν ομιλητή, συγγραφέα ή αναγνώστη να αναγνωρίζει και να χρησιμοποιεί την κατάλληλη γλώσσα σε διαφορετικές κοινωνικές περιστάσεις» (Baynham (2000: 21). Ακόμη «[...] ο γραμματισμός είναι ιδεολογικός- όπως όλες οι χρήσεις τις γλώσσας, δεν είναι ουδέτερος, αλλά διαμορφώνει και διαμορφώνεται από βαθιά εδραιωμένες ιδεολογικές θέσεις, οι οποίες μπορεί να είναι είτε ρητές είτε υπόρρητες ο γραμματισμός θα πρέπει να γίνεται νοητός με όρους κοινωνικής ισχύος» και «[...] μπορεί να είναι κριτικός» (Baynham, 2000: 22-23).

Στη δική μας εργασία, στην προσχολική ηλικία, η προσέγγιση των παραπάνω θέσεων πραγματοποιείται με τη χρήση πολυτροπικών υλικών και μέσων η αξιοποίηση των οποίων στοχεύει στον οπτικό γραμματισμό των παιδιών. Αυτό συμβαίνει καθώς η παρουσία μας εντός των σχολικών τάξεων είναι εμβόλιμη και σε καμία περίπτωση δεν θα μπορούσε να πραγματωθεί μια συστημική καλλιέργεια του γραμματισμού καθαυτόν, ο οποίος στις ηλικίες αυτές είναι περιορισμένος στο επίπεδο του γραπτού λόγου. Έτσι, προωθούμε την παραγωγή προφορικών κειμένων, η οποία θεωρείται καλύτερη, για αυτές τις ηλικίες, «από τη σύνθεση γραπτών κειμένων» (Αϊδίνη, 2012, :93), η αποτύπωση των κειμένων αυτών από τα παιδιά πραγματοποιείται με την σύνθεση εικόνων, σχεδίων κοκ. ενώ όποια έχουν τη δυνατότητα χρησιμοποιούν και γραπτό λόγο. Δεν θεωρούμε την οπτική αναπαράσταση ως υποδεέστερη της γραπτής, χωρίς να υποστηρίζουμε πως είναι αρκετή, σίγουρα όμως αποτελεί μια οικεία διαδικασία για τα παιδιά των μικρότερων ηλικιών. Επίσης, όπως υπογραμμίζουν οι Kress και van Leeuwen από την πλευρά της κοινωνικής σημειωτικής, αντιμετωπίζουν την απεικόνιση [...] ως μια διαδικασία, στην οποία αυτοί που δημιουργούν σημεία, είτε είναι παιδιά είτε ενήλικες, θέλουν να δημιουργήσουν μια απεικόνιση ενός αντικείμενου ή μια οντότητας, φυσικής ή σημειωτικής, και στην οποία το ενδιαφέρον τους για το αντικείμενο, τη στιγμή της δημιουργίας της απεικόνισης, είναι πολύπλοκο και προκύπτει από την πολιτισμική, κοινωνική και ψυχολογική ιστορία του δημιουργού του σημείου, και εστιάζεται από το συγκεκριμένο πλαίσιο στο οποίο ο δημιουργός παράγει το σημείο. (Kress και van Leeuwen, 2010:50). Να σημειώσουμε ακόμη ότι οι



εικόνες λόγω της πολυσημικότητας (Kress και van Leeuwen, 2010) που φέρουν επιδέχονται πολλαπλών ενεργητικών αναγνώσεων, ανάλογα με το υπόβαθρο και την πρότερη εμπειρία του κάθε παιδιού ξεχωριστά, με αποτέλεσμα όλοι και όλες να έχουν τη δυνατότητα ενεργής και ισότιμης συμμετοχής στην ανάγνωση και στην παραγωγή τους, γεγονός που αποτελεί ζητούμενο των δράσεών μας.

### **Τα Εικαστικά στο ΑΠΣ-ΔΕΠΠΣ του νηπιαγωγείου – παρουσίαση και κριτική εξέταση**

Όπως αναφέρθηκε και πρωτίτερα στην εργασία, τα προγράμματα των Εικαστικών στο πλαίσιο του ΔΕΠΠΣ- ΑΠΣ του Νηπιαγωγείου (2003) εντάσσονται στον ευρύτερο τομέα «Παιδί και δημιουργία – έκφραση», όπου σχετικά με αυτά αναφέρει: «Στο Νηπιαγωγείο τα παιδιά με κατάλληλες δραστηριότητες διακρίνουν την ομορφιά στη φύση, στο περιβάλλον και στα έργα τέχνης με τα οποία έρχονται σε επαφή. Αναπτύσσουν ενδιαφέρον για την καλλιτεχνική δημιουργία καθώς και επιθυμία να συμμετέχουν σε καλλιτεχνικές δραστηριότητες. Παρατηρούν, πειραματίζονται με διαφορετικά υλικά και τεχνικές, ερευνούν και χρησιμοποιούν τις εμπειρίες και τις ιδέες τους ως στοιχεία καλλιτεχνικής δημιουργίας και έκφρασης. Ανακαλύπτουν ότι η τέχνη είναι μέσο έκφρασης και επικοινωνίας μεταξύ των ανθρώπων. Χρησιμοποιούν την τέχνη σε συνδυασμό με άλλες δραστηριότητες του προγράμματος» (ΔΕΠΠΣ- ΑΠΣ Νηπιαγωγείου, 2003: 589-4).

Συναφής δε λογική διατρέχει και το ΔΕΠΠΣ-ΑΠΣ των εικαστικών του Δημοτικού (2003α), όπου ιδιαίτερα για τις τάξεις Α' και Β' διατηρούνται όμοιοι στόχοι και άξονες με αυτούς του νηπιαγωγείου (ΔΕΠΠΣ-ΑΠΣ Δημοτικού, 2003α: 97).

Διαπιστώνουμε έτσι, πως η έμφαση δίνεται στη δημιουργική διαδικασία, καθώς τα παιδιά αναμένεται να εμπλακούν στα κυρίαρχα στάδια της καλλιτεχνικής δημιουργίας (παρατήρηση – πειραματισμός – παραγωγή) και στην κατανόηση των εκφραστικών δυνατοτήτων των εικαστικών. Με άλλα λόγια, η διδασκαλία των Εικαστικών είναι, φαινομενικά τουλάχιστον, προσανατολισμένη σε μια λογική, σύμφωνα με την οποία αυτά αποτελούν ένα είδος «εκφραστικής γλώσσας», που τα παιδιά θα διερευνήσουν και θα κατακτήσουν μέσω συστηματικής διδασκαλίας. Εστιάζοντας ωστόσο στις ικανότητες που τα παιδιά αναμένεται να αναπτύξουν (ΥΠΕΠΘ, 2003β: 608-609), διαπιστώνουμε πως η προσέγγιση που ακολουθείται για την κατάκτηση αυτής της εκφραστικής γλώσσας διακατέχεται σε σημαντικό βαθμό από μια φορμαλιστική και «ρηχή», θα λέγαμε, λογική. Σύμφωνα με αυτή, τα παιδιά μπορούν να χρησιμοποιήσουν τα εικαστικά με στόχο την έκφραση και την επικοινωνία, εφόσον εισαχθούν στα μορφολογικά στοιχεία τους (αναφέροντας χαρακτηριστικά μόνο τη γραμμή, το σχήμα, και το χρώμα) καθώς και σε μια σειρά από τεχνικές και υλικά. Χρειάζεται ωστόσο να αναρωτηθούμε, αν με τον τρόπο αυτό τα παιδιά κατακτούν πλήρως την εκφραστική αυτή γλώσσα, όταν παραλείπονται κρίσιμα στοιχεία της, όπως τα δομικά (τοποθέτηση, μέγεθος, αναλογίες, όγκος, φόρμα, χώρος, μοτίβο, ρυθμός, ένταση, επανάληψη, κίνηση, χρόνος) και τα νοηματικά (μηνύματα, συμβολισμοί, έννοιες, μεταφορές), ενώ παράλληλα δεν



γίνεται σαφής αναφορά στην ερμηνεία των καλλιτεχνικών έργων, στην κριτική προσέγγιση τους και στο να αναζητήσουν τα παιδιά σημασίες σε έργα άλλων ή και να αποδώσουν στα δικά τους. Επιπλέον, ο τρόπος με τον οποίο θα επιτευχθεί ο στόχος της κινητοποίησης της φαντασίας μοιάζει ασαφής. Από μόνες τους οι δραστηριότητες δημιουργίας και έκφρασης δεν οδηγούν νομοτελειακά σε αυτήν κατεύθυνση, αν δε συνδυαστούν με τη βαθιά εξέταση και κατανόηση της πραγματικότητας. Τέλος, διαπιστώνουμε πως αποδίδεται ιδιαίτερο βάρος στην ατομική έκφραση και ενώ γίνεται αναφορά στη συνεργασία και τη συν-δημιουργία, απουσιάζει μια σαφής αναφορά στην έννοια του διαλόγου.

### **Απελευθερωτική Κριτική παιδαγωγική, τέχνες και φαντασία**

Σκοπός της παιδαγωγικής του Freire είναι ο μετασχηματισμός της κοινωνίας και του πολιτισμού μέσω της κριτικής συνειδητοποίησης (Γρόλλιος & Γούναρη, 2016: 104). Έναντι της επικρατούσας τραπεζικής αντίληψης για την εκπαίδευση, αντιπροτείνει την προβληματίζουσα αγωγή (Κρίβας, 1999: 152), όπου εκπαιδευτικοί και μαθητές/-τριες, μέσα από διάλογο, αναστοχάζονται πάνω στην «πραγματικότητά» τους, φαντάζονται εναλλακτικές μορφές της και παρεμβαίνουν ενεργά, ώστε να τη μετασχηματίσουν (Γρόλλιος & Γούναρη, 2016: 106). Ο Freire δεν προτείνει μια συγκεκριμένη μέθοδο για την επίτευξη αυτού του σκοπού, θεωρεί πως ο/η εκπαιδευτικός, ως επιστήμων και οργανικός/-η διανοούμενος/-η, επιλέγει τους τρόπους με τον οποίους θα συν-οικοδομήσουν τη γνώση, θα οδηγήσουν και θα οδηγηθούν στην κριτική συνειδητοποίηση.

Στα πλαίσια μιας τέτοιας διαδικασίας οι τέχνες έχουν τη δυνατότητα να αρθρωσουν ένα είδος λόγου σημαντικά πιο βαθύ και κρίσιμο από τον πραγματιστικό λόγο. Χρησιμοποιώντας την μεταφορά, την αφηγηματικότητα, ακόμα και το ονειρικό στοιχείο ανοίγουν το δρόμο σε έναν πρωτότυπο και πιο ουσιαστικά δημιουργικό τρόπο ανάγνωσης και κατανόησης της πραγματικότητας (Newman, 2006: 275). Χαρακτηριστικό παράδειγμα αποτελεί το *Θέατρο του Καταπιεζόμενου*, στο πλαίσιο του οποίου η θεατρική «γλώσσα» βοηθά τους/τις καταπιεζόμενους/-ες να εκφραστούν και να ανακαλύψουν νέες έννοιες, μετατρέποντας το ρόλο τους από αυτόν του παθητικού θεατή, σε αυτόν του/της ενεργού ηθοποιού που μετασχηματίζει τη δραματική πράξη (Boal, 1979: 22). Ο συνολικός τρόπος με τον οποίο εξετάζεται ο χειραφετικός ρόλος του Θεάτρου δεν συναντάται στα υπόλοιπα είδη τέχνης, ούτε και στα εικαστικά, εντούτοις μελετώντας τη βιβλιογραφία ριζοσπαστών κριτικών διανοούμενων, ερευνητών και παιδαγωγών, διαπιστώνουμε πως έχει αναπτυχθεί ένας διάλογος, που συνδέει τη χειραφέτηση, τις τέχνες και τη φαντασία.

Ο ίδιος ο Freire αναφέρει πως: *«οι δάσκαλοι πρέπει να δώσουν δημιουργικά φτερά στη φαντασία τους, προφανώς με πειθαρχημένο τρόπο. Από την πρώτη μέρα στην τάξη πρέπει να δείξουν στους μαθητές τη σημασία της φαντασίας για τη ζωή (...) Μιλάω για τη φαντασία που είναι φυσικά ελεύθερη (...) Μια τέτοια φαντασία πρέπει να είναι παρούσα σε κάθε κίνηση του σώματός μας, στο χορό, στο ρυθμό,*



*στη ζωγραφική και στο γράψιμο. (...) Θα πρέπει να είναι μέρος της ομιλίας, παρούσα στη διήγηση και στην επαναδιήγηση ιστοριών που παράγονται μέσα στην κουλτούρα του μαθητή. Η φαντασία που μας οδηγεί στα εφικτά και ανέφικτα όνειρα είναι πάντοτε απαραίτητη» (Freire, 2006: 171).*

Στο απόσπασμα αυτό από την πέμπτη του επιστολή τίθεται με πολύ καθαρό τρόπο η ανάγκη αξιοποίησης της Τέχνης και της φαντασίας για την ανάπτυξη της κριτικής συνειδητοποίησης με στόχο την απελευθέρωση και τη χειραφέτηση. Ο Freire, όπως σημειώσαμε και σε προηγούμενο σημείο της παρούσας εργασίας, δεν αναφέρεται σε μια φαντασία αποσυνδεδεμένη από την κοινωνική πραγματικότητα, μα αντίθετα σε αυτήν που θεμελιώνεται στη βαθιά κατανόηση της και τον αναστοχασμό αναφορικά με αυτή, καθώς οι εναλλακτικές προοπτικές που αντιπροτείνονται απορρέουν από την κατανόηση των τρεχουσών συνθηκών.

Αντίστοιχες ιδέες συναντούμε στο έργο της Greene (1995), η οποία υποστηρίζει πως οι τέχνες είναι αυτές, που μπορούν να ενεργοποιήσουν τη φαντασία κατά τρόπο τέτοιο, ώστε το άτομο να βγει από την κατάσταση της παθητικότητας και της ουδετερότητας και να συνειδητοποιήσει τους πολλαπλούς τρόπους με τους οποίους οι κυρίαρχες κοινωνικές πρακτικές επιδρούν σε αυτό (σ. 16)

Σύμφωνα με τη Gilligan (1999), η φαντασία, όπως αυτή αναπτύσσεται διαμέσου της τέχνης, αποτελεί το μοναδικό εργαλείο του ανθρώπου για να δει τον κόσμο με μια άλλη ματιά, ενώ ταυτόχρονα ενδυναμώνει την ύπαρξή του. Η ίδια υπογραμμίζει ακόμα, πως η έλλειψη της φαντασίας επιτρέπει την ολοκληρωτική επικράτηση της κυρίαρχης ιδεολογίας, καθώς η τελευταία παρουσιάζεται ως μοναδική και αδιαμφισβήτητη επιλογή (Gilligan, 1999). Η θεώρηση αυτή αναδεικνύει ταυτόχρονα την πολιτική λειτουργία της Τέχνης. Καθετί πολιτικό ενέχει μια αισθητική διάσταση και αντίστοιχα, πολιτικές διαστάσεις ενυπάρχουν εντός της Αισθητικής (Mouffe, 2007). Οι καλλιτεχνικές πρακτικές μπορούν είτε να ταχθούν στην κατεύθυνση της ενίσχυσης και διατήρησης της ηγεμονίας, είτε να την αμφισβητήσουν και στόχος μιας «κριτικής τέχνης» είναι η ανάδειξη ακριβώς αυτών των στοιχείων που αποσιωπώνται (Mouffe, 2002).

### **Τα Εικαστικά στην προσέγγιση του Reggio Emilia**

Η προσέγγιση που παιδαγωγοί και κάτοικοι της ιταλικής πόλης Reggio Emilia συνοικοδόμησαν για την Προσχολική Αγωγή και που πλέον δοκιμάζεται και στα πλαίσια της Δημοτικής Εκπαίδευσης, παρουσιάζει μια σειρά από καινοτομίες που από τις αρχές της δεκαετίας τους 1990 έλκουν το ενδιαφέρον της παιδαγωγικής κοινότητας. Η προσέγγιση του Reggio Emilia διακρίνεται από τη σταθερή επιδίωξη σύνδεσης του δικτύου των δημοτικών παιδικών σταθμών που δημιουργήθηκαν και της διδασκαλίας – μάθησης με τα πολιτικά – ιστορικά - κοινωνικά ζητήματα και με τις διεκδικήσεις των κοινωνικών κινημάτων. Προτάσσει ένα σχολείο σε ώσμωση και δυναμική επικοινωνία με την κοινότητα, υπογραμμίζοντας τον πολιτικό, κοινωνικό και πολιτισμικό του ρόλο (Dahlberg et.al., 1999: 145).



Στην παρούσα εργασία επιδιώκουμε να αναδείξουμε τον κεντρικό ρόλο που αποδίδει στην αισθητική, ως κρίσιμη όψη της ανθρώπινης δραστηριότητας και κατ' επέκταση της εκπαίδευσης και της μάθησης (Vecchi, 2010: 8). Οι εικαστικές δραστηριότητες δεν περιορίζονται στο να εξυπηρετήσουν τη στοχοθεσία ενός διδακτικού αντικειμένου, μα υποστηρίζουν τις προσπάθειες των μαθητών και των μαθητριών να κατανοήσουν τον κόσμο γύρω τους και να νοηματοδοτήσουν τις εμπειρίες και τις ενέργειες τους (ό.π.: 10). Στα πλαίσια αυτής της αντίληψης οργανώνεται σε κάθε κέντρο αγωγής και φροντίδας βρεφών και νηπίων ένα κεντρικό atelier, ενώ τα τελευταία χρόνια mini-atelier έχουν εισαχθεί και σε κάθε τάξη ξεχωριστά. Πρόκειται για ειδικά οργανωμένους χώρους, προσανατολισμένους στην ανάπτυξη της φαντασίας, της δημιουργικότητας, της έκφρασης και της αισθητικής μέσα από την ομαδική εργασία στα πλαίσια project που εμπλέκουν ταυτόχρονα παιδιά, παιδαγωγούς και μέλη της κοινότητας (Cooper, 2012: 298). Στόχος του ατελιέ είναι τα παιδιά, μέσα από σκόπιμο πειραματισμό και παρατήρηση, να γνωρίσουν και να κατανοήσουν τις φυσικές και εκφραστικές ιδιότητες των υλικών, ώστε να τα χρησιμοποιήσουν σκόπιμα και συνειδητά για να παράγουν τα δικά τους πρωτότυπα και αυθεντικά έργα και να ερμηνεύσουν κριτικά τα έργα των άλλων. Υπεύθυνοι/-νες της οργάνωσης και της λειτουργίας του atelier είναι ειδικοί/-κές από τον χώρο των εικαστικών τεχνών (atelieristi/-e). Σε διάλογο με τους/τις παιδαγωγούς συμμετέχουν στην υλοποίηση των project και μέσα από μια διαδικασία παρατήρησης, και κριτικού αναστοχασμού (ατομικού και συλλογικού) εισάγουν νέα υλικά και διδάσκουν τεχνικές εντάσσοντάς τες στη ΖΕΑ, όπως την περιγράφει ο Vygotsky.

Το ζήτημα των υλικών, των μέσων και των εργαλείων που χρησιμοποιούνται στα atelier έχει ιδιαίτερη σημασία, δεδομένου ότι αυτά καλούνται να υποστηρίξουν πολλαπλές διαδικασίες. Επιλέγοντας τα υλικά που θα χρησιμοποιηθούν στην εκάστοτε δραστηριότητα σκιαγραφείται αδρά ο «χώρος» εκείνος, εντός του οποίου θα εκφραστούν οι ιδέες των παιδιών, οι επιλογές και οι στόχοι τους (Eisner, 2002: 79-81). Η επιλογή τους, όπως σημειώθηκε παραπάνω, προκύπτει μέσα από μια διαλογική διαδικασία, και αφού σχηματιστούν υποθέσεις αναφορικά με την επίδραση που αυτά μπορεί να έχουν στην πορεία ενός project, καθώς και στο τι είδους ιδέες και σχέσεις μπορούν να υποστηρίξουν. Μέσα από την παρατήρηση των υλικών και τον πειραματισμό με αυτά, τα παιδιά γνωρίζουν τις διαφορετικές τους ιδιότητες, οι οποίες με τη σειρά τους, όταν συνδυαστούν με την προηγούμενη γνώση και εμπειρία των παιδιών, εμπνέουν πολυάριθμες ιδέες και αναδεικνύουν διαφορετικές υποδηλώσεις. Χαρακτηριστικά των υλικών, όπως το χρώμα, η γεύση, η οσμή, το σχήμα ή η φόρμα, το μέγεθος, το βάρος, η υφή, η σύσταση, η δομή, η θερμότητα/ψυχρότητα, η φωτοδιαπερατότητα, η σταθερότητα, η ελαστικότητα, ο βαθμός σκληρότητας, η δυνατότητα να διατηρούν ή όχι τις μεταβολές που πραγματοποιούνται σε αυτό, ο βαθμός διατήρησης της κινητικής τους κατάστασης, η μουσικότητα ή δυνατότητα αντανάκλασης του φωτός κ.ο.κ. (Collaet.al., 2004: 19; Schofield, 1995: 35) δεν αποτελούν απλά αφορμή για αισθητηριακή καλλιέργεια και





εμπειρία. Είναι αυτά που με τον έντονα συμβολικό τους ρόλο εκκινούν την ανάκληση προηγούμενης γνώσης ή/και συναισθημάτων, ενεργοποιώντας έτσι τη φαντασία. Η μεγάλη πρόκληση άλλωστε για τις/τους atelieriste/-i είναι τα παιδιά να καταφέρουν, αφού εντοπίσουν πρώτα τα χαρακτηριστικά και τις ιδιότητες των υλικών, να τα επαναπροσεγγίσουν μέσα από μια άλλη ματιά. Να δουν πέρα και πίσω από τις γνωστικές πληροφορίες, να ξεπεράσουν τις έννοιες που φέρουν τα αντικείμενα και να τα επανοηματοδοτήσουν (Trancossi&Chieli, 2004: 56). Η επιλογή των εργαλείων συναρτάται με αυτή των υλικών, καθώς διευκολύνουν τη χρήση τους, ενώ επιπλέον ενισχύουν τη βαθύτερη κατανόηση και ανάδειξη των ιδιοτήτων τους.

### **Παραδείγματα από τις δράσεις μας σχετικά με τα Εικαστικά**

Οι εικαστικές δραστηριότητες που σχεδιάζουμε περιλαμβάνουν το σχέδιο, τη ζωγραφική, τη δημιουργία δισδιάστατων και τρισδιάστατων συνθέσεων και τις κατασκευές, ενώ συνδυάζουν την αισθητηριακή ενεργοποίηση, την κίνηση και το λόγο. Το καθένα από αυτά τα καλλιτεχνικά είδη, εκφραστικές «γλώσσες» όπως θα περιγράφονταν σύμφωνα με την προσέγγιση του Reggio Emilia, παρέχει στα παιδιά ένα εντελώς διαφορετικό πλαίσιο παρατήρησης, στοχασμού, δράσης και διαλόγου, καθώς και διαφορετικές δυνατότητες έκφρασης. Κατά το σχεδιασμό και την οργάνωση επιλέγουμε το θέμα, τα εργαλεία και τα υλικά που θα παρέχουμε στη δράση και ορίζουμε το στόχο της. Το τελικό εικαστικό αποτέλεσμα παραμένει ωστόσο ανοιχτό, καθώς αυτό επιθυμούμε να οριστεί από την ίδια την ομάδα στα πλαίσια της δράσης και μέσα από μια διαλογική διαδικασία.

Το πρώτο στάδιο των δράσεων μας έχει κυρίως διαγνωστικό χαρακτήρα και σχετίζεται με τη συνθήκη της ομάδας, δεδομένου ότι οι δράσεις μας δεν πραγματοποιούνται σε ένα σταθερό πλαίσιο. Επομένως, τα υποκείμενα της δράσης ενδέχεται να μη γνωρίζονται καθόλου μεταξύ τους, μερικά εξ αυτών να έχουν μια κάποια πρότερη σχέση ή και ακόμα, στις περιπτώσεις που οι δράσεις πραγματοποιούνται σε σχολεία, να αποτελούν ήδη μια ομάδα, με την οποία καλούμαστε εμβόλιμα να εργαστούμε. Απαιτείται επομένως να ανιχνεύσουμε και να αποσαφηνίσουμε τις σχέσεις των υποκειμένων, να διαγνώσουμε τα ενδιαφέροντα, τις εμπειρίες και την υπάρχουσα γνώση σε ατομικό επίπεδο και έπειτα, είτε να ενισχύσουμε τη δημιουργία μιας προσωρινής ομάδας, είτε να διαγνώσουμε τη δυναμική της ήδη υπάρχουσας. Για το σκοπό αυτό χρησιμοποιούμε παιχνίδια γνωριμίας αξιοποιώντας το λόγο και τις προσωπικές αφηγήσεις. Παράλληλα επιδιώκουμε να εισάγουμε στοιχεία των εικαστικών, όπως για παράδειγμα το χρώμα, τα οποία χρησιμοποιούμε για να ανακαλέσουμε την υπάρχουσα γνώση κι εμπειρία, να τα συνδέσουμε με τα συναισθήματα και να ενεργοποιήσουμε αναμνήσεις. Η διαδικασία αυτή εκκινά ένα διάλογο, τόσο μεταξύ των μελών της ομάδας, όσο και μεταξύ των υποκειμένων και των εικαστικών στοιχείων, ενώ παράλληλα βοηθά στην ανάδειξη της εκφραστικής λειτουργίας των τελευταίων.





Εισάγοντας τα υλικά ξεκινά ο πειραματισμός με αυτά, αρχικά σε ατομικό επίπεδο. Ενισχύουμε τα παιδιά να χρησιμοποιήσουν το σύνολο των αισθήσεων τους σε αυτή τη διαδικασία. Κρίνουμε σκόπιμο στο σημείο αυτό να διευκρινίσουμε πως, ο πειραματισμός στον οποίο αναφερόμαστε δεν αποτελεί αυτοσκοπό, μα μια διαδικασία σκόπιμη, στα πλαίσια της οποίας τα παιδιά συνειδητά αναζητούν μια σειρά από ιδιότητες και χαρακτηριστικά, ώστε να τα αξιοποιήσουν σε επόμενο στάδιο. Παρατηρώντας τα υλικά κι ενώ τα επεξεργάζονται, τόσο ως προς τις ιδιότητές τους, όσο και ως προς τις μεταξύ τους σχέσεις, τα παιδιά αρχίζουν να ανακοινώνουν τις πρώτες ατομικές σκέψεις και ιδέες τους, οι οποίες εντός της ομάδας ανταλλάσσονται, γίνονται αντικείμενο διαπραγμάτευσης και τροποποιούνται επιτρέποντας έτσι τη συν-διαμόρφωση και τη συν-οικοδόμηση. Παράλληλα, στη φάση αυτή αρχίζουν να δημιουργούνται οι πρώτες υποθέσεις, αρχικά σενάρια δράσης, ένα πρώτο νήμα πλοκής απαραίτητο για τη δημιουργία ενός αυθεντικού και πρωτότυπου έργου, καθώς τα υλικά επενδύονται με νοήματα. Οι ιδιότητες του υλικού, η θέση τους στο χώρο σε σχέση με τα υπόλοιπα μέλη της ομάδας και τα υπόλοιπα αντικείμενα δημιουργούν πολλαπλά πλαίσια διαλόγου και διαφορετικές δυνατότητες δράσης. Αυτός είναι και ο λόγος που επιλέγουμε ανοιχτά υλικά, ώστε να μην εγκλωβίζουν τη φαντασία των παιδιών σε στερεοτυπικές σκέψεις, όπως και καθημερινό, φυσικό ή το λεγόμενο «άχρηστο» υλικό, για τα οποία η προηγούμενη γνώση διευκολύνει την «αποξένιση», ενώ ταυτόχρονα επιδιώκουμε να περάσουμε το μήνυμα πως η υπέρβαση της πραγματικότητας όπως την ξέρουμε, μπορεί να αποτελέσει αντίστοιχα στοιχείο της καθημερινής ζωής. Στο σημείο αυτό χρειάζεται να σταθούμε στην ανάγκη για οριοθέτηση της ποσότητας του υλικού. Ενώ η επάρκειά του για πειραματισμούς και δοκιμές πρέπει να είναι δεδομένη, η υπερ-προσφορά του ενέχει τον κίνδυνο περιορισμού της δραστηριότητας σε μια ημιτελή διαδικασία, που θα περιοριστεί στον πειραματισμό δίχως να τον υπερβεί και να καταλήξει στη συν-οικοδόμηση ενός τελικού νοηματοδοτημένου προϊόντος, πρωτότυπου και αυθεντικού. Επιπλέον, περιορίζοντας τον αριθμό των υλικών και των εργαλείων ωθούμε υπόρητα τα παιδιά στη συνεργασία και σε ομαδοσυνεργατικές πρακτικές, όπως το να μοιράζομαι, να συνεργάζομαι και να περιμένω υπομονετικά. Σε ένα επόμενο στάδιο καλούμε τα παιδιά, αφού έχουν διατυπώσει διαπιστώσεις, υποθέσεις και ιδέες μέσα από τον προφορικό λόγο, να τις αποτυπώσουν και σχεδιαστικά. Δανειζόμαστε την ιδέα αυτή από τα ατελιέ του Reggio Emilia, όπου το σχέδιο χρησιμοποιείται ώστε να οι ιδέες να αποσαφηνιστούν και να αποκτήσουν μορφή, μέσα από αποφάσεις που τα παιδιά καλούνται να πάρουν. Έτσι οι ιδέες αποκτούν σχήμα και μέγεθος, μετατρέπονται σε εικόνα, αλλά και σε σύμβολο. Σχεδιάζοντας, τα παιδιά απεικονίζουν τα όσα γνωρίζουν ήδη, δίνουν λεκτικές εξηγήσεις, συζητούν με τα μέλη της ομάδας, εντοπίζουν κενά στη γνώση τους και άρα συμπληρώνουν ή/και τροποποιούν τα σχέδιά τους προσαρμόζοντας ταυτόχρονα τις θεωρίες τους. Το σχέδιο βεβαίως εξακολουθεί να είναι εξαιρετικά «ανεκτικό» σε υπερβάσεις, καθώς επιτρέπει τη δημιουργία σύνθετων σχημάτων και



απίθανων διατάξεων, που στην πραγματικότητα θα ήταν ίσως ανέφικτες, εφόσον υπόκειντο στους φυσικούς νόμους. Το αποτέλεσμα που θα προκύψει, αποτελεί οδηγό για δράση, το πλάνο για μια σύνθεση, όπου παρουσιάζονται αναλυτικά οι ιδέες μα και ο τρόπος σκέψης της ομάδας και των μελών της και αξιοποιείται ως σύμβουλος για την περαιτέρω πορεία της δράσης (Forman, 1994: 40).

Ακολουθεί η μετάβαση στη ζωγραφική, τη σύνθεση ή τις κατασκευές. Έχοντας σχηματοποιήσει νοερά, λεκτικά και σχεδιαστικά την ιδέα τους, τα παιδιά χρειάζεται να πάρουν συγκεκριμένες και τολμηρές αποφάσεις σύμφωνα με τις ιδιότητες των υλικών που έχουν στη διάθεσή τους και να επιλέξουν τα κατάλληλα εργαλεία κοπής, παρατήρησης, χρήσης υδροδιαλυτών χρωμάτων ή/και φωτισμού. Εστιάζουμε ιδιαίτερα στη σημασία του φωτός στις εικαστικές δραστηριότητες, είτε μέσω της χρήσης φακών και προβολέων, είτε κυρίως μέσω της χρήσης της φωτογράφεας καθώς υπηρετεί εξίσου δυο στόχους, αυτόν της παρατήρησης, μα και αυτόν της επαναπροσέγγισης. Στην πρώτη περίπτωση αναδεικνύονται λεπτομέρειες που βοηθούν τον εμπλουτισμό των γνωστικών δομών και τροφοδοτούν τη σκέψη και τη φαντασία, ατομικά και ομαδικά, ώστε να γίνουν συνθετότερες και πολυεπίπεδες. Στη δεύτερη περίπτωση, τα υλικά ιδωμένα μέσα από ένα νέο, φωτεινό πρίσμα αποκτούν διαφορετική όψη, φανερώνονται με διαφορετική ένταση και επομένως μπορούν να αποτελέσουν το όχημα για την υπέρβαση της πραγματικότητας. Στο στάδιο αυτό θα συνταιριάξουν σκόπιμα τα δομικά και μορφολογικά και νοηματικά στοιχεία των εικαστικών, για να φτάσουν τελικά στη συν-οικοδόμηση ενός αυθεντικού και πρωτότυπου έργου, το οποίο στηρίζεται στην πραγματικότητα, μα τελικώς την υπερβαίνει για να καλύψει τις πραγματικές ανάγκες της ομάδας.

Η πορεία των εικαστικών μας δράσεων σκιαγραφείται και μέσα στις σελίδες του παιδικού βιβλίου της ομάδας, με τίτλο «Κοίτα». Εκεί, παρουσιάζονται οι σκέψεις ενός παιδιού, δίχως να αποσαφηνίζεται το κοινωνικό του φύλο, από τη στιγμή που θα ξυπνήσει κι ως να φτάσει στο σχολείο του. Στη διάρκεια αυτή παρατηρεί τα χρώματα, τις γραμμές, τα σχήματα και τις φόρμες, καθώς και τις μεταξύ τους σχέσεις, πραγματοποιεί αλληγορίες και του γεννιούνται ερωτήματα. Πρόκειται πρακτικά για έναν οδηγό για την προσέγγιση του έργου τέχνης «Ένα πουλί που τραγουδάει σε ένα δέντρο στην πόλη» του F. Hundertwasser, με την ανάγνωση του βιβλίου να μην αποτελεί αυτοσκοπό, αλλά μάλλον αφετηρία για προσεκτική παρατήρηση, εξερεύνηση, αμφισβήτηση του ρεαλισμού, όπως αυτός φαίνεται και πρόκληση για την υπέρβασή του.

### Συμπεράσματα - Συζήτηση

Οι ασαφείς παροτρύνσεις του ΑΠΣ ΔΕΠΠΣ για αφύπνιση της περιέργειας και κινητοποίηση της φαντασίας, στα πλαίσια μιας νεοφιλελεύθερης αντίληψης για την εκπαίδευση συνολικά και ειδικότερα για την προσχολική αγωγή, δεν μπορούν παρά να παραμείνουν κενό γράμμα. Η συστηματική εκγύμναση της φαντασίας, όπως αυτή ορίστηκε και συζητήθηκε στο κυρίως σώμα της εργασίας και η ανάπτυξη των



χειραφετικών της διαστάσεων, μπορούν να επιτευχθούν μόνο ενταγμένες στο ευρύτερο πλαίσιο της απελευθερωτικής κριτικής παιδαγωγικής. Οι Γρόλλιος και Γούναρη (2016) αναφέρονται διεξοδικά στο πως η εκπαίδευση στο ελληνικό πλαίσιο μπορεί να συντελέσει στην επίτευξη του κοινωνικοπολιτικού σκοπού της απελευθερωτικής κριτικής παιδαγωγικής, προτείνοντας αλλαγές σε πέντε διαφορετικά επίπεδα (Γρόλλιος & Γούναρη, 2016: 178-286). Σε επίπεδο δομής προτείνεται το ενιαίο, δημόσιο και δωρεάν σχολείο, στο οποίο συμπεριλαμβάνεται και η προσχολική αγωγή, με πλήρη κάλυψη των αναγκών του σε υποδομές, μέσα και διδακτικό προσωπικό. Επιπλέον, υπογραμμίζεται η ανάγκη στροφής της εκπαίδευσης σε ουσιαστικές συνεργατικές πρακτικές, στις οποίες θα ενυπάρχει και μια ηθική διάσταση για την καλλιέργεια αξιών, όπως η συντροφικότητα και η αλληλεγγύη. Η συνεργασία πρέπει να διαχέεται σε όλες τις σχέσεις των υποκειμένων της μάθησης, επαναπροσδιορίζοντας τη σχέση μαθητών/-τριών και εκπαιδευτικών, με τους τελευταίους να έχουν το ρόλο του οδηγητή. Τέλος, οι εμπειρίες, τα βιώματα και το πολιτισμικό κεφάλαιο των καταπιεζόμενων κοινωνικών τάξεων παρουσιάζονται ως πηγή άντλησης των θεμάτων διδασκαλίας. Στην κατεύθυνση αυτή κρίνουμε χρήσιμη την έναρξη ενός ευρύτερου διαλόγου μεταξύ των μελών της ακαδημαϊκής και εκπαιδευτικής κοινότητας, αναφορικά με το ποια χαρακτηριστικά και ποιες πρακτικές της προσέγγισης του Reggio Emilia θα μπορούσαν να συμβάλλουν στις παραπάνω αλλαγές και με ποιον τρόπο. Κρίνουμε, πως η εξέταση της προσέγγισης του Reggio Emilia έχει σημαντικά στοιχεία να προσθέσει στον ευρύτερο διάλογο αναφορικά με τον ρόλο της φαντασίας και της δημιουργικότητας στην εκπαίδευση. Η ανάδειξη της αισθητικής ως σημαντικό πυλώνα της μάθησης, η γνήσια ομαδοσυνεργατική εργασία, οι συνεργασίες και ο διάλογος μεταξύ παιδιών – εκπαιδευτικών με διαφορετικές ειδικότητες – γονέων και κοινότητας, και η σε βάθος κατανόηση του υλικού και των ιδιοτήτων του, με στόχο την αυθεντική και πρωτότυπη δημιουργία και έκφραση, αποτελούν στοιχεία, που κατά τη γνώμη μας, μπορούν να υπηρετήσουν την καλλιέργεια της φαντασίας με χειραφετικό πρόσημο. Κοινή διαπίστωση πραγματοποιεί και ο Rodari (1973) στην εισαγωγή της Γραμματικής της φαντασίας, την οποία αφιερώνει στην πόλη του Reggio Emilia μετά από τη συνεργασία του με τις/τους παιδαγωγούς των παιδικών σταθμών, συνοψίζοντας εύσχημα τη συμβολή της φαντασίας στη φράση: «Όχι γιατί όλοι είναι καλλιτέχνες, αλλά για να μην είναι κανένας σκλάβος» (Rodari, 1973: 6).

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## Η μετασχηματίζουσα μάθηση των ενηλίκων και η χειραφέτηση της καθημερινής συνείδησης μέσα από τα κοινωνικά κινήματα στην εποχή της κρίσης

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### Περίληψη

Στο πλαίσιο της εξελισσόμενης καπιταλιστικής κρίσης επιβλήθηκαν στη χώρα μας οι νεοφιλελεύθερες πολιτικές των μνημονίων και της επιτήρησης, οι οποίες όξυναν τις αντιθέσεις και την επιβολή των σχέσεων εξουσίας και πειθαναγκασμού των εργαζομένων συμβάλλοντας σε μία αξιοσημείωτη άνοδο των κοινωνικών κινήματων κατά την περίοδο 2009-15. Τα κινήματα αυτά εξέφρασαν τη δυσφορία και τις αντιστάσεις μίας διευρυμένης πλειοψηφίας των εργαζομένων και πολιτών. Στην παρούσα μελέτη διερευνούμε την επίδρασή τους στην άτυπη και συλλογική μορφή μάθησης που οι ενήλικοι, είτε συμμετέχουν άμεσα και ενεργά, είτε έμμεσα, είτε βρίσκονται εκτός αντλούν από αυτά. Συγκεκριμένα, μελετούμε αφενός, την επίδρασή τους στη δυνατότητα μετασχηματισμού του κομφορμιστικού χαρακτήρα της καθημερινής συνείδησης, μέσα στην κυρίαρχη κοινωνική πραγματικότητα και αφετέρου, στη διαμόρφωση μίας χειραφετημένης από την κυρίαρχη ιδεολογία συνείδησης που θα στοχεύει στην κοινωνική αλλαγή. Η αμφισβήτηση των μνημονιακών πολιτικών δεν συνεπάγεται με νομοτελειακό τρόπο και τη συνειδητοποίηση και κοινωνική χειραφέτηση των συμμετεχόντων στα κινήματα που τους εναντιώνονται. Ωστόσο, η κρίση ανατρέπει τα όρια της λειτουργικής αποτελεσματικότητας και συμβιβασμού της καθημερινής συνείδησης εγείροντας αποπροσανατολιστικά διλήμματα και συγκρούσεις που αιτούν διεργασίες επαναθεώρησης. Οι διεργασίες αυτές δημιουργούν τις προϋποθέσεις για μία μετασχηματίζουσα μάθηση που ενδέχεται να οδηγήσει σε μία ενεργητική εμπλοκή και συνειδητή επιδίωξη για την αλλαγή της κοινωνικής πραγματικότητας.

### Λέξεις κλειδιά:

Μετασχηματίζουσα μάθηση, χειραφέτηση, καθημερινή συνείδηση, κοινωνικά κινήματα, κοινωνικός μετασχηματισμός

### Εισαγωγή

Στο πλαίσιο της εξελισσόμενης, με πλανητικές διαστάσεις, οικονομικής κρίσης «τα αισιόδοξα απολογητικά ιδεολογήματα της κεφαλαιοκρατίας παραχωρούν τη θέση τους σε ένα λόγο αποκάλυπτα αυταρχικό και απαισιόδοξο...[ο οποίος] επισείει όλο και πιο συχνά ως εσχατολογικό επιχείρημα το μοιραίο «There is no alternative» (TINA) της Margaret Thatcher (Πατέλης, 2011:18). Η κρίση που επιφέρει η νεοφιλελεύθερη ατζέντα και οι ασκούμενες πολιτικές της δημιουργούν βαθιές ρωγμές, που σε συνδυασμό με την απουσία μίας θετικής και ελκυστικής προοπτικής, οδηγούν σε μία γενικευμένη θλίψη, καθώς πέρα από τα ήδη εξαθλιωμένα φτωχά στρώματα, ολοένα με μεγαλύτερα μικρομεσαία και μεσαία στρώματα περιθωριοποιούνται και φτωχοποιούνται. Επιπλέον, η όλο και



περισσότερο διογκούμενη ανεργία και η επικράτηση της επισφαλούς εργασίας στερούν την ελπίδα, ιδιαίτερα στις νεότερες γενιές δημιουργώντας την αίσθηση για πολύ κόσμο ότι ζούμε σε «σκοτεινούς καιρούς» (Hill et al. 2016; Mayo et al., 2013: 680).

Παράλληλα, συχνά, ίσως και αναπόφευκτα, αλλά όχι πάντα, τα άτομα τα οποία υφίστανται την άσκηση της εξουσίας, όπως ισχυρίζεται ο Foucault (1982), περιέρχονται σε μία αγωνιστική κατάσταση διακατεχόμενα από μία διάθεση μόνιμης πρόκλησης και μία ετοιμότητα για αντίσταση. Την αγωνιστική αυτή διάθεση τη διαπιστώνουμε με τη συλλογική οργάνωση και την αντίσταση των ατόμων μέσα από την ανάπτυξη μεγάλου εύρους και τύπων κοινωνικών κινήματων, ως μία προσπάθεια υπέρβασης της απελπισίας και της συναισθηματικής αδράνειας, και κυρίως ως αναγκαιότητα για πάλη «...που θα αλλάξει έναν κόσμο που δεν μας αρέσει, ακόμη και αν δεν έχουμε τη συνταγή γι' αυτό» (Mayo, & al., 2013:680).

Πράγματι, η οξύτητα της καπιταλιστικής κρίσης πυροδότησε παγκοσμίως τη δημιουργία μία σειράς κοινωνικών κινήματων. Στη χώρα μας, ιδιαίτερα μετά την υπαγωγή μας στους μηχανισμούς των μνημονίων και της επιτήρησης, εκδηλώθηκαν πολύ νωρίς τα σημάδια της δημόσιας ανησυχίας και διαμαρτυρίας ως απάντηση στις πολιτικές αυτές, αλλά και ως αμφισβήτηση του ΤΙΝΑ, μέσα από ποικίλα κινήματα (εργατικά με μαζικές απεργιακές εκδηλώσεις, κίνημα των πλατειών, κινήματα δεν πληρώνω, εκπαιδευτικό κίνημα, κλπ). Τα κινήματα αυτά είχαν μία αξιοσημείωτη άνοδο, μαζικότητα και ορμή κατά την περίοδο 2009-15, καθώς εξέφρασαν τη δυσφορία και τις αντιστάσεις μίας διευρυμένης πλειοψηφίας εργαζομένων και πολιτών, αν και τα τελευταία δύο χρόνια έχουν καθιζάνει δραματικά.

Είναι γεγονός, ότι οι άνθρωποι μαθαίνουν καθημερινά είτε τυπικά μέσα από οργανωμένες εκπαιδευτικές δραστηριότητες και προγράμματα που προσφέρονται από μία ποικιλία θεσμών και οργανώσεων και έχουν κάποια μορφή επίσημης ή τυπικής αναγνώρισης, είτε μη-τυπικά από ημι-δομημένες μαθησιακές δραστηριότητες που λαμβάνουν χώρα σε εργαστήρια, σεμινάρια, εκδηλώσεις και δραστηριότητες κατάρτισης, είτε άτυπα μέσω της αλληλεπίδρασής τους με ανθρώπους και καταστάσεις στις οποίες εμπλέκονται στην καθημερινότητά τους και σε ποικίλα πλαίσια και μορφές δραστηριοτήτων αυτομόρφωσης, εκτός εκπαιδευτικών θεσμών, με τρόπο αυθόρμητο, μη οργανωμένο και ασχεδίαστο (Sumner 2013;Rogers 2002). Σε αυτές ακριβώς τις καθημερινές δραστηριότητες σκιαγραφείται η άτυπη μάθηση που λαμβάνει χώρα στις δραστηριότητες των κοινωνικών κινήματων, καθώς και η δυνατότητα να διευκολυνθεί η απόκτηση εμπειριών που θα άρουν την αποξένωση μέσω της συλλογικής δράσης. Γιατί ακριβώς μέσα από αυτές τις εμπειρίες και δραστηριότητες ανακύπτουν σημαντικές ευκαιρίες για μία μετασχηματίζουσα μάθηση, που θα χειραφετεί την καθημερινή συνείδηση και θα ωθεί σε δράση για την κοινωνική αλλαγή (Sawan, 2013:545; Brookfield, 2002).



Στην παρούσα μελέτη διερευνούμε την επίδραση των κοινωνικών κινημάτων στη μάθηση των ενηλίκων είτε δραστηριοποιούνται σε αυτά άμεσα, είτε έμμεσα, είτε ακόμη και αν βρίσκονται εκτός κινημάτων, αλλά δέχονται τις επιδράσεις τους, αφενός, στη δυνατότητα μετασχηματισμού του κομφορμιστικού χαρακτήρα της καθημερινής, μέσα στην κυρίαρχη, υπό την παρούσα συγκυρία, κοινωνική πραγματικότητα και αφετέρου, στη διαμόρφωση μίας χειραφετημένης από την κυρίαρχη ιδεολογία συνείδησης που θα στοχεύει στην κοινωνική αλλαγή.

### Κοινός νους και καθημερινή συνείδηση

Η «κοινή λογική» ή «κοινός νους», όρος που εισήγαγε ο Γκράμσι (1971), είναι πάντα, ακόμη και άρρητα, υπαγορευόμενη από μία άποψη για τον κόσμο. Εμπεριέχει την πρακτική σοφία του κοινού νου που εφαρμόζεται σε ένα καθημερινό πλαίσιο, με τις παραδοχές που την υπαγορεύουν και το περιεχόμενό της προσδιορίζεται ταξικά. Επομένως, οι διαφορετικές κοινωνικές τάξεις έχουν και διαφορετικές κοινές λογικές (Winch & Gingell, 1999:107). Έτσι, οι αποφάσεις που απορρέουν από αυτήν είναι η υποκειμενική έκφραση ενός είδους υπαγορευμένης δημόσιας γνώμης. Ή αλλιώς, η κοινή λογική είναι ένα θεωρητικό πλαίσιο παραδοχών, ή στερεότυπων, ή ιδεολογιών που βοηθά να λαμβάνονται αποφάσεις για άμεση επίλυση συγκρουόμενων απαιτήσεων, αλλά, όσο πιο μακριά εκτείνεται η αναζήτησή μας για θεμελιακές ή περιεκτικές αρχές, τόσο πιο θεωρητικά γίνονται τα συμπεράσματά μας (Elias & Merriam, 2005:5; Pring, 2004:145).

Συναφής και αδιαφοροποίητος ως προς το περιεχόμενο, τα χαρακτηριστικά και τη μορφή, με τον όρο του Γκράμσι, είναι και ο όρος της καθημερινής συνείδησης, η οποία θα λέγαμε ότι υποστασιοποιεί την υποκειμενική πρόσληψη της κοινής λογικής (Μητσοπούλου, 1994). Με τον όρο καθημερινή συνείδηση εννοούμε την αυθόρμητη διαμόρφωση, με τρόπο τυχαίο, αποσπασματικό, μη συστηματικό των ατομικών ή μαζικών ιδεών ή αλλιώς των αντιλήψεων του κοινού νου, που αντανακλούν άμεσα ένα σύνολο καθημερινών καταστάσεων εκφράζοντας κυρίως τη φαινομενική, εμπειρική και συχνά ασυνείδητή τους πρόσληψη. Συνιστά ένα θεωρητικό πλαίσιο παραδοχών ή στερεότυπων ή ιδεολογιών, που αντλεί κατεξοχήν από την άμεση εμπειρία (καθημερινή πρακτική δραστηριότητα, διαπροσωπικές συναλλαγές και αλληλεπιδράσεις με άλλους ανθρώπους), ή έμμεση-συλλογική βιωματική εμπειρία (προφορικές ή γραπτές αφηγήσεις) ή/και τη συλλογική βιωματική εμπειρία του λαού (παροιμίες, γνωμικά, διάφορες μορφές του φολκλόρ), συχνά ανεπίγνωστων, δίχως τη διαμεσολάβηση κριτικού στοχασμού, με βάση το οποίο ο/η καθένας/μία περιβάλλει τις αποφάσεις του/της και διεξάγει τις πρακτικές του/της υποθέσεις (Brookfield, 2011; Παυλίδης, 2003α:94-5 & 2004; Elias & Pring, 2004; Merriam, 2005; Μητσοπούλου, 1994). Διαμορφώνεται μέσα από τις κυρίαρχες κοινωνικο-ταξικές σχέσεις και επομένως εκφράζει μία συναινετική στάση απέναντι τελικά στο κυρίαρχο κοινωνικοπολιτικό και οικονομικό σύστημα το οποίο στο βαθμό που δεν αμφισβητείται αναπαράγεται. Για αυτό οι ιδέες αυτές



αποτελούν το κύριο ρεύμα ιδεών και σκέψεων και συνιστούν μία μορφή μαζικής ιδεολογίας (Παυλίδης, 2003α; Μητσοπούλου, 1994).

Η καθημερινή συνείδηση διακατέχεται από μία πλαστικότητα καθώς ανανεώνεται, μεταβάλλεται και συμπληρώνεται με νέες πληροφορίες, που φέρουν νέες ιδέες, είτε επιστημονικές είτε φιλοσοφικές είτε δημοσιογραφικές που διέπουν την καθημερινότητα των ανθρώπων. Χαρακτηρίζεται από ένα αντικειμενοτρόπο ρεαλισμό και μία πραγματιστική αναγκαιότητα που θα διευκολύνει την αποτελεσματική λήψη και εφαρμογή αποφάσεων για τις πρακτικές μέριμνες της καθημερινής ζωής (Παυλίδης, 2003α: 95). Οι ιδέες της έχουν ένα ισχυρά επιβαλλόμενο συλλογικό και εμπειριστικό/πραγματιστικό χαρακτήρα που συχνά η ισχύς του έγκειται στην αυτόματη αναπαραγωγή της αυταπόδεικτης ιδιοσυστασίας του. Για παράδειγμα αρκεί κανείς να αναλογιστεί τη διάδοση της στρεβλής αντίληψης σχετικά με την καθιέρωση του χαρακτηρισμού των λεωφορείων με τη φυσούνα, ως «φυσαρμόνικες», ενώ καταφανώς η ομοιότητά τους με μουσικό όργανο αντιστοιχεί σε αυτό του ακορντεόν, για να κατανοήσει αυτόν τον αυτόματο, αναπαραγωγικό χαρακτήρα της.

Σ' αυτό τον εγκιβωτισμό της συνείδησης «μέσα στη 'βιοτική οικονομία της καθημερινότητας' έγκειται και η αιτία της γνωσιακής ανεπάρκειας του κοινού νου, ο οποίος συγκροτείτο περιεχόμενο της καθημερινής συνείδησης» στη βάση των πρακτικών του λειτουργιών, αδυνατώντας να διακρίνει τη συνάφεια μεταξύ αντιφατικών φαινομένων και διαδικασιών (Pavlidis, 2015: 4,12&Παυλίδης, 2003α: 95). Σ' αυτή την εμπειρική θεώρηση του κόσμου αυτό που γίνεται αντιληπτό είναι το μερικό, το εμφανές, η εξωτερική-φαινομενική πλευρά των πραγμάτων που προβάλλει ως δεδομένη και στατική, ενώ διαλανθάνει η συνάφεια, η ιστορικότητα και η ολότητα τους. Όσο, μάλιστα, περισσότερο λειτουργικές είναι οι αντιλήψεις του κοινού νου τόσο η καθημερινή συνείδηση «απολυτοποιείται, γενικεύεται και μετατρέπεται σε καθολικό πρότυπο θεώρησης των πραγμάτων, σε δόγμα» (Παυλίδης, 2003β:96).

Εύλογα, προκύπτει το ερώτημα τι, πότε, πού, γιατί και πώς...χειραφετείται η καθημερινή συνείδηση? Και πώς μπορεί να μετασχηματιστεί σε μία ενοποιημένη σκέψη και πράξη που θα γρηγορεί για την αναζήτηση ευκαιριών για αντιπαράθεση και αλλαγή των άδικων κοινωνικών συστημάτων και της κοινωνικής πραγματικότητας που τα στηρίζει? (Kincheloe&McLaren, 2005 Παυλίδης, 2003β:98).

### **Μετασχηματίζουσα μάθηση και χειραφέτηση της καθημερινής συνείδησης**

Σύμφωνα με τη θεωρία της «μετασχηματίζουσας μάθησης», που ανέπτυξε ο Jack Mezirow, ως μία συνισταμένη της φροϋδικής ψυχανάλυσης και της μαρξιστικής κοινωνικοπολιτικής χειραφέτησης, και ως μία θεωρία για την κοινωνική αλλαγή, καμιά ανάγκη δεν είναι πιο βαθιά ανθρώπινη από την ανάγκη να κατανοήσουμε το νόημα των εμπειριών μας (Mezirow, 1991). Υποστηρίζει, λοιπόν, ότι η μάθηση συνιστά μία διεργασία παραγωγής νοήματος (meaning making), κατά την οποία μία πρότερη εμπειρία αξιοποιείται, προκειμένου να δοθεί μία νέα ή μία αναθεωρημένη



ερμηνεία της που θα κατευθύνει στη συνέχεια τη μελλοντική κατανόηση, αξιολόγηση και δράση του ατόμου (Mezirow, 1996: 162). Η μετασχηματίζουσα μάθηση αναφέρεται στη διεργασία με την οποία μετασχηματίζουμε τον τρόπο νοηματοδότησης μας, δηλαδή τα δεδομένα πλαίσια αναφοράς μας: νοητικές συνήθειες, νοηματοδοτικές προοπτικές, νοητικά σύνολα. Μετασχηματίζουμε, επομένως, τον τρόπο που μάθαμε να ερμηνεύουμε τα πράγματα, το αντιληπτικό μας σύστημα, την προσωπική μας ιδεολογία, τους διάφορους τρόπους μάθησης, αλλά και τις νοητικές ή πρακτικές μας συνήθειες, και πολλές άλλες προδιαθέσεις, που μετατρέπονται σε νοηματικούς συσχετισμούς-απόψεις, όταν χρησιμοποιούνται για την ερμηνεία μιας δεδομένης κατάστασης ή/και τη λήψη απόφασης για το πέρασμα στη δράση. Δηλαδή, την καθημερινή μας συνείδηση (Mezirow & συν., 2007: 47; Mezirow & Ass., 1990: 1-2).

Ο μετασχηματισμός στα πλαίσια αναφοράς της καθημερινής συνείδησης συμβαίνει είτε όταν έχουμε ένα «ενεργοποιητικό συμβάν» (Cranton, 2002; Keen & Woods, 2016), ή ένα «αποπροσανατολιστικό δίλημμα» το οποίο πυροδοτείται από μία κρίση ή μία μεγάλη μετάβαση στη ζωή μας (Mezirow, 1998; Mälkki, 2012) είτε όταν βιώνουμε μία σειρά αντιφάσεων που παράγουν μία «κρίση», (Brookfield, 2009), είτε όταν γίνεται μία σειρά μικρών αλλαγών στα νοηματικά σχήματα που οδηγούν σε μία σημαντική αντίφαση μεταξύ νοηματικής συνήθειας και νοηματικής προοπτικής, και συνακόλουθα σε μία σύγκρουση που διαπερνά τις σχέσεις των ανθρώπων με την πραγματικότητα. Μία «κρίση» ανατρέπει τη βιοτική οικονομία της καθημερινότητας, στο βαθμό που η αυτοματοποιημένη, συνήθης πεποίθηση και η συνακόλουθή της δράση δεν αρκούν για να ρυθμίσουν αποτελεσματικά τις καθημερινές υποθέσεις. Η ανατροπή αυτή θέτει σε αμφισβήτηση τα όρια της λειτουργικής αποτελεσματικότητας και τη συμβιβαστική τάση της καθημερινής συνείδησης οδηγώντας την σε συγκρούσεις και εγείροντας αποπροσανατολιστικά δίλημματα που αιτούν διεργασίες επανα-θεώρησης (Mezirow & συν., 2007; Παυλίδης, 2003β).

Προϋπόθεση για την πραγματοποίηση της μετασχηματιστικής μάθησης είναι ο *κριτικός στοχασμός*, μέσω του οποίου αμφισβητούνται οι θεμελιακές μας παραδοχές, οι καθοδηγητικές μας αρχές, οι βάσεις του συλλογισμού μας. Ωστόσο, το γεγονός ότι στοχαζόμαστε δε συνεπάγεται ότι αξιολογούμε κιάλας αυτό το οποίο στοχαζόμαστε. Η αξιολόγηση είναι η ειδοποιός διαφορά μεταξύ στοχασμού και κριτικού στοχασμού. Αν και ο στοχασμός γενικότερα μπορεί να είναι αναπόσπαστο μέρος της διαδικασίας λήψης αποφάσεων για δράση και επιπρόσθετα να περιλαμβάνει και μια εκ των υστέρων κριτική της διεργασίας καθ' εαυτής, ο κριτικός στοχασμός δεν μπορεί να θεωρηθεί αναπόσπαστο στοιχείο της διαδικασίας άμεσης δράσης. Προϋποθέτει απαραίτητα ένα κενό, μία απόσταση μεταξύ απόφασης και δράσης, όπου θα επαναξιολογηθούν οι απόψεις και σε περίπτωση που θα κριθεί αναγκαίο θα αλλάξουν. Ο κριτικός στοχασμός συνιστά μία διαδικασία χειραφέτησης, που θα επιτρέψει να γίνουμε κριτικά ενήμεροι και δε σχετίζεται με το πώς να πράξουμε, αλλά με το γιατί, με τους λόγους και τις συνέπειες των





πράξεών μας (Gioti & Furlas, 2014; Brookfield, 2011 & 2009; Finger & Asún, 2001:57; Mezirow, 1998 & 1990). Να συλλάβουμε, επομένως, τους τρόπους με τους οποίους μπορούμε να στοχαστούμε κριτικά πάνω στο πώς βλέπουμε τα πράγματα, δηλαδή πάνω στις προοπτικές νοήματος -στη γραμματική- και όχι στις νοηματικές συνθήκες -στην επιφάνεια-, όπου το μεγαλύτερο μέρος της μάθησης δυστυχώς συμβαίνει (Colley&al., 2013:692; Κόκκος, 2007; Mezirow, 2003; Mezirow & Ass., 1995:131).

Οι ανατροπές των πλαισίων αναφοράς είτε στο μικρο-, είτε στο μέσο-, είτε στο μακρο-επίπεδο έχει ως αποτέλεσμα τα άτομα να βιώνουν μια κάποιου είδους μετασχηματιστική εμπειρία, η οποία αρχικά θα προσανατολίζεται στον ατομικό μετασχηματισμό των νοηματικών συσχετισμών-απόψεων και στη συνέχεια θα μετατοπίζεται στο μετασχηματισμό των κοινωνικών συσχετισμών-απόψεων. Η ανάληψη δράσης σε ατομικό επίπεδο, συχνά εμπεριέχει κάποια μορφή κοινωνικής δράσης, που σε ορισμένες περιπτώσεις σημαίνει συλλογική πολιτική δράση (Mezirow, 2003; Mezirow & Ass., & 1995:131). Οι μετασχηματιστικές διεργασίες παρέχουν, ταυτόχρονα, την ευκαιρία για μία ουσιαστική διείσδυση στην ουσία των φαινομένων, προκειμένου να επιτευχθεί η γνώση και η κατανόηση της κοινωνικής πραγματικότητας, γεγονός που ενδέχεται να οδηγήσει σε μία ενεργητική εμπλοκή και συνειδητή επιδίωξη για την αλλαγή της (Παυλίδης, 2003β: 100-1; Mezirow & Ass., 2000; Brookfield, 2005 & 2009).

Αν οι διεργασίες αυτές αποσκοπούν μόνο στην προσαρμογή του υποκειμένου στην κοινωνία κι όχι στο ριζικό της μετασχηματισμό, καθορίζεται από την κομβικής σπουδαιότητας κατάδειξη του ρόλου της κυρίαρχης ιδεολογίας, ως παράγοντα αποφασιστικής σημασίας, για τη βαθιά κατανόηση της χειραγώγησης, της αποπλάνησης και της συσκότισης της καθημερινής συνείδησης των ανθρώπων, προκειμένου να διατηρηθούν, να νομιμοποιηθούν και ν' αναπαραχθούν οι υφιστάμενες οικονομικές και κοινωνικές ανισότητες (Brookfield, 2005). Η κατάδειξη αυτού του ρόλου γίνεται όταν καλλιεργηθεί αυτό το είδος του κριτικού στοχασμού, όπως χαρακτηριστικά αναφέρουν οι Kincheloe & McLaren(2005) μία «εξελισσόμενη κριτικότητα», που θα προωθήσει την κατανόηση της σχέσης μεταξύ των κοινωνικών δομών και των ιδεολογικών και ηγεμονικών μοντέλων σκέψης που περιορίζουν την ανθρώπινη φαντασία και δράση.

Στην εποχή της διευρυμένης καπιταλιστικής κρίσης, η ανάδυση των κοινωνικών κινήματων συνθέτει ένα ζωτικό χώρο μάθησης για τους ενήλικες που, εξαιτίας της όξυνσης των συγκρούσεων και των μεταβολών που η κρίση επιφέρει στις σχέσεις των ανθρώπων με την πραγματικότητα, αποκτά δυνητικά προνομιακή συνθήκη για διεργασίες μετασχηματίζουσας μάθησης.

### **Το κοινωνικά κινήματα ως χώροι μάθησης των ενηλίκων**

Μεγάλο μέρος της βιβλιογραφίας για την εκπαίδευση ενηλίκων έχει ασχοληθεί τα τελευταία χρόνια με την εξέταση του ευρύτερου κοινωνικοπολιτιστικού και πολιτικού πλαισίου εντός του οποίου πραγματοποιείται η μάθηση στους ενήλικες





και του πώς το ίδιο το πλαίσιο διαμορφώνεται και αποτελεί αναπόσπαστο μέρος της μαθησιακής συναλλαγής (Pavlidis, 2015; Merriam 2010& 2005; Brookfield, 2002;Zald, 2000; Mezirow,1998& 1996; Benford 1997; Sleeter, 1996). Αρκετοί, μάλιστα, υποστηρίζουν ότι το ιδανικό πλαίσιο υποκίνησης της μάθησης στην εκπαίδευση ενηλίκων που αποσκοπεί στην κοινωνική δικαιοσύνη και την κοινωνική αλλαγή είναι το κοινωνικό κίνημα (Roy, 2013; English & Mayo, 2012; Halletal. 2012; Torres, 2011; Hall, 2006; Holst, 2002; Kilgore 1999). Ιδιαίτερα σήμερα, όπως εμφατικά υποστηρίζουν οι Preskill & Brookfield, (2008:199) όπου «η κοινότητα καθίσταται δύσκολη από τις κοινωνικές και τεχνολογικές εξελίξεις που μας αναγκάζουν να ξεχωρίσουμε περαιτέρω και να ξεχωρίσουμε σε μια χαοτική συνάθροιση κατακερματισμένων ατομικών υπάρξεων... η εξεύρεση τρόπων που θα φέρουν τους ανθρώπους μαζί, η διάδοση εναλλακτικών πληροφοριών και η ενθάρρυνση της συνεργασίας και της δέσμευσης είναι ζωτικής σημασίας για την οικοδόμηση αλληλεγγύης» και τα κοινωνικά κινήματα (ΚΚ) αποτελούν το κατεξοχήν προνομιακό πεδίο γι' αυτό.

Με έναν ευρύ ορισμό θα μπορούσαμε να υποστηρίξουμε ότι το κοινωνικό κίνημα είναι ένα ιδιαίτερο είδος οργανωμένης συλλογικότητας που επιδιώκει αλλαγή σε κάποιες διαστάσεις της κοινωνικής τάξης (Zald, 2000) και μπορεί να κατανοηθεί ως ένα δίκτυο άτυπων αλληλεπιδράσεων μεταξύ μίας πληθώρας ατόμων, ομάδων ή/και οργανώσεων που εμπλέκονται σε μία πολιτική ή πολιτισμική σύγκρουση με βάση μια κοινή συλλογική ταυτότητα (Diani, 1992: 13; Zald & McCarthy, 1979). Συνιστά ένα πλαίσιο γνώμων και πεποιθήσεων το οποίο αντιπροσωπεύει τις προτιμήσεις ενός πληθυσμού, σχετικά με την αλλαγή κάποιων στοιχείων της κοινωνικής δομής ή/και την απόκτηση μίας ανταμοιβής μέσω της επίτευξης μίας αναδιανομής στην κοινωνία (Zald & McCarthy, 1979: 2). Μεταξύ των διαφορετικών θεωρητικών παραδόσεων που μελετούν τα ΚΚ εμφανίζονται τρία κοινά συστατικά στοιχεία: τα *δίκτυα σχέσεων μεταξύ μίας πληθώρας δρώντων*, η *συλλογική ταυτότητα* και τα *ζητήματα σύγκρουσης* (Hall, 2006; Bluechler, 2005; Benford, 1997; Diani, 1992). Τα περισσότερα κοινωνικά κινήματα προσπαθούν να επηρεάσουν τις αποφάσεις αυτών που κατέχουν την εξουσία, ενώ τα επαναστατικά κινήματα, που αποτελούν ένα υποσύνολο των κοινωνικών κινήματων, προσπαθούν να αλλάξουν θεμελιωδώς το ποιος κατέχει την εξουσία. Αναλόγως, και η έκταση της αλλαγής που προωθούν τα ΚΚ ποικίλλει, με κάποια να αναζητούν δύναμη και με άλλα να αγωνίζονται για πιο θεμελιώδεις μετασχηματισμούς (Goodwin, 2005).

Τα κοινωνικά κινήματα διακρίνονται αδρομερώς σε δύο τύπους: παλιά και νέα. Τα παλιά κοινωνικά κινήματα συγκροτούνται από την οργανωμένη εργατική τάξη (Sumner, 2013: 586), και είναι ταξικά, εφαρμόζουν αναγνωρισμένες στρατηγικές, όπως οι απεργίες και επιδιώκουν να αναλάβουν τον έλεγχο της διακυβέρνησης και να συμμετέχουν στην οργανωμένη πολιτική. Ωστόσο, μεταπολεμικά επικράτησε μία ευρεία αντίληψη συμμόρφωσης, ως συνέπεια της αποσάθρωσης της παραδοσιακής πολιτικής με επακόλουθο να καμφθούν οι σαφείς επικλήσεις για πολιτικές αλλαγές, με βάση τις οποίες θα προκύψουν συλλογικά οφέλη. Τα νέα κοινωνικά κινήματα



(NKK) εμφανίζονται τις δεκαετίες '50 και '60, και καθώς ο συντηρητισμός είχε κερδίσει έδαφος ιδεολογικά, προσπάθησαν να αποσυνδεθούν από την ταξική τους βάση (Taylor et al., 1992: 554).

Τα NKK που προκύπτουν, όπως το κίνημα ειρήνης, το περιβαλλοντικό, το φεμινιστικό, κ.α., σχετίζονται και οργανώνονται γύρω από ένα συγκεκριμένο ζήτημα, ξεπερνούν τα ταξικά όρια, χρησιμοποιούν ένα μεγάλο εύρος ασυνήθιστων τακτικών και λειτουργούν περισσότερο έξω από τη σφαίρα της οργανωμένης πολιτικής (Sumner, 2013:587; Zald, 2000; McCarthy, 2000 in Sumner, 2013:586; Sleeter, 1996:239; Diani, 1992).

Στα NKK η έμφαση δίνεται στο επιμέρους που θεωρείται πιο σημαντικό από το καθολικό και στη διαφορετικότητα έναντι της συλλογικότητας (Sleeter, 1996:239). Η πολιτική διάσταση οργανώνεται γύρω από μία κοινή ταυτότητα, την αυτονόμηση και την κατοχύρωση των δικαιωμάτων της οποίας επιδιώκουν. Η συλλογική αυτή ταυτότητα αντλεί από τα κοινά ενδιαφέροντα, εμπειρίες και αλληλεγγύη μεταξύ των μελών μίας ομάδας και η διαδικασία κατασκευής της αποτελεί κρίσιμο ζήτημα για την ερμηνεία των παραπόνων και της δυσφορίας σε όλες τις μορφές συλλογικής δράσης κι όχι μόνο στα επονομαζόμενα NKK, ενώ συνδέεται και με την ανάπτυξη των πολιτικοποιημένων ομαδικών ταυτοτήτων (Taylor, et al., 1992). Τα NKK υποστηρίζουν την πολιτική δράση, ως μία δράση που αμφισβητεί τις έως τότε σαφείς διακρίσεις μεταξύ ιδιωτικού και δημόσιου, προσωπικού και πολιτικού (ό.π.). Ωστόσο, η πολιτική δράση των NKK που εδραιώνει αυτή τη συλλογική ταυτότητα, εμπεριέχει όπως διατείνεται ο Ratner, (1997: 275-6) «τη διπλή προοπτική τόσο της αυτονομίας και παγίωσης, όσο και τη δυνατότητα να καταλήξουν στον σεχταρισμό και την πολιτική ανημπόρια»(στο Sumner, 2013:587).

Τα ΚΚ αποτελούν ζωτικής σημασίας χώρους μάθησης (Sumner, 2013; Holst, 2002). Όσοι/ες συμμετέχουν σε ΚΚ μαθαίνουν αμοιβαία ο ένας από τον άλλον, καθώς και από το πλαίσιο της πάλης στο οποίο εμπλέκονται με τους δικούς τους όρους. Η μάθηση που συνδέεται με τα ΚΚ σύμφωνα με τους (Hall, et al., 2011), είναι εξίσου μάθηση από άτομα που είναι μέρος κάθε ΚΚ και μάθηση από άτομα εκτός ΚΚ είτε ως αποτέλεσμα των δράσεων που αναλαμβάνονται είτε απλά και μόνο από την ύπαρξη των ΚΚ καθεαυτό. Επιπλέον, σημαντικό μέρος μάθησης σχετίζεται με τις συγκρούσεις και τάσεις που αναπτύσσονται εντός του κινήματος, ενώ παράλληλα έχει διαπιστωθεί πολλά ενεργά μέλη των κινήματων να έχουν εξουθενωθεί με αποτέλεσμα να μαθαίνουν ότι δεν μπορούν να προκύψουν σημαντικές αλλαγές μέσω αυτών (Zielińska, Kowzan & Prusinowska, 2016).

Η μάθηση στα ΚΚ, ως μία μορφή συλλογικής μάθησης ατόμων και ομάδων που εμπλέκονται σε μία συλλογική δράση για να αντισταθούν στο κυρίαρχο status quo, να παλέψουν για κοινωνική δικαιοσύνη και πολιτική ισότητα ή για να υπερασπιστούν ή να προωθήσουν ένα κοινό κοινωνικό όραμα, αναπτύσσεται μέσω της αλληλεπίδρασης ανάμεσα σε ομάδες που βρίσκονται σε σύγκρουση (Pavlidis, 2015; Roy, 2013; Sumner, 2013, Hall & al., 2011; Torres, 2011; Kilgore, 1999). Στο πλαίσιο αυτό η κατανόηση της σχέσης μεταξύ συλλογικής συνείδησης και



συλλογικής δράσης αποτελεί μείζονος ενδιαφέροντος θέμα για το πώς μέσω της συλλογικής μάθησης μπορεί να προκύψει ο προσωπικός μετασχηματισμός, και συγκεκριμένα, ως μετασχηματισμός της καθημερινής συνείδησης των υποκειμένων που εμπλέκονται άμεσα, έμμεσα ή περιφερειακά με το ΚΚ (Anyon, 2014; Taylor et al., 1992:352).

Ωστόσο, τα ΝΚΚ είναι κοινωνικά κατασκευασμένα παραδείγματα και επομένως οι συμμετέχοντες σε αυτά δεν είναι εξ' ορισμού όσα άτομα μοιράζονται μία κοινή δομικά θέση. Μέσα από αυτήν την οπτική, οι συλλογικοί πολιτικοί δρώντες δεν υπάρχουν εκ προοιμίου, αλλά δημιουργούνται στο πλαίσιο της δραστηριότητας των ΚΚ. Ο τρόπος μέσω του οποίου μπορεί να παρατηρηθεί και να μελετηθεί η μάθηση που λαμβάνει χώρα, είναι με βάση την αξιοποίηση συγκεκριμένων αναλυτικών κατηγοριών και διακριτικών χαρακτηριστικών, τόσο για το άτομο, όπως: η ταυτότητα, η συνείδηση, η αίσθηση καθήκοντος, η αίσθηση της αξίας και η αίσθηση της συνάφειας, όσο και για την ομάδα, όπως: η συλλογική ταυτότητα, η συνειδητοποίηση της ομάδας, η αλληλεγγύη και η οργάνωση (Anyon, 2014: 10-11; Buechler, 1995; Kilgore, 1999). Ακόμη, σύμφωνα με τους McAdam, McCarthy & Zald (1988), όπως επισημαίνεται στους Taylor et al., (1992: 349). έμφαση θα πρέπει να δοθεί και στις διαδικασίες της μικροκινητοποίησης που συνδέουν το μάκρο με το μικρο, που γεννούν συλλογική δράση, καθώς τεκμηριώνουν τη σημασία των δεσμών των προϋφιστάμενων ομάδων για τη δημιουργία κινήσεων και προσεγγίζουν άτυπα δίκτυα με ισχυρούς μεταξύ τους δεσμούς, ως «τα βασικά κατασκευαστικά μέρη» των ΚΚ. Επιπλέον, εξαιρετικό ερευνητικό ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει ότι λανθάνει ακόμη η κατανόηση του πώς αυτά τα δίκτυα μετασχηματίζουν τα μέλη τους σε πολιτικούς δρώντες και πώς οι δομικές ανισότητες μεταφράζονται σε υποκειμενικά βιωμένη δυσaréσκεια (Taylor et al., 1992).

### Εν είδη επιλόγου

Η θεμελίωση της συλλογικής ταυτότητας και η εμπλοκή στη συλλογική δράση μέσα από τα ΚΚ αποτέλεσαν ιστορικά το εφελτήριο για τη δημιουργία πολιτικοποιημένων ταυτοτήτων, το μετασχηματισμό και τη χειραφέτηση της καθημερινής συνείδησης. Τα κινήματα που αναδύθηκαν στην παρούσα περίοδο της κρίσης στη χώρα μας, όση ορμή και μαζικότητα και αν απέκτησαν και παρά την ένταση της οξύτητας της καπιταλιστικής κρίσης φυλλορρόησαν σχετικά γρήγορα. Η έμφασή τους στο μερικό χαρακτήρα της διεκδίκησης με την επιδίωξη αλλαγής κάποιων όψεων της πραγματικότητας, σε συνδυασμό με την ενοχοποίηση της ανάδειξης του ταξικού χαρακτήρα της ατζέντας τους ή/και με την εμπρόθετη απόκρυψή της, παρήγαγε μερικές και αποσυνδεδεμένες από τις δομικές τους συνιστώσες συλλογικές, αλλά και πολιτικές ταυτότητες και δράσεις. Τα κινήματα της περιόδου αυτής δεν συνέδεσαν, επομένως, το αγωνιστικό τους πρόταγμα με την ουσιαστική αμφισβήτηση του κοινωνικοπολιτικού και οικονομικού συστήματος και με τον βαθιά ταξικό χαρακτήρα των επιβαλλόμενων πολιτικών του, ούτε προετοίμασαν για



μία σκληρή και με ενδεχόμενες σοβαρές απώλειες ταξική σύγκρουση. Ούτε τέλος, προώθησαν μία διαλεκτική κατανόηση του ρόλου και της δράση τους, ή/και της αποτυχίας τους, ως προς τις αντιφάσεις και τις εσωτερικές σχέσεις και δυναμικές που αναπτύχθηκαν στους κόλπους τους ή στην περιφέρειά τους, αλλά και ως προς τις δυνατότητές τους να επιφέρουν κοινωνική αλλαγή.

Η Paula Allman διατείνεται, όπως υπενθυμίζουν οι Colley et al., (2013:697) ότι “είναι σημαντικό για όσους/ες δεσμεύονται σε ένα κριτικό μετασχηματιστικό κοινωνικό όραμα να διακρίνουν την πράξη σε «κριτική/επαναστατική» ή «άκριτη/αναπαραγωγική» προσεγγίζοντας, μέσα από τη λογική του διαλεκτικού υλισμού, το μετασχηματισμό της συνείδησης των ανθρώπων, ως μίας συνείδησης βασισμένης στην εσωτερική σχέση μεταξύ της υποκειμενικότητας και της συλλογικότητάς, μεταξύ σκέψης και πράξης, ως «ενότητα και πάλι μεταξύ αντιθέτων».

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## Η Κριτική Παιδαγωγική ως αναγκαία συνθήκη για την πολιτική διαπαιδαγώγηση των μαθητών/μαθητριών της δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης

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### Περίληψη

Η παρούσα μελέτη έχει ως στόχο να διερευνήσει αν τα Αναλυτικά Προγράμματα Σπουδών Πολιτικής Διαπαιδαγώγησης στη Δευτεροβάθμια Εκπαίδευση, διέπονται από τη φιλοσοφία και τις αρχές της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής. Η πολιτική διαπαιδαγώγηση των εφήβων αποτελεί μία από τις κύριες προτεραιότητες που τίθενται στα σύγχρονα εκπαιδευτικά συστήματα και οι συνθήκες νεοφιλελεύθερης ιδεολογικής ηγεμονίας, απαιτούν μια εκπαίδευση πολιτικής διαπαιδαγώγησης που θα συμβάλει στην ανάπτυξη του κριτικού πνεύματος, της αυτόνομης σκέψης, της αντίστασης και της δράσης, στόχοι που θα επιτευχθούν μόνο μέσα από την υιοθέτηση της ΚΠ, καθώς αποτελεί την αναγκαία συνθήκη πολιτικού εγγραμματισμού και χειραφέτησης.

### Λέξεις κλειδιά

πολιτική διαπαιδαγώγηση, κριτική δημοκρατική πολιτειότητα, πολίτης, πολιτική παιδεία, αναλυτικά προγράμματα σπουδών

### Εισαγωγή

Η παρούσα εργασία έχει στόχο να αναδείξει την αναγκαιότητα της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής στην πολιτική διαπαιδαγώγηση των μαθητών/μαθητριών, όπως αυτή ασκείται μέσω συγκεκριμένων γνωστικών αντικειμένων και ειδικότερα με το μάθημα της «Πολιτικής Παιδείας» στην Α΄ και στη Β΄ τάξη του γενικού λυκείου.

Η μελέτη είναι διαρθρωμένη στα ακόλουθα μέρη: στο πρώτο μέρος, γίνεται προσπάθεια να αναδειχθεί η σχέση της πολιτικής διαπαιδαγώγησης με τη θεσμοθετημένη εκπαίδευση. Προσεγγίζεται η έννοια της πολιτικής διαπαιδαγώγησης και αναδεικνύεται ο ρόλος της εκπαίδευσης στην πολιτική αγωγή μαθητών και μαθητριών. Αποτυπώνεται με σαφήνεια η ιδιαιτερότητα της πολιτικής διαπαιδαγώγησης, που αφορά, κυρίως, στον τρόπο ανάδυσης της πολιτικής χρήσης του σχολικού μαθήματος, ως μέσου για τη διατήρηση, την εδραίωση και τη σταθεροποίηση ενός συγκεκριμένου πολιτικού συστήματος, αλλά και τη συμβολή της στην εδραίωση και αναπαραγωγή κοινωνικών μοντέλων, δομών και σχέσεων.

Στη συνέχεια αναδεικνύεται ο ρόλος των αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων σπουδών στην αναπαραγωγή της κυρίαρχης ιδεολογίας, στενά συνδεδεμένα με την εκάστοτε εκπαιδευτική πολιτική. Στο σημείο αυτό η ύπαρξη της θεωρίας της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής, έστω και ως συμπληρωματικό στοιχείο, ως συνθήκη συνύπαρξης, στο επίσημο αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα σπουδών δεν αποτελεί μια πρόθεση



νομοποίησης της ιδεολογικής ορθότητας του ρεύματος, αλλά μια πολιτική προϋπόθεση να διασφαλιστεί ένα ισοδύναμο αντίστασης στα κεκαλυμμένα νοήματα του προγράμματος που υπονομεύουν, σκόπιμα ή μη. Η Κριτική Παιδαγωγική δεν αντιμετωπίζει τα ΑΠΣ σε ένα πολιτικό και ιστορικό κενό, αλλά διαφοροποιείται παρουσιάζοντας αγωνιστικά προστάγματα στην ουδετερότητα με ένα ανοικτό και ευέλικτο ΑΠΣ που θεμελιώνεται στις ιστορικές ανάγκες των μαθητών και στη χειραφέτηση.

Ακολουθεί η ανάδειξη της στενής σχέσης Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής και Πολιτικής Διαπαιδαγώγησης, ρεύματα που συνδέονται οργανικά και αναπόσπαστα, σαν το ένα να εμπερικλείει το άλλο. Θα μπορούσαμε να ισχυριστούμε ότι η Κριτική Παιδαγωγική δίνει το θεωρητικό πλαίσιο, ενώ η Πολιτική Αγωγή, δεδομένων των προϋποθέσεων της ουσιαστικής εφαρμογής της, έχει τη δυνατότητα να μετασχηματίζει σε πράξη αυτές τις αρχές.

Εξετάζουμε τα περιεχόμενα των αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων σπουδών του μαθήματος «Πολιτική Παιδεία», που διδάσκονται στην Α΄ και στη Β΄ τάξη του γενικού λυκείου, η ρητορική των οποίων μέσω της σκοποθεσίας και στοχοθεσίας παραπέμπει στο ζητούμενο της καλλιέργειας ελεύθερων, κριτικά σκεπτόμενων και δημοκρατικών πολιτών.

Επιχειρούμε να διαπιστώσουμε αν τα αναλυτικά προγράμματα σπουδών πολιτικής διαπαιδαγώγησης, διαπνέονται από τη φιλοσοφία της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής και να εντοπίσουμε τα σημεία που τέμνονται και σημεία που αποκλίνουν. Είναι σημαντικό να διαπιστωθεί, αν ένα τέτοιο διδακτικό υλικό που φιλοδοξεί, να προωθήσει τη κοινωνική ισότητα και δικαιοσύνη και να διαμορφώσει ελεύθερους συμμετόχους και υπεύθυνους πολίτες, πετυχαίνει τους στόχους του. Μια τέτοια διερεύνηση καθίσταται αναγκαία σε μια κοινωνία βαθιάς οικονομικής-πολιτικής-κοινωνικής κρίσης, καταπιεστικών καπιταλιστικών δομών, ασφυκτικού οικονομικού συστήματος, έντονων κοινωνικών ανισοτήτων, ξενοφοβικής ρητορικής, ακραίας έκφρασης ατομικισμού, εθνικιστικών εξάρσεων, νεοφιλελεύθερης ρητορικής στην χάραξη εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής και κρίσης της αντιπροσωπευτικής δημοκρατίας.

Σε τέτοιες συνθήκες νεοφιλελεύθερης ιδεολογικής ηγεμονίας, η Κριτική Παιδαγωγική, αποτελεί την αναγκαία συνθήκη πολιτικής διαπαιδαγώγησης στο σύγχρονο σχολείο με στόχο την κριτική δημοκρατική πολιτειότητα, η οποία χειραφετεί τους μαθητές ως κριτικά σκεπτόμενα άτομα και μετασχηματιστικούς πολίτες.

### **Ο ρόλος της εκπαίδευσης στην πολιτική διαπαιδαγώγηση**

#### *Η έννοια της πολιτικής διαπαιδαγώγησης*

Η διεθνής ορολογία για τη πολιτική διαπαιδαγώγηση ή την αγωγή του πολίτη, ως σχολικό γνωστικό αντικείμενο είναι ποικίλη: citizenship education, civiceducation, education for democracy, civics, political education, government studies (Steiner-Khamsi, 2002).



Ο ορισμός της έννοιας της πολιτικής διαπαιδαγώγησης ή της αγωγής του πολίτη είναι πολυσήμαντος και οι ερμηνείες που του δόθηκαν ποικίλες. Το περιεχόμενό της ποικίλλει και συναρτάται με τη σκοπιμότητα που κάθε φορά υπηρετεί (Χέλμης, 1995· Γκίνη, 1996). Όπως υποστηρίζουν οι Torney -Purta, Schwillle & Steiner-Khamsi (1999) η πολιτική διαπαιδαγώγηση είναι εδραιωμένη σε ένα πολιτικό και ιστορικό πλαίσιο, μοναδικό για κάθε χώρα. Η θέση, ο ρόλος και η ορολογία που τη συνοδεύουν, μπορούν να γίνουν κατανοητά μόνο μέσα στο πλαίσιο από το οποίο αναδύθηκαν οι έννοιες της δημοκρατίας, του πολίτη και της αγωγής του πολίτη (Balkansky, Zahariev, Stoyanov, & Stoyanova, 1999).

Ο όρος έχει αποκτήσει διάφορες σημασιοδοτήσεις, ανάλογες με την εννοιολογική σήμανση. Αρκετοί μελετητές προσδιορίζουν τον κοινωνικοποιητικό ρόλο της πολιτικής διαπαιδαγώγησης (Κίτσος, 1985), το ρόλο της άσκησης των δικαιωμάτων και των καθηκόντων του πολίτη (Παπακωστούλα-Γιανναρά, 1986), της γνώσης της κοινωνικής και πολιτικής ζωής ενός κράτους και του κόσμου (Γκότοβος, 2003) και της αφομοίωσης πολιτικών αξιών, της ανάληψης κοινωνικών ρόλων και της συμμετοχής του ατόμου στη λήψη αποφάσεων (Χριστιάς, 1991).

Κάποιοι άλλοι μελετητές τονίζουν τη διαλεκτική σχέση εθνικής και πολιτικής διαπαιδαγώγησης (Smith, 1971; Αβδελά, 1998; Γκίνη, 1996). Η Γκίνη (1996) χαρακτηριστικά αναφέρει:

*Η πολιτική αγωγή περιλαμβάνει μια σειρά επιδιώξεων που αποσκοπούν στην καλλιέργεια ικανοτήτων για συμβολή στη διαμόρφωση του κοινού ή δημόσιου βίου με τη μάθηση ορισμένων γνώσεων και την απόκτηση πεποιθήσεων και προδιαθέσεων, καθώς και την καλλιέργεια δεξιοτήτων... Η πολιτική αγωγή μπορεί επίσης να εμπεριέχει στοιχεία ηθικής και εθνικής αγωγής, να εμπεριέχεται στη κοινωνική αγωγή ή να συνδυάζονται, χωρίς να ταυτίζεται ολότελα με κανένα απ' τα είδη αυτά. Είναι η προσπάθεια για απόκτηση από μέρους του ατόμου των πολιτικών αρετών που είναι αναγκαίες για την ένταξή του στη πολιτική κοινότητα, καθώς και η ενημέρωσή του σχετικά με ό, τι αφορά το πολιτικό βίο (σελ.5-7).*

Η Παντελίδου-Μαλούτα (1987) υποστηρίζει πως η πολιτική διαπαιδαγώγηση είναι η διαδικασία μύησης των μαθητών και μαθητριών στην πολιτική κουλτούρα, στη μετάδοση μιας σειράς γνώσεων, στάσεων, αξιών και αρχών κοινωνικής συνύπαρξης και στην οικοδόμηση της πολιτικής ταυτότητας, αποδεχόμενη την πολιτική κοινωνικοποίηση μέσω της πολιτικής διαπαιδαγώγησης, αλλά παράλληλα υποστηρίζει ότι χρησιμοποιείται συνήθως με ιδεολογικό και πολιτικό περιεχόμενο, καθώς υπηρετεί συγκεκριμένες πολιτικές επιδιώξεις και εκφράζει την επίσημη στάση της εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής απέναντι στις κοινωνικοπολιτικές αλλαγές, στο βαθμό μάλιστα που αυτές έχουν ενσωματωθεί στα σχολικά προγράμματα.

Η παραπάνω οπτική φαίνεται να αποτυπώνει με σαφήνεια την ιδιαιτερότητα της πολιτικής διαπαιδαγώγησης, που αφορά, κυρίως, στον τρόπο ανάδυσης της πολιτικής χρήσης του σχολικού μαθήματος, ως μέσου για τη διατήρηση, την εδραίωση και τη σταθεροποίηση ενός συγκεκριμένου πολιτικού συστήματος, αλλά και τη συμβολή της στην εδραίωση και αναπαραγωγή κοινωνικών μοντέλων, δομών



και σχέσεων. Βέβαια, η «ιδιαιτερότητα» αυτή αφορά και ισχύει και για άλλα γνωστικά αντικείμενα, αλλά στα μαθήματα των νομικών και πολιτικών επιστημών αποτελεί τον κύριο στόχο και το περιεχόμενό τους, αντανακλά πολιτικά και κοινωνικά ζητήματα για την οργάνωση και τη λειτουργία της κοινωνίας, ακόμη και όταν παρουσιάζονται αμιγώς εκπαιδευτικά (Parry, 1999).

#### *Η εκπαίδευση ως φορέας πολιτικής διαπαιδαγώγησης*

Η ιδέα να εκπαιδευτούν ως πολίτες οι νέοι όλων των κοινωνικών τάξεων, με ευθύνη του κράτους, εμφανίζεται την περίοδο της Γαλλικής Επανάστασης (Heater, 2004) ή διαφορετικά την περίοδο της νεωτερικότητας, χωρίς αυτό να σημαίνει ότι στοιχεία αγωγής του πολίτη δεν υπήρχαν παλαιότερα. Κατά τον Schnapper (2000), η διακήρυξη της κυριαρχίας του πολίτη, στην περίοδο της νεωτερικότητας, δεν θα είχε νόημα αν δεν εκφραζόταν παράλληλα σε πολιτικούς θεσμούς που διαμορφώνουν τους πολίτες. Με τον τρόπο αυτό, η εκπαίδευση του πολίτη έχει αναδειχθεί και αναδύεται ως το κέντρο του δημοκρατικού ιδεώδους. Η βασική ιδέα είναι ότι οι πολίτες οφείλουν να διαθέτουν τα μέσα για να μπορέσουν να ασκήσουν τα δικαιώματά τους και να συμμετέχουν στη δημόσια ζωή. Αυτό εδραιώνει κατά τον Schnapper (2000) την ιδεολογία και το ρόλο του σχολείου μέσα στη κοινωνία των πολιτών.

Αποτελεί κοινό τόπο του σύγχρονου σχολικού συστήματος διαφορετικών χωρών, ότι η πολιτική αγωγή, προετοιμάζει τους νέους για τους ρόλους και τις ευθύνες τους ως πολιτών, και συνδέεται άμεσα με την έννοια της δημοκρατίας. Το σχολικό μάθημα, έχει στόχο να προετοιμάσει τους μαθητές/μαθήτριες να γίνουν πολίτες μιας δημοκρατικής κοινωνίας στα πλαίσια της κοινότητας, του έθνους και της παγκόσμιας κοινωνίας (Hahn, 1999). Η σημασία της πολιτικής διαπαιδαγώγησης έγκειται στην διεκδίκηση του προνομίου εκείνου που σχετίζεται α) με τον προσδιορισμό του χώρου δράσης, δημοσίου και ιδιωτικού για το μελλοντικό πολίτη και β) την εξασφάλιση της ελευθερίας και τη χειραφέτησή του σε σχέση με τις κοινοτικές δομές. Η επιβολή και η εδραίωση της πολιτικής διαπαιδαγώγησης συνεπάγεται την ανάπτυξη και την υιοθέτηση μιας ηθικής και πολιτικής ευθύνης και υπευθυνότητας (Foucault, 1987), ένα πλαίσιο που οδηγεί τους πολίτες στην αυτοπειθαρχία, τον έλεγχο της συμπεριφοράς, την υπακοή και υποταγή σε ένα σύνολο κανόνων (Foucault, 1989).

Ο Μαυρογιώργος (1999) υποστηρίζει ότι η εκπαίδευση είναι ένας θεσμός του σύγχρονου αστικού κράτους και καθίσταται θεμελιώδης μηχανισμός κοινωνικής αναπαραγωγής, που έχει ταυτόχρονα οικονομική, πολιτική, και ιδεολογική σημασία.

Ενώ η Αβδελά (1998) αναφέρει πως ο χαρακτήρας της εκπαίδευσης, συνδέεται άμεσα με την ιστορική διαμόρφωση των εθνών-κρατών τα τελευταία διακόσια χρόνια, και αποτελεί βασικό μηχανισμό για την εδραίωση και την αναπαραγωγή τους.





Τόσο η πολιτική διαπαιδαγώγηση όσο και η εμπλοκή της εκπαίδευσης σε αυτή, είναι σύνθετες και αλληλένδετες κοινωνικές διαδικασίες. Το σχολείο αποτελεί τον κατεξοχήν θεσμό για τη διαμόρφωση του πολίτη, είτε είναι απευθείας οργανωμένο από το κράτος, είτε απλά ελέγχεται από αυτό. Αναλαμβάνει μια κρίσιμη κοινωνικοπολιτική λειτουργία, η οποία αποσκοπεί στην προσαρμογή του ατόμου και, παράλληλα, μια μορφωτική, η οποία εμπεριέχει ένα δυναμικό στοιχείο στην κατεύθυνση της κοινωνικής αλλαγής (Παπαναούμ-Τζήκα, 1989). Έχει τα άτομα από την πιο τρυφερή ηλικία και για πολλά χρόνια αναδεικνύεται ο προνομιούχος χώρος της πολιτικής εξουσίας για την άσκηση της ιδεολογικής κυριαρχίας και την εξυπηρέτηση συμφερόντων της άρχουσας τάξης (Banks, 1987). Αυτή η ιδεολογική λειτουργία του σχολείου και ο ρόλος του στην κοινωνική αναπαραγωγή σύμφωνα με τον Altusser (1983) είναι καιρία, αφού οι μαθητές/μαθήτριες κατευθύνονται ώστε να γίνουν καλοί πολίτες, καλοί χριστιανοί και καλοί οικογενειάρχες.

Οι λόγοι που προσδίδουν στην εκπαίδευση πολιτική διάσταση είναι η μετάδοση των επιθυμητών κοινωνικών προτύπων, η διαμόρφωση της προσωπικότητας και η μεταβίβαση των πολιτικών ιδεών. Η εκπαίδευση καλλιεργεί στο παιδί πολιτική υπόσταση για την κοινωνία, τους θεσμούς, τις σχέσεις και ταυτόχρονα προτείνει ιδεολογικές αιτιάσεις για τη θρησκεία, την οικογένεια, την ιδιοκτησία και τους κοινωνικούς ρόλους. Επιδρά στην πολιτική διαπαιδαγώγηση των μαθητών/μαθητριών με τρόπο άμεσο, μεταδίδοντας συγκεκριμένες πολιτικές ιδέες και αξίες που συμβάλλουν στην ταύτιση των μαθητών με σύμβολα, καταστάσεις και μηχανισμούς και στην εσωτερίκευση αξιών του κοινωνικοπολιτικού συστήματος. Η πολιτική επιρροή ασκείται μέσω αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων, σχολικών εγχειριδίων, συγκεκριμένων μαθημάτων, σχέσεων ιεραρχίας και εξουσίας που αναπτύσσονται στο χώρο του σχολείου αλλά και μέσω των ίδιων των εκπαιδευτικών (Altusser, 1983).

Στο πλαίσιο αυτό σημειώνουμε πως το ελληνικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα εξακολουθεί ακόμα και σήμερα να υπόκειται σε κεντρικό διαχειριστικό και ιδεολογικό έλεγχο, να επωμίζεται το καθήκον της πολιτικής διαπαιδαγώγησης, η οποία στα σύγχρονα κράτη παίρνει τη μορφή της αγωγής και της διαμόρφωσης του μαθητή/μαθήτριας - πολίτη σύμφωνα με τις πολιτικές ανάγκες κάθε έθνους-κράτους, αλλά και σύμφωνα με τον ιδεολογικό προσανατολισμό των εκάστοτε κυβερνήσεων, στις οποίες υποστασιώνεται ως απρόσωπη πολιτική οντότητα (Αδάμου, 2002-2003).

Οι σχετικές λοιπόν με την πολιτική διαπαιδαγώγηση έρευνες έχουν καταλήξει στο συμπέρασμα ότι η εκπαίδευση επηρεάζει τις πολιτικές γνώσεις, την ενασχόληση με θέματα πολιτικής και την αίσθηση της πολιτικής αποτελεσματικότητας, την ανάληψη κοινωνικών ρόλων και τη συμμετοχή στο πολιτικό γίνεσθαι και ότι διάφοροι ενδοσχολικοί παράγοντες, όπως είναι το μάθημα της πολιτικής αγωγής επιδρούν στην πολιτική κοινωνικοποίηση. Το σχολείο ασκεί πολιτική αγωγή, επιδρά σκόπιμα στο άτομο με γνώμονα ένα μοντέλο πολίτη (Ξωχέλλης, 1986). Παρέχει γνώσεις για πολιτικά θέματα, μεταδίδει αξίες και καλλιεργεί στάσεις με πολιτικό



περιεχόμενο, διαμορφώνει πολιτική συμπεριφορά και αποβλέπει στη δημιουργία του «καλού πολίτη» είτε με το ιδιαίτερο μάθημα της Πολιτικής Αγωγής ή μέσω ευρύτερων γνωστικών αντικειμένων (Marshall & Bottanore, 1995).

#### *Η αγωγή του πολίτη στο ελληνικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα*

Το θέμα της πολιτικής αγωγής τέθηκε στους νεώτερους χρόνους κατά την περίοδο του νεοελληνικού διαφωτισμού, όταν αναγνωρίστηκε στην Ελλάδα η κοινωνική και πολιτική διάσταση της αγωγής και γενικά ο ρόλος της εκπαίδευσης στην πρόοδο και τον εκδημοκρατισμό της κοινωνίας. Η εξέλιξη αυτή ήταν αποτέλεσμα της επίδρασης του ευρωπαϊκού διαφωτισμού και των ιστορικών διαδικασιών κατά την περίοδο της τουρκοκρατίας που συντελέστηκαν στον ελληνικό χώρο. Την εποχή του ελληνικού διαφωτισμού η ελληνική παιδεία παίρνει πολιτικό περιεχόμενο, και η πολιτική αγωγή αποτελεί τον πυρήνα της. Από το Ρήγα Φεραίο και τον Αδαμάντιο Κοραή προτείνονται σχέδια πολιτικής αγωγής, τα οποία ήταν για την εποχή εκείνη ριζοσπαστικά (Χριστιάς, 1983). Ως τη δεκαετία του 1930, όπως σημειώνει ο

Δημαράς (2003), πέρα από τη καθυστερημένη επίσημη ρητορική, το ενδιαφέρον για την αγωγή του πολίτη απουσιάζει πλήρως από το ελληνικό σχολείο. Ωστόσο, έξω από το πλαίσιο των κρατικών ρυθμίσεων, το θέμα παίρνει τη θέση του ως μέρος της γενικής δυσφορίας για την εξέλιξη των κοινωνικών χαρακτηριστικών του νέου κράτους. Ταυτόχρονα, όμως, λαμβάνει και νέες διαστάσεις, που θα οδηγήσουν σε συγχύσεις εννοιών: η πολιτική αγωγή ταυτίζεται, ειδικότερα μετά την «εθνική ταπείνωση» του 1897, με την εθνική αγωγή.

Ο Χέλμης (1995) διακρίνει τρεις περιόδους στην εξέλιξη του μαθήματος της Πολιτικής Αγωγής. Η πρώτη περίοδος εκτείνεται από την ίδρυση του Ελληνικού Κράτους (1827) μέχρι και τη δεκαετία του 1880 (σύνταξη του πρώτου αναλυτικού προγράμματος και εμφάνιση στοιχείων πολιτικής αγωγής σε σχολικά εγχειρίδια). Την περίοδο αυτή ονομάζει «ο λανθάνων χαρακτήρας της πολιτικής αγωγής». Η δεύτερη περίοδος αρχίζει από τη δεκαετία του 1880 και φτάνει μέχρι το 1957 (σύνταξη του πρώτου αναλυτικού προγράμματος της κοινωνικής και πολιτικής αγωγής). Την περίοδο αυτή ονομάζει «εποχή των ζυμώσεων». Τέλος, η Τρίτη περίοδος εκτείνεται από το 1957 έως το 1977. Την περίοδο αυτή ονομάζει «περίοδο των αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων της πολιτικής αγωγής».

Οι διαταράξεις που χαρακτήρισαν την ιστορία του ελληνικού πολιτεύματος και της δημοκρατίας, αποτυπώθηκαν και στην εκπαίδευση του πολίτη: αλλαγές στο τίτλο του γνωστικού αντικειμένου, στις ώρες διδασκαλίας και στο περιεχόμενο της σχολικής γνώσης, αναδεικνύοντας την εξάρτηση του μαθήματος από το εκάστοτε κοινωνικοπολιτικό και ιδεολογικό πλαίσιο (Γκίνη, 1996)· αλλά και τον χειραγωγικό και φρονηματιστικό χαρακτήρα του (Αθανασίου & Καββαδίας, 1990; Αθανασούλα-Ρέππα, 2003; Κουστουράκης, 1994; Χέλμης, 1995).

Σήμερα, η πολιτική αγωγή κατέχει μια θέση λίγο ως πολύ σταθερή στα ωρολόγια προγράμματα του ελληνικού εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος, από δύο έως τρεις ώρες την εβδομάδα, στην πρωτοβάθμια και στην δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση. Φαίνεται



όμως πως η εκπαίδευση για την ιδιότητα του πολίτη αποτελεί πεδίο που ακόμη βρίσκεται υπό συζήτηση και που διαρκώς εμπλουτίζεται, μεταλλάσσεται και εξελίσσεται. Από τα μέσα της δεκαετίας του 1990 δόθηκε ιδιαίτερη έμφαση στην εκπαίδευση του πολίτη, ενισχύθηκε ο προβληματισμός αναφορικά με την ερμηνεία της ιδιότητας του πολίτη και τέθηκαν σε αμφισβήτηση παραδοσιακά σχήματα πολιτικής εκπαίδευσης σε συνάρτηση με το επιθυμητό μοντέλο πολίτη (Καρακατσάνη, 2005).

### **Αναλυτικά προγράμματα σπουδών και Κριτική Παιδαγωγική.**

Τα αναλυτικά προγράμματα σπουδών (ΑΠΣ) περιλαμβάνουν τους στόχους, τις διαδικασίες και τη γνώση που επιλέχθηκε ως αξιόλογη για τη διδασκαλία και τη μάθηση (Κουτσελίνη, 1997). Αποτελεί έναν από τους βασικότερους τομείς της εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής του κράτους και την επίσημη έκφραση της εκπαιδευτικής φιλοσοφίας μιας συγκεκριμένης –χωροχρονικά-κοινωνικής δομής (Γερογιάννης & Μπούρας, 2007).

Το παιδαγωγικό πλαίσιο του εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος διαμορφώνεται από τη μορφή και το περιεχόμενο των θεσμικών προδιαγραφών της διδασκαλίας, την ίδια την εκπαιδευτική διαδικασία και τη διαπολιτισμικότητα. Οι θεσμικές προδιαγραφές παράγονται με ευθύνη του αρμόδιου κρατικού φορέα και περιλαμβάνουν:

α) τα ΑΠΣ, τα οποία προσδιορίζουν τους σκοπούς και τους στόχους των επιμέρους μαθημάτων, τα περιεχόμενα της μάθησης, των μεθόδων της διδασκαλίας, τις μορφές και τα είδη αξιολόγησής και

β) τα διδακτικά πακέτα (σχολικά βιβλία, βιβλία εκπαιδευτικού, οδηγίες κ.λ.π.).

Ο τρόπος με τον οποίο επιλέγεται και οργανώνεται η γνώση στα ΑΠ, γίνεται στα πλαίσια της κυρίαρχης κοινωνικής λειτουργίας της εκπαίδευσης, την αναπαραγωγή της κυρίαρχης ιδεολογίας και της υπάρχουσας δομής των ταξικών σχέσεων (Θεριανός, 2013). Συνεπώς τα ΑΠΣ είναι πάντα επιλεκτικά ως προς τις απαραίτητες γνώσεις και τους κατάλληλους τρόπους διδασκαλίας. Ακόμη και ο προφανής αντικειμενικός σκοπός να αποκτήσουν όλοι οι μαθητές «στοιχειώδη εγγραμματισμό» έχει ως προϋποθέσεις τις πολιτικές επιλογές, τις κοινωνικές συνθήκες και τις πολιτισμικές αξίες και ανταποκρίνεται σε συγκεκριμένα ιδεολογικά και πολιτιστικά αποθέματα και πρότυπα. Ως εκ τούτου η διδασκαλία φαίνεται να είναι μια αυστηρά προκαθορισμένη περιοχή που απαιτεί προσχεδιασμένες ενέργειες και προκαθορισμένα αποτελέσματα. Επιτυχία θεωρείται η θετική ανταπόκριση του μαθητή, μέσα σε συγκεκριμένο χρόνο που δεν επέλεξε ο μαθητής, με τον συγκεκριμένο και μοναδικό τρόπο διδασκαλίας και το συγκεκριμένο διαθέσιμο εκπαιδευτικό υλικό. Αυτή η οπτική οδηγεί αφενός σε τεχνοκρατικοποίηση της διδασκαλίας και αφετέρου στην αγνόηση κοινωνικού-πολιτιστικού υπόβαθρου των μαθητών και τη διαμεσολάβησή του στη μάθηση (Νικολούδης, 2013). Αγνοούνται οι προσωπικές και κοινωνικές διαφορές των μαθητών, αποκρύπτονται οι πραγματικές σχέσεις σύγκρουσης και επιχειρείται να οικειοποιηθούν οι μαθητές μια κατάσταση που παρουσιάζεται ως «φυσική και



αντικειμενική», με αποτέλεσμα την καλλιέργεια μιας ψευδούς συνειδητοποίησης της πραγματικότητας, τον εγκλωβισμό της σκέψης και της δράσης τους στον «ηγεμονεύοντα αστικό φιλελεύθερο λόγο», την ακύρωση στην πράξη της διάθεσης για κριτική προσέγγιση και απελευθέρωση και τελικά την αποτροπή του κοινωνικού μετασχηματισμού. Έτσι μέσα από τα αναλυτικά προγράμματα λειτουργεί η εξουσία της κυρίαρχης άρχουσας τάξης καθορίζοντας τι θεωρείται νόμιμη μορφή σχολικής γνώσης, ορίζοντας τις δικές της αξίες, κανόνες και πρότυπα συμπεριφοράς και στοχεύοντας στη δημιουργία ανθρώπων-αντικειμένων για τοποθέτηση σε προκαθορισμένους ρόλους στο σύστημα παραγωγής και κατανάλωσης (Κουτσελίνη, 1997).

Στα πλαίσια αυτά η μελέτη στο πεδίο του ΑΠΣ του μαθήματος «Πολιτική Παιδεία» αποκτά ιδιαίτερο επιστημονικό, πολιτικό και πρακτικό ενδιαφέρον και πολύ περισσότερο όταν ένα διδακτικό υλικό φιλοδοξούσε και φιλοδοξεί να προωθήσει την κοινωνική δικαιοσύνη, την ισότητα και να καταστήσει τους μαθητές ενεργούς και υπεύθυνους πολίτες. Η ανάπτυξη επομένως ενός ΑΠΣ πολιτικής διαπαιδαγώγησης υπό το πρίσμα της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής αποκτά ιδιαίτερη σημασία για τους εξής λόγους:

α) Η αναγκαιότητα της ΚΠ υπαγορεύεται από το ανερχόμενο σήμερα κύμα απολυταρχισμού σε όλο τον κόσμο. Από τις νέες πολιτικές συνθήκες που απειλούν να ακυρώσουν κάθε μορφή δημοκρατίας, σκέψης και δράσης. Σήμερα αναγνωρίζεται ότι δεν μπορεί να υπάρξει πραγματική δημοκρατία χωρίς εκπαιδευμένους πολίτες. Η εκπαίδευση αποτελεί την πλέον σημαντική συνθήκη για την ισότητα, την κοινωνική δικαιοσύνη και την ανάδειξη των μαθητών σε έρποντα κοινωνικά υποκείμενα. Στοχεύει στην κριτική ιδιότητα του πολίτη, τοποθετεί σε κεντρική θέση την ηθική και την ισότητα, δημιουργεί νέες μορφές γνώσης δίνοντας έμφαση στη διάρρηξη των επιστημονικών συνόρων και θεωρεί τους παιδαγωγούς αναμορφωτές διανοούμενους στρατευμένους στη χειραφέτηση της ευαισθησίας, της λογικής, της δράσης και στοχεύει στον κριτικό μαθητή και δάσκαλο, που μπορεί να αναστοχάζεται και στον κριτικό γραμματισμό με πολλαπλές οπτικές και τρόπους διδασκαλίας με ουσιαστική διαλογική προσέγγιση της μάθησης,

β) Κατά τις δύο τελευταίες δεκαετίες, οι συνθήκες που έχουν διαμορφωθεί παγκοσμίως, τα προβλήματα των πολιτισμικών κοινωνιών, οι εθνικιστικές εξάρσεις και η κρίση της αντιπροσωπευτικής δημοκρατίας οδήγησαν στην αναθέρμανση του ενδιαφέροντος για την ιδιότητα του πολίτη. Η πολιτειότητα αποτελεί μια έννοια εξελισσόμενη και πολύσημη με την οποία υποδηλώνεται, γενικότερα, η πολλαπλή ιδιότητα του πολίτη, μία από τις πιο επίμαχες έννοιες της δυτικής πολιτικής φιλοσοφίας,

Αποτελεί η εκπαίδευση για την πολιτειότητα μία από τις κύριες προτεραιότητες που τίθενται στα σύγχρονα εκπαιδευτικά συστήματα στο πλαίσιο συνολικά, των ΑΠ και ειδικότερα, του μαθήματος της Πολιτικής Παιδείας. Οι επιθέσεις που δέχεται από τον νεοφιλελευθερισμό και το νεοσυντηρητισμό η ιδιότητα του πολίτη, την



εξασθενούν και την υποτάσσουν σε άλλες προτεραιότητες όπως αυτή του καταναλωτισμού και του μιλιταρισμού,

γ) Ένα κριτικό ΑΠΣ θα προσφέρει στους μαθητές προσωπική κατανόηση για ζητήματα καταπιεσμένων κοινωνικών ομάδων με στόχο να τους ενδυναμώσει ηθικά και πολιτικά και θα οδηγήσει τις αποκλεισμένες ομάδες να αναπτύξουν θεσμούς που θα εξυπηρετούν τις ανάγκες τους και έτσι να αναγνωριστεί ένα θετικό πρόσημο στη σχέση γνώσης-εξουσίας και εν τέλει να οργανωθεί ένα εκπαιδευτικό πρόγραμμα κοινωνικού μετασχηματισμού (Γούναρη & Γρόλλιος, 2010),

δ) Ο σχεδιασμός ενός τέτοιου ΑΠ έχει ως αφετηρία το παρόν που βιώνουν οι μαθητές. Ο εκπαιδευτικός χρησιμοποιώντας τον διάλογο ως παιδαγωγική μέθοδο θέτει στον μαθητή την υπάρχουσα κατάσταση ως προβληματική και τον καλεί να δώσει απαντήσεις στο επίπεδο της δράσης. Συνδέει την τοπική πραγματικότητα με ένα ευρύ φάσμα ατομικών, κοινωνικών και κοινοτικών προβλημάτων, λαμβάνοντας υπόψη φυλετικές, πολιτισμικές, γλωσσικές, θρησκευτικές και άλλες ιδιαιτερότητες (Γρόλλιος, 2016),

ε) Ένα τέτοιο ΑΠ οφείλει να είναι ανοικτό, ευέλικτο, περιεκτικό, συμπεριληπτικό. Να κατοχυρώνει τη δυνατότητα αβίαστης σκέψης και κρίσης, να επιτρέπει την ελευθερία στοχασμού και έκφρασης, την κριτική αποτίμησης της ύλης και τον αναστοχασμό εκκινώντας από τη βιογραφία του μαθητή και να στοχεύει στην κοινωνική του ενδυνάμωση και χειραφέτηση. Να χρησιμοποιεί με συστηματικό τρόπο την ομαδική εργασία, να εμπλέκει τους μαθητές σε συλλογικά προγραμματισμένα σχέδια εργασίας, να διευκολύνουν την κριτική και δημιουργική εργασία, να θέτουν τα κοινωνικά προβλήματα στο επίκεντρο της διδακτικής πράξης, να προωθούν την έρευνα και τη δράση στη κοινότητα. Να θεωρεί, να δομεί και να αναπτύσσει την εκπαιδευτική πράξη ως μια δυναμική διαδικασία χωρίς μεθοδολογικές ακαμψίες και εμμονές, με σαφή στόχευση στην κριτική, αναστοχαστική και μεταγνωστική συγκρότηση των μαθητών,

ζ) Να προάγει την ενεργή ή αποτελεσματική ιδιότητα του πολίτη μέσα από μια εκπαίδευση που καταφέρνει να ενδυναμώσει τα άτομα. Οι μελλοντικοί πολίτες πρέπει αν είναι σε θέση να συζητούν, να ασκούν κριτική και να εξετάζουν λειτουργίες και διαδικασίες της κοινωνίας (Arthur, Davison & Stow, 2000),

η) Όσον αφορά τον εκπαιδευτικό το εν λόγω ΑΠΣ θα πρέπει να διασφαλίζει την παιδαγωγική ελευθερία, να καθιστά το δάσκαλο κοινωνικά και πολιτικά υπεύθυνο, αναλαμβάνοντας το ρόλο του αναμορφωτή διανοούμενου (Γρόλλιος και Κάσκαρης, 1997), που θα εφαρμόζει εναλλακτικές παιδαγωγικές πρακτικές λαμβάνοντας υπόψη τον κοινωνικό έλεγχο και την πολιτισμική καταγωγή, θα εντοπίζει τις ανάγκες των μαθητών και θα δημιουργεί ένα μαθησιακό κλίμα καλλιεργώντας την αγωνιστική στάση ζωής. Συνοψίζοντας θα μπορούσαμε να ισχυριστούμε ότι η Κριτική Παιδαγωγική και η Πολιτική Διαπαιδαγώγηση αποτελούν δύο ρεύματα που συνδέονται οργανικά και αναπόσπαστα, σαν το ένα να εμπερικλείει το άλλο. Θα μπορούσαμε να ισχυριστούμε ότι η Κριτική Παιδαγωγική δίνει το θεωρητικό πλαίσιο, ενώ η Πολιτική Αγωγή, δεδομένων των προϋποθέσεων της ουσιαστικής





εφαρμογής της, έχει τη δυνατότητα να μετασχηματίζει σε πράξη αυτές τις αρχές. Η Κριτική Παιδαγωγική αποτελεί την αναγκαία συνθήκη για την καλλιέργεια της κριτικής δημοκρατικής πολιτειότητας.

### Η περίπτωση της «Πολιτικής Παιδείας» στη δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση

Σκοπός της παρούσας μελέτης είναι να διαπιστωθεί αν τα ισχύοντα αναλυτικά προγράμματα σπουδών του μαθήματος «Πολιτική Παιδεία» στη δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση αναπτύχθηκαν υπό το πρίσμα της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής.

Για τους σκοπούς της συγκεκριμένης μελέτης η ανάλυση πραγματοποιείται σε δυο επίπεδα ανάλυσης:

α) *Πρώτο επίπεδο ανάλυσης*: μελέτη και οργάνωση του περιεχομένου των βασικών κειμένων με βάση τα εξής αναλυτικά εργαλεία:

- Σκοποί και στόχοι του μαθήματος
- Περιεχόμενα
- Μεθοδολογία-Δραστηριότητες

β) *Δεύτερο επίπεδο ανάλυσης*: ερμηνευτική προσέγγιση των κειμένων προκειμένου να διαπιστωθεί αν και σε ποιο βαθμό τα συγκεκριμένα ΑΠΣ υιοθέτησαν την Κριτική Παιδαγωγική στο σύνολό της.

Το υλικό της διερεύνησης αποτέλεσαν τα ισχύοντα αναλυτικά προγράμματα σπουδών και συγκεκριμένα:

A) Το πρόγραμμα σπουδών του μαθήματος Πολιτική Παιδεία Α΄ τάξης Γενικού Λυκείου (αριθμ.53250/Γ2 ΦΕΚ 932/14-4-2014, τ. β΄) και

B) Το πρόγραμμα σπουδών του μαθήματος Πολιτική Παιδεία Β΄ τάξης Γενικού Λυκείου (αριθμ.53242/Γ2 ΦΕΚ 934/14-4-2014, τ. β΄)

#### Τα αποτελέσματα

Από το υπό έρευνα υλικό προκύπτει ότι ο γενικός σκοπός του μαθήματος αποτελεί η διαμόρφωση ελεύθερων, υπεύθυνων και ενεργών πολιτών, προκειμένου να αγωνίζονται για έναν καλύτερο και δικαιοτερο κόσμο, να αναπτύξουν πολιτική συνείδηση και κριτική σκέψη και να μαθητεύσουν στη Δημοκρατία. Στο απόσπασμα που ακολουθεί συνοψίζονται οι σκοποί της πολιτικής διαπαιδαγώγησης στη δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση και η ανάγνωσή του βοηθά να γίνουν περισσότερο κατανοητοί η φιλοσοφία που διαπνέει το σκοπό και τους στόχους του μαθήματος. Συγκεκριμένα:

«.....Το μάθημα «Πολιτική Παιδεία» (Οικονομία, Πολιτικοί Θεσμοί και Αρχές Δικαίου και Κοινωνιολογία) είναι πρωτίστως μια μαθητεία στη Δημοκρατία. Σκοπός του είναι να διαμορφώσει έναν ελεύθερο, υπεύθυνο και ενεργό πολίτη, ο οποίος έγκαιρα και με επίγνωση θα κατανοήσει τη σημασία και την αξία της δημοκρατίας, θα σέβεται τους πολιτειακούς θεσμούς, θα αγαπά και θα αγωνίζεται για τη δημοκρατία και την πολιτεία..... ο μαθητής να αποκτήσει κοινωνική, οικονομική και πολιτική παιδεία, να καταλάβει και να βιώσει τη διασύνδεση Κοινωνίας-Οικονομίας- Πολιτικών Θεσμών και Δικαίου, να κατανοήσει βασικούς θεσμούς για





την οργάνωση και τη λειτουργία της κοινωνίας, της οικονομίας και της πολιτείας και να αναπτύξει πολιτική συνείδηση και κριτική σκέψη, ώστε να συμμετέχει ενεργά στο τοπικό, εθνικό, ευρωπαϊκό και παγκόσμιο κοινωνικό, πολιτικό και οικονομικό γίνεσθαι ως ελεύθερος και υπεύθυνος Σκοπός, εν τέλει, είναι ο αγώνας και η αγωνία για μια καλύτερη κοινωνία, για έναν καλύτερο κόσμο, το αέναο και ανεξάντλητο ενδιαφέρον για την πολιτική, γιατί είναι σπουδαία δραστηριότητα, που δίνει χαρά και νόημα στη ζωή, γιατί είναι ό,τι οργανωτικά ευγενέστερο φαντάστηκε ο άνθρωπος για να υπηρετήσει τους άλλους».

Ο σκοπός αυτός εξειδικεύεται περαιτέρω με επιμέρους στόχους που αναφέρονται στην ανάπτυξη πρωτοβουλιών, στην κοινοτική δράση, στην απόκτηση κοινωνικών, πολιτικών και οικονομικών γνώσεων, στάσεων και δεξιοτήτων. Ενδεικτικά αναφέρουμε:

«...Η αξιοποίηση της κοινωνιολογικής, οικονομικής και πολιτικής σκέψης και των κατάλληλων εργαλείων για την κατανόηση της δυναμικής αλληλεξάρτησης της κοινωνίας (πολιτείας), της οικονομίας και του δικαίου, την ανάπτυξη αυτογνωσίας και κοινωνικής συνείδησης, με απώτερο στόχο τη δημιουργική ένταξη και παρέμβαση σε ένα συνεχώς μεταβαλλόμενο κοινωνικό-οικονομικό- πολιτικό περιβάλλον... Η απόκτηση επιπλέον γνώσεων για βασικούς θεσμούς της κοινωνίας, της οικονομίας και της πολιτείας... Η ανάπτυξη κριτικής σκέψης για την ανάλυση των κοινωνικών- οικονομικών- πολιτικών φαινομένων και την αντιμετώπιση των αντίστοιχων προβλημάτων. ... Η συνολική και συνθετική θεώρηση των θεσμών, του δικαίου, της πολιτικής και της οικονομίας ως «κοινωνικών» συμβάντων και δημιουργημάτων για το ατομικό και συλλογικό γίνεσθαι...- Η συνειδητοποίηση της αξίας του διαλόγου, ώστε να σέβονται τις διαφορετικές απόψεις, αλλά και να υποστηρίζουν τις απόψεις τους με επιχειρήματα, κάνοντας χρήση των πορισμάτων των κοινωνικών επιστημών. Η υιοθέτηση θετικής στάσης, εκ μέρους του μαθητή, ώστε να αγαπήσει την κοινωνία (πολιτεία), να σέβεται τους θεσμούς, να δώσει νόημα στην πολιτική για να νοιώσει τη χαρά της πολιτικής και της ζωής... Η ανακάλυψη ότι η «Πολιτική Παιδεία» σκοπεύει σε μια κοινωνία (πολιτεία), που δεν εξυπηρετεί συμφέροντα αλλά υπηρετεί αξίες. Αξίες, όπως η ελευθερία, η ισότητα, η αλληλεγγύη, η συμμετοχή, το μέτρο, ο διάλογος κτλ., που θα συμβάλλουν στη δημιουργία να ανέβουμε, ατομικά και συλλογικά, ακόμη ψηλότερα... Να κατανοήσουν την οργάνωση και λειτουργία της κοινωνίας, της πολιτείας και της οικονομίας και να προσπαθούν για τη διαρκή βελτίωσή τους... Να κατανοήσουν τη λειτουργία της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης, να νοιώσουν Ευρωπαίοι πολίτες και να συμμετέχουν ενεργά στο ευρωπαϊκό γίνεσθαι... Η αξιοποίηση της κοινωνιολογικής, οικονομικής και πολιτικής σκέψης και των κατάλληλων εργαλείων για την κατανόηση της δυναμικής αλληλεξάρτησης της κοινωνίας (πολιτείας), της οικονομίας και του δικαίου, την ανάπτυξη αυτογνωσίας και κοινωνικής συνείδησης, με απώτερο στόχο τη δημιουργική ένταξη και παρέμβαση σε ένα συνεχώς μεταβαλλόμενο κοινωνικό-οικονομικό-πολιτικό περιβάλλον...η ανακάλυψη ότι η «Πολιτική Παιδεία» σκοπεύει σε μια κοινωνία (πολιτεία), που δεν εξυπηρετεί



συμφέροντα αλλά υπηρετεί αξίες. Αξίες, όπως η ελευθερία, η ισότητα, η αλληλεγγύη, η συμμετοχή, το μέτρο, ο διάλογος κ.τ.λ., που θα συμβάλλουν στη δημιουργία να ανέβουμε, ατομικά και συλλογικά, ακόμη ψηλότερα...» (βλ. Παράρτημα).

Σχετικά με το δεύτερο αναλυτικό εργαλείο διαπιστώνεται ότι το περιεχόμενο σπουδών που ενσωματώνεται στα ΑΠΣ της Πολιτικής Παιδείας έχει οργανωθεί γύρω από κοινωνικές, οικονομικές και πολιτικές έννοιες, γεγονός αναμενόμενο. Σε αυτό το σημείο έχει ιδιαίτερη σημασία να αναφερθούν τα θέματα που απουσιάζουν από το περιεχόμενο των ΑΠΣ και εν τέλει δε διδάσκονται οι έφηβοι μαθητές. Θέματα που σχετίζονται με τα ανθρώπινα δικαιώματα, την παιδαγωγική της ειρήνης και της αλληλεγγύης καθώς και της κοινωνικής δικαιοσύνης. Δεν υπάρχει αναφορά σε κοινωνικούς αγώνες και κοινωνικά κινήματα, στην κοινωνία των πολιτών και σε φαινόμενα κοινωνικού κατακερματισμού (κοινωνικός αποκλεισμός, ρατσισμός, εθνικιστικές εξάρσεις). Δεν έχουν ενσωματωθεί θέματα σύγχρονης πραγματικότητας(π.χ. προσφυγικό) και ελάχιστες αναφορές συναντάμε σε εθνικά και παγκόσμια κοινωνικά προβλήματα και θέματα κοινωνικών ανισοτήτων. Ενδεικτικά αναφέρουμε:

#### *Α. Αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα σπουδών Πολιτικής Παιδείας Α΄ Λυκείου:*

##### ΚΕΦ. 1: Η ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ Η ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ ΚΑΙ Η ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ

Άνθρωπος: κοινωνικό, οικονομικό και πολιτικό ον-1.2 Η πόλις και ο πολίτης-1.3 πολιτική τέχνη-1.5 Η οικονομία-1.5.1 Κοινωνία, πολιτεία και οικονομία: αμφίδρομες σχέσεις-1.5.2 Από την οικονομία του οίκου στην οικονομία της πόλης

##### ΚΕΦ. 2: Η ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ

2.1 Από την αγροτική κοινωνία στην κοινωνία της πληροφορίας και της γνώσης-2.1.1 Αγροτική κοινωνία-2.1.2 Βιομηχανική κοινωνία-2.1.3 Μεταβιομηχανική κοινωνία-2.1.4 Η κοινωνία της πληροφορίας και της γνώσης-2.2 Βασικά χαρακτηριστικά της ελληνικής κοινωνίας

##### ΚΕΦ. 4: Η ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ

4.1 Το κύριο οικονομικό πρόβλημα-1.1 Οι ανάγκες-4.1.2 Τα αγαθά - το καταναλωτικό πρότυπο-4.2 Οι επιχειρήσεις-4.2.1 Οι συντελεστές παραγωγής-4.2.2 Το κόστος παραγωγής-4.2.3 Η τιμή των αγαθών-4.3. Τα νοικοκυριά-4.3.1 Το εισόδημα των νοικοκυριών-4.3.2 Ο οικογενειακός προϋπολογισμός-4.4 Το κράτος ως παραγωγός και ως καταναλωτής-4.5 Βασικά χαρακτηριστικά της ελληνικής οικονομίας (σε συνδυασμό με 13.6)

##### ΚΕΦ. 10: ΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΗΜΑΤΙΚΟΤΗΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΙΝΟΤΟΜΙΑ

10.1 Το επιχειρείν: ο επιχειρηματίας και η επιχείρηση-10.2 Η παραγωγή προϊόντων-10.2.1 Ανταγωνιστικότητα προϊόντων-10.2.2 Εξωστρέφεια των επιχειρήσεων



#### ΚΕΦ. 11: ΤΟ ΧΡΗΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΤΡΑΠΕΖΕΣ

11.1. Από τον αντιπραγματισμό στην οικονομία του χρήματος-11.2 Το χρήμα-11.2.1 Ιδιότητες και λειτουργίες του χρήματος-11.2.2 Σύγχρονες μορφές χρήματος.

*B. Αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα σπουδών Πολιτικής Παιδείας Β' λυκείου:*

#### ΚΕΦ. 2: Η ΟΡΓΑΝΩΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑΣ

2.1 Το ΑΕΠ και η οικονομική ευημερία-2.2 Ο ιδιωτικός και ο δημόσιος τομέας-2.3 Ο ρόλος του κράτους στην οικονομία-2.4 Ο κρατικός προϋπολογισμός-2.4.1 Δημόσια Έσοδα-2.4.2 Δημόσιες Δαπάνες-2.5 Ισοζύγιο: Πλεονασματικό ή Ελλειμματικό-2.6 Δημόσιος Δανεισμός

#### ΚΕΦ. 3: Η ΟΡΓΑΝΩΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΣ

3.1 Μορφές πολιτευμάτων-3.2 Το πολίτευμα της Αθηναϊκής δημοκρατίας-3.3 Το πολίτευμα της Ελλάδας-3.4 Εκλογές και εκλογικά συστήματα-3.5 Έννοια και ρόλος του Συντάγματος  
3.6 Βασικές αρχές του Συντάγματος

#### ΚΕΦ. 5: ΣΧΕΣΕΙΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΗ

5.1 Θεμελιώδεις αρχές της δημόσιας διοίκησης

#### ΚΕΦ.: 6: ΤΟ ΔΙΚΑΙΟ ΣΤΗ ΖΩΗ ΜΑΣ

6.1 Το δίκαιο-6.2 Κανόνες ηθικής και κανόνες δικαίου: η διαφορά-6.3 Ερμηνεία και ιεράρχηση κανόνων δικαίου-6.4 Υποκείμενα δικαίου

#### ΚΕΦ. 7: Η ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ

7.1 Οι παραγωγικές δυνατότητες της χώρας-7.1.1 Το ανθρώπινο δυναμικό-7.1.2 Οι φυσικοί πόροι-7.2 Τα συγκριτικά πλεονεκτήματα της χώρας-7.2.1 Η γεωργία-7.2.2 Ο τουρισμός-7.2.3 Η ναυτιλία-7.2.4 Η ενέργεια-7.2.5 Άλλοι τομείς: τρόφιμα, φάρμακα κτλ.-7.3 Από την οικονομία της κατανάλωσης στην οικονομία της παραγωγής.

#### ΚΕΦ. 8: ΘΕΣΜΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΕΣ ΤΗΣ Ε.Ε.

8.1 Ίδρυση και εξέλιξη-8.2 Βασικοί θεσμοί της Ε.Ε.

Σχετικά με το τρίτο αναλυτικό εργαλείο, παρουσιάζεται μια τάση που αναγνωρίζει τον εκπαιδευτικό ως μεσολαβητή και διευκολυντή στη μάθηση, η οποία αποκτάται με βιωματικές εμπειρίες μέσα από την ενεργό συμμετοχή σε ανάλογες δραστηριότητες. Προωθείται η ανάπτυξη του ομαδικού πνεύματος, η μάθηση σε άτυπα περιβάλλοντα μάθησης, η έρευνα και η δράση, το άνοιγμα του σχολείου στην κοινωνία, η ενθάρρυνση των μαθητών να μιλούν για τα βιώματά τους και συναντάμε ιδιαίτερη αναφορά στις μαθητικές κοινότητες και τη λειτουργία τους. Ενδεικτικά αποσπάσματα:



«...τα θέματα πρέπει να προσεγγίζονται με συμμετοχικές και βιωματικές μεθοδολογίες που προωθούν την ανακαλυπτική μάθηση και καλλιεργούν ικανότητες, δεξιότητες και στάσεις...η μαθητοκεντρική εξατομικευμένη και διαφοροποιημένη διδασκαλία με στόχο την ενεργοποίηση και συμμετοχή του μαθητή, ώστε ο μαθητής να μάθει να μαθαίνει... οργάνωση επισκέψεων σε θεσμούς και χώρους εργασίας (Βουλή, Δημαρχείο, Επιχείρηση, Μ.Μ.Ε. κτλ.), για να έρθουν οι μαθητές σε επαφή με τον πραγματικό κόσμο, ώστε να ενημερωθούν και να κατανοήσουν την οργάνωση και τη λειτουργία τους... συμμετοχή σε δραστηριότητες της τάξης, του σχολείου και της κοινότητας, για την απόκτηση εμπειριών αλλά και κοινωνικής συνείδησης και αλληλεγγύης, ανάπτυξη πρωτοβουλιών από τους ίδιους τους μαθητές για διάφορα θέματα, όπως η δημιουργία εικονικών επιχειρήσεων, ο έρανος αλληλεγγύης, η ανακύκλωση, η δενδροφύτευση κτλ., ώστε οι μαθητές να αναπτύξουν αίσθηση ατομικής και κοινωνικής ευθύνης, αίσθηση ταυτότητας και συλλογικότητας...διοργάνωση ομαδικών συζητήσεων, συζητήσεων στρογγυλής τράπεζας, για διάφορα επίκαιρα κοινωνικά-πολιτικά-οικονομικά θέματα, που σχετίζονται με το περιεχόμενο του μαθήματος, με στόχο οι μαθητές να αποκτήσουν ικανότητες ομιλίας/ έκφρασης, ακρόασης, διαλόγου, επιχειρηματολογίας, διαχείρισης και επίλυσης συγκρούσεων και ανάληψης ευθυνών... εκπόνηση συνθετικών εργασιών (project)...εργασίες για τη διαπίστωση της δημιουργικής και κριτικής ικανότητας των μαθητών (αναζήτηση και επιλογή πληροφοριών, χρήση ποικίλων πηγών, πρωτότυπη σύλληψη και παρουσίαση εργασιών κτλ) (βλ. Παράρτημα).

### Συμπεράσματα

Με βάση το στόχο της παρούσας μελέτης προκύπτουν οι ακόλουθες διαπιστώσεις για τα Αναλυτικά Προγράμματα Σπουδών του μαθήματος «Πολιτική Παιδεία», που διδάσκεται στη Δευτεροβάθμια Εκπαίδευση:

- 1) Συρρικνώνουν την οικονομική επιστήμη, την πολιτική επιστήμη, το δίκαιο και την κοινωνιολογία, θεωρώντας ότι είναι ένα αντικείμενο, ενέργεια που αποδεικνύει συντεχνιακές λογικές και εξυπηρέτηση συμφερόντων διαφόρων ειδικοτήτων. Αυτή η ενοποίηση έχει σαν αποτέλεσμα την σύγχυση των μαθητών/μαθητριών, αφενός γιατί δε δίνεται η δυνατότητα στους μαθητές να κατανοήσουν τη διαφορετικότητα των επιστημών σε επίπεδο αρχών, σκοπών, περιεχομένου και μεθοδολογίας και αφετέρου απομακρυνόμαστε από το γενικό σκοπό του μαθήματος, αφού η γνώση παρουσιάζεται αποσπασματικά με την τεχνική συγκόλληση αποσπασματικών γνώσεων διαφορετικών αντικειμένων. Η αταξία, η έλλειψη συστηματοποίησης της γνώσης, τα διαφορετικά εννοιολογικά και μεθοδολογικά ερωτήματα που αντιστοιχούν σε διαφορετικά πεδία φυσικής και κοινωνική ζωής απομακρύνει τους μαθητές από την εμβάθυνση και την κριτική προσέγγιση.
- 2) Ο σκοπός και οι στόχοι του μαθήματος αποτελούν περισσότερο γενική και αόριστη διακήρυξη για κριτική ικανότητα, πολιτική συμμετοχή και ενεργό πολιτικότητα, αφού τελικά το περιεχόμενο οδηγεί στην υιοθέτηση των αξιών της



άρχουσας τάξης, προπαγανδίζοντας τις αξίες και τους θεσμούς της αστικής κοινοβουλευτικής δημοκρατίας.

3) Αγνοείται ότι η πολιτική ιστορία γράφεται πάνω σε κοινωνικές τάξεις και συμφέροντα και υιοθετεί μια ουδέτερη και στρεβλή εξέλιξη της παγκόσμιας κοινότητας. Δημιουργεί μια ψεύτικη εικόνα για την κοινωνία των πολιτών εξομοιώνοντας τα άτομα ανεξάρτητα από την κοινωνική τους τάξη και τα βιώματά τους.

4) Αποσιωπούνται βασικά θέματα, όπως τα ανθρώπινα δικαιώματα, τα κοινωνικά κινήματα και οι πολιτικοί αγώνες, ενώ εξυμνείται η επιχειρηματική δραστηριότητα και δίνεται ιδιαίτερη βαρύτητα στη σημασία του χρήματος και τη λειτουργία του τραπεζικού συστήματος.

5) Συμπεριλαμβάνονται θέματα όπως η μετανάστευση και η αντιμετώπιση των κοινωνικών προβλημάτων, αλλά η συμπερίληψή τους δεν αποτελεί συνειδητή στράτευση στις αρχές της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής

6) Σχετικά με τις μεθοδολογικές επιλογές και τις προτεινόμενες δραστηριότητες ένας κριτικός παιδαγωγός θα μπορούσε να συναντήσει και να αξιοποιήσει στοιχεία της ΚΠ, διαφορετικά θα αποτελέσουν μεθοδολογικές εμμονές ή το φορμαλιστικό περίβλημα ενός συγκαλυμμένου θετικισμού και μιας κατά τα άλλα δασκαλοκεντρικής προσέγγισης.

7) Φαίνεται πως στοιχεία απουσίας και παρουσίας στο ΑΠΣ είναι εκείνες που, βασικά, τα διαχωρίζουν από τη φιλοσοφία της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής. Η έλλειψη αναφορών σε φλέγοντα ζητήματα, η κυρίαρχη ηθικοποιητική διάσταση της έννοιας του πολίτη, η μη ανάδειξη του ανατρεπτικού και απελευθερωτικού λόγου της πολιτικής διαπαιδαγώγησης. Πίσω από τις διακηρύξεις για κριτική ικανότητα και πολιτική συνείδηση, βρίσκεται η συστηματική προσπάθεια να ενσωματωθούν και να εμπλακούν οι έφηβοι στις αρχές της άρχουσας τάξης και του ληστρικού καπιταλισμού.

8) Στα ζητήματα της οικονομίας, προπαγανδίζουν τους άξονες και τη στρατηγική ανάπτυξης που προτάσσουν οι εκάστοτε κυβερνήσεις, το παγκόσμιο κεφάλαιο και παράλληλα εξισώνουν φασισμό-σοσιαλισμό-κομμουνισμό, δημιουργώντας ιστορικές στρεβλώσεις.

9) Το υπό διερεύνηση υλικό χαρακτηρίζεται από πρωτοτυπία, η οποία προβάλλεται κυρίως στην αρχή της διαθετικής προσέγγισης, η οποία αποτελεί βασικό εργαλείο για τον εκπαιδευτικό που μπορεί να οργανώσει περιεχόμενο σε έννοιες και ιδέες με διαχρονική και πανανθρώπινη εμβέλεια. Διαπιστώνονται σημεία που μπορούν να συσχετιστούν με το ρεύμα της ΚΠ, στο βαθμό που προϋποθέτει και ταυτόχρονα καλλιεργεί κριτικά συνειδητοποιημένους εκπαιδευτικούς και μαθητές. Αν τα κοινωνικά-πολιτικά-οικονομικά ζητήματα προσεγγιστούν ολιστικά και με συστημικό τρόπο θα οδηγήσουν τους μαθητές στην συνειδητοποίηση των πολύπλοκων σχέσεων, στην εμβάθυνση, στην ερμηνεία και στον μετασχηματισμό.

Οι κριτικοί παιδαγωγοί θα μπορούσαν να αντλήσουν υλικό από τις γενικές αρχές, το περιεχόμενο και τις μεθοδολογικές προσεγγίσεις των ΑΠΣ, και να μετακινήσουν





τους μαθητές από την ατομική στη συλλογική δράση. Είναι γεγονός ότι η δημοκρατική ρητορεία των ΑΠΣ έρχονται σε αντίθεση με τις εμπειρίες που βιώνουν στην καθημερινότητά τους οι μαθητές, αλλά η ΚΠ μπορεί να γεφυρώσει το χάσμα θεωρίας και πράξης, ώστε να καταστούν οι μαθητές κριτικά σκεπτόμενοι και να οδηγηθούν σε αναστοχασμό και μετασηματιστικές δράσεις. Οι κριτικοί παιδαγωγοί δεν επαναπαύονται, δεν περιμένουν την κοινωνική αλλαγή για να επέλθει και η διαμόρφωση ανάλογου ΑΠΣ. Μάχονται εντός των ΑΠΣ, αναλαμβάνουν το ρόλο του αναμορφωτή διανοούμενου και αρθρώνουν όχι μόνο κριτικό λόγο, αλλά τοποθετούν τον εαυτό του εντός ενός ευρύτερου επαναστατικού σχεδίου. Αναγνωρίζουν ότι «δεν είμαστε μόνο δάσκαλοι...είμαστε, πολιτικοί αγωνιστές, επειδή είμαστε δάσκαλοι...η δουλειά μας είναι να αφιερωθούμε στον αγώνα για να νικηθεί η κοινωνική αδικία (Freire, 2006) και να αποδεικνύουν στην καθημερινή τους παιδαγωγική πρακτική ότι η Κριτική Παιδαγωγική αποτελεί τη μοναδική συνθήκη για την καλλιέργεια της κριτικής δημοκρατικής πολιτικής διαπαιδαγώγησης.

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## ΠΑΡΑΡΤΗΜΑ

ΑΝΑΛΥΤΙΚΑ ΠΡΟΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ ΣΠΟΥΔΩΝ (ΑΠΣ) ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗΣ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ Α' ΚΑΙ Β' ΛΥΚΕΙΟΥ.

(Απόσπασμα από ΦΕΚ 932/2014 και ΦΕΚ 934/2014)

Ο ΥΠΟΥΡΓΟΣ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΡΗΣΚΕΥΜΑΤΩΝ

Έχοντας υπόψη: 1. Τις διατάξεις της παρ. 2 περ. α του άρθρου 42 του ν. 4186/2013 (ΦΕΚ Α' 193) «Αναδιάρθρωση της Δευτεροβάθμιας Εκπαίδευσης και λοιπές διατάξεις». 2. Τις διατάξεις της παρ. 1 περ. γ του άρθρου 18 του ν. 3475/2006 «Οργάνωση και λειτουργία της δευτεροβάθμιας επαγγελματικής εκπαίδευσης και άλλες διατάξεις» (ΦΕΚ Α' 146). 3. Τις διατάξεις του άρθρου 2 παρ. 3 περ. α υποπ.ββ του ν. 3966/2011 (ΦΕΚ Α' 118) «Θεσμικό πλαίσιο των Πρότυπων Πειραματικών



Σχολείων, Ίδρυση Ινστιτούτου Εκπαιδευτικής Πολιτικής, Οργάνωση του Ινστιτούτου Τεχνολογίας Υπολογιστών και Εκδόσεων «ΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ» και λοιπές διατάξεις».4. Τις διατάξεις του άρθρου 90 του κώδικα Νομοθεσίας για την Κυβέρνηση και τα Κυβερνητικά όργανα που κυρώθηκε με το άρθρο πρώτο του Π.Δ. 63/2005 (ΦΕΚ Α΄ 98).5. Την με αριθμ. 16/17-03-2014 πράξη του Δ.Σ. του Ινστιτούτου Εκπαιδευτικής Πολιτικής.6. Το γεγονός ότι από την απόφαση αυτή δεν προκαλείται δαπάνη σε βάρος του κρατικού προϋπολογισμού.αποφασίζουμε: Άρθρο μόνον

Καθορίζουμε το Πρόγραμμα Σπουδών του μαθήματος Πολιτική Παιδεία (Οικονομία, Πολιτικοί Θεσμοί & Αρχές Δικαίου και Κοινωνιολογία) Α΄ τάξης Γενικού Λυκείου και Επαγγελματικού Λυκείου ως εξής:

### 1. Σκοπός

Το μάθημα «Πολιτική Παιδεία» (Οικονομία, Πολιτικοί Θεσμοί και Αρχές Δικαίου και Κοινωνιολογία) είναι πρωτίστως μια μαθητεία στη Δημοκρατία. Σκοπός του είναι να διαμορφώσει έναν ελεύθερο, υπεύθυνο και ενεργό πολίτη, ο οποίος έγκαιρα και με επίγνωση θα κατανοήσει τη σημασία και την αξία της δημοκρατίας, θα σέβεται τους πολιτειακούς θεσμούς, θα αγαπά και θα αγωνίζεται για τη δημοκρατία και την πολιτεία.

Σκοπός του μαθήματος είναι ο μαθητής να αποκτήσει κοινωνική, οικονομική και πολιτική παιδεία, να καταλάβει και να βιώσει τη διασύνδεση Κοινωνίας- Οικονομίας- Πολιτικών Θεσμών και Δικαίου, να κατανοήσει βασικούς θεσμούς για την οργάνωση και τη λειτουργία της κοινωνίας, της οικονομίας και της πολιτείας και να αναπτύξει πολιτική συνείδηση και κριτική σκέψη, ώστε να συμμετέχει ενεργά στο τοπικό, εθνικό, ευρωπαϊκό και παγκόσμιο κοινωνικό, πολιτικό και οικονομικό γίνεσθαι ως ελεύθερος και υπεύθυνος πολίτης.

Σκοπός, εν τέλει, είναι ο αγώνας και η αγωνία για μια καλύτερη κοινωνία, για έναν καλύτερο κόσμο, το αέναο και ανεξάντλητο ενδιαφέρον για την πολιτική, γιατί είναι σπουδαία δραστηριότητα, που δίνει χαρά και νόημα στη ζωή, γιατί είναι «ό,τι οργανωτικά ευγενέστερο φαντάστηκε ο άνθρωπος για να υπηρετήσει τους άλλους».

### 2. Ειδικότεροι σκοποί

– Η αξιοποίηση της κοινωνιολογικής, οικονομικής και πολιτικής σκέψης και των κατάλληλων εργαλείων για την κατανόηση της δυναμικής αλληλεξάρτησης της κοινωνίας (πολιτείας), της οικονομίας και του δικαίου, την ανάπτυξη αυτογνωσίας και κοινωνικής συνείδησης, με απώτερο στόχο τη δημιουργική ένταξη και παρέμβαση σε ένα συνεχώς μεταβαλλόμενο κοινωνικό-οικονομικό-πολιτικό περιβάλλον.

– Η απόκτηση των απαραίτητων γνώσεων για βασικούς θεσμούς της κοινωνίας, της οικονομίας και της πολιτείας.

– Η ανάπτυξη κριτικής σκέψης για την ανάλυση των κοινωνικών, οικονομικών, και πολιτικών φαινομένων και την αντιμετώπιση των αντίστοιχων προβλημάτων.

– Η απόκτηση κοινωνικών ικανοτήτων/δεξιοτήτων, αξιών και στάσεων, ώστε να βοηθηθούν στην ένταξή τους σε μια διαρκώς μεταβαλλόμενη δημοκρατική Ελληνική και Ευρωπαϊκή κοινωνία.

– Η συνολική και συνθετική θεώρηση των θεσμών, του δικαίου, της πολιτικής και της οικονομίας ως «κοινωνικών» συμβάντων και δημιουργημάτων για το ατομικό και συλλογικό γίνεσθαι.

– Η συνειδητοποίηση της αξίας του διαλόγου, ώστε να σέβονται τις διαφορετικές απόψεις, αλλά και να υποστηρίζουν τις απόψεις τους με επιχειρήματα.

– Η υιοθέτηση θετικής στάσης εκ μέρους του μαθητή, ώστε να αγαπήσει την κοινωνία (πολιτεία), να σέβεται τους θεσμούς, να δώσει νόημα στην πολιτική για να νιώσει τη χαρά της πολιτικής και της ζωής.

– Η ανακάλυψη ότι η «Πολιτική Παιδεία» σκοπεύει σε μια κοινωνία (πολιτεία), που δεν εξυπηρετεί συμφέροντα αλλά υπηρετεί αξίες. Αξίες, όπως η ελευθερία, η ισότητα, η αλληλεγγύη, η συμμετοχή, το μέτρο, ο διάλογος κ.τ.λ., που θα συμβάλλουν στη δημιουργία να ανέβουμε, ατομικά και συλλογικά, ακόμη ψηλότερα.



Επιπλέον, το μάθημα «Πολιτική Παιδεία» έχει σκοπό οι μαθητές να μπορούν να:

- Να καταλάβουν την ταύτιση κοινωνίας και πολιτείας και τη λειτουργία του ανθρώπου ως κοινωνικού, οικονομικού και πολιτικού όντος.
- Να διακρίνουν τις διάφορες μορφές κοινωνικής οργάνωσης.
- Να κατανοήσουν τη λειτουργία της οικονομίας.
- Να διακρίνουν την πολιτική κοινότητα, από τον δήμο μέχρι την παγκόσμια κοινότητα.
- Να εξηγούν τη λειτουργία της κοινωνικοποίησης/ πολιτικοποίησης.
- Να δραστηριοποιούνται ως ελεύθεροι και υπεύθυνοι πολίτες.
- Να γνωρίζουν τη διαδικασία λήψης αποφάσεων και να κρίνουν τη λήψη αποφάσεων από πρόσωπα και φορείς.
- Να υιοθετήσουν και να δραστηριοποιούνται με τη λογική της αειφόρου ανάπτυξης.
- Να υιοθετήσουν ως τρόπο επαγγελματικής δράσης το επιχειρείν και τις καινοτόμες δραστηριότητες.
- Να κατανοούν και να κρίνουν το ρόλο του κράτους στην οικονομία.
- Να κατανοούν το πρόβλημα της μετανάστευσης και να αντιμετωπίζουν τους μετανάστες με ανθρωπιστικά κριτήρια.
- Να διαμορφώσουν κοινωνική, οικονομική και πολιτική συνείδηση και να υιοθετήσουν ατομικές και συλλογικές στάσεις και πρακτικές για την πρόληψη και αντιμετώπιση των κοινωνικών, οικονομικών και πολιτικών προβλημάτων της Ελλάδας, της Ευρώπης, του Κόσμου.

### 3. Στόχοι, κεφάλαια–ενότητες και δραστηριότητες

(...) (Βλέπε στο ΦΕΚ 932/2014)

#### 4. Διδακτική Μεθοδολογία

Το μάθημα «Πολιτική Παιδεία» (Οικονομία, Πολιτικοί Θεσμοί και Αρχές Δικαίου και Κοινωνιολογία), λόγω του περιεχομένου του, χρειάζεται μια συνολική και συνθετική θεώρηση. Είναι μάθημα που προσφέρεται για ουσιαστικό διάλογο (όχι επιμέρους μονολόγους), για διερευνητική και ανακαλυπτική μάθηση, χωρίς προκαταλήψεις και φανατισμούς.

Στην αρχή του σχολικού έτους ο καθηγητής είναι απαραίτητο να κάνει ετήσιο–τετραμηνιαίο και μηνιαίο προγραμματισμό της διδακτέας ύλης. Ο προγραμματισμός είναι απαραίτητος για να χωριστεί η διδακτέα ύλη κατά διδακτική ώρα και για να διδαχτεί ολόκληρη.

Επισημαίνεται ότι ο ρόλος του εκπαιδευτικού αλλάζει.

Ο εκπαιδευτικός είναι συνεργάτης και διευκολυντής της ομάδας/τάξης. Ενθαρρύνει και βοηθάει τους μαθητές να κατανοούν, να ερευνούν, να επικοινωνούν και να συμμετέχουν στη διαδικασία της μάθησης προσπαθώντας να αναπτύξει όλα τα είδη νοημοσύνης (γλωσσική, μαθηματική, συναισθηματική κ.τ.λ.) των μαθητών. Επίσης, συνδέει τη θεωρία με την πραγματικότητα, διότι έτσι ο μαθητής ενεργοποιείται και έχει ενδιαφέρον για να συμμετέχει ενεργά στο κοινωνικό, πολιτικό και οικονομικό γίγνεσθαι.

Τα θέματα πρέπει να προσεγγίζονται με συμμετοχικές και βιωματικές μεθοδολογίες που προωθούν την ανακαλυπτική μάθηση και καλλιεργούν ικανότητες, δεξιότητες και στάσεις, όπως αυτές που αναφέρονται στους στόχους και στις δραστηριότητες του Α.Π.Σ.

Ειδικότερα, οι μέθοδοι και οι τεχνικές που μπορούν να χρησιμοποιηθούν στο μάθημα «Πολιτική Παιδεία» (Οικονομία, Πολιτικοί Θεσμοί και Αρχές Δικαίου και Κοινωνιολογία), της Α΄ τάξης Λυκείου είναι οι εξής:

- α) Η μαθητοκεντρική, εξατομικευμένη και διαφοροποιημένη διδασκαλία με στόχο την ενεργοποίηση και συμμετοχή του μαθητή, ώστε ο μαθητής να μάθει να μαθαίνει.
- β) Η διαθεματική και διεπιστημονική προσέγγιση, με στόχο τη συνολική αντίληψη του αντικειμένου και της πραγματικότητας.
- γ) Η μικρότερη έμφαση στο περιεχόμενο και η μεγαλύτερη έμφαση στη διαδικασία, με στόχο την ανάπτυξη της αναλυτικής και συνθετικής ικανότητας και της κριτικής σκέψης.
- δ) Η άσκηση των μαθητών στην παρατήρηση, περιγραφή, ανάλυση και ερμηνεία ενός κοινωνικού–οικονομικού–πολιτικού φαινομένου, θεσμού κ.τ.λ.



- ε) Η μελέτη πηγών με στόχο την ενεργοποίηση του μαθητή και την ιστορική και συγκριτική προσέγγιση της γνώσης.
- στ) Τα παιχνίδια ρόλων και η δραματοποίηση. Κάποιοι μαθητές αναλαμβάνουν να παίξουν ρόλους με στόχο να παρουσιάσουν μια κατάσταση της πραγματικής ζωής ενώπιον της τάξης. Η ανάληψη ρόλων είναι ένα θεατρικό παιχνίδι που μπορεί να συμβάλλει στην ανάπτυξη διαπροσωπικών δεξιοτήτων και στην δημιουργία πραγματικών συναισθηματικών βιωμάτων, δηλαδή στην καλύτερη κατανόηση της πραγματικότητας.
- ζ) Η οργάνωση επισκέψεων σε θεσμούς και χώρους εργασίας (Βουλή, Δημαρχείο, Επιχείρηση, Μ.Μ.Ε. κ.τ.λ.), για να έρθουν οι μαθητές σε επαφή με τον πραγματικό κόσμο, ώστε να ενημερωθούν και να κατανοήσουν την οργάνωση και τη λειτουργία τους.
- η) Η πρόσκληση στο σχολείο ειδικών (πολιτικών, επιστημόνων, επιχειρηματιών κ.λ.) και εκπροσώπων οργανισμών, οργανώσεων και συλλόγων (ΟΗΕ, Διεθνής Αμνηστία, Ε.Ε. κ.τ.λ.) για ενημέρωση, ώστε να διευκολυνθεί το άνοιγμα του σχολείου στην κοινωνία.
- θ) Η συμμετοχή σε δραστηριότητες της τάξης, του σχολείου και της κοινότητας, για την απόκτηση εμπειριών αλλά και κοινωνικής συνείδησης και αλληλεγγύης, καθώς και για την εκπλήρωση των υποχρεώσεων του ατόμου προς την κοινωνία.
- ι) Η ανάπτυξη πρωτοβουλιών από τους ίδιους τους μαθητές για διάφορα θέματα, όπως η δημιουργία εικονικών επιχειρήσεων, ο έρανος αλληλεγγύης, η ανακύκλωση, η δενδροφύτευση κ.τ.λ., ώστε οι μαθητές να αναπτύξουν αίσθηση ατομικής και κοινωνικής ευθύνης, αίσθηση ταυτότητας και συλλογικότητας.
- ια) Η έρευνα, με ερωτηματολόγιο, συνεντεύξεις κ.τ.λ., για τη διερεύνηση ενός ζητήματος τοπικού, εθνικού ή διεθνούς ενδιαφέροντος, καθώς και η εύρεση και διατύπωση λύσεων για την αντιμετώπισή του.
- ιβ) Η διοργάνωση ομαδικών συζητήσεων, συζητήσεων στρογγυλής τράπεζας, για διάφορα επίκαιρα κοινωνικά-πολιτικά-οικονομικά θέματα, που σχετίζονται με το περιεχόμενο του μαθήματος, με στόχο οι μαθητές να αποκτήσουν ικανότητες ομιλίας/έκφρασης, ακρόασης, διαλόγου, επιχειρηματολογίας, διαχείρισης και επίλυσης συγκρούσεων και ανάληψης ευθυνών.
- ιγ) Η μελέτη περίπτωσης. Οι μαθητές αναλαμβάνουν να μελετήσουν προβλήματα της πραγματικής ζωής και να παρουσιάσουν προτάσεις και λύσεις γι' αυτά. Η μελέτη μιας περίπτωσης (π.χ. η διαδικασία της ψηφοφορίας, το δικαίωμα της εργασίας, το επιχειρείν κ.τ.λ.), ώστε οι μαθητές να κατανοήσουν εν προκειμένω τη χρησιμότητα και την κρισιμότητα της ψηφοφορίας, της εργασίας, του επιχειρείν.
- ιδ) Οι προσομοιώσεις και τα παιχνίδια. Η προσομοίωση παρέχει στους μαθητές μια απλούστερη αναπαράσταση του πραγματικού ή του φανταστικού κόσμου. Αποτελεί έναν από τους πιο αποτελεσματικούς τρόπους για την υποστήριξη της εννοιολογικής κατανόησης του πραγματικού κόσμου. Αν η μάθηση θεωρηθεί παιχνίδι, τότε γίνεται ευχάριστη και οι μαθητές μαθαίνουν παίζοντας, χωρίς άγχος και χωρίς κόπο.
- ιε) Η εκπόνηση συνθετικών εργασιών (project). Οι ομάδες συγκροτούνται από δύο ή περισσότερα μέλη (ο αριθμός των μελών εξαρτάται από το είδος εργασίας) και είναι σκόπιμο να έχουν μεικτή σύνθεση από άποψη γνώσεων, φύλου κ.τ.λ. Στις εργασίες αυτές, οι μαθητές έχουν τη δυνατότητα να συνεργασθούν και να αναζητήσουν πληροφορίες από διάφορες πηγές, να συζητήσουν και να προτείνουν λύσεις και εν τέλει να συνθέσουν την εργασία τους και να την παρουσιάσουν στην τάξη ή στο σχολείο. Η τεχνική αυτή θεωρείται ζωτικής σημασίας γιατί, μεταξύ άλλων, προϋποθέτει συνεργασία και αλληλεγγύη, αυτονομία και υπευθυνότητα. Βέβαια, ο καθηγητής θα πρέπει να έχει προετοιμάσει τα θέματα των εργασιών σε συνεργασία με τους μαθητές και επιπλέον να τις παρακολουθεί κατά την εκτέλεσή τους.
- ιστ) Η πρακτική εξάσκηση. Η πρακτική εξάσκηση είναι μια μαθησιακή διαδικασία που λαμβάνει χώρα είτε στο εργαστήριο είτε στο φυσικό περιβάλλον. Χρησιμοποιείται περισσότερο στην τεχνική-επαγγελματική εκπαίδευση. Το όφελος από την τεχνική αυτή είναι μεγάλο γιατί οι μαθητές έχουν την ευκαιρία να εφαρμόσουν τη θεωρία, να συνδέσουν τη θεωρία με την πράξη.





ιζ) Η χρήση των παραδοσιακών μεθόδων διδασκαλίας (αφήγηση, ερωτήσεις-απαντήσεις, διάλογος, χρήση σχολικού εγχειριδίου και βοηθημάτων, εργασίες μαθητών κ.τ.λ.). Ειδικότερα:

Η διάλεξη. Η διάλεξη χρησιμοποιείται συνήθως όταν το αντικείμενο διδασκαλίας περιέχει πολλές πληροφορίες και όταν ο αριθμός των μαθητών στην τάξη είναι μεγάλος. Η διάλεξη θα πρέπει να περιλαμβάνει τα εξής: την εισαγωγή, το κυρίως θέμα και το συμπέρασμα.

Οι ερωτήσεις. Οι ερωτήσεις αυξάνουν τη συμμετοχή των εκπαιδευόμενων. Χρησιμοποιούνται συνήθως για να ελεγχθεί η κατανόηση, να παρακινηθεί η κριτική σκέψη και η δημιουργικότητα, να συναχθούν συμπεράσματα, να βελτιωθεί η ικανότητα επίλυσης προβλημάτων ή να ενεργοποιηθεί η ερευνητική δραστηριότητα. Μπορεί να είναι ανοιχτού ή κλειστού τύπου, ανάλογα με το στόχο και το περιεχόμενο της διδασκαλίας.

Ο διάλογος. Επισημαίνεται ότι διάλογος δεν είναι οποιαδήποτε συζήτηση, αλλά απαιτεί μια δομημένη διαδικασία εστιασμένη στους στόχους του αντικειμένου διδασκαλίας, γι' αυτό και χρειάζεται προετοιμασία εκ μέρους του καθηγητή. Ο διάλογος γίνεται με βάση τον ορθό λόγο και με επιχειρήματα, τόσο για την υπεράσπιση μιας άποψης ή πράξης, όσο και ως μέσο επίλυσης των διαφορών και των συγκρούσεων. Και βέβαια ενώ οι επιμέρους μονόλογοι είναι εύκολοι, ο διάλογος είναι δύσκολος γιατί απαιτεί κανόνες.

ιη) Η διαφοροποιημένη διδασκαλία, κατά την οποία δίνεται έμφαση: στην αξιοποίηση των προηγούμενων γνώσεων και εμπειριών των μαθητών, στην καλλιέργεια κινήτρων για ενεργοποίηση της συμμετοχής, στην καλλιέργεια κλίματος αναγνώρισης και αποδοχής, στην καλλιέργεια επικοινωνίας και κοινωνικών αλληλεπιδράσεων στη συμμετοχή των μαθητών στη διαχείριση της μάθησής τους. στη διαμόρφωση ελκυστικών περιβαλλόντων μάθησης και τη σύνδεσή τους με τα περιβάλλοντα ζωής.

ιβ) η συμμετοχή σε σχολικά δίκτυα αλλά και η δημιουργία σχολικού δικτύου με θέματα κοινωνικά, οικονομικά, πολιτικά,

Επισημαίνεται ότι οι παραπάνω προσεγγίσεις δεν είναι περιοριστικές. Κάθε εκπαιδευτικός, σε κάθε διδακτική ώρα, μπορεί να εφαρμόσει όποιες μεθόδους και τεχνικές κρίνει προσφορότερες, αρκεί να αφήσει τη φαντασία του ελεύθερη, έχοντας ως οδηγό τους στόχους του μαθήματος και την πρόοδο των μαθητών.

## 5. Η αξιολόγηση του μαθητή

### 5.1 Σκοπός της αξιολόγησης του μαθητή

Η αξιολόγηση της επίδοσης του μαθητή είναι ένα σύνθετο φαινόμενο με πολλές διαστάσεις: θεωρητικές, πρακτικές, κοινωνικές, παιδαγωγικές, ψυχολογικές.

Έχει θετικές και αρνητικές επιπτώσεις στο μαθητή, στο σχολείο, στην οικογένεια, στην κοινωνία, γι' αυτό και χρειάζεται ιδιαίτερη προσοχή.

Ως αξιολόγηση της επίδοσης του μαθητή νοείται η συστηματική, οργανωμένη και συνεχής διαδικασία ελέγχου του βαθμού επίτευξης των στόχων του μαθήματος.

Με άλλα λόγια, είναι η διαδικασία που αποβλέπει με συγκεκριμένα κριτήρια και με συγκεκριμένη μεθοδολογία να προσδιορίσει συστηματικά, έγκυρα, αξιόπιστα και αντικειμενικά το αποτέλεσμα της εκπαιδευτικής διαδικασίας σε σχέση με τους εκπαιδευτικούς στόχους.

Η αξιολόγηση λοιπόν γίνεται χάριν και όχι εναντίον του μαθητή. Γίνεται για να βρεθούν οι αδυναμίες της εκπαιδευτικής διαδικασίας. Είναι αναπόσπαστο μέρος της εκπαιδευτικής διαδικασίας.

Ειδικότερα, η αξιολόγηση του μαθητή αποσκοπεί:

– Στη διερεύνηση της μαθησιακής πορείας των μαθητών σε όλα τα θέματα που προσφέρονται στο Α.Π.Σ.

– Στον εντοπισμό των μαθησιακών δυσκολιών των μαθητών, με στόχο το σχεδιασμό κατάλληλων παρεμβάσεων για τη βελτίωση της διδακτικής διαδικασίας.

– Στην ποιοτική αναβάθμιση της εκπαιδευτικής διαδικασίας με την ενίσχυση και ενθάρρυνση των μαθητών και τη δημιουργία κινήτρων μάθησης.

– Στην ανάπτυξη της δημιουργικής ικανότητας και της κριτικής σκέψης του μαθητή.





- Στην προώθηση των ιδιαίτερων κλίσεων, δεξιοτήτων και ενδιαφερόντων των μαθητών.
- Στην ενίσχυση της αυτοπεποίθησης και αυτοεκτίμησης των μαθητών.
- Στην ανάπτυξη της ικανότητας αυτοαξιολόγησης και στην ανάπτυξη της αίσθησης της απόκτησης υπευθυνότητας όσον αφορά τη μόρφωσή του.

Επισημαίνεται ότι η αξιολόγηση του μαθητή πρέπει να είναι εξατομικευμένη και να αφορά το μαθητή συνολικά ως προσωπικότητα και όχι μόνο την επίδοσή του.

Ο εκπαιδευτικός οφείλει να είναι πολύ προσεκτικός κατά την αξιολόγηση των μαθητών. Ειδικότερα, όσον αφορά τη χαμηλή βαθμολογία, χρειάζεται ιδιαίτερη προσοχή, διότι η χαμηλή βαθμολογία εισπράττεται από το μαθητή και τους γονείς ως αποτυχία, προκαλεί συναισθήματα αβεβαιότητας και μειονεξίας και μπορεί να επιδράσει αρνητικά στην προσωπικότητά του.

Το μεγάλο ποσοστό μαθητών με χαμηλή βαθμολογία οδηγεί σε αποτυχία, για την οποία δεν ευθύνονται μόνο οι μαθητές, αλλά και οι διδάσκοντες και όλο το εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα.

Επισημαίνεται ότι, αν ο εκπαιδευτικός χρειάζεται να είναι επιεικής μια φορά, χρειάζεται να είναι δίκαιος εκατόν μία φορές. Ο Καντ μας λέει πως ο μαθητής εξεγείρεται όταν ο εκπαιδευτικός κάνει διακρίσεις, όταν όλοι οι μαθητές δεν υπάγονται στον ίδιο κανόνα. Δεν χρειάζεται λοιπόν χαμηλή, αλλά ούτε και υψηλή βαθμολογία. Χρειάζεται δίκαιη βαθμολογία. Μια τέτοια βαθμολογία πρέπει να έχει περίπου την κανονική κατανομή, σύμφωνα με την καμπύλη Gauss.

#### 5.2 Ο τρόπος/ οι τεχνικές αξιολόγησης του μαθητή

Η αξιολόγηση συμπεριλαμβάνει τη μέτρηση πολλών χαρακτηριστικών του μαθητή, ώστε να συμπληρωθεί η συνολική εικόνα του. Συμπεριλαμβάνει την επίδοση, τη συνεργασία με άλλους μαθητές και τον εκπαιδευτικό, τη συμμετοχή στην τάξη και στη σχολική ζωή κ.τ.λ.

Ο τρόπος αξιολόγησης των μαθητών εξαρτάται από τους στόχους και το περιεχόμενο του εξεταζόμενου γνωστικού αντικειμένου. Γενικά, μπορούν να χρησιμοποιηθούν τόσο οι παραδοσιακοί όσο και οι σύγχρονοι τρόποι αξιολόγησης.

Για να διαπιστωθεί ο βαθμός και η έκταση, τόσο της επίτευξης των διδακτικών στόχων όσο και της συμμετοχής και της δραστηριοποίησης των μαθητών, υπάρχουν ποικίλες τεχνικές. Ενδεικτικά αναφέρονται:

- α. Η προφορική εξέταση. Γίνεται συνήθως με ερωτήσεις που απαιτούν σύντομη (όχι μονολεκτική) ή ελεύθερη απάντηση.
- β. Η γραπτή εξέταση. Σημειώνεται ότι οι ερωτήσεις πρέπει να είναι ιεραρχημένες ως προς το βαθμό δυσκολίας και προσαρμοσμένες στις ανάγκες των μαθητών κάθε σχολείου.- Ερμηνείας γραφικών παραστάσεων κ.τ.λ.
- γ. Η συμμετοχή του μαθητή στο μάθημα. Συμμετοχή του μαθητή τόσο κατά τη διεξαγωγή της διδασκαλίας, όσο και στις δραστηριότητες που γίνονται στο πλαίσιο του μαθήματος. Επιπλέον, η ικανότητα του μαθητή για επικοινωνία και συνεργασία στην τάξη (συμμετοχή στη συζήτηση, κανόνες διαλόγου, ανταλλαγή απόψεων και έκφραση συναισθημάτων και εμπειριών, διαπραγματευτική ικανότητα κ.ά.).
- δ. Οι συνθετικές δημιουργικές εργασίες. Δίνονται εργασίες είτε ατομικές είτε ομαδικές για διάφορα, συνήθως επίκαιρα, κοινωνικά-πολιτικά-οικονομικά ζητήματα.
- ε. Η εκπόνηση συνθετικών εργασιών (project). Εργασίες για τη διαπίστωση της δημιουργικής και κριτικής ικανότητας των μαθητών (αναζήτηση και επιλογή πληροφοριών, χρήση ποικίλων πηγών, πρωτότυπη σύλληψη και παρουσίαση εργασιών κτλ). Η βαθμολογία των εργασιών μπορεί να γίνεται είτε από τον εκπαιδευτικό είτε από την ομάδα, συνολικά ή από κάθε μέλος της και είναι ανάλογη με την ποιότητα της εργασίας, λαμβάνοντας υπόψη την πρωτοτυπία, την δημιουργική φαντασία, την αναλυτική και συνθετική ικανότητα, την δυσκολία, καθώς και τον τρόπο παρουσίασης.
- στ. Το ενδιαφέρον και οι δραστηριότητες του μαθητή. Το εν λόγω ενδιαφέρον αναφέρεται σε ζητήματα του σχολείου (ανάληψη εργασιών, οργάνωση επισκέψεων και εκδηλώσεων κ.τ.λ.), αλλά και γενικότερα σε κοινωνικά-πολιτικά-οικονομικά ζητήματα.



ζ. Η αυτοαξιολόγηση του μαθητή. Ζητείται από τον μαθητή να αξιολογήσει τη συμμετοχή του στο μάθημα, τις εργασίες του, την προφορική ή γραπτή εξέτασή του κ.τ.λ., με τρόπο αντικειμενικό, χωρίς υποεκτίμηση ή υπερεκτίμηση.

η. Το Ατομικό Δελτίο Εργασιών και ο φάκελος του μαθητή. Περιλαμβάνει τις εργασίες και τις δραστηριότητες του μαθητή.

Εν κατακλείδι, η αξιολόγηση αφορά τη γνωστική και συναισθηματική ανάπτυξη του μαθητή. Αναφέρεται στις γνώσεις, ικανότητες, δεξιότητες και στάσεις που απέκτησε ο μαθητής. Ο εκπαιδευτικός, εκτός από την «Αριθμητική βαθμολογία», είναι χρήσιμο να συντάσσει για κάθε μαθητή και μια «Ποιοτική έκθεση» με βαθμολογία ως εξής: άριστα, πολύ καλά, καλά, σχεδόν καλά.

Η αξιολόγηση της εκπαιδευτικής διαδικασίας είναι απαραίτητη. Γίνεται από τους εκπαιδευτικούς και τους μαθητές (αυτοαξιολόγηση) για να διαπιστωθεί αν επετεύχθησαν οι στόχοι του μαθήματος, δηλαδή αν οι εκπαιδευτικοί πραγματοποίησαν αποτελεσματικά το έργο τους κι αν οι μαθητές έμαθαν αυτά που προβλέπονται από το Α.Π.Σ.



## Ο θρησκευτικός κατηχισμός στο ελληνικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα: Η θρησκεία στα σχολικά εγχειρίδια της Γλώσσας του Δημοτικού Σχολείου

Καραμήτρου Χρυσάνθη  
Δασκάλα στη Δημόσια Πρωτοβάθμια Εκπαίδευση

### Περίληψη

Στο παρακάτω κείμενο διερευνάται το ζήτημα του θρησκευτικού κατηχισμού των μαθητών και των μαθητριών στα ελληνικά δημοτικά σχολεία, κυρίως μέσω των σχολικών εγχειριδίων της γλώσσας. Ειδικότερα, το κύριο ερώτημα που εξετάζεται εδώ είναι το πώς εμφανίζεται η θρησκεία στα εγχειρίδια αυτά. Τα συμπεράσματα, που παρουσιάζονται, βασίζονται στην ποιοτική ανάλυση του περιεχομένου αυτών των βιβλίων. Σε αυτό το πλαίσιο, μελετάται η έκταση των θρησκευτικών αναφορών, καθώς και η μορφή και το περιεχόμενό τους. Επιπλέον, διερευνάται η σχέση μεταξύ θρησκείας, κυρίαρχης ιδεολογίας και κρατικής εκπαίδευσης, καθώς και τα βασικά χαρακτηριστικά της θρησκευτικής αγωγής. Επίσης, παρουσιάζεται το ζήτημα της θρησκευτικής διδασκαλίας σε σχέση με τα αντίστοιχα άρθρα του ελληνικού Συντάγματος και την εκπαιδευτική νομοθεσία. Η βασική ιδέα του κειμένου είναι ότι υπάρχει έντονη τάση τόσο στα σχολικά γλωσσικά εγχειρίδια όσο και σε άλλα μαθήματα του ελληνικού Δημοτικού Σχολείου για τη διαμόρφωση της ορθόδοξης χριστιανικής ταυτότητας των μαθητών και των μαθητριών. Τέλος, ασκείται κριτική τόσο στην φανερή όσο και στην κεκαλυμμένη προσπάθεια του ελληνικού εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος, το οποίο – στα πλαίσια του εναγκαλισμού Κράτους και Εκκλησίας – μέσω των αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων, των σχολικών εγχειριδίων αλλά και ενός συνολικού πλέγματος κανόνων και δραστηριοτήτων της σχολικής ζωής, επιχειρεί να διαμορφώσει θρησκευτική συνείδηση σαφώς στη βάση της μονοφωνίας, αλλά και ενάντια σε κάθε έννοια ελευθερίας της συνείδησης και ορθολογισμού.

### Λέξεις κλειδιά

Σχολικά εγχειρίδια Γλώσσας, κατηχισμός, εθνική ταυτότητα, ιδεολογία, γλώσσα, αναλυτικά προγράμματα, θρησκευτική επιρροή, Θρησκευτικά, ελευθερία συνείδησης.

### Εισαγωγικά

Με μεγάλο ενδιαφέρον παρακολουθούμε ήδη από το φθινόπωρο του 2016 και με την έναρξη τότε της νέας σχολικής χρονιάς, την αντίδραση της Ιεραρχίας και της Εκκλησίας της Ελλάδας καθώς και τις εξελίξεις, που αυτή δρομολόγησε, με αφορμή την εισαγωγή και εφαρμογή των νέων Αναλυτικών Προγραμμάτων για τα Θρησκευτικά (2016-2017), σε όλες τις βαθμίδες της εκπαίδευσης και σε όλους τους τύπους σχολείων, ύστερα από εισήγηση του Ινστιτούτου Εκπαιδευτικής Πολιτικής και σχετική απόφαση του τέως Υπουργού Παιδείας, Έρευνας και Θρησκευμάτων, Νίκου Φίλη. Τα νέα Α.Π.Σ. εφαρμόστηκαν για πρώτη φορά πιλοτικά και πειραματικά κατά την περίοδο 2011-2014. Μετά την πρώτη αναθεώρησή τους το 2014 και την ολοκλήρωση των κυρίως εργασιών το 2015, συνεχίστηκαν οι αναθεωρήσεις τους το 2016 κι επιπλέον έγιναν και οι σχετικές επανεκδόσεις.



Όπως ήταν φυσικό, το θέμα των αντιδράσεων της Εκκλησίας ήταν η αφορμή, για να ξανανοιξει -σε ένα βαθμό- η συζήτηση σχετικά με το μάθημα των Θρησκευτικών τόσο στους κόλπους της κοινωνίας, όσο και της εκπαίδευσης. Ωστόσο, η εκπαιδευτική κοινότητα -σχεδόν στο σύνολό της - αγνόησε και πάλι το ζήτημα του συνολικότερου δογματικού διαποτισμού και κατηχισμού, περιορίζοντας και εξαντλώντας τη συζήτηση στο επίπεδο της θρησκευολογικού τύπου λύσης για το μάθημα των Θρησκευτικών. Στο παρόν κείμενο διερευνάται και αναλύεται ο τρόπος που παρουσιάζεται η θρησκεία στα σχολικά βιβλία της Γλώσσας του Δημοτικού Σχολείου και η συνακόλουθη στόχευση της έμμεσης θρησκευτικής διαμόρφωσης της συνείδησης των μαθητών και των μαθητριών τόσο μέσα από το γλωσσικό μάθημα όσο και μέσα από ένα σύνολο κανόνων και δραστηριοτήτων της σχολικής ζωής, που διαμορφώνεται και προκύπτει από τη στενή σχέση Κράτους και Εκκλησίας.

### **Θρησκεία ορθοδοξία και εθνική ταυτότητα**

Εκκινώντας από τα προαναφερθέντα γεγονότα, οφείλουμε να επισημάνουμε ότι το θέμα της θρησκευτικής διάπλασης των μικρών παιδιών και των νέων ανθρώπων, όπως δρομολογείται μέσα από τον θεσμό της εκπαίδευσης, δεν περιορίζεται στο μάθημα των Θρησκευτικών. Το ζήτημα αυτό είναι συνθετότερο, καθώς εντάσσεται στη διαδικασία δημιουργίας συλλογικής εθνικής ταυτότητας και υπακούει στο αξίωμα: ένας λαός, μια γλώσσα, μια θρησκεία. Η κοινή καταγωγή, η κοινή γλώσσα και θρησκεία και οι κοινές παραδόσεις κλήθηκαν να εδραιώσουν την εθνική ταυτότητα, όπως την αντιλαμβανόμαστε στις σύγχρονες κοινωνίες. Βασική συνιστώσα στην παραγωγή και την αναπαραγωγή της εθνικής ταυτότητας μετά τη δημιουργία του έθνους - κράτους αποτέλεσε το ενιαίο και κρατικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα (Αβδελά, 1997:33). Η Ελλάδα αποτελεί την πλέον ακραία περίπτωση κατηχισμού και θρησκευτικής ενδογμάτισης. Στην Ελλάδα δεν υφίσταται διαχωρισμός κράτους και εκκλησίας, ούτε τέθηκε το ζήτημα της εκκοσμίκευσης του κράτους. [...] Το κράτος έδωσε θεσμική υπόσταση στην εκκλησία και κατασκεύασε την Ορθοδοξία ως εγγενές στοιχείο της ελληνικής ταυτότητας, η κυριαρχία του οποίου επιβλήθηκε θεσμικά σε όλους τους τομείς της κοινωνικής και πολιτικής ζωής. [...] Εδώ, το κράτος δεν χρειάστηκε να συγκρουστεί με την εκκλησία προκειμένου να ελέγξει την εκπαίδευση. Αντίθετα, δημιούργησε κρατική εκκλησία και κρατικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα. Ουδέποτε τέθηκε ζήτημα θρησκευτικού αποχρωματισμού της εκπαίδευσης, γιατί ο στόχος εκπαίδευσης και εκκλησίας ήταν κοινός: η συγκρότηση του έθνους-κράτους (Ζαμπέτα, 2003: 192-193).

Πολύ εύστοχα διατυπώνεται η άποψη ότι σχεδόν σε καμία χώρα της Ευρώπης, με εξαίρεση ίσως την Ιρλανδία, ο κατηχισμός δε διαθέτει τα ακραία μονιστικά χαρακτηριστικά που έχει στην Ελλάδα. Η μορφή που προσλαμβάνει η έννοια του σεβασμού της θρησκευτικής ταυτότητας του ατόμου στις χώρες όπου το μάθημα των θρησκευτικών είναι υποχρεωτικό και ομολογιακό, είναι η αναγνώριση της δυνατότητας απαλλαγής από το μάθημα αυτό. Ωστόσο, η στάση αυτή θεωρεί ως



αυτονόητο το δικαίωμα του σχολείου να διαμορφώνει θρησκευτική συνείδηση και να ενδογματίζει τους νέους με βάση τις θρησκευτικές αντιλήψεις της ιστορικά διαμορφωμένης πλειοψηφίας. [...] Οι μαθητές στο ελληνικό σχολείο διδάσκονται ότι η ελληνική κουλτούρα είναι συνυφασμένη με την ορθόδοξη χριστιανική θρησκεία και ότι η ελληνική ιστορία είναι συνυφασμένη με την ιστορία της Ορθόδοξης Εκκλησίας. Το μήνυμα αυτό δεν μεταδίδεται μόνο μέσα από το μάθημα των Θρησκευτικών. Μεταδίδεται μέσα από όλα τα μαθήματα και τις εκδηλώσεις του σχολείου, από τον αγιασμό στην έναρξη του σχολικού έτους, την καθημερινή δημόσια προσευχή, τον τακτικό εκκλησιασμό, τις σχολικές γιορτές, την καθημερινή πρακτική και την κουλτούρα του σχολείου. Η σχολική γνώση παρουσιάζει μια εντυπωσιακή συνέχεια αφήγησης. Η καλλιέργεια της πεποίθησης ότι υπάρχει θεός, η θρησκευτική ενδογμάτιση, η κατασκευή της Ορθοδοξίας ως θεμελιώδους συστατικού στοιχείου της ελληνικής ταυτότητας, η παραγνώριση της ετερότητας και η ταύτιση της ιδιότητας του πολίτη με την ιδιότητα του πιστού αποτελούν βασικές παραμέτρους της σχολικής αφήγησης που διαπερνούν όλο το φάσμα των μαθημάτων. Εκείνοι που επιθυμούν να αποφύγουν τα Θρησκευτικά μπορούν να απαλλαγούν από αυτά, μολονότι αυτό δε φαίνεται να αποτελεί μια εύκολη επιλογή. Δεν μπορεί όμως κανείς να απαλλαγεί από τη Γλώσσα, την Ιστορία ή την Κοινωνική και Πολιτική Αγωγή (Ζαμπέτα, 2003: 44, 119, 146, 195).

#### **Το Σύνταγμα του 1975 και ο Νόμος 1566/1985: Θρησκευτική συνείδηση και θρησκευτική ελευθερία**

Ο νόμος «για τη δομή και λειτουργία της πρωτοβάθμιας και δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης» εντάσσει ανάμεσα στους άλλους στόχους της παιδείας και τη «*συνειδητοποίηση της βαθύτερης σημασίας του ορθόδοξου χριστιανικού ήθους*» (Κεφ. Γ άρθρο 6) και την «*πίστη προς τα γνήσια στοιχεία της ορθόδοξης χριστιανικής παράδοσης*» (Κεφ. Α άρθρο 1) που είναι αναπόσπαστο κομμάτι της «*εθνικής συνείδησης*» και του «*καθολικού ανθρώπου*». Σύμφωνα, όμως, με τον Σωτηρέλη, μια τέτοια ερμηνεία δεν είναι συνταγματικά επιτρεπτή υπό το ισχύον Σύνταγμα του 1975, παρόλο που στο άρθρο 3.1 ορίζεται ότι «*Επικρατούσα θρησκεία στην Ελλάδα είναι η θρησκεία της Ανατολικής Ορθόδοξης Εκκλησίας του Χριστού*». [...] Η πεποίθησή του εδράζεται στη θέση ότι ο όρος «*επικρατούσα θρησκεία*» δεν μπορεί να σημαίνει την επίσημη θρησκεία του ελληνικού κράτους που απολαμβάνει ιδιαίτερης προνομιακής μεταχείρισης, αλλά μόνον «*την αριθμητικά επικρατούσα θρησκεία, θρησκεία της συντριπτικής πλειοψηφίας του ελληνικού λαού*». Επιπλέον, με τα νέα δεδομένα του Συντάγματος του 1975, έναντι αυτού του 1952, πρέπει να θεωρηθεί βέβαιο ότι οι παραδοσιακά στενοί δεσμοί μεταξύ κράτους και εκκλησίας, έχουν γίνει πολύ χαλαροί και στον κοινό νομοθέτη απόκειται να τους καταστήσει ακόμα χαλαρότερους -μια και το Σύνταγμα τού παρέχει αυτή τη δυνατότητα (Σωτηρέλης, 1985: σ. 32, 33).

Το άρθρο 16.2 ορίζει ότι «*Η παιδεία αποτελεί βασική αποστολή του Κράτους και έχει σκοπό την ηθική, πνευματική, επαγγελματική και φυσική αγωγή των Ελλήνων,*



την ανάπτυξη της εθνικής και θρησκευτικής συνείδησης και τη διάπλασή τους σε ελεύθερους πολίτες». Ο νομοθέτης με αφορμή την αναγνώριση της θρησκείας της Ορθόδοξης Εκκλησίας ως επικρατούσα θρησκεία στην Ελλάδα ερμήνευσε την ανάπτυξη της «θρησκευτικής συνείδησης» του άρθρου 16.2 ως ανάπτυξη της «ορθόδοξης θρησκευτικής συνείδησης». Η επιλογή αυτή εκφράστηκε ξεκάθαρα στον νόμο 1566/1985, που συνδέει ευθέως την «ανάπτυξη της εθνικής συνείδησης» με την «επικρατούσα θρησκεία», και αποτελεί μια σοβαρή οπισθοδρόμηση στην προσπάθεια επανερμηνείας των σχέσεων εκκλησίας και εκπαίδευσης. Η συγκεκριμένη ερμηνεία έρχεται σε πλήρη αντίθεση με το άρθρο 13.1, που ορίζει ότι «Η ελευθερία της θρησκευτικής συνείδησης είναι απαραβίαστη». Εξάλλου, η αναφορά σε επικρατούσα θρησκεία στο άρθρο 3 του Συντάγματος δεν είναι διαπιστωτική, αλλά είναι κυρίως τιμητική και αναγνωριστική του γεγονότος ότι η πλειονότητα του λαού πρεσβεύει αυτή τη θρησκεία. Σύμφωνα με τα παραπάνω, η ανάπτυξη της θρησκευτικής συνείδησης στην ελληνική εκπαίδευση βασίζεται στις διδασκαλίες της «επικρατούσας θρησκείας» και ταυτίζεται με την μονοφωνική επιβολή των «ιδεολογικών κατευθύνσεων του ελληνοχριστιανικού πολιτισμού», παρά τη συνειδητή απόρριψη αυτής της διατύπωσης από τον συνταγματικό νομοθέτη του 1975. Στο πλαίσιο αυτό όλοι οι αντιφρονούντες μαθητές και μαθήτριες, γονείς και εκπαιδευτικοί, μη ορθόδοξοι, κριτικά ορθόδοξοι, ετερόθρησκοι, ετερόδοξοι και άθεοι υφίστανται διακρίσεις, καθώς προσβάλλονται τα ατομικά τους δικαιώματα, που θυσιάζονται στο όνομα των δικαιωμάτων της «συντριπτικής πλειοψηφίας», την οποία επικαλούνται οι αυτόκλητοι διαμεσολαβητές της. Η συνταγματική επιταγή του πλουραλισμού και της ανεκτικότητας ακυρώνεται, αφού κατά τον Σωτηρέλη οι μαθητές και οι μαθήτριες αντιμετωπίζονται ως άβουλοι δέκτες ενός «δογματικού διαποτισμού», υποκείμενοι σε έναν συνεχή καταιγισμό κατηχητικών και συχνά μισαλλόδοξων μηνυμάτων, που αιχμαλωτίζουν τη σκέψη και παρεμποδίζουν τον ελεύθερο και κριτικό στοχασμό (Σωτηρέλης, 2000: 365).

Ο όρος «θρησκευτική συνείδηση» προσδιορίζεται σχεδόν πάντα κατά τρόπο αντιφατικό. Για παράδειγμα, στην ανάλυση της διάταξης του άρθρου 13.1 («η ελευθερία της θρησκευτικής συνείδησης είναι απαραβίαστη») το περιεχόμενο της «θρησκευτικής συνείδησης» ερμηνεύεται με ευρύτητα, ώστε να περιλαμβάνει κάθε θρησκευτική, αθρησκευτική ή αντιθρησκευτική ιδεολογία. Αντίθετα, όταν πρόκειται για την ερμηνεία της διάταξης του άρθρου 16.2 του Συντάγματος («η παιδεία ... έχει σκοπό ... την ανάπτυξη της θρησκευτικής συνείδησης») το εννοιολογικό περιεχόμενο του όρου αυτού συρρικνώνεται στις σχετικές θεωρητικές και νομολογιακές επεξεργασίες, και μάλιστα υπερβολικά, ώστε η θρησκευτική συνείδηση να ταυτίζεται κατά βάση με την ορθόδοξη χριστιανική συνείδηση, σύμφωνα με τα προαναφερθέντα. Σχετικά με το περιεχόμενο και την έκταση της θρησκευτικής ελευθερίας, ο Σωτηρέλης γράφει ότι αυτή αποτελεί συγκεκριμένο ατομικό δικαίωμα, που προστατεύεται ειδικά από το άρθρο 13 του Συντάγματος και, μάλιστα, με θεμελιώδη -δηλαδή μη αναθεωρήσιμη κατά το άρθρο 110 παρ. 1-





διάταξη, σε αντίθεση με τη διάταξη του άρθρου 3 περί επικρατούσης θρησκείας και τη διάταξη του άρθρου 16 παρ. 2 για τους σκοπούς της Παιδείας, που είναι μη θεμελιώδεις και θα ήταν σκόπιμο να αναθεωρηθούν με την πρώτη ευκαιρία. Η θρησκευτική ελευθερία συνδέεται με τον όρο «θρησκευτική συνείδηση». Αυτή νοείται ως το ενδιάθετο φρόνημα του ανθρώπου σχετικά με τη φυσική ή μεταφυσική θεώρηση του κόσμου, σε αναφορά ιδίως με το θείο. Το περιεχόμενό της, δε, μπορεί να είναι σε σχέση με το θείο είτε θετικό (καταφατικό), μορφοποιημένο σε κάποιο θρήσκευμα, είτε αρνητικό (αποφατικό). Η θρησκευτική συνείδηση, όμως, δεν είναι δεδομένη εκ των προτέρων και ούτε παραμένει αδρανής. Διαμορφώνεται μέσα στο κοινωνικό περιβάλλον και υφίσταται ποικίλους επηρεασμούς. Στη διαμόρφωση αυτή, το κράτος μπορεί να παρέμβει πολλαπλά - ιδίως με τους ιδεολογικούς του μηχανισμούς - και να προσανατολίσει την ανάπτυξη της θρησκευτικής συνείδησης, είτε θετικά, είτε αρνητικά απέναντι στο θείο. Εδώ, ακριβώς, βρίσκεται και η σημασία της προστασίας της ελευθερίας της θρησκευτικής συνείδησης από το Σύνταγμα, το οποίο, ορίζοντας ότι «η ελευθερία της θρησκευτικής συνειδήσεως είναι απαραβίαστος», θεμελιώνει αξίωση απέναντι στην κρατική εξουσία να μην παρεμβαίνει παρεμποδίζοντας ή επιβάλλοντας είτε τη διαμόρφωση είτε την εκδήλωση σχετικών με τη θρησκεία θετικών ή αρνητικών πεποιθήσεων (Σωτηρέλης, 1985: 33-34). Με βάση την ελευθερία της θρησκευτικής συνείδησης η διάταξη του άρθρου 16 παράγραφος 2 αποκτά διαφορετικό περιεχόμενο. Με δεδομένο ότι υπάρχει ως συνταγματικός στόχος της εκπαίδευσης η ανάπτυξη της θρησκευτικής συνείδησης, η ανάπτυξη αυτή θα πρέπει να αποβλέπει σε ελεύθερη θρησκευτική συνείδηση. Θα πρέπει επομένως η ανάπτυξη της θρησκευτικής συνείδησης να είναι πολυφωνική. Δεν μπορεί δηλαδή να υπάρχει στη νομοθετική εξειδίκευση μονοδρομική ανάπτυξη της θρησκευτικής συνείδησης, προσανατολισμένη προς το δόγμα της ορθόδοξης χριστιανικής εκκλησίας (Σωτηρέλης, 1994: 297).

### Εθνική ιδεολογία και γλώσσα

Για την επιτυχή εγχάραξη της θρησκευτικότητας, όπως εξάλλου και κάθε άλλης κυρίαρχης ιδεολογικής κατασκευής, αξιοποιήθηκε ως όχημα έκφρασης η κοινή γλώσσα. Η γλώσσα αποτελεί τον ισχυρότερο δεσμό που ενώνει τα μέλη της κοινότητας, γιατί παίζει τον κυριότερο ρόλο στη δημιουργία των περίπλοκων δεσμών που συγκροτούν την κοινή ταυτότητα. Έτσι, εδώ και πολλούς αιώνες υπάρχει στενή σχέση ανάμεσα στη γλώσσα και την εθνική ταυτότητα, ανάμεσα στη γλώσσα και την εθνική ιδεολογία, όπως μορφοποιούνται σε κάθε ιστορική στιγμή στις διάφορες κοινωνίες. Η γλώσσα έχει φανερό τεράστιο σημασία για τον εκπαιδευτικό θεσμό. Η γλωσσική εκπαίδευση θεωρείται ένας από τους σπουδαιότερους στόχους του σχολείου. [...] Εξάλλου, σύμφωνα με τον Ε. Μπενβενίστ ο λόγος είναι το οικονομικότερο σύστημα συμβολισμού και επικοινωνίας. Σε αντίθεση με άλλα αναπαραστατικά συστήματα, ο λόγος δεν απαιτεί καμιά μυϊκή προσπάθεια, δε χρειάζεται μετακίνηση του σώματος, δεν



επιβάλλει επίμοχθους χειρισμούς. [...] Παραπληρωματικά νοήματα πολλά και πλουσιότατα, που δίνουν στις λέξεις η παράδοση, τα κοινωνικά πιστεύω και οι κοινωνικοί κανόνες που ρυθμίζουν την επικοινωνία, μεταδίδονται με τις πιο απλές φράσεις, με την επιλογή ακόμα και μιας λέξης, με τον γραμματικό τύπο ή με τη φωνή του ρήματος (Φραγκουδάκη, 1999: 13-16, 18-19, 23).

Η ελληνική εκπαίδευση αποτελεί χαρακτηριστικό παράδειγμα αφομοιωτικού, μονογλωσσικού, μονοπολιτισμικού μοντέλου, που έχει ως στόχο να αποκτήσουν όλα τα παιδιά επάρκεια στην εθνική γλώσσα και στον εθνικό πολιτισμό. Παρά το γεγονός της μαζικής εισροής στο ελληνικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα παιδιών οικονομικών μεταναστών αλλά και προσφύγων, το πρόγραμμά του εξακολουθεί να αντανακλά αυτή τη θέση, δίνοντας έμφαση στη διατήρηση της παράδοσης και της εθνικής κληρονομιάς, καλλιεργώντας την πίστη στη διαχρονική αξία του εθνικού κράτους. Μέσα στο πλαίσιο αυτό η ένταξη παιδιών διαφορετικής πολιτισμικής προέλευσης αντιμετωπίζεται ως «παιδαγωγικό πρόβλημα», υπό την έννοια ότι οι μαθητές αυτοί θα πρέπει να ξεπεράσουν το συντομότερο την αδυναμία τους στη χρήση της γλώσσας υποδοχής. Η γρήγορη εκμάθηση της επίσημης γλώσσας πιστεύεται ότι είναι το κλειδί για τη γρήγορη αφομοίωσή τους (Νικολάου, 2000: 121-122).

#### **Τα Αναλυτικά Προγράμματα, τα σχολικά εγχειρίδια για το μάθημα της Γλώσσας και η ιδεολογική τους σημασία**

Τα παραπάνω επιβεβαιώνονται στο Διαθεματικό Ενιαίο Πλαίσιο Προγραμμάτων Σπουδών (Δ.Ε.Π.Π.Σ.) και τα Αναλυτικά Προγράμματα Σπουδών (Α.Π.Σ.) του 2001. Μεταξύ άλλων αναφέρεται ότι η διδασκαλία του μαθήματος της Γλώσσας στο Δημοτικό αποσκοπεί στην ανάπτυξη της ικανότητας των μαθητών να χειρίζονται με επάρκεια και αυτοπεποίθηση, συνειδητά, υπεύθυνα, αποτελεσματικά και δημιουργικά τον γραπτό και τον προφορικό λόγο, ώστε να συμμετέχουν ενεργά στη σχολική και την ευρύτερη κοινωνία τους.

Ειδικότερα, η γλώσσα συνιστά φορέα και μέσο υλοποίησης των σκοπών των υπόλοιπων μαθημάτων και γενικότερα της εκπαίδευσης. Ωστόσο, η αντιμετώπιση της γλώσσας ως εργαλείου (μάθησης στο σχολικό και εξωσχολικό χώρο αλλά και διεξαγωγής του μαθήματος) συνυπάρχει με τη θεώρησή της ως αξίας και ως φορέα πολιτισμού. Από την άλλη πλευρά, η γλώσσα αντιμετωπίζεται ως μέσο δράσης και αλληλεπίδρασης των ανθρώπων, καθώς και ως μέσο κατανόησης, έκφρασης, περιγραφής και μετατροπής της πραγματικότητας, αλλά και δημιουργίας πραγματικότητας. Εξάλλου, με τη λογοτεχνία η γλώσσα γίνεται όχημα και αποτέλεσμα τέχνης και αισθητικής καλλιέργειας. Επίσης, τα κείμενα της λογοτεχνίας, παρέχουν διάφορες οπτικές και ερμηνείες του κόσμου, εμπλουτίζουν την αντίληψη των μαθητών για τον κόσμο, διευρύνουν τον ορίζοντα των εμπειριών τους, ευνοούν την κατανόηση της διαφορετικότητας και την ανάπτυξη της ανεκτικότητας. Το Αναλυτικό Πρόγραμμα λαμβάνει υπόψη τόσο τη συγχρονική όσο και τη διαχρονική διάσταση της ελληνικής γλώσσας, εφόσον αυτή θεωρείται



στοιχείο εθνικής ταυτότητας, φορέας μακραίωνης πολιτισμικής παράδοσης και γραμματολογίας, δίαυλος επικοινωνίας στην ευρωπαϊκή και παγκόσμια κοινότητα.

Τέλος, με δεδομένο το πολυπολιτισμικό στοιχείο της σύγχρονης ελληνικής κοινωνίας, η γλώσσα προτείνεται ως μέσο ένταξης των αλλοδαπών στην κοινωνία αυτή. [...] Πιο συγκεκριμένα όσον αφορά τον αλλοδαπό μαθητή, τον ενταγμένο σε τάξη, στην οποία χρησιμοποιείται η ελληνική ως μητρική γλώσσα, αυτός πρέπει: - Μέσα σε πλαίσιο φυσικής επικοινωνίας να εσωτερικεύσει αβίαστα ορισμένες δύσκολες γι' αυτόν γλωσσικές δομές της ελληνικής γλώσσας. - Να βιώσει μέσα από τη γλώσσα τον ελληνικό πολιτισμό και να υιοθετήσει θετική στάση απέναντί του (Δ.Ε.Π.Π.Σ. και Α.Π.Σ./ ΥΠ.Ε.Π.Θ.- Π.Ι., 2003: 3745, 3748-3749). Σχετικά με το διδακτικό υλικό ξεχωρίζουμε την αναφορά ότι προκειμένου να υπηρετούνται οι νομοθετημένοι σκοποί της εκπαίδευσης, όπως αυτοί ορίζονται στο Σύνταγμα και στην ειδικότερη νομοθεσία, τα κείμενα και τα θέματα επιλέγονται με βάση ειδικά επεξεργασμένες προδιαγραφές, με κοινό παρονομαστή ορισμένες έννοιες και αξίες, όπως η αγάπη, η εντιμότητα, ο ισχυρός χαρακτήρας, η οικογένεια, η γλώσσα, το εθνικό αυτοσυναισθημα, η ορθόδοξη χριστιανική παράδοση, η αποδοχή της ετερότητας, η παγκοσμιότητα και διάρκεια του ελλητισμού, κυρίως όμως οι σημερινές δυνατότητές του. Σε κάθε περίπτωση να καλλιεργούν αισιόδοξες στάσεις στον μαθητή (Δ.Ε.Π.Π.Σ. και Α.Π.Σ./ ΥΠ.Ε.Π.Θ.- Π.Ι., 2003: 3777).

Η διδασκαλία της ελληνικής γλώσσας σε οποιαδήποτε μορφή της - αρχαία, καθαρεύουσα, δημοτική - κατείχε και κατέχει μέχρι σήμερα στο πρόγραμμα της ελληνικής εκπαίδευσης, τόσο της στοιχειώδους όσο και της μέσης, κυρίαρχη θέση. Το γεγονός αυτό δεν αποτελεί μια ιδιορρυθμία του ελληνικού εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος· παρόμοια θέση κατέχει η διδασκαλία της αντίστοιχης μητρικής γλώσσας σε όλα σχεδόν τα εκπαιδευτικά συστήματα. Το στοιχείο αυτό, και όχι μόνον αυτό, δικαιολογεί, και εν μέρει επιβεβαιώνει, την αναμφισβήτητη σχέση, που υφίσταται ανάμεσα στη γλώσσα και στην εκπαίδευση. Η σχέση αυτή βέβαια στηρίζεται με τη σειρά της στην πανθομολογούμενη σχέση μεταξύ σκέψης και γλώσσας (και ιδιαίτερα της μητρικής γλώσσας). [...] Ως μοναδικό σχεδόν σύστημα, που επιτρέπει τη με διαλεκτικό τρόπο επαφή του ατόμου με το φυσικό και κοινωνικό του περιβάλλον, κι ως μέσο επικοινωνίας, η γλώσσα δεν αφορά μόνο το γλωσσικό μάθημα αλλά και κάθε μάθημα. (Χατζησαββίδης, 1992: 16-17).

Τα σχολικά βιβλία της Γλώσσας, αν και περιέχουν την ίδια ιδεολογία με τα υπόλοιπα σχολικά εγχειρίδια, ωστόσο τη μεταδίδουν με έμμεσο τρόπο και επομένως - ίσως έτσι - και πιο αποτελεσματικό. Αποτελούν, εξάλλου, τα βασικότερα σχολικά εγχειρίδια στην πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση, όχι μόνο για τη γλωσσική, αλλά και γενικότερα για την ιδεολογική, θρησκευτική και εθνική διαμόρφωση των μαθητών και των μαθητριών. Σχετικά με τη μεγάλη ιδεολογική τους σημασία, η Φραγκουδάκη υποστηρίζει ότι, ενώ η κοινωνική αγωγή των μαθητών γίνεται κυρίως με το μάθημα της Ιστορίας και της Πολιτικής Αγωγής, η χριστιανική αγωγή με το μάθημα των Θρησκευτικών, η γνώση του φυσικού κόσμου μεταδίδεται κυρίως από τα φυσιογνωστικά μαθήματα, τα σχολικά εγχειρίδια της Γλώσσας -θεωρητικά μόνο-



χρησιμεύουν για τη γλωσσική κατάρτιση των μαθητών. Κι αυτό γιατί τα μαθήματα όπως η Πολιτική Αγωγή, τα Θρησκευτικά ή η Ιστορία έχουν άμεσο και εκφρασμένο ιδεολογικό σκοπό. Από την άλλη τα γλωσσικά εγχειρίδια αποτελούν βοηθήματα που χρησιμοποιούνται για τη διδασκαλία της ανάγνωσης, της γραφής, της ορθογραφίας, του συντακτικού, της έκφρασης. Στη χρήση τους αυτή εντέχνως αποσιωπάται η ιδεολογική τους λειτουργία, όπως αυτή υλοποιείται και επιτυγχάνεται μέσα από τα κείμενα των εγχειρίδιων αυτών για τον θεό, την πατρίδα, την οικογένεια, το ορθό, το ηθικό, το ωραίο και τα αντίθετά τους, κείμενα για την ιστορία, κείμενα για την κοινωνία και τις κοινωνικές σχέσεις. Τα γλωσσικά εγχειρίδια περιέχουν μια ολόκληρη κοσμοαντίληψη και αξίες που καλύπτουν όλο τον γνωστικό χώρο, μια συγκεκριμένη παιδαγωγική, μια συγκεκριμένη ηθική, μια συγκεκριμένη αισθητική, μια αντίληψη για τον φυσικό και τον κοινωνικό περίγυρο, τέλος μια αντίληψη για την ιστορία και έναν ορισμένο εθνικισμό. Επιπλέον, τα αναγνωστικά οι μαθητές και οι μαθήτριες τα επαναλαμβάνουν διαρκώς: αντιγράφουν αποσπάσματα, αποστηθίζουν ποιήματα, παραφράζουν το περιεχόμενο, κάνουν περιλήψεις, περιγράφουν το νόημα. Επαναλαμβάνουν επομένως συχνότατα τα διδάγματα, τις αρχές και τις αξίες που τα κείμενα περιέχουν. Τα επαναλαμβάνουν όμως για λόγους άσχετους με το περιεχόμενό τους. Όχι για να αποστηθίζουν τις αξίες που περιέχουν, αλλά για να ασκηθούν στην έκφραση ή τη γραφή. Αφομοιώνουν έτσι τις αξίες αυτές ευκολότερα γιατί, καθώς τους υποβάλλονται με τρόπο έμμεσο και σχεδόν ανεπαίσθητο, εξουδετερώνουν τη δυνατότητα κριτικής αντίστασης (Φραγκουδάκη, 1978: 11, 12, 13).

Στα βιβλία της Γλώσσας η παρουσία της Ορθοδοξίας είναι διαρκής και η ταύτιση των μαθητών και μαθητριών με αυτήν θεωρείται αυτονόητη, αναμφισβήτητη και δεδομένη. Τα βιβλία αυτά εμπεριέχουν τόσο άμεσες όσο και έμμεσες αναφορές στην Ορθοδοξία, όπως προσευχές ή ποιήματα με θρησκευτικό περιεχόμενο αλλά και διεξοδικές αναφορές στις μεγάλες θρησκευτικές εορτές (Χριστούγεννα και Πάσχα) που παρουσιάζονται ως οικουμενικές γιορτές καθώς και αντικείμενο και πεδίο συλλογικής ταύτισης. Εντέλει, η καλλιέργεια της ιδέας του θεού πραγματοποιείται πολλαπλά στα βιβλία της Γλώσσας μέσα από κείμενα που έχουν καθαρά ομολογιακό χαρακτήρα, αλλά και μέσα από πληθώρα έμμεσων αναφορών στη θρησκεία, τις οποίες εντοπίζουμε για παράδειγμα σε ποιήματα του Παλαμά, κείμενα του Καζαντζάκη ή ακόμη και σε μεταφράσεις ξένης λογοτεχνίας. Πολλές από αυτές τις αναφορές απευθύνονται κατά βάση στο συναίσθημα των παιδιών. Τέλος, η Ορθοδοξία ταυτίζεται με τον εθνικό εαυτό, εμφανίζεται ως άρρηκτα συνδεδεμένη με την κοινωνική ζωή, την κουλτούρα και τα χαρακτηριστικά που στερεοτυπικά αποδίδονται στους σύγχρονους Έλληνες. Η παρουσία της θρησκείας στα βιβλία της Γλώσσας είναι διαρκής και συνδέεται με την καθημερινή ζωή των Ελλήνων. Συνήθειες όπως οι βαφτίσεις, οι γάμοι, οι γιορτές του Πάσχα και των Χριστουγέννων, και το τελετουργικό που τις συνοδεύει, παρουσιάζονται ως βασικά και αυτονόητα στοιχεία που συνθέτουν την καθημερινότητα των Ελλήνων. Πέραν όμως αυτού, η θρησκεία επενδύεται με όλη τη συγκινησιακή φόρτιση που



κινητοποιεί το συλλογικό φαντασιακό και αφορά στη διατήρηση της εύθραυστης εθνικής ταυτότητας. Η ιδέα του θεού εμφανίζεται συνυφασμένη με τα συμφέροντα του έθνους (Ζαμπέτα, 2003: 129-131, 140).

### **Η αναγκαιότητα της ανάλυσης του περιεχομένου των σχολικών εγχειριδίων της Γλώσσας ως προς την εμφάνιση της θρησκείας σε αυτά**

Η ανάλυση του περιεχομένου των σχολικών εγχειριδίων μάς βοηθά ως μέθοδος ανασύνθεσης και διερεύνησης της νοηματικής δομής των κειμένων να απαντήσουμε στο ερώτημα αν αυτό που προτάσσεται είναι η μετάδοση της γνώσης ή η ηθικοπλαστική και ιδεολογική διαμόρφωση των παιδιών. Με τη μέθοδο αυτή είμαστε σε θέση να ανακαλύψουμε και να αποκαλύψουμε πληροφορίες και υλικό που μας διαφεύγουν σε μια πρώτη ανάγνωση. Η θεματική ανάλυση, είτε ποσοτική είναι είτε ποιοτική, αποτελεί τη μόνη εφαρμόσιμη μέθοδο, για να ανακαλυφθεί αυτό που έχει διατυπωθεί σε σχέση με ένα δεδομένο θέμα. Ερευνά τον τρόπο με τον οποίο ο ερωτώμενος οργανώνει το λόγο του, αυτό που τονίζει κι αυτό που αποσιωπά· ιδιαίτερα η ποιοτική ανάλυση επιμένει στην αναγκαιότητα να υπολογισθεί το υπονοούμενο, αυτό που θα ονομάζαμε «υποβόσκον» ή «υφέρπον» περιεχόμενο (Πάλλα, 1992: 47-48).

Ένας πρώτος λόγος για την επιλογή μας να ερευνήσουμε το γλωσσικό μάθημα είναι επειδή αυτό συγκαταλέγεται μεταξύ των μαθημάτων εκείνων που τα περιεχόμενα μάθησής τους καλλιεργούν στους μαθητές και τις μαθήτριες στάσεις, στερεότυπα και προκαταλήψεις. Ένας δεύτερος λόγος είναι ότι το γλωσσικό μάθημα διδάσκεται σε όλες τις τάξεις του Δημοτικού σχολείου, καλύπτοντας στο ωρολόγιο πρόγραμμα το υψηλότερο ποσοστό ωρών διδασκαλίας, σε σύγκριση με το καθένα από τα υπόλοιπα σχολικά μαθήματα. Τέλος, το γλωσσικό μάθημα παρέχει πλούσιο υλικό προς έρευνα: τα 6 βιβλία του δασκάλου και της δασκάλας, τα 17 τεύχη της Γλώσσας, τα 12 τεύχη των τετραδίων εργασιών και τα τρία Ανθολόγια. Επομένως, το ογκώδες αυτό υλικό αποτελεί πλούσιο υλικό προς έρευνα ποικίλων θεμάτων. Τα βιβλία του μαθητή και της μαθήτριας, τα τετράδια εργασιών και το Ανθολόγιο καλύπτουν συνολικά 3.036 σελίδες.

Το βασικό ερώτημα που τέθηκε στην έρευνά μας ήταν με ποιους τρόπους εμφανίζεται η θρησκεία στα βιβλία της Γλώσσας του Δημοτικού Σχολείου. Στα πλαίσια αυτού του ερωτήματος διερευνήθηκε η έκταση των θρησκευτικών αναφορών, η μορφή τους και το περιεχόμενό τους.

Από την έρευνα του υλικού των σχολικών βιβλίων της Γλώσσας όλων των τάξεων του Δημοτικού Σχολείου και των αντίστοιχων τετραδίων εργασιών προέκυψαν οι παρακάτω κατηγορίες ανάλυσης: • Χριστιανικές γιορτές - Χριστούγεννα - Πάσχα - Αποκριές / Σαρακοστή / Καθαρά Δευτέρα - Ευαγγελισμός της Θεοτόκου - Εορτολόγιο Αγίων • Θρησκεία και έθνος - Θρησκεία και νικηφόρο ελληνικό έθνος - Θρησκευτική τέχνη / αρχιτεκτονική και ελληνικός χώρος • Κοινωνικές δραστηριότητες - Γάμος / Βάφτιση - Σχολείο - Εργασία - Έθιμα - Γιορτές / Επέτειοι -





Διακοπές / Ψυχαγωγία - Εθελοντισμός / Φιλανθρωπία - Διατροφικές συνήθειες • Πόλεμος / Ειρήνη • Περιβάλλον / Οικολογία • Ετερότητα

Έπειτα από ενδελεχή ανάλυση των στοιχείων των παραπάνω κατηγοριών καταλήξαμε στο συμπέρασμα ότι οι θρησκευτικές αναφορές στα γλωσσικά εγχειρίδια είναι πολλές και συνεχείς και ότι πολύ εύκολα η έκταση, το σύνολό τους, αλλά και η σημασία τους μπορεί να διαφύγουν της προσοχής μας. Αντικείμενο, λοιπόν, της παρούσας ανάλυσης ήταν να αποκαλύψει αυτόν τον μηχανισμό μετάδοσης και εγγραφής στη συνείδηση των μαθητών και των μαθητριών όλων των έμμεσων θρησκευτικών αναφορών και μηνυμάτων.

Αναλυτικότερα, διαπιστώσαμε ότι η προβολή της θρησκείας γίνεται με δύο τρόπους. Ο πρώτος είναι η ξεχωριστή και ξεκάθαρη αναφορά σε μεγάλες και μικρές θρησκευτικές γιορτές, όπως για παράδειγμα τα Χριστούγεννα και το Πάσχα. Ο δεύτερος τρόπος έχει να κάνει με το πλήθος των διάσπαρτων θρησκευτικών αναφορών σε ενότητες, κείμενα και ασκήσεις, που το περιεχόμενό τους δεν σχετίζεται με τη θρησκεία. Η οργάνωση και καταγραφή των αναφορών των κατηγοριών ανάλυσης είναι αποκαλυπτική. Η θρησκεία έχει λόγο σε κατηγορίες όπως γιορτές και επέτειοι, ιστορία και έθνος, τέχνη και αρχιτεκτονική, σε πλήθος κοινωνικών δραστηριοτήτων, σε μεγάλα προβλήματα της ανθρωπότητας, όπως ο πόλεμος, η φτώχεια και η περιβαλλοντική καταστροφή. Η παρουσία των θρησκευτικών αντιλήψεων είναι διαρκής, καθιστώντας το γλωσσικό μάθημα ιδεολογικά βοηθητικό του μαθήματος των Θρησκευτικών. Η ταύτιση των μαθητών και των μαθητριών με τον χριστιανισμό και την ορθοδοξία θεωρείται δεδομένη και πέρα από κάθε αμφισβήτηση.

Ο καταγιτισμός των θρησκευτικών αναφορών και παρεμβολών δεν αφήνει πολλά περιθώρια για το αντίθετο. Προσευχές, κείμενα και ποιήματα θρησκευτικού περιεχομένου, θρησκευτικές γιορτές, ύμνοι, αποσπάσματα από το Ευαγγέλιο, γενικότερα κείμενα ομολογιακού χαρακτήρα, κατακλύζουν τα σχολικά βιβλία της Γλώσσας όλων των τάξεων του Δημοτικού σχολείου. Από κοντά, ποιήματα και κείμενα με θρησκευτικές αναφορές μεγάλων Ελλήνων ποιητών και συγγραφέων, μεταφρασμένη ξένη λογοτεχνία, κείμενα σχετικά με την ιστορία και την εθνική ταυτότητα. Πολλές αναφορές απευθύνονται και κινητοποιούν το θυμικό των παιδιών. Παιδικές αναμνήσεις από εικόνες, μυρωδιές, ακούσματα και ήχους της Ελλάδας, εικόνες από το ελληνικό φυσικό τοπίο, τα κτήρια και την αρχιτεκτονική του, έθιμα, γιορτές, διακοπές, ψυχαγωγία, καθώς και εικόνες από τη σχολική ζωή. Η ορθοδοξία εμφανίζεται να συνδέεται άρρηκτα με τον εθνικό εαυτό και την κουλτούρα των Ελλήνων, όπως και με την κοινωνική τους ζωή, την καθημερινότητά τους και τις κοινωνικές τους σχέσεις και αξιωματικά φαίνεται σαν να αφορά το σύνολο των Ελλήνων ή των πολιτών της χώρας μας. Η Ελλάδα παρουσιάζεται αξιωματικά ως χώρος έκφρασης της ορθοδοξίας. Τα παιδιά των ετερόδοξων ή ετερόθρησκων ή τα παιδιά μεταναστών και προσφύγων υπόκεινται σε έναν ολοφάνερο ρατσισμό, καθώς - πέρα από κάποιες τυπικές αναφορές - δεν





καταφέρνουν να βρουν δικά τους σημεία αναφοράς και έκφρασης σεβασμού της διαφορετικότητάς τους στα σχολικά βιβλία της γλώσσας.

Γενικότερα, κυριαρχεί το μοτίβο της χριστιανικής αγάπης και της συγχώρεσης, σύμφωνα με την οποία όλοι οφείλουν να είναι συμφιλιωμένοι μεταξύ τους. Η αγάπη προς τον πλησίον προβάλλεται ως αντανάκλαση της αγάπης προς τον θεό, ενώ η ηθικότητα προβάλλεται ως άκριτη υποταγή στο θεό. Γίνεται συχνή αναφορά σε διάφορες δοξασίες, όπως τα θαύματα, η μεταθανάτια ζωή, το προπατορικό αμάρτημα. Ο θεός παρουσιάζεται ως δημιουργός των πάντων, δημιουργός του κόσμου και της ζωής. Προβάλλεται η παρθενογένεση του Χριστού και άρα η δυνατότητα δημιουργίας της ζωής διά της χάριτος του θεού. Επιπλέον, παρατηρείται μια επιμονή στην προβολή της βλάβης, του θρησκευτικού γάμου, της νηστείας. Τα μεγάλα κοινωνικά προβλήματα, όπως η φτώχεια, ο πόλεμος και η περιβαλλοντική καταστροφή παρουσιάζονται ως αποτελέσματα της πτώσης του ανθρώπου. Η ελεημοσύνη, η φιλανθρωπία και οι κάθε είδους αγαθοεργίες κατατίθενται ως οι καταλληλότερες πρακτικές για την αντιμετώπιση των κοινωνικοοικονομικών προβλημάτων.

Είναι αξιοσημείωτο και θα άξιζε να διερευνηθεί περαιτέρω το γεγονός ότι από τις ενότητες που έχουν αυτούσιο θρησκευτικό περιεχόμενο, δηλαδή από αυτές που έχουν ως θέμα τις δύο μεγάλες χριστιανικές γιορτές, τα Χριστούγεννα και το Πάσχα, απουσιάζει - κατά κύριο λόγο - κάθε μορφή αναφοράς και εξάσκησης σε γραμματικά και συντακτικά φαινόμενα. Εξάλλου, δεν υπάρχει συμπληρωματική εξάσκηση ούτε στα τετράδια εργασιών. Παρατίθενται μόνο σχετικά ποιήματα και κείμενα για μια απλή επεξεργασία περιεχομένου. Οι ερωτήσεις που συνοδεύουν κάποια από αυτά, είναι ερωτήσεις που προωθούν τη συζήτηση και βοηθούν στην κατανόηση του περιεχομένου τους. Θεωρούμε ότι σκοπός της παραπάνω επιλογής είναι να επικεντρώσουν τα παιδιά την προσοχή τους στο περιεχόμενο των κειμένων και στα προβαλλόμενα θρησκευτικά μηνύματα και έτσι να τα εμπεδώσουν απρόσκοπτα και να τα αφομοιώσουν ευκολότερα. Αντίθετα, τα δύο και μοναδικά κείμενα – το ένα στο α' τεύχος του βιβλίου του μαθητή και της μαθήτριας της Στ' τάξης και το άλλο στο β' τεύχος του τετραδίου εργασιών της ίδιας τάξης - που αναφέρονται το πρώτο σε άλλες θρησκείες και το δεύτερο σε ζητήματα σεβασμού των δικαιωμάτων των παιδιών και της θρησκευτικής ελευθερίας, είτε συνοδεύονται από ασκήσεις διαθεματικές και επομένως προαιρετικές, είτε κατακλύζονται από ασκήσεις ορθογραφίας, γραμματικής και συντακτικού. Είναι φανερό ότι με την παραπάνω τακτική η αξία του περιεχομένου των κειμένων αυτών υποβαθμίζεται, καθώς αυτά δεν αποτελούν κυρίως αφορμή για συζήτηση στην τάξη, αλλά μέσο εξάσκησης σε ορθογραφικά, γραμματικά και συντακτικά φαινόμενα.

Ωστόσο, γενικότερα, και παρά τη συγκεκριμένη τακτική που ακολουθείται στις ενότητες για τις μεγάλες θρησκευτικές εορτές, κατά τη διαδικασία ανάγνωσης και γραφής, εκμάθησης ορθογραφίας, γραμματικής και συντακτικού, κατά την προσπάθεια επεξεργασίας του περιεχομένου των κειμένων και συμπλήρωσης των



ασκήσεων, η θρησκευτική κοσμοαντίληψη εμφανίζεται διαρκώς, αξιοποιώντας κάθε είδους θεματική, που εμπεριέχεται στα σχολικά βιβλία της Γλώσσας.

### Συμπερασματικά

Όσον αφορά στη θρησκευτική αγωγή και πιο συγκεκριμένα στο μάθημα των Θρησκευτικών, διαπιστώνουμε ότι ναι μεν αυτό ήταν πάντοτε ολιγόωρο, ωστόσο, ταυτόχρονα, ήταν πάντοτε υποχρεωτικό. Επιπλέον, εξακολουθεί να έχει το προνόμιο να κατέχει σταθερά την πρώτη

Οι αποφάσεις που είχαν παρθεί τα τελευταία χρόνια τόσο σε εθνικό όσο και σε ευρωπαϊκό επίπεδο για το μάθημα των Θρησκευτικών ήταν αρκετά σημαντικές. Για παράδειγμα, η Αρχή Προστασίας των Προσωπικών Δεδομένων όχι μόνο είχε συμπεριλάβει τη θετική ή αρνητική στάση απέναντι στο θείο - δηλαδή το περιεχόμενο της θρησκευτικής συνείδησης - στον σκληρό πυρήνα της προστασίας των ευαίσθητων προσωπικών δεδομένων αλλά και ανέδειξε, τόσο στο ζήτημα των ταυτοτήτων όσο και στο ζήτημα της διδασκαλίας των Θρησκευτικών, την ιδιαίτερη σημασία του δικαιώματος να μην εκδηλώνει κανείς τις κοσμοθεωρητικές του απόψεις, προκειμένου να αποφύγει δυσμενή διακριτική μεταχείριση εξαιτίας τους. Ως προς τον χαρακτήρα της θρησκευτικής εκπαίδευσης, ειδικότερα, η εν λόγω αρχή έκρινε ότι δικαίωμα απαλλαγής από το μάθημα των θρησκευτικών είχαν όλοι οι μαθητές που επικαλούνταν - οι ίδιοι ή μέσω των γονέων τους - λόγους θρησκευτικής συνείδησης, χωρίς οποιαδήποτε υποχρέωση να κάνουν δήλωση πίστεως ή απιστίας. Στη συνέχεια, το Συμβούλιο Επικρατείας όχι μόνο παρέσχε νομολογική κάλυψη στην Αρχή Προστασίας Προσωπικών Δεδομένων, αλλά, επιπλέον, προχώρησε ένα βήμα παραπέρα αμφισβητώντας πλήρως τα ίδια τα θεμέλια του συστήματος της θρησκευτικής εκπαίδευσης, προβάλλοντας ως συνταγματικά ευνοούμενη εναλλακτική λύση την καθιέρωση της θρησκευτολογικής εκπαίδευσης, όπως άλλωστε ισχύει σε αρκετές ευρωπαϊκές χώρες.

Στη συνέχεια, ακολούθησαν δύο - σχετικές με το θέμα της απαλλαγής από το μάθημα των Θρησκευτικών - εγκύκλιοι. Το 2008 το ΥΠ.Π.Ε.Θ. εξέδωσε την υπ' αριθμ. 104071/Γ2/4.8.2008 εγκύκλιο σύμφωνα με την οποία οι μη ορθόδοξοι μαθητές - αλλόθρησκοι ή ετερόδοξοι - απαλλάσσονται από το μάθημα των Θρησκευτικών για λόγους συνείδησης, και κατά την ώρα της διδασκαλίας του συγκεκριμένου μαθήματος παρακολουθούν υποχρεωτικά τη διδασκαλία διαφορετικού διδακτικού αντικειμένου σε άλλο τμήμα της ίδιας τάξης. Στην περίπτωση, που η συγκεκριμένη τάξη λειτουργεί μόνο με ένα τμήμα, οι μαθητές αυτοί παρακολουθούν εκπαιδευτικό πρόγραμμα που καθορίζεται για το σκοπό αυτό από το Σύλλογο Διδασκόντων του Σχολείου. Για τους αλλοδαπούς το πρόγραμμα αφορά το μάθημα της ελληνικής γλώσσας, ενώ για τους υπόλοιπους μαθητές μάθημα ανάλογο με τις μαθησιακές τους ανάγκες. Στην ίδια λογική κινήθηκε το 2015 και η αντίστοιχη εγκύκλιος του ΥΠ.Π.Ε.Θ. με αριθμ. 12773/Δ2/23.1.2015. Ωστόσο, στις μέρες μας υπάρχει διχογνωμία στο θέμα της απαλλαγής από το μάθημα των Θρησκευτικών, καθώς από ό,τι φαίνεται πιθανόν να



μην υφίσταται στο μέλλον ως δυνατότητα, επειδή - σύμφωνα με τους ιθύνοντες του Υπουργείου Παιδείας, Έρευνας και Θρησκευμάτων αλλά και του Παιδαγωγικού Ινστιτούτου - το μάθημα είναι πλέον θρησκευολογικού τύπου (θέση που επιδέχεται έντονη κριτική) και, επομένως, όλοι οι μαθητές και όλες οι μαθήτριες ανεξαρτήτου δόγματος, θρησκείας ή κοσμοθεωρητικής και ιδεολογικής τοποθέτησης μπορούν πλέον να το παρακολουθούν, χωρίς να προσβάλλεται η ελευθερία της θρησκευτικής τους συνείδησης.

Όλες οι παραπάνω αποφάσεις και επιλογές, είτε αυτές που κινούνται στη λογική της δυνατότητας απαλλαγής από τα θρησκευτικά ομολογιακού τύπου, είτε στη λογική του μαθήματος θρησκευολογίας και της συνακόλουθης υποχρεωτικής παρακολούθησής του από όλους και όλες, δεν λύνουν το πρόβλημα του συνολικότερου κατηχισμού και της μονοφωνίας. Επιπλέον, στην πρώτη περίπτωση, αυτή της απαλλαγής, είναι γεγονός ότι πολύ λίγοι γονείς θα τολμούσαν ή θα επιθυμούσαν για τα παιδιά τους να αποκοπούν από το οργανικό σύνολο της τάξης, για λόγους συνείδησης ή ετερότητας, έστω και για μία ή δύο μόνο ώρες εβδομαδιαίως. Το σημαντικότερο, όμως, είναι ότι - ούτως ή άλλως - αποφάσεις αυτού του είδους αναγνωρίζουν το δικαίωμα στο σχολείο να διαμορφώνει θρησκευτική συνείδηση και να ενδογματίζει τα παιδιά στη βάση πάντα των θρησκευτικών αντιλήψεων της πλειοψηφίας. Τίθεται, επιπλέον, ένα σοβαρό ζήτημα που σχετίζεται άμεσα με τα συμπεράσματα της έρευνάς μας. Ακόμη κι αν υπήρχε - ή υπάρχει ακόμα - η δυνατότητα της απαλλαγής από το μάθημα των θρησκευτικών, ωστόσο κανείς μαθητής και καμιά μαθήτρια δεν μπορεί να αποφύγει το μάθημα της Γλώσσας.

Ο ρόλος της θρησκείας, στα αναγνωστικά ειδικότερα, αλλά και στο σύνολο των γνωστικών αντικειμένων γενικότερα, είναι βαθιά κοινωνικός. Η θρησκεία παρεμποδίζει την ανάπτυξη της κριτικής σκέψης, τη σύλληψη της οικονομικής διάστασης του κόσμου, μεταμφιέζει την κοινωνική πραγματικότητα σε προϊόν της θέλησης του θεού. Καλλιεργεί τη μοιρολατρία και την κοινωνική υποταγή και υποβάλλει την αποδοχή της κοινωνικής πραγματικότητας ως έχει. Μαθαίνει στα παιδιά να θεωρούν το γύρω τους κόσμο απρόσιτο σε κάθε δυνατότητα παρέμβασης και αλλαγής, στάσιμο, μη μετατρέψιμο, μη εξελίξιμο. Διδάσκει ότι όλα καθορίζονται από την παρέμβαση της μοίρας και καλλιεργεί μια στρεβλή ηθικότητα, όπου τα πάντα περιορίζονται στα πλαίσια της αιώνιας πάλης του καλού με το κακό.

Ωστόσο, η θρησκευτική επιρροή στη συνείδηση των μαθητών και των μαθητριών δεν επιτυγχάνεται μόνο μέσα από το μάθημα της Γλώσσας ή των θρησκευτικών. Ο εθισμός στη θρησκεία δεν επιτυγχάνεται μόνο μέσα από τη διδασκαλία κάποιων μαθημάτων, αλλά συνολικότερα από τα παρεπόμενα του ασφυκτικού εναγκαλισμού του ελληνικού σχολείου με την Ορθόδοξη Εκκλησία της Ελλάδας. Ως τέτοια μπορούν να χαρακτηριστούν ένα σύνολο κανόνων, δραστηριοτήτων και εκδηλώσεων της καθημερινής σχολικής ζωής: αγιασμοί, κηρύγματα, εξομολογήσεις, καθημερινή υποχρεωτική δημόσια προσευχή, τακτικοί εκκλησιασμοί, ανάρτηση θρησκευτικών εικόνων στις σχολικές αίθουσες, το Υπουργείο Παιδείας που είναι



ταυτόχρονα και Θρησκευμάτων. Η Εκκλησία παρεμβαίνει στο Παιδαγωγικό Ινστιτούτο για το περιεχόμενο των σχολικών βιβλίων σε συντηρητική - φυσικά - κατεύθυνση. Έτσι, είτε υποβαθμίζονται ή καταργούνται μαθήματα, όπως η Βιολογία, η Χημεία, η Γεωλογία, η Ιστορία της Τέχνης, η Φιλοσοφία, η Κοινωνική και Πολιτική Παιδεία, είτε αποβάλλονται διά παντός ή δέχονται πολεμική η διδασκαλία ενοτήτων όπως αυτή του Αναπαραγωγικού Συστήματος του ανθρώπου και συνολικότερα η Σεξουαλική Αγωγή, όπως, επίσης, και η Θεωρία της Εξέλιξης. Εξάλλου, οι Φυσικές Επιστήμες δεν διδάσκονται ως κοσμοθεωρία, ως επιστημονικές κατηγορίες με τις οποίες μπορούν τα παιδιά να ερμηνεύσουν τον κόσμο, αλλά διδάσκονται παράλληλα με τη θεολογική εκδοχή της δημιουργίας του κόσμου σε επτά μέρες. Το αποτέλεσμα είναι να οδηγούνται οι μαθητές και οι μαθήτριες στη μεταφυσική και στην άρνηση της επιστημονικής – υλιστικής ερμηνείας του κόσμου. Κατ’ αυτόν τον τρόπο, προωθείται η ανικανότητα των παιδιών να κατανοήσουν και να κρίνουν το γύρω τους κόσμο, αλλά κι η απόκτηση ισχυρών αντιστάσεων μπροστά στην επιστημονική οπτική των φυσικών, κοινωνικών και ιστορικών δεδομένων. Τα παιδιά εξοικειώνονται με την πίστη και όχι με την αμφισβήτηση και την έρευνα.

Η εκπαίδευση ως κοινωνικά οργανωμένη δραστηριότητα παίζει καθοριστικό ρόλο στη διαμόρφωση της ανθρώπινης προσωπικότητας. Παρά το γεγονός, όμως, ότι στην έννοια εκπαίδευση αποδίδεται σήμερα κοσμικό - μη θρησκευτικό περιεχόμενο, σε πολλά εκπαιδευτικά συστήματα έχει γίνει αποδεκτή η θρησκευτική αγωγή, κυρίως σε ό,τι αφορά τη διαμόρφωση ηθικών αντιλήψεων και συμπεριφοράς. Η θρησκευτική διαπαιδαγώγηση του ανθρώπου είναι ιδιαίτερα αποτελεσματική, όταν αρχίζει σε μικρή ηλικία, οπότε δεν έχει ακόμη αναπτυχθεί η κριτική του ικανότητα ούτε διαθέτει επαρκείς γνώσεις για τον κόσμο. Η εν λόγω διαπαιδαγώγηση υποβάλλει στο νεαρό άτομο την πίστη σε θρησκευτικές - φανταστικές μορφές και ένα τρόπο σκέψης που αποδέχεται άκριτα, ως δοσμένες, ιδέες ανορθολογικές (Παυλίδης, 2000-2001: 36, 37). Εξάλλου, όταν ο πιστός μιας θρησκείας γαλουχηθεί από νήπιο στα δόγματά της και εντυπωσιαστεί βαθιά από τα λατρευτικά της δρώμενα, είναι πολύ δύσκολο μετά να απαγκιστρωθεί από την πίστη επιστρατεύοντας την ορθολογική κριτική. Γι’ αυτό ο θρησκευτικός αποχρωματισμός είναι μια επίμονη διεργασία που κρατάει συχνά μια ολόκληρη ζωή (Ευαγγέλου, 1997: 1617).

Είναι γεγονός ότι η θρησκευτική διδασκαλία στο σχολείο συνεχίζει να αποτελεί πρόβλημα ταμπού. Υπό την πίεση της ηγεσίας της Εκκλησίας, η θρησκευτική διδασκαλία και παρέμβαση στο σχολείο - με οποιαδήποτε μορφή και με οποιονδήποτε τρόπο λαμβάνει χώρα - παραμένει αυτονόητη, ενώ, όλοι και όλες γνωρίζουν, ότι είναι αντίθετη και με την ελευθερία της συνείδησης, αλλά και με τον ορθολογισμό. Είναι ολοφάνερο ότι τόσο το γλωσσικό μάθημα όσο και το μάθημα των θρησκευτικών είναι μόνο δύο από τα πολλά κομμάτια του παζλ της θρησκευτικής επιρροής και του κατηχισμού στο ελληνικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα. Το περιεχόμενο του μαθήματος της Γλώσσας αλλά και γενικότερα όλων των γνωστικών αντικειμένων, τα αναλυτικά προγράμματα που καθορίζουν τους σκοπούς τους, και



γενικότερα όλο το εκπαιδευτικό πλαίσιο της θρησκευτικής διαπαιδαγώγησης των παιδιών και των νέων, είναι απόρροια της στενής σχέσης της εκπαίδευσης με την Ορθόδοξη Εκκλησία της Ελλάδας.

Ο διαχωρισμός Κράτους / Πολιτείας – Εκκλησίας είναι ένας τρόπος διευθέτησης - στα πλαίσια του αστικού κράτους - των προβλημάτων, που προκύπτουν από αυτή τη σχέση. Ωστόσο, κάθε φορά που ανοίγει η συζήτηση περί ελευθερίας της θρησκευτικής συνείδησης έχουμε να αντιμετωπίσουμε το επιχείρημα της πλειοψηφίας του 96% των Χριστιανών Ορθόδοξων μεταξύ του συνόλου των πολιτών. Η αναφορά αυτού του στοιχείου κατά κανόνα αποκρύπτει τους ποικίλους μηχανισμούς δημιουργίας πιστών στη χώρα μας. Με άλλα λόγια η εν λόγω πλειοψηφία δεν είναι φυσικό φαινόμενο. Δεν προέκυψε εκτός συγκεκριμένων κοινωνικών συνθηκών, εκτός της λειτουργίας της ορθόδοξης χριστιανικής πίστης ως ιδεολογικού θεμελίου συγκρότησης και λειτουργίας του ελληνικού έθνους - κράτους, από τις απαρχές του. Οι κυρίαρχες ιδέες μιας κοινωνίας δεν μπορούν να εξετάζονται ανεξάρτητα από τις κοινωνικές δυνάμεις που τις κατέστησαν κυρίαρχες καθώς και από τα κοινωνικά συμφέροντα τα οποία υπηρετούν. Επίσης δεν μπορούν να αντιμετωπίζονται ως δεδομένες και αμετάβλητες. Στον παιδαγωγικό και κοινωνικό αγώνα για τη δημιουργία κριτικά σκεπτόμενων πολιτών καθίσταται αναγκαίο να θέτουμε υπό κρίση και κριτική και το ίδιο το θρησκευτικό φαινόμενο, να αποκαλύπτουμε τα κοινωνικά αίτια της εμφάνισής του, τον ρόλο της θρησκευτικής συνείδησης στις κοινωνίες του ταξικού ανταγωνισμού και εκμετάλλευσης, με στρατηγικό όραμα την πνευματική χειραφέτηση των ανθρώπων από τα δεσμά του ανορθολογισμού και του σκοταδισμού. Το αίτημα του διαχωρισμού Κράτους και Εκκλησίας είναι πάντα επίκαιρο, θεμιτό και επιθυμητό, ωστόσο, δεν αποτελεί την καθοριστική λύση στα προαναφερθέντα προβλήματα. Μπορεί κανείς να απαιτήσει ένα ορθολογικότερο, επιστημονικότερο και δημοκρατικότερο περιεχόμενο τόσο του γλωσσικού μαθήματος όσο και όλων των μαθημάτων. Ωστόσο, η κριτική, η στόχευση και η διεκδίκηση αλλαγών πρέπει να διαπνέεται από μια συνολικότερη οπτική των πραγμάτων, καθώς το ζήτημα του περιεχομένου της σχολικής γνώσης δεν μπορεί να αντιμετωπιστεί ως κάτι ξεκομμένο από την κοινωνική και πολιτική πραγματικότητα.

Ο Φρέιρε προσεγγίζει το σύνολο της παιδαγωγικής διαδικασίας ως πολιτική διαδικασία. Οι σκοποί, οι ειδικοί στόχοι, το περιεχόμενο, οι μορφές, οι μέθοδοι, τα μέσα, η αξιολόγηση, κάθε επιμέρους πλευρά της παιδαγωγικής θεωρίας και πράξης και οι δεσμοί μεταξύ τους (καθώς και με την κοινωνία) έχουν πολιτικό χαρακτήρα. Η διακήρυξη «ουδετερότητας» απέναντί τους αποτελεί μια πολιτική δήλωση που (συνειδητά ή ασυνειδητά) ενισχύει την κυρίαρχη τάξη πραγμάτων (Γρόλλιος κ.ά., 2002: 1, 1i). Η εκπαίδευση ως προνομιακός χώρος διαμόρφωσης της ανθρώπινης συνείδησης αποτελεί πεδίο ιδεολογικής και πολιτικής παρέμβασης προκειμένου να κερδηθούν οι ανθρώπινες συνειδήσεις με το μέρος της κοινωνικής προόδου. Για το λόγο αυτό, ο αγώνας για μια μη θρησκευτική παιδεία, καθώς και η υπογράμμιση της αντίθεσης παιδείας - θρησκείας, συνδέεται στενά με τον αγώνα για πνευματική





και κοινωνική χειραφέτηση (Παυλίδης, 2000-2001: 42). Εξάλλου, η διδασκαλία των τρόπων αναζήτησης, επεξεργασίας και δημιουργίας γνώσεων, η καλλιέργεια των νοητικών ικανοτήτων μπορεί να γίνει μόνο μέσα από σκεπτόμενους διδάσκοντες, από ανθρώπους που οι ίδιοι είναι ικανοί να ασχολούνται αυτόνομα με τη γνώση, που είναι φορείς υψηλής διανοητικής κουλτούρας την οποία ενεργοποιούν ποικιλοτρόπως στο διδακτικό τους έργο (Παυλίδης, 2012: 238).

Διαπιστώνουμε, επομένως, ότι ο ρόλος των εκπαιδευτικών στη διαδικασία αμφισβήτησης της επίσημης σχολικής γνώσης, ως απόκρυψη της φυσικής και κοινωνικής πραγματικότητας, είναι καθοριστικός. Μέσα σε ένα γενικότερο κλίμα ανορθολογισμού, μυστικισμού και θρησκευτικού φανατισμού οι προοδευτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί, οι εκπαιδευτικοί - διανοούμενοι, μπορούν να δίνουν την ιδεολογική μάχη, στον - ούτως ή άλλως - συγκρουσιακό χώρο της εκπαίδευσης, για την εγκυρότητα και την αξία της γνώσης και της μόρφωσης ως βασικού παράγοντα δημιουργίας κριτικών συνειδητήσεων και προσωπικοτήτων ενάντια σε κάθε είδους καταπίεση και χειραγώγηση.

Θέση σε σειρά εμφάνισης σε όλα τα προγράμματα και να διδάσκεται αδιάλειπτα σε όλους τους τύπους σχολείων. Επομένως, παρά την ολιγόωρη διδασκαλία του δεν μπορεί να ισχυριστεί κανείς ότι η θρησκευτική αγωγή έχει μέση ή μικρή βαρύτητα στο ελληνικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα. Αναφερόμενος ο Bernstein στους τύπους αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων εξετάζει τη σχετική θέση (status) ενός περιεχομένου ανάλογα με την ποσότητα του χρόνου που του αποδίδεται και την υποχρεωτικότητα ή προαιρετικότητά του. Ωστόσο, ο Bernstein αντιμετωπίζει το ζήτημα των σχολικών αντικειμένων μάθησης και από μία δεύτερη οπτική, την οποία θεωρεί πιο σημαντική από την πρώτη. Διακρίνει τα αναλυτικά προγράμματα σε δύο τύπους: σε ένα τύπο συλλογής, όπου τα διαφορετικά περιεχόμενα μάθησης βρίσκονται σε κλειστή σχέση μεταξύ τους (ευδιακρίτως οριοθετημένα), και σε ένα συγχωνευμένο τύπο, όπου τα περιεχόμενα βρίσκονται σε ανοιχτή σχέση μεταξύ τους και δεν ακολουθούν ξεχωριστούς δρόμους. Τα αναλυτικά προγράμματα του ελληνικού εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος διακρίνονταν πάντα από μικρό βαθμό συγχώνευσης. Όμως, πιο έντονη συγχώνευση, σε σχέση με τα άλλα μαθήματα, συναντάμε στο μάθημα της θρησκευτικής αγωγής, αφού η ορθόδοξη χριστιανική διδασκαλία διαπερνά ακόμη και σήμερα μέρος των κειμένων του μαθήματος της Γλώσσας, ενώ αναφορές δεν λείπουν από τα βιβλία της Ιστορίας (Μαρκόπουλος, 2002-2003: 25-26).

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## Ο ρόλος της Απελευθερωτικής και Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής στην κρίση: Μια απόπειρα μεταφοράς των αρχών της στην εκπαιδευτική πρακτική

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### Περίληψη

Στην εποχή της σύγχρονης νεοφιλελεύθερης και συνεχώς αναπτυσσόμενης «ορθολογικής» δημαγωγίας, τα αποτελέσματα της οποίας ήδη βιώνουμε, εντονότερα τα τελευταία χρόνια της κρίσης, τόσο στο χώρο της εκπαίδευσης όσο και της γενικότερης εργασιακής, πνευματικής και κοινωνικής ζωής, που τείνει να μετατραπεί περισσότερο από μια μορφή φυλακής της ανθρώπινης προσωπικότητας, σε θανάτωση της ίδιας της ανθρώπινης ζωής, οι κριτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί οφείλουν να σταθούν στο ύψος του ιστορικού ρόλου που τους αναλογεί. Έχοντας επίγνωση της ταυτόχρονα παιδαγωγικής, επιστημονικής και πολιτικής τους υπόστασης και πως η δυνατότητα της Απελευθερωτικής και Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής να συμβάλλει στην κατεύθυνση της κοινωνικής χειραφέτησης, δεν την καθιστά «όργανο ριζικού κοινωνικοπολιτικού μετασχηματισμού», η παρούσα ανακοίνωση, στοχεύει στην ανάδειξη των αρχών εκείνων της Απελευθερωτικής και Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής, που εκκινώντας από την αξιοποίηση των βιωμάτων των μαθητών, την εποχή της κρίσης, και την οικοδόμηση ενός κλίματος συλλογικής ανάπτυξης, επιτυχίας και αλληλεγγύης στην τάξη, αποσκοπεί στη διαμόρφωση συλλογικά χειραφετημένων και κριτικά συνειδητοποιημένων υποκειμένων που δύνανται να κατανοούν και να μετασχηματίζουν τις αντιφάσεις της κοινωνίας, στην προοπτική της προσωπικής ευτυχίας και ολοκλήρωσης του καθενός, ως προϋπόθεση για τη συλλογική ευτυχία και ολοκλήρωση όλων.

### Λέξεις κλειδιά

κρίση, νεοφιλελευθερισμός, μεταμοντερνισμός, Απελευθερωτική και Κριτική Παιδαγωγική, κριτική συνειδητοποίηση, διαλεκτική σκέψη, συλλογικό υποκείμενο, υποκείμενο της εργασίας

### Εισαγωγή: Η εποχή κυριαρχίας της «ηθικής της αγοράς»- ο καιρός των χαμένων «αυτονόητων» και των κερδισμένων «αναπόφευκτων»

Οι έντονες συγκρούσεις και η προβληματική που αναπτύσσεται στις μέρες μας αναφορικά με το παρόν και το μέλλον του εκπαιδευτικού θεσμού, σε μια συγκυρία που στιγματίζεται καθοριστικά από μια πρωτοφανή σε ένταση και έκταση κυριαρχία των νεοφιλελεύθερων δυνάμεων της αγοράς, έρχονται να αναδείξουν την εκπαίδευση σε μείζον οικονομικό, κοινωνικό και πολιτικό διακύβευμα (Παναγιωτόπουλος & Θάνος, 2008) το οποίο μας φέρνει αντιμέτωπους με μια χαρακτηριστική των διαζευγμάτων της εποχής μας επιφανειακή αντίφαση. Την ίδια δηλαδή στιγμή που καλούμαστε να ασκήσουμε δριμεία κριτική στο εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα, λόγω της επιλεκτικής του λειτουργίας και της αναγωγής του σε κατεξοχήν εργαλείο κοινωνικής αναπαραγωγής, την ίδια εντούτοις στιγμή καλούμαστε και να το υπερασπιστούμε δυναμικά ενάντια στην νεοφιλελεύθερης έμπνευσης ιδεολογία



του κέρδους που τείνει να κυριαρχήσει σε κάθε τομέα της ανθρώπινης ζωής και δραστηριότητας, διεκδικώντας την ταυτόσή της στη κοινωνική συνείδηση με το πεδίο μιας «αλήθειας» ορθολογικής, μοναδικά ρεαλιστικής άρα και αυτονόητης (Παναγιωτόπουλος, 2010).

Πρόκειται για μια «γενική περίοδο οπισθοδρόμησης», σύμφωνα με τον Noam Chomsky, βιωμένη ιδιαίτερα έντονα τα τελευταία χρόνια της «κρίσης» στην Ελλάδα, η οποία, έχοντας ως βασικό χαρακτηριστικό την υπονόμευση κάθε δημόσιου κοινωνικού αγαθού, πλήττει ολοκληρωτικά όχι μόνο την εκπαίδευση αλλά και τη δημοκρατία, τις δομές της γενικότερης εργασιακής, πνευματικής και κοινωνικής ζωής και τελικά το δικαίωμα των ανθρώπων να ζουν με αξιοπρέπεια με όρους διαβίωσης αλλά και επιβίωσης. Τα αποτελέσματα της εφαρμογής των νεοφιλελεύθερων πολιτικών συνθέτουν, σύμφωνα με την Π. Γούναρη, ένα φαινόμενο «κοινωνικής νεκροφιλίας»<sup>1</sup> (Gounari, 2014) η οποία επεκτείνεται και στο χώρο του σχολείου. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, η εισβολή της νεοφιλελεύθερης ιδεολογίας και της συνεπακόλουθης λογικής του management που διέπει όλες τις αγορές, έρχεται να προκρίνει τις οικονομικές διαστάσεις της εκπαίδευσης εις βάρος οποιαδήποτε άλλου κοινωνικού ή πολιτικού προτάγματος (Apple, 2000) και να σκιαγραφήσει, στο όνομα των όρων «της ηθικής της αγοράς» (όπως ανταγωνιστικότητα, αποτελεσματικότητα, ατομικότητα και προσαρμογή) και της προβολής τους ως «αξιών» ουδέτερων και «οικουμενικών», ένα επιχειρηματικό εκπαιδευτικό τοπίο το οποίο, μέσω της αποπολιτικοποίησης κάθε ίχνους μάθησης και διδασκαλίας (Giroux, 2013) και της «προλεταριοποίησης» των εκπαιδευτικών (Giroux, 2004), στοχεύει στην παραγωγή πειθήνιου εργατικού δυναμικού, στην παραγωγή εκπαιδευτικών προϊόντων και υπηρεσιών κατάρτισής του, και τελικά στην αντιμετώπιση της παιδείας ως ατομικής επένδυσης με μετρήσιμα αποτελέσματα που ικανοποιούν τις απαιτήσεις της αγοράς και δύνανται να εξαργυρωθούν στην αγορά εργασίας.

Απέναντι στην άγρια αυτή εκπαιδευτική, κοινωνική και πολιτική πραγματικότητα που επιβάλλουν οι νεοφιλελεύθερες και νεοσυντηρητικές, εγχώριες και διεθνείς πολιτικές δυνάμεις, καθίσταται αναγκαία η διερεύνηση του βαθύτερου ρόλου που η Κριτική Παιδαγωγική, επιβάλλεται σήμερα, περισσότερο παρά ποτέ, να παίξει. Επιδίωξη της παρούσας εργασίας είναι μέσα από την προσωπική εκπαιδευτική μας ματιά και εμπειρία, η απόπειρα ανάδειξης βασικών πτυχών μιας Απελευθερωτικής Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής<sup>2</sup>, που εκκινώντας από τα βιώματα των μαθητών/τριών την

<sup>1</sup>Πρόκειται για το σωματικό και συμβολικό θάνατο, τον οποίο προωθούν οι οικονομικές πολιτικές, των εγχώριων και ξένων νεοφιλελεύθερων δυνάμεων, με στόχο την εφαρμογή μέτρων σκληρής λιτότητας τα οποία αποφέρουν κέρδη στις κυρίαρχες τάξεις διεθνώς (Γούναρη, 2015).

<sup>2</sup>Οι Γ. Γρόλλιος και Π. Γούναρη (2016) εισάγουν τον όρο Απελευθερωτική Κριτική Παιδαγωγική στο ομώνυμο βιβλίο τους, στο οποίο αποτυπώνουν αναλυτικά τα χαρακτηριστικά, τις αρχές, τις κατευθύνσεις δράσης καθώς και τη σκοποθεσία που η Απελευθερωτική Κριτική Παιδαγωγική οφείλει σήμερα να έχει. Η χρήση του όρου αυτού και στη δική μας εργασία βασίζεται σε όλο το θεωρητικό, παιδαγωγικό και πολιτικό πλαίσιο που οι δύο συγγραφείς εισάγουν και θέτουν στο βιβλίο τους.



εποχή της κρίσης, τις αρχές της μαρξιστικής ανάλυσης καθώς και της διαλεκτικής κατανόησης της κοινωνίας, ως αναπτυσσόμενης οργανικής ολότητας, στο πλαίσιο της θεωρίας της κοινωνίας όπως την αναπτύσσει ο Βίκτωρ Α. Βαζιούλιν, δύναται να συμβάλλει στη διαμόρφωση κριτικά συνειδητοποιημένων και κοινωνικά υπεύθυνων προσωπικοτήτων, ως συλλογικών υποκειμένων, που, εμπνεόμενων από τα ιδεώδη που δομούν τις συνθήκες συλλογικής ανάπτυξης και επιτυχίας στη σχολική τάξη και κοινότητα, και τα εργαλεία σκέψης που κατακτούν, μέσω συλλογικών διανοητικών εργασιών, με τη σειρά τους δύνανται, ως φορείς κοινωνικής συνείδησης, εντός της υπό εξέλιξη «Κοινωνίας της Γνώσης», να συμβάλλουν, στην αυθεντική της πραγμάτωση, στην προοπτική δηλαδή χειραφέτησης της εργασίας και της κοινωνίας.

Η κατεύθυνση αυτή της κοινωνικοπολιτικής συγκρότησης της υποκειμενικότητας των μαθητών/τριών, προϋποθέτει, όμως, σε πρώτο επίπεδο τη σύντομη, στα όρια που επιτρέπει η παρούσα εργασία, αναφορά και ανάδειξη όψεων του μεταμοντέρνου, ως ενός ισχυρού σε επιρροή στα θέματα της παιδείας και της γνώσης αλλά και της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής «ρεύματος», και της φανεράς αλλά και της αθέατης σχέσης που διατηρεί με την κυριαρχία της νεοφιλελεύθερης ιδεολογίας στην εκπαίδευση, ώστε να εξαχθούν τα χαρακτηριστικά μιας χειραφετικής ανασυγκρότησης της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής.

### **Νεοφιλελευθερισμός και μεταμοντερνισμός**

*Αποδομώντας τις «θεατές» όψεις της μετανεωτερικότητας: Οι αξίες και η παιδεία στο στόχαστρο της αγοράς*

Στην εποχή κυριαρχίας του νεοφιλελευθερισμού, σύμφωνα με τον Giroux, όχι μόνο ως οικονομική θεωρία μα και ως «ισχυρή δημόσια παιδαγωγική και πολιτική για τον πολιτισμό», ο ρόλος του μεταμοντέρνου στην εκπαίδευση, μέσω του οποίου ο νεοφιλελευθερισμός ισχυροποιείται στην κοινωνική συνείδηση, αποκτώντας «τον αέρα της ιστορικής αναγκαιότητάς του» (Λιάμπας & Κάσκαρης, 2007), αμφισβητείται και μετασχηματίζεται από στοχαστική πρακτική σε εργαλείο απόρριψης κάθε χειραφετικής ιδέας και απελευθερωτικού εγχειρήματος, κάθε κοινωνικού ιδεώδους και μεγάλης αφήγησης (Παυλίδης, 2006).

Η παρατηρούμενη αυτή μεταμοντερνιστική «καχυποψία» προς κάθε μορφή αξίας ως καθολικότητας (Παυλίδης, 2006), δεν αφήνει ανεπηρέαστη και την ίδια τη γνώση. Η οποία, χάνοντας τη σύνδεσή της με το θεωρούμενο ως «ακαθόριστο» πια, από τη μετανεωτερική αντίληψη, «ανθρωπιστικό ιδανικό της παιδείας», χάνει τον ουμανιστικό, πανανθρώπινο και χειραφετικό χαρακτήρα της και μετατρέπεται σε ένα λειτουργικό, χρηστικό, συνδεδεμένο με τις ανάγκες της αγοράς εργαλείο. Η συνεχής «κατοχή» του οποίου απαιτείται, όχι μόνο για την αναβάθμισή μα και για την ίδια τη διασφάλισή της επιστημονικής/επαγγελματικής υπόστασης των εργαζομένων (Ασημάκη, Κουστουράκης & Καμαριανός, 2011; Νάστος, Οικονόμου, Σουργουτσίδου & Παπουτσίδης, 2001).



Η συνολική αυτή αναδιατύπωση της γνώσης και της μάθησης στην εποχή των «ταχύτατων και απρόβλεπτων αλλαγών» του μετανεωτερικού πλαισίου, αποτυπωμένη γλαφυρά στο Λευκό Βιβλίο<sup>3</sup>, τελικά καταλήγει στη διαμόρφωση ενός νέου τύπου «ευέλικτου» εργαζομένου και ενός νέου προτύπου εκπαίδευσης και εκπαιδευτικού που, αποπλαισιωμένος από τα ιδεώδη της παιδείας και αγωγής στη «διαχρονική τους πορεία», καλείται να «προετοιμάσει» κατάλληλα τους/τις μαθητές/τριές του, ώστε να αποκτήσουν την αναγκαία ικανότητα «προσαρμογής» στην εξελισσόμενη και ανταγωνιστική πραγματικότητα της αγοράς εργασίας που θα αντιμετωπίσουν (Γρόλλιος, 2005; Hargreaves, 2003).

Η επιρροή του μεταμοντέρνου και η κυριαρχία του νεοφιλελευθερισμού στην εκπαίδευση δεν αφορά όμως μόνο το νέο τύπο γνώσης, εκπαίδευσης και προετοιμασίας του/της μαθητή/τριας για την καπιταλιστική κοινωνία ως προς τα εξωτερικά του/της χαρακτηριστικά και μετρήσιμα προσόντα αλλά παρεμβαίνει καθοριστικά και στις εσωτερικές πτυχές της υποκειμενικότητας των μαθητών/τριών και συγκεκριμένα στη σχέση που αναπτύσσουν οι εκπαιδευόμενοι/ες με την ίδια τη γνώση η οποία ανάγεται, όπως όλες οι αξίες στο μεταμοντέρνο πλαίσιο, σε ζήτημα ατομικής ευθύνης και εμπειρίας.

*Αποδομώντας τις «αθέατες» αυταπάτες της μετανεωτερικότητας:*

*το συλλογικό υποκείμενο στο στόχαστρο της ατομικής του «χειραφέτησης»*

Στο πλαίσιο, λοιπόν, του μεταμοντέρνου έθους και της συναφούς θεωρητικής/αξιακής σύγχυσης που προκαλείται, σύμφωνα με τους Apple (2010) και Τσουκαλά (2010), με τις θεμελιώδεις έννοιες και «αξιακές προδιαγραφές» της νεωτερικότητας να τίθενται σε ευθεία αμφισβήτηση, παρουσιάζοντας μια συνεχή και «εκρηκτική» μετάλλαξη, η ελευθερία γίνεται «δικαίωμα στην αυτοδιαφοροποίηση». Η ισότητα παρουσιάζεται ως «ισότητα ατομικών ευκαιριών» και η παιδεία καθώς και η δημοκρατία μετατρέπονται τελικά σε «ατομική καταναλωτική επιλογή». Η τάση αυτή «ριζοσπαστικής εξατομίκευσης» των εννοιών/αξιών, σε συνδυασμό με την ταυτόχρονη αποσύνδεσή τους από την κοινωνική δικαιοσύνη και το δικαίωμα «άμεσης επιβίωσης», στην ουσία μετατρέπει τον κάθε πολίτη σε καταναλωτή. Ο οποίος απογυμνωμένος από τα χαρακτηριστικά που η κοινωνική τάξη, το κοινωνικό του φύλο ή η «φυλή» του ορίζουν, φέρει την αποκλειστική ευθύνη για την επιτυχία ή μη αναζήτηση της δικής του «αυθεντικής» μορφωτικής/πολιτισμικής αλλά και επιβιωτικής «αλήθειας» (Apple, 2010; Τσουκαλάς, 2010).

<sup>3</sup>Σύμφωνα με το Λευκό Βιβλίο (*White Paper on education and training Teaching and learning – Towards the learning society*) (1995), οι παθιασμένες συζητήσεις για την εκπαίδευση έχουν πλέον τελειώσει καθώς «ο καθένας μας έχει πεισθεί για την ανάγκη σχεδιασμού στρατηγικών εκπαίδευσης και κατάρτισης που να ανταποκρίνονται στην αγορά και απασχόληση ἄποδοξη το τέλος των μεγάλων ιδεολογικών διαφωνιών για τους σκοπούς της εκπαίδευσης» και το ξεπέραςμα των ιδεολογικών και πολιτισμικών φραγμών που χώριζαν την εκπαίδευση από τις επιχειρήσεις (pp. 23).





### *Η μεταμοντέρνα εμπειρική «χειραφέτηση»*

Η παρατηρούμενη στο μεταμοντέρνο πλαίσιο εξιδανίκευση της εμπειρίας ως αλήθειας, μετατρέπει τους πάντες σε παραγωγούς γνώσης και νοήματος. Η αναγωγή αυτή κάθε προσωπικής εμπειρίας σε μόρφωση, παρά την επιφανειακή διάθεση αναγνώρισης των διαφορετικών πηγών γνώσης και των περιθωριοποιημένων πολιτισμικών εκφράσεων και φωνών ως ισότιμων μορφωτικά μεταξύ τους (Παυλίδης, 2006), στην ουσία επιφέρει μια σειρά από αθέατες συνέπειες, εξόχως καθοριστικές για τη συγκρότηση του υποκειμένου. Έτσι, στο μετανεωτερικό συγκείμενο, το ενδιαφέρον του κάθε ατόμου για τη μόρφωσή του, γυμνό από ιδεώδη, συνδέεται πια με την αποκόμιση μετρήσιμων και εμπορεύσιμων εργασιακών ικανοτήτων, οι οποίες έχουν αξία μόνο αν μπορούν να αποτιμηθούν οικονομικά στην αγορά εργασίας. Η γνώση και η μόρφωση, προσαρμοσμένες στον κοινωνικό κόσμο του κεφαλαίου, του οποίου κύρια ουσία είναι η μετρήσιμη αξία, παύουν, λοιπόν, να θεωρούνται αυτοσκοπός, πλήττοντας, όχι μόνο την παιδεία, τον πνευματικό πολιτισμό και την ίδια την επιστημονική γνώση, αλλά, κυρίως, την εικόνα που τα ίδια τα υποκείμενα δομούν για τον εαυτό τους, τους συνανθρώπους τους και τον κόσμο γενικότερα. Μια αξιακά αποφορτισμένη και κατακερματισμένη εικόνα με αποτελέσματα αλλοτριωτικά, όχι μόνο για τους ίδιους τους/τις εκπαιδευόμενους/ες, αλλά για όλο το κοινωνικό σύνολο.

Η μεταμοντέρνα αυτή άρνηση και «απέχθεια» προς κάθε γενίκευση του λόγου, κάθε καθολικού σκοπού και ιδεώδους, καταλήγει τελικά στη διαμόρφωση ενός «αποκεντρωμένου και ανώνυμου εαυτού» ο οποίος, απογυμνωμένος από τη δυνατότητα αναστοχασμού της εμπειρίας, αδυνατεί στην πραγματικότητα της σύγχρονης παγκοσμιοποιημένης κεφαλαιοκρατικής νεωτερικότητας, να συλλάβει τις καθολικές σχέσεις και αλληλεπιδράσεις που αυτή επιφέρει, να τις κατανοήσει, άρα και να επιδράσει μετασχηματιστικά πάνω τους (Παυλίδης, 2006). Η αδυναμία αυτή σύλληψης και κατανόησης των δομικών αντιφάσεων του σύγχρονου καπιταλιστικού κόσμου, σε μια συγκυρία που η χειραφέτηση του υποκειμένου δε νοείται ως αντίσταση στις δομές αλλά ως «ενεργοποίηση» του «ευέλικτου εργαζόμενου» μέσα σε αυτές (Θεριανός, 2005), και οι έννοιες της «ταυτότητας» και της «ετερότητας», αυτονομημένες από τα πολιτικά και ιδεολογικά τους συμφραζόμενα, κυριαρχούν στον παιδαγωγικό και δημόσιο λόγο, καταδεικνύοντας μια φαινομενική «χειραφέτηση» των «πολιτισμών», καταλήγει, τελικά, να συγκαλύπτει διπλά και να εγκαθιδρύει τις κυρίαρχες κοινωνικοπολιτικές δομές και σχέσεις εξουσίας.

### *Η μεταμοντέρνα πολυπολιτισμική «χειραφέτηση»*

Στο ίδιο πλαίσιο, στη σύγχρονη «πολυπολιτισμική» πραγματικότητα των δυτικών κοινωνιών, ζητήματα όπως το «δικαίωμα στη διαφορά», η «ισότιμη μεταχείριση» πολιτισμών αλλά και ο σεβασμός των «άλλων», αποτελούν συστατικά στοιχεία του κυρίαρχου εκπαιδευτικού λόγου και των πολιτικών που σχεδιάζονται για τη διαχείρισή της «ετερότητας» στις σχολικές τάξεις. Η έμφαση αυτή στην ετερότητα





και ιδιαίτερα την πολιτισμική, αποτελεί σύμφωνα με τον Νικολάου (2008), ένα από τα συγκείμενα της μετανεωτερικότητας, τα προοδευτικά χαρακτηριστικά της οποίας, όπως συμπεραίνει και ο Aronowitz, λόγω ακριβώς αυτής της «ριζοσπαστικής μετουσίωσης» της ανάλυσης της κοινωνικής δομής σε αυτή του κοινωνικού πλουραλισμού και την αντικατάσταση της έννοιας της κοινωνικής τάξης με αυτή της πολιτισμικής ταυτότητας, φαίνεται να έχουν αποσυρθεί προς όφελος των κυρίαρχων νεοφιλελεύθερων δυνάμεων (Λιάμπας & Κάσκαρης, 2007).

Η αγνόηση του ταξικού ζητήματος προς όφελος των πολιτικών της ταυτότητας, και από την πλευρά της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής, έστω και υπό το πρίσμα ενός «κριτικού μεταμοντερνισμού», έχει, βέβαια, προκαλέσει, συνδυαστικά με την κυρίαρχη τάση κοινωνικοπολιτικής αποπλαισίωσης και εργαλειακής προσέγγισης των βασικών αρχών της, συζητήσεις περί αποδυνάμωσης, «εξημέρωσης» και αποπολιτικοποίησής της (Γούναρη & Γρόλλιος, 2010; McLaren, 2001; Γούναρη, 2015). Οι λόγοι αυτοί, σε συνδυασμό με την νεοφιλελεύθερη προσπάθεια φυσικοποίησης του καπιταλιστικού συστήματος και των ολέθριων συνεπειών του, σε ένα πλαίσιο μιας εγκαθιδρυμένης «δυστοπίας»<sup>4</sup> και θεώρησης της μαρξιστικής θεωρίας ως απλοϊκής, παρωχημένης ή/και αποτυχημένης, καθιστούν την απόπειρα αναστοχασμού και ανασυγκρότησης<sup>5</sup> του περιεχομένου, των σκοπών, των ορίων και των δυνατοτήτων της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής στο παρόν κοινωνικοπολιτικό πλαίσιο, αν και δύσκολο, εξόχως αναγκαίο και κρίσιμο εγχείρημα.

### **Η ανάγκη για μια χειραφετική ανασυγκρότηση της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής**

Κατά αυτόν τον τρόπο, η εισχώρηση της μεταμοντέρνας θεωρίας στην Κριτική Παιδαγωγική, παρά την φαινομενική θετική συμβολή της, ως στοχαστικού εργαλείου, στην ανάπτυξη νέων τρόπων ανίχνευσης των κοινωνικών σχέσεων και παρά τις προσπάθειες πολλών κριτικών παιδαγωγών να προσπαθήσουν να αποφύγουν τις αναπόφευκτα προκαλούμενες αντιφάσεις<sup>6</sup>, από μια διαλεκτική

<sup>4</sup>Πρόκειται για μετάφραση του όρου «disutoria» και αφορά, όχι μόνο στην απουσία της «ουτοπίας», ως κάποιου εναλλακτικού οράματος, αλλά το «τέλος των κοινωνικών οραμάτων» γενικότερα (McLaren, 2001).

<sup>5</sup>Για την ανάγκη μιας «επαναστατικής ανασυγκρότησης» έκανε λόγο ο McLaren στις αρχές τις δεκαετίας του 2000. Συγκεκριμένα στο βιβλίο του Che Guevara, Paulo Freire and the Pedagogy of Revolution (2000) και έκτοτε, είναι εμφανής η μετακίνηση του, δίχως να το απορρίπτει ολοκληρωτικά βέβαια, από το μεταμοντέρνο πλαίσιο, το οποίο αδυνατεί να συλλάβει και να δώσει προτεραιότητα στον παγκόσμιο καπιταλισμό, προς τη μαρξιστική ανάλυση, ως βάση για τη θεμελίωση μιας επαναστατικής κριτικής παιδαγωγικής (Γούναρη & Γρόλλιος, 2010).

<sup>6</sup>Η εσωτερική αυτή αντιφατικότητα, ως βασικό πρόβλημα της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής, εδράζεται στην σχέση αποδοχής και άρνησης που διατηρεί με τα προτάγματα του μεταμοντερνισμού. Έτσι, η ίδια η αποδοχή της βασικής μετανεωτερικής αρχής, περί άρνησης των μεγάλων αφηγήσεων, αφαιρεί τη δυνατότητα θεωρητικής πλαισίωσης και στήριξης των διακηρύξεων περί εκπαιδευτικού και κοινωνικού μετασχηματισμού, αφαιρεί δηλαδή τη δυνατότητα αναφοράς στο καθολικό/συλλογικό, με αποτέλεσμα η έμφαση να δίνεται στις «μικρές διηγήσεις» που αναπτύσσονται σε τοπικό επίπεδο



σκοπιά, τελικώς, ανέδειξε την αδυναμία της μεταμοντέρνας θεωρίας εντός της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής, να κατανοήσει και να αμφισβητήσει την ολότητα των καπιταλιστικών κοινωνικών σχέσεων, άρα και να τις μετασχηματίσει (Γούναρη & Γρόλλιος, 2010). Η διαπίστωση αυτή στην παρούσα συγκυρία ακραίας όξυνσης των καπιταλιστικών αντιθέσεων, συνοδεύει την ιστορική ευθύνη της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής να επαναθεμελιώσει το περιεχόμενο και τις αρχές της και να συμβάλει στην ανάδειξη των αντικειμενικών, εντός αυτών των αντιθέσεων, δυνατοτήτων και προοπτικών της κοινωνικής χειραφέτησης.

Στο πλαίσιο ενός τέτοιου εγχειρήματος μέγιστη προτεραιότητα της Απελευθερωτικής Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής είναι να «επιστρέψει» στη μαρξιστική θεωρία τη θεμελιώδη αξία και θέση που οφείλει να έχει, με την προϋπόθεση ότι αυτή η Κριτική Παιδαγωγική δύναται να αναλάβει την ιστορική, ηθική και πολιτική δέσμευση της συμβολής της στον αγώνα για τη χειραφετική εξέλιξη της εργασίας, άρα και της κοινωνίας<sup>7</sup>, την ολοκλήρωση δηλαδή της ανθρωπότητας εντός, της ιστορικά καθορισμένης προοπτικής που αυτό καθίσταται εφικτό, της σοσιαλιστικής κοινωνίας.

*Προς μια νέα ανάγνωση της «Κοινωνίας της Γνώσης»: αποδομώντας τις αντιθέσεις και ανιχνεύοντας τις δυνατότητες*

Κοινή είναι η παραδοχή, τόσο στο δημόσιο, όσο και στον επίσημο νεοφιλελεύθερο λόγο των κειμένων της ευρωπαϊκής εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής, ότι η κοινωνία στο πλαίσιο της παγκοσμιοποίησης έχει υποστεί ένα βαθύ μετασχηματισμό (Λάσκος, 2006). Ο νέος αυτός τύπος οργάνωσης της «Κοινωνίας της Γνώσης» ή «της Πληροφορίας»,<sup>8</sup> «νομοτελειακά» παρουσιαζόμενος, βασίζεται σε μια «γνωσιοκεντρικού» τύπου οργάνωση της οικονομίας. Σύμφωνα με την οποία η γνώση/πληροφορία, ως το «κορυφαίο διακύβευμα στον παγκόσμιο ανταγωνισμό εξουσίας» (Ασημάκη, Κουστουράκης & Καμαριανός, 2011), αποτελεί την κατεξοχήν κινητήρια παραγωγική δύναμη, τον δείκτη ανάπτυξης και προόδου σε οικονομικό, κοινωνικό και ατομικό επίπεδο, καθώς και τον καθοριστικό παράγοντα διαμόρφωσης της κοινωνικής διαστρωμάτωσης<sup>9</sup> (Κλάδης στο Λάσκος, 2006).

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και, συνακόλουθα, οι αναφορές περί «ενδυνάμωσης» και «δυνατότητας» να πραγματώνονται σε επίπεδο ατόμου (Γρόλλιος & Κάσκαρης, 1997).

<sup>7</sup>Η διαλεκτική σχέση αλληλεπίδρασης/ανάπτυξης/ωρίμανσης των ουσιαστών γνωρισμάτων της κοινωνίας ως αναπτυσσόμενης «οργανικής ολότητας», και της εργασίας ως «ουσίας» της, εδράζεται μεθοδολογικά στη θεωρία της κοινωνίας όπως την αναπτύσσει ο Βίκτωρ Α. Βαζιούλιν στο έργο του Λογική της Ιστορίας (Παυλίδης, 2012).

<sup>8</sup>Οι όροι «Κοινωνία της Γνώσης» και «Κοινωνία της Πληροφορίας», οι οποίοι στο εξής θα χρησιμοποιούνται στην εργασία εναλλακτικά, παρουσιάζονται στο «Λευκό Βιβλίο» της Ευρωπαϊκής Επιτροπής για την εκπαίδευση και την κατάρτιση το 1995 (White Paper on Education and Training).

<sup>9</sup>Το Λευκό Βιβλίο (1995), επισημαίνει χαρακτηριστικά πως η θέση του κάθε ατόμου στην κοινωνία θα καθορίζεται από το «περιεχόμενο των γνώσεων και των ικανοτήτων» του (pp.2), καθώς και ότι οι άνθρωποι θα διαιρούνται κοινωνικά «σε αυτούς που ξέρουν» και «σε αυτούς που δεν ξέρουν» (pp. 9).



Κομβική θέση στο «νέο» αυτό είδος κοινωνίας κατέχουν βεβαίως οι νέες τεχνολογίες της πληροφορικής και των επικοινωνιών, συμβάλλοντας στον εκμηδενισμό των συνόρων και των αποστάσεων, καθώς και στην αποτελεσματική και ανεμπόδιστη κυκλοφορία της πληροφορίας σε «όλους» και «όλες».

Η νέα αυτή θέση της γνώσης και οι αλλαγές που επιφέρει, μεταξύ άλλων, στο χαρακτήρα της εργασίας, γέννησε, λοιπόν, την κυρίαρχη και διαδεδομένη εντύπωση μιας αλλιώτικης<sup>10</sup> «μετακαπιταλιστικής» κοινωνικής πραγματικότητας. Στην οποία ο «παλαιότερος» κοινωνικός ανταγωνισμός φαίνεται να αμβλύνεται, οι κοινωνικές ανισότητες να μειώνονται και η κοινωνική διαμάχη/προβληματική να μετατίθεται, πια, στο επίπεδο κατοχής γνωστικού κεφαλαίου, στη σχέση του ατόμου με αυτό, καθώς και στην «ατομική του/της προσπάθεια»<sup>11</sup> (Λάσκος, 2006). Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, εδράζεται και η διαδεδομένη κριτική που γίνεται στη μαρξιστική θεωρία, ως απλοϊκή και ανίκανη να ερμηνεύσει την πολυπλοκότητα των νέων, ολοένα και πιο «αταξικών», «μεταβιομηχανικών» κοινωνιών της Δύσης, παρουσιάζοντας, έτσι, την εικόνα μιας κοινωνίας όχι μόνο ντετερμινιστικά αναδυόμενης, δίχως τη δυνατότητα ύπαρξης μιας εναλλακτικής προοπτικής, αλλά και ιδανικά εξιδανικευμένης, ώστε τα χαρακτηριστικά της μαρξιστικής ανάλυσης όχι μόνο να μην απαντώνται, αλλά ούτε και να απαιτείται πια να απαντηθούν.

Στο σημείο αυτό αναδεικνύεται η αξία και η αναγκαιότητα της μαρξιστικής θεωρίας, καθώς η αξιοποίησή της από την Κριτική Παιδαγωγική, ως αναλυτικό και ερμηνευτικό εργαλείο σκέψης, δύναται και καλείται στο παρόν πλαίσιο: α) να αμφισβητήσει την εγκυρότητα<sup>12</sup> των όρων «μετακαπιταλιστική» και

<sup>10</sup> Η ισχυροποίηση αυτή του ρόλου της πληροφορίας στην κοινωνία, αναγνωρίζεται και από τον Schiller, ο οποίος, όμως, επιλέγοντας να σταθεί περισσότερο κριτικά απέναντι στην τεχνολογική αυτή «επανάσταση», την οποία οι ίδιες οι νεοφιλελεύθερες δυνάμεις γέννησαν, άρα και ελέγχουν, δε διαβλέπει κάποιο άλλο μοντέλο κοινωνικής οργάνωσης που έρχεται να τις ανατρέψει, παρά τον καθιερωμένο καπιταλιστικό τρόπο, του οποίου η πληροφόρηση και οι επικοινωνίες αποτελούν αναπόσπαστα στοιχεία, με αυξανόμενη πια σημασία για την ίδια την αναπαραγωγή του. Έτσι, η κριτική ανάλυσή η δική του και άλλων θεωρητικών όπως του Gandy, των Lynd και Hanson, αποδεικνύουν πως, στην περίφημη «εποχή της πληροφορίας», οι κοινωνικές ανισότητες και συγκρούσεις όχι μόνο δεν εξαφανίζονται, αλλά αποτελούν τους καθοριστικούς παράγοντες διαμόρφωσης του είδους αυτή τη φορά της πληροφορίας που παράγεται, των συνθηκών παραγωγής της, καθώς και τίνος τα συμφέροντα κάθε φορά εξ-υπηρετεί (Γρόλλιος, 2005).

<sup>11</sup> Η ατομική προσπάθεια στην «Κοινωνία της Γνώσης», υπό το μετανεωτερικό πρίσμα, όπως ήδη αναλύθηκε, αφορά, βεβαίως, το ότι ο καθένας/ η καθεμία έχει τη «δυνατότητα» αλλά και την «ευθύνη» οικοδόμησης των δικών του/της προσόντων.

<sup>12</sup> Με την αμφισβήτηση της εγκυρότητας του όρου «μεταβιομηχανική κοινωνία», ασχολήθηκε ο Giddens (2002), αναλύοντας τις αμφίβολες εμπειρικές θεμελιώσεις της, οι οποίες επιβεβαιώνουν τελικώς την μαρξιστική θεωρία, αφού οικονομικοί παράγοντες εμφανίζονται να καθορίζουν τη συντελούμενη κοινωνική μεταβολή (Giddens στο Τσίρος, 2012). Στο πλαίσιο, βέβαια, της κυρίαρχης «μόδας» της εποχής, που επιχειρεί να αυτοεξιδανικευτεί και να αυτοκαθοριστεί με το πρόσχημο «μετά», η ακριβής εύρεση των εννοιολογικών ορίων και διαφοροποιήσεων όρων όπως «μεταβιομηχανική», «μετακαπιταλιστική», «μεταμοντέρνου» ή «μετανεωτερικού», καθίσταται εξαιρετικά δυσχερής, εντούτοις εξόχως αναγκαία, προκειμένου να προσεγγιστεί η ιστορική στιγμή



«μεταβιομηχανική» κοινωνία και να αναδείξει τα στοιχεία που μαρτυρούν πως η παρούσα συγκυρία χαρακτηρίζεται από πολύπλοκες και παγκοσμιοποιημένες, μεν, αλλά καπιταλιστικές σχέσεις παραγωγής που μεταβάλλονται, β) να αναγνώσει τις συντελούμενες αλλαγές/αντιθέσεις εντός των σύγχρονων κεφαλαιοκρατικών σχέσεων παραγωγής αλλά και γ) να ανιχνεύσει τις υπαρκτές, εντός αυτών, προοπτικές συλλογικής χειραφέτησης, που βασίζονται, ακριβώς, στις παράλληλα αναδυόμενες δυνατότητες του κόσμου της εργασίας.

Έτσι, σύμφωνα με τον Π. Παυλίδη (2012), η αυξημένη αναβάθμιση της σημασίας της γνώσης και της μόρφωσης στη σύγχρονη κοινωνία, έστω και υπό το πρίσμα του κεφαλαιοκρατικού τρόπου παραγωγής, συγκροτεί και την ουσιώδη αντίφασή του, καθώς η ίδια η πραγμάτωση της «Κοινωνίας της Γνώσης», και ο διευρυμένος κοινωνικός χαρακτήρας της εργασίας και των ανθρώπινων σχέσεων που απαιτούνται γι αυτή, καθίσταται αδύνατη κάτω από την κεφαλαιοκρατική εκμετάλλευσή της εργασίας και τις συνακόλουθες ανταγωνιστικές σχέσεις παραγωγής. Η μελέτη, βέβαια, αυτών των αντιφάσεων και των τάσεων διαμόρφωσης της «Κοινωνίας της Γνώσης», που αφορούν την τάση διεύρυνσης του διανοητικού περιεχομένου της εργασίας και τη μετατροπή της επιστημονικής γνώσης σε παραγωγική δύναμη, νοηματοδοτεί την ίδια τη διαμόρφωση της δυνατότητας ριζικής αλλαγής του κυρίαρχου τύπου κοινωνικών σχέσεων. Η δυνατότητα αυτή εδράζεται στο ότι η ίδια η διανοητική εργασία είναι, εκ θεμελίων, καθολική εργασία, με την έννοια ότι η εκπλήρωσή της προϋποθέτει κοινωνικές σχέσεις συλλογικότητας/αλληλεγγύης και εργαζόμενους/ες, ως φορείς καθολικών διανοητικών ικανοτήτων και ως πολύπλευρα καλλιεργημένων και ανεπτυγμένων προσωπικοτήτων, που καθίστανται ικανοί/ές να ιδιοποιούνται τα μέσα παραγωγής με έναν κατεξοχήν ώριμο κοινωνικό τρόπο, όπου οι επιστημονικές γνώσεις και οι δημιουργικές ικανότητες του κάθε ανθρώπου, ως «κτήμα» του, υφίστανται και αναπτύσσονται μόνο ως «κτήμα» και των «άλλων» (Παυλίδης, 2012).

Για το λόγο αυτό, η προοπτική της αυθεντικής «Κοινωνίας της Γνώσης», ως εργασίας που πραγματοποιείται χάριν την ίδιας της εσωτερικής ανάγκης των ανθρώπων για εργασία, συνδέεται καθοριστικά με την προοπτική της κοινωνικής χειραφέτησης<sup>13</sup>, διαμορφώνοντας, αντίστοιχα, σύμφωνα με τον Β.Α. Βαζιούλιν, ως σκοπό της εκπαίδευσης τη μέγιστη ανάπτυξη των εργασιακών ικανοτήτων που μπορούν να ενεργοποιηθούν εντός της εργασιακής δραστηριότητας (Παυλίδης, 2008), δηλαδή συμβολής της, στο πλαίσιο ορισμένων βασικών αρχών, στη δια-

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στην οποία το πρόσημο «μετά», μαρξικά αναγνωσμένο, θα χαρακτηρίζει το πέρασμα σε μια γνήσια και ριζικά μετασηματισμένη κοινωνία, από τη σκοπιά κοινωνικοποίησης τόσο των μέσων παραγωγής όσο και της ίδιας της εργασίας (Τσίρος, 2012).

<sup>13</sup>Όπως την περιγράφουν οι Κ. Μαρξ και Φ. Ένγκελς : «Στη θέση της παλιάς αστικής κοινωνίας, με τις τάξεις και τις ταξικές της αντιθέσεις έρχεται μια ένωση όπου η ελεύθερη ανάπτυξη του καθενός, είναι η προϋπόθεση για την ελεύθερη ανάπτυξη όλων» (Μαρξ & Ένγκελς στο Παυλίδης, 2012).



μόρφωση του «ανθρώπου της εργασίας» (Βαζιούλιν, 2004), ως κατεξοχήν «υποκειμένου»<sup>14</sup> της (Πατέλης, 2000).

*Προς μια σχολική πραγμάτωση της «Κοινωνίας της Γνώσης»: βασικές αρχές διαμόρφωσης του «υποκειμένου της εργασίας»*

*Η καλλιέργεια της διαλεκτικής σκέψης: ένα έλλογα σκεπτόμενο υποκείμενο*

Στο πλαίσιο της σύγχρονης παγκοσμιοποιημένης κεφαλαιοκρατίας, μία από τις καθοριστικότερες συνέπειες κυριαρχίας των εμπορευματικών και χρηματικών σχέσεων, στην εργασιακή αλλά και προσωπική ζωή των ανθρώπων, αφορά στον τρόπο διαμόρφωσης της συνείδησης τους. Πρόκειται για τη λεγόμενη «καθημερινή συνείδηση» (Παυλίδης, 2003), η οποία καθορίζεται αυστηρά στο πλαίσιο της αυθόρμητης εμπειρικής πρόσληψης της πραγματικότητας και η οποία εμποτίζει κάθε πτυχή της εκπαιδευτικής, εργασιακής και γενικότερα κοινωνικής ζωής, απολυτοποιώντας το «μερικό». Κατά συνέπεια, «αληθές θεωρείται αυτό που διαμέσου της εμπειρίας αναδεικνύεται άμεσα λειτουργικό και αποτελεσματικό» (Παυλίδης, 2005), με αποτέλεσμα η ίδια η πραγματικότητα, η εικόνα των άλλων ανθρώπων αλλά και του ίδιου του εαυτού, να εμφανίζεται στατική, αποσπασματική και απατηλή.

Αυτή η αδυναμία πρόσληψης του κόσμου στην ολότητά του, απουσία συστηματικής έλλογης σκέψης, σηματοδοτεί, λοιπόν, το να εκλαμβάνεται η κυρίαρχη καπιταλιστική πραγματικότητα με τις αντιθέσεις που τη συγκροτούν, ως φυσική, δεδομένη και αναλλοίωτη, καθιστώντας συνάμα αδύνατη όχι μόνο την κριτική κατανόηση της, και σύλληψης των βαθύτερων αιτιών της, αλλά και τη δυνατότητα ύπαρξης οποιασδήποτε άλλης εναλλακτικής κοινωνικής πραγματικότητας στη θέση της. Μια Απελευθερωτική Κριτική Παιδαγωγική, λοιπόν, οφείλει να καλλιεργεί στους/στις μαθητές/τριες τη διαλεκτική σκέψη. Εκείνα δηλαδή τα εργαλεία σκέψης τα οποία είναι αναγκαία για τη διεξόδυση στην ουσία των καθημερινών κοινωνικών φαινομένων, την ανάδυση των εσωτερικών τους αντιφάσεων, και, τελικώς, την υπέρβαση της καθημερινής τους συνείδησης, στη βάση του εφικτού και αναγκαίου μιας εναλλακτικής κοινωνικής προοπτικής. Ο αγώνας αυτός «παραγωγής νοήματος», είναι σύμφωνα με τον McLaren, αυτός που θα επέτρεπε στις κοινωνικές ομάδες, που υφίστανται εκμετάλλευση, να αποδομήσουν την «κρυφή γραμματική της εμπορευματικής λογικής», δημιουργώντας ένα «ρυθμιστικό λεξικό» της καθημερινής ζωής, το οποίο θα τους επέτρεπε όχι μόνο να ονομάσουν και να προσδιορίσουν τις αιτίες εκμετάλλευσης και καταπίεσής τους, αλλά να κάνουν και τα πρώτα βήματα μετασχηματισμού τους (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2013: 258).

<sup>14</sup> Κατεξοχήν υποκείμενα της εργασίας αποτελούν, σύμφωνα με τον Π. Παυλίδη (2008α), οι άνθρωποι ως φορείς νόησης και συνείδησης, που εργάζονται δια της νόησης και της συνείδησης και δύνανται να επιδρούν μετασχηματιστικά στο περιβάλλον τους, ως «συλλογικοί σχεδιαστές, ρυθμιστές, διευθυντές των μέσων παραγωγής και των παραγωγικών διαδικασιών».





Αυτή η κριτική θεώρηση της πραγματικότητας και ο στοχασμός πάνω στις αιτιώδεις σχέσεις που τη διέπουν, εκκινώντας από τις βιωμένες εμπειρίες<sup>15</sup> των υποκειμένων, από τα καθημερινά κοινωνικά και σχολικά βιώματα και τις διαπροσωπικές τους σχέσεις, αλλά και άλλα ευρύτερα πλαίσια όπως οι εθνικές επέτειοι<sup>16</sup> ή/και τα κοινωνικά ζητήματα που πλήττουν την Ελλάδα και την ανθρωπότητα (πόλεμοι, φτώχεια, ανεργία, προσφυγιά, μετανάστευση, οικολογικές καταστροφές κλπ), με κατάλληλη αξιοποίηση του περιεχομένου και των θεμάτων των σχολικών εγχειριδίων<sup>17</sup>, μπορεί να πάρει το χαρακτήρα ομαδικών δραστηριοτήτων (σχεδίων εργασίας) ή/και παιχνιδιών<sup>18</sup>, που συνδέονται με τη καλλιέργεια ποικίλων άλλων

<sup>15</sup> Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, εξαιρετικά σημαντική, σύμφωνα με τον P. Freire (1977), είναι η αναγνώριση της αξίας της γνώσης που φέρνουν οι μαθητές/τριες στο σχολείο, μέσα από τις βιωμένες εμπειρίες τους, γνώση την οποία ο/η κριτικός εκπαιδευτικός, οφείλει να αξιοποιήσει για να εμπλέξει ενεργά τα υποκείμενα στη διαδικασία μάθησής τους και να τα οδηγήσει στη συστηματική ανάλυση και ερμηνεία του σύνθετου κοινωνικού κόσμου που τους περιβάλλει. «Έτσι, η αφετηρία πρέπει να είναι πάντα μαζί με τους ανθρώπους στο «εδώ και τώρα», δηλαδή στην κατάσταση μέσα στην οποία είναι βυθισμένοι, από την οποία αναδύονται και στην οποία επεμβαίνουν» (Freire, 1977: 95). Στο σημείο αυτό μπορούν να αξιοποιηθούν στοιχεία του εγχειρήματος του βραζιλιάνου παιδαγωγού για μετασχηματισμό της εκπαίδευσης στο Σάο Πάολο. Έτσι, η διερεύνηση του «θεματικού σύμπαντος» των μαθητών/τριών, μπορεί να αποτελέσει, αν όχι τη βάση θεμελίωσης και συλλογικής κατασκευής όλου του σχολικού προγράμματος (Γρόλλιος, 2015), κάτι που δεν είναι εφικτό στο παρόν εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα, τη βάση συλλογικών σχεδίων εργασίας και το πλαίσιο εντός του οποίου, μέσω των «παραγωγικών θεμάτων», θα διδάσκονται οι σχολικές γνώσεις και θα καλλιεργείται η έλλογη σκέψη και η κριτική συνειδητοποίηση των μαθητών/τριών.

<sup>16</sup> Οι εθνικές επέτειοι, οι εορτασμοί και οι εκδηλώσεις που ετοιμάζουμε, μπορούν να θεωρηθούν ένα ιδανικό πλαίσιο για τη βαθύτερη μελέτη και ανάλυση του εκάστοτε ιστορικού πλαισίου, των αιτιωδών σχέσεων, των ιστορικών εννοιών/φαινομένων που εμπλέκονται και της σύνδεσής τους με το σήμερα (φασισμός, ρατσισμός, δημοκρατία, διεκδίκηση ανθρωπίνων δικαιωμάτων, της γης και της ελευθερίας, οι κοινωνικοί αγώνες/επαναστάσεις που έγιναν και γίνονται γι αυτά κλπ).

<sup>17</sup> Κρίσιμο είναι βέβαια οι ίδιοι/ες οι κριτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί να είναι ικανοί/ές να αναστοχάζονται πάνω στη δική τους «καθημερινή συνείδηση» και να υπερβαίνουν τα διλήμματα που τους θέτει η κυρίαρχη εκπαίδευση μέσω των εκπαιδευτικών στόχων, των περιεχομένων της ύλης και του τρόπου οργάνωσής της στα σχολικά εγχειρίδια και τα αναλυτικά προγράμματα. Έτσι, σύμφωνα με τον Γ. Γρόλλιο (2015), απέναντι στην εργαλειακή προσέγγιση των κατακερματισμένων και ρηχών γνώσεων, ως πληροφοριών, αποκομμένων από το κοινωνικό γίνεσθαι, που προτάσσεται από την επίσημη εκπαιδευτική πολιτική, οι κριτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί οφείλουν αξιοποιώντας κριτικά τα αναλυτικά προγράμματα και τη σχολική ύλη: 1) να θέτουν ευρύτερους στόχους, εντάσσοντας τα κοινωνικά προβλήματα στην εκπαιδευτική διαδικασία και συνδέοντάς τα με την καθημερινή εκπαιδευτική πράξη, 2) να αξιοποιούν το περιεχόμενο και τα θέματα των επίσημων εγχειριδίων, βοηθώντας τους/τις μαθητές/τριες να κάνουν τις απαιτούμενες διασυνδέσεις, μεταξύ τους, και μεταξύ του περιεχομένου και της δομής των μαθημάτων, με την κοινωνική τους σημασία, 3) να διδάσκουν παράλληλα με το περιεχόμενο των μαθημάτων και τρόπους σκέψης και μελέτης και 4) να βοηθούν, τέλος, τους/τις μαθητές/τριες να κατανοούν σε βάθος τα κοινωνικά ζητήματα και να επιχειρηματολογούν, αξιοποιώντας πορίσματα διαφορετικών επιστημονικών περιοχών, συμβάλλοντας, τελικά στην καλλιέργεια της συνθετικής και αναλυτικής τους σκέψης.

<sup>18</sup> Η διαμόρφωση μιας τέτοιας ερευνητικής κουλτούρας στην τάξη μπορεί να πάρει το χαρακτήρα, ανάλογα με την ηλικία των εκπαιδευόμενων, ομαδικών δραστηριοτήτων ή παιχνιδιών και στοχεύει ακριβώς στο να καταδείξει στους/στις μαθητές/τριες πως επειδή ο κόσμος, όπως φαίνεται, δεν είναι





γνωστικών, δια-νοητικών, δι-ερευνητικών και κοινωνικών ικανοτήτων αλλά και μιας καθημερινής ανα-στοχαστικής κουλτούρας και ερευνητικής στάσης, η οποία στοχεύει στο να καταστεί συνήθεια, σε εκπαιδευτικούς και εκπαιδευόμενους/ες, ακριβώς λόγω της συνειδητοποίησης της αντιφατικότητας του κόσμου, η σε βάθος διερεύνηση των ουσιαστών συναφειών και αντιθέσεων του. Μια διερεύνηση το βάθος και η αποτελεσματικότητα της οποίας, εξαρτάται, όμως, ακριβώς από τη μελέτη όχι μόνο των κοινωνικών φαινομένων, αλλά και των ιδιαίτερων «συνδεδειγμένων κρίσεων» (Freire, 1977) μεταξύ αυτών των φαινομένων και του ιστορικού, πολιτικού και κοινωνικού πλαισίου, εντός του οποίου αυτά αναδύονται και αποκτούν την ιδιαίτερη ιστορική τους σημασία.

Η επιτυχία καλλιέργειας αυτής της ικανότητας ανα-στοχαστικής διερεύνησης της καθημερινής συνείδησης, ως καθημερινό βίωμα, άμεσα συνυφασμένο με μια μη προσαρμοστική αλλά ενεργητική και επεμβατική στάση στη σχολική και κοινωνική πραγματικότητα, μια συνειδητή δηλαδή προσπάθεια συμμετοχής στην επίλυση των αντιφάσεων της, είναι που αναγάγει την Κριτική Παιδαγωγική σε ένα, αυθεντικά παιδαγωγικό, εγχείρημα εξέχουσας χειραφετικής σημασίας.

*Η καλλιέργεια της κριτικής συνειδητοποίησης: ένα υποκείμενο συνείδησης κοινωνικής και ταξικά «διαπολιτισμικής»*

Άμεσα συνυφασμένη με την καλλιέργεια της έλλογης σκέψης είναι η προσωπική «απελευθέρωση»<sup>19</sup> του υποκειμένου μέσω της κριτικής του συνειδητοποίησης (Freire, 1977). Πρόκειται για μια αναγκαία επιδίωξη, εξόχως καθοριστική, με την έννοια ότι η κοινωνική συνείδηση, που δύναται να αναδυθεί, στην πιο ώριμη μορφή της, αποτελεί τη θεμελιώδη προϋπόθεση κατανόησης και αμφισβήτησης των αλλοτριωτικών κοινωνικών δομών και σχέσεων, αλλά και συμμετοχής στον

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δεδομένος και στατικός, ακριβώς για το λόγο αυτό, μπορούν οι άνθρωποι να τον αλλάξουν. Στη διαδικασία αυτή, εξαιρετικά σημαντικός είναι ο ρόλος που δύναται να παίξει, ο διάλογος, ο οποίος όμως, υπερβαίνοντας τη συνήθη εκφυλιστική χρήση του, ως απλό μεθοδολογικό εργαλείο, στο πλαίσιο που εισηγείται ο πρωτοπόρος Βραζιλιάνος παιδαγωγός Paulo Freire, αποτελεί μια μορφή «κοινωνικής πράξης», η οποία διαμορφώνει μια δυναμική κουλτούρα επικοινωνίας και κοινής συμμετοχής στις εμπειρίες, εμποτισμένη από «στοχασμό και πολιτική δράση», στην κατεύθυνση «επανάκτησης της φωνής των καταπιεσμένων» ως θεμελιώδους προϋπόθεσης για την ανθρωπινή χειραφέτηση (Freire, 2006). Στο παρόν πλαίσιο, ο διάλογος, προχωρώντας λοιπόν ακόμη βαθύτερα, διαμορφώνει μια νέα σχέση μεταξύ των υποκειμένων της εκπαιδευτικής διαδικασίας, όπου "ο προβληματίζων εκπαιδευτικός ξαναπλάθει διαρκώς τις σκέψεις του μέσα από τις σκέψεις των μαθητών» και «οι μαθητές, που παύουν να είναι πειθήνιοι ακροατές, είναι τώρα κριτικοί συν-ερευνητές στο διάλογο με το δάσκαλο» (Freire, 1977: 90) .

<sup>19</sup>Σύμφωνα με τον P. Freire (1977), η διαδικασία μέσω της οποίας κάθε άτομο αποκτά «συνείδηση» των κοινωνικών δυνάμεων που επενεργούν πάνω του, μπορεί να επιτευχθεί μέσω της εκπαιδευτικής πράξης, που ανάγεται έτσι σε πράξη πολιτική και απελευθερωτική, ακριβώς διότι μπορεί να καλλιεργήσει στο «συνειδητοποιημένο» άτομο, μέσω της δυνατότητάς του να στοχάζεται, και την ικανότητα επιπλέον να μετασχηματίζει τον εαυτό του και τον κόσμο. Η συνειδητοποίηση, βέβαια, δε θεωρούμε πως αρκεί από μόνη της, ως συνθήκη, ούτε για την κοινωνική αλλαγή ούτε και για τη χειραφέτηση (προσωπική και συλλογική). Είναι, εντούτοις, ένα εξαιρετικά αναγκαίο στάδιο.



ευρύτερο συλλογικό αγώνα, με επίγνωση της δυνατότητάς τους να επενεργήσουν μετασχηματιστικά πάνω τους.

Εντούτοις, η κοινωνική συνείδηση δε γίνεται να επέλθει αυθόρμητα, παρά με την καθοδήγηση<sup>20</sup> των κριτικών εκπαιδευτικών, οι οποίοι δύνανται να εμπλέξουν τους/τις μαθητές/τριες στη διαδικασία της μάθησής τους, ασκώντας τους σε μια κριτική, συστηματική και αναλυτική «συνειδητοποίηση» του κοινωνικού κόσμου που τους περιβάλλει, με ταυτόχρονη την ύπαρξη της δυνατότητας ενεργητικής συμμετοχής τους. Δυνατότητα που δε μπορεί παρά να συνδεθεί με την παιδαγωγική και πολιτική σημασία ανάδειξης της κοινωνικής τάξης<sup>21</sup>, σε κεντρική διάσταση της εκπαιδευτικής ανάλυσης και πρακτικής.

Ζωτικής σημασίας κρίνεται, βέβαια, πέραν της ταξικής ανάλυσης των κοινωνικών φαινομένων/σχέσεων και βιωμάτων των μαθητών/τριών, η κριτική επεξεργασία των «κοινωνικά κατασκευασμένων» εικόνων και μηνυμάτων από την τηλεόραση, τον κινηματογράφο, το διαδίκτυο, τις εφημερίδες και άλλων σύγχρονων μέσων παραγωγής-διάχυσης «πολιτισμού», των οποίων η αγνόηση, ακριβώς επειδή προβάλλονται σαν μια «αλήθεια» φυσική και αυτονόητη, συμβάλλει τελικά όχι μόνο στην άκριτη αφομοίωση (Bourdieu, 2004) αλλά και στη νομιμοποίηση των εγγαραγμένων μέσα τους ασύμμετρων σχέσεων εξουσίας, αποτελεσματικά κρυμμένων πίσω από τον κυρίαρχο λόγο περί «ισότητας», «διαφοράς» και «ελευθερίας» (Giroux & McLaren, 1986). Σε ένα τέτοιο, λοιπόν, πλαίσιο, η διαχείριση της ευαίσθητης στο «πολυπολιτισμικό» σχολικό πλαίσιο εικόνας του «Άλλου», που εξαντλείται από τα διάφορα μέσα στην πολιτικά ασφαλή διάσταση του «εξωτικού» μονάχα Άλλου<sup>22</sup>, στο πλαίσιο καλλιέργειας μιας γνήσιας κριτικής

<sup>20</sup> Στο σημείο αυτό κρίσιμο είναι να τονιστεί πως η ανάπτυξη της κριτικής συνείδησης δε συνιστά ένα είδος προπαγάνδας, απεναντίας, αφορά στην ολόπλευρη κατανόηση της πραγματικότητας. Ακριβώς για αυτό το λόγο, οι κριτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί οφείλουν να παρουσιάζουν, παράλληλα με τη δική τους ανάγνωση του κόσμου, όλες τις διαφορετικές πλευρές και απόψεις (Γρόλλιος, 2012).

<sup>21</sup> Σύμφωνα με τον Θ. Αλεξίου (2009), παρά το ότι στις σύγχρονες συζητήσεις σχετικά με το «τέλος των τάξεων», η κοινωνική τάξη εμφανίζεται ως μια από τις πολλές καταπιέσεις, χάνοντας την κεντρική της θέση στην κοινωνική και ιστορική ανάλυση, μόνο σε αυτήν ενυπάρχουν όλοι οι θεωρητικοί και μεθοδολογικοί συνειρμοί που είναι απαραίτητοι για την ερμηνεία της πολλαπλότητας των καταπιέσεων (εξουσιαστικών, ηθικών, έμφυλων κ.α.), στην κοινωνία. Έτσι, «μόνο εφόσον το κοινωνικό ζήτημα τεθεί με όρους εκμετάλλευσης, και όχι με όρους μιας «ταυτοχρονίας καταπιέσεων», μπορούν να προσδιοριστούν οι αιτίες των φαινομένων και να ιεραρχηθούν προτεραιότητες, ώστε η ανάλυσή μας να αποφύγει το τυχαίο και το αυθαίρετο» (Αλεξίου, 2015). Είναι η ταξική συνθήκη αυτή που, διαπερνώντας «όλα τα επίπεδα του εποικοδομήματος», παράγει τις «δευτερογενείς αντιθέσεις», δηλαδή τις πολλαπλές καταπιέσεις, γι αυτό άλλωστε και το κοινωνικό υποκείμενο, δε μπορεί παρά να δομηθεί «στη σφαίρα παραγωγής και απόσπασης του κοινωνικού πλούτου» και να αναζητηθεί στους παραγωγούς του (Αλεξίου, 2015), ενώ σύμφωνα με τον Ζίζεκ η ταξική πάλη ορίζεται ως «η παραγωγική μήτρα των διαφορετικών ιδεολογικών οριζόντων της κατανόησης» που, ως ανταγωνισμός, ιεραρχεί και τροποποιεί, μάλιστα, τις ιδιαιτερότητες όλων των άλλων ανταγωνισμών (όπ. αναφ. στο McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2013: 258).

<sup>22</sup> Ο λόγος της «κυρίαρχης πολυπολιτισμικής εκπαίδευσης», αφορώντας γενικά «κάποιον Άλλο», δίχως να εξετάζει/αμφισβητεί, σύμφωνα με τον Giroux, την ιδεολογική ηγεμονία της κυρίαρχης



«διαπολιτισμικής» συνείδησης, αφορά, πια, και στις διαφορετικές ταξικές και διεθνώς ιεραρχημένες πολιτισμικές ταυτότητες των μαθητών/τριών. Μια τέτοια ταξική θεώρηση της «πολιτισμικής ταυτότητας» κάθε ατόμου, φωτίζει νέες διαστάσεις της δηλούμενης «ισότητας» και «διαφοράς» και προκαλεί «ενδιαφέρουσες» καταστάσεις κατά τις οποίες η ύπαρξη εθνοκθρησκευτικών διαφορών σε πολυπολιτισμικές τάξεις να μην αποτελεί δείκτη ετερότητας, στο βαθμό τουλάχιστον που οι διαφορές από την ταξική προέλευση, σε άτομα ομόεθνα/ομόγλωσσα/ομόδοξα, αποτελούν (Νικολάου, 2007).

Μια ουσιαστική λοιπόν προσέγγιση του ζητήματος της «ετερότητας» δεν πρέπει να εξαντλείται μόνο στην ανάδειξη της εθνοπολιτισμικής διάστασης της διαφοράς, αλλά οφείλει να εμπλέκει πέραν των εθνικών/εθνοτικών και τις κοινωνικοπολιτικές/ιδεολογικές<sup>23</sup> δομές στις οποίες αυτή νοηματοδοτείται και συγκροτείται (Ασκούνη & Ανδρούσου, 2001). Η διαδικασία αυτή ανάδειξης της ταξικής συνθήκης τόσο στη διδασκαλία όσο στην ανάλυση, ως κατεξοχήν ερμηνευτικό εργαλείο, κρίνεται ουσιώδης και στρατηγικής σημασίας όχι μόνο για την ανάδυση της αναγκαίας ταξικής συνειδητοποίησης και κοινωνικής συνείδησης των υποκειμένων, αλλά και για την ίδια την αποτελεσματικότητα της θεωρητικής μας ανάλυσης και εκπαιδευτικής δράσης.

*Η συλλογικότητα ως μέσο και σκοπός διαπαιδαγώγησης και ανάπτυξης της προσωπικότητας: ένα συλλογικό υποκείμενο συνείδησης ηθικής*

Βασική αρχή μιας Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής στην προοπτική δια-μόρφωσης του υποκειμένου της εργασίας, δεν μπορεί παρά να είναι η διαπαιδαγώγηση της προσωπικότητάς του. Ενός ανθρώπου, δηλαδή, φορέα αναπτυσσόμενης κοινωνικής συνείδησης, που ενεργεί συνειδητά βάσει της συνειδήσεώς του, ακριβώς λόγω «της συνειδητοποίησης του εσωτερικού και αναγκαίου δεσμού του με τους άλλους ανθρώπους» (Παυλίδης, 2008β). Στο σημείο αυτό είναι που η παιδεία αποκτά το αυθεντικό νόημά της, ακριβώς όταν υπερβαίνει την ατομική υπόσταση του

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κουλτούρας και τις βαθύτερες αιτίες κυριαρχίας της, χωρίς να εντάσσει δηλαδή ζητήματα της ευρύτερης κοινωνικοοικονομικής και πολιτικής σφαίρας στο σχολικό πλαίσιο, καταλήγει να αποκλείει και να αφομοιώνει κουλτούρες διαφορετικές της κυρίαρχης, παραμένοντας, έτσι, πάντα πολιτικά ασφαλής στο πλαίσιο της κυρίαρχης ενοποιητικής ιδεολογίας της νεωτερικότητας του εικοστού αιώνα (Schwartz, 1995; Vincent, 1992).

<sup>23</sup>Το πέρασμα όμως σε ένα τέτοιο ολοκληρωμένο και κριτικά προσεγγίσιμο διαπολιτισμικό μοντέλο, το οποίο να λαμβάνει, μεν, υπόψη την πολιτισμική ιεραρχία και τις σχέσεις εξουσίας μεταξύ των πολιτισμών, στο πλαίσιο του σύγχρονου «πολιτισμικού ιμπεριαλισμού», αλλά να εμπλέκει, επιπλέον, και την ταξική διάσταση της πολιτισμικής διαφοράς, δεν είναι μια διαδικασία αποπλαισιωμένη από πολιτικά χαρακτηριστικά. Έτσι, σύμφωνα με τον Τσουκαλά (2010), η δίχως ιδεολογικούς και ταξικούς όρους προβολή της «εθνοπολιτισμικής» διαφοράς, κυρίαρχη στο νεοφιλελεύθερο λόγο, συμβάλλει τελικά σε μια «αποπολιτικοποίηση» του λόγου, αποσιώπηση δηλαδή όλων εκείνων των «μη εθνοπολιτισμικών» διαφορών, των κοινωνικοοικονομικών δηλαδή ανισοτήτων, που η ιεραρχία των πολιτισμών και η ταξική θέση γεννούν και αναπαράγουν, συμβάλλοντας, έτσι, στη θεμελίωση των σχέσεων εξουσίας, τόσο σε διεθνές όσο και σε εθνικό επίπεδο.



υποκειμένου, προτάσσοντας τη συλλογική του ύπαρξη και διαπαιδαγωγώντας ηθικά το υποκείμενο.

Η διαμόρφωση αυτού του συλλογικού υποκειμένου, αφοσιωμένου σε ένα νόημα υπερατομικό και σε ένα χρέος εσωτερικό, δε δύναται σαφώς να επιτευχθεί ως αποτέλεσμα διδασκαλίας σχετικών γνώσεων, ηθικών αξιών ή στάσεων. Το υποκείμενο που τάσσεται στην υπόθεση της πανανθρώπινης χειραφέτησης, δε δύναται να δια-μορφωθεί πουθενά αλλού παρά μόνο εντός της δυναμικής και της ομορφιάς, που απορρέουν από την ίδια τη συλλογική μορφή ύπαρξης του υποκειμένου, εντός, δηλαδή, της συλλογικότητας. Έτσι, η καλλιέργεια της ηθικής συνείδησης, ως έμπρακτης «ενσάρκωσης» του περιεχομένου της κοινωνικής συνείδησης (Βαζιούλιν, 2004), αυτής της βαθύτερης και ουσιαστικής σχέσης του υποκειμένου με τις ανάγκες του κάθε ανθρώπου ξεχωριστά, αλλά και με την ίδια την ανθρωπότητα, καλλιεργείται και αναπτύσσεται, μέσα από τη διαλεκτική αλληλεπίδραση του υποκειμένου με το πλέγμα των σχέσεων και των ευθυνών, που η ίδια η συλλογικότητα συνεπάγεται. Σχέσεις στις οποίες εμπλέκεται, δια μέσω των οποίων και για τις οποίες, τελικώς, αναπτύσσεται<sup>24</sup> και διαπαιδαγωγείται. Έτσι, όσο πιο αναπτυγμένο και πολύπλευρο είναι το πλέγμα σχέσεων του κάθε υποκειμένου με τα άλλα υποκείμενα, τόσο μεγαλύτερη είναι η «ζώνη εγγύτερης και απώτερης ανάπτυξής του» και τόσο ευρύτερο είναι και το «φάσμα δυνατοτήτων ανάπτυξης» (Δαφερμάκης & Παυλίδης, 2006), τόσο της κάθε προσωπικότητας ξεχωριστά αλλά και της ίδιας της συλλογικότητας, ως μια μορφή συλλογικής ύπαρξης εν συνόλω.

Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, η δια-μόρφωση του συλλογικού υποκειμένου, δεν υπόκειται, λοιπόν, στη χρήση συγκεκριμένων τεχνικών και μεθόδων διδασκαλίας, καθώς οποιαδήποτε μορφή ομάδας δε συνιστά αυθεντική μορφή συλλογικότητας και ηθικής διαπαιδαγώγησης των μελών της. Υπάρχουν κάλλιστα ομάδες οι οποίες συνιστούν άθροισμα ξεχωριστών ανταγωνιστικών συμφερόντων ή που βασίζονται στον ανταγωνισμό των ομάδων μεταξύ τους, πραγματικότητα κυρίαρχη στο υπάρχον, εντός του καπιταλισμού, εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα, όπου οι προτεινόμενες ομαδοσυνεργατικές μέθοδοι διδασκαλίας, όταν δεν καταφέρνουν, στο πλαίσιο στο οποίο τίθενται, να ξεπεράσουν τις αλλοτριωτικές ανταγωνιστικές σχέσεις, μέσω των οποίων και για τις οποίες προετοιμάζονται ουσιαστικά οι μαθητές/τριες, καταλήγουν να αποτελούν εργαλείο κοινωνικής αναπαραγωγής, νομιμοποίησης των κυρίαρχων αλλοτριωτικών δομών και σχέσεων εξουσίας και τελικά εκπαίδευσης των υποκειμένων για την ένταξη και προσαρμογή τους στον, επίσης ανταγωνιστικό και αλλοτριωτικό, καταμερισμό εργασίας.

Ένα επιπλέον, βέβαια, στοιχείο το οποίο οι κριτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί οφείλουν να συνυπολογίσουν είναι το πώς αυτές οι αλλοτριωτικές σχέσεις, ακριβώς λόγω της

<sup>24</sup> Πρόκειται για τον περίφημο βασικό νόμο ψυχικής ανάπτυξης που διατύπωσε ο Λ. Βυγκότσκι, σύμφωνα με τον οποίο «οι ανώτερες ψυχικές λειτουργίες του παιδιού, οι ανώτερες ιδιότητες χαρακτηριστικές για τον άνθρωπο, εμφανίζονται πρωταρχικά ως μορφές συλλογικής συμπεριφοράς του παιδιού, ως μορφές συνεργασίας με τους άλλους ανθρώπους και μόνο στη συνέχεια αυτές γίνονται εσωτερικές, ατομικές λειτουργίες του παιδιού» ( Δαφερμάκης & Παυλίδης, 2006: 168).



μακρόχρονης, δίχως άλλα ερεθίσματα, έκθεσης των υποκειμένων σε αυτές, αντανakλώνται στις ήδη υπάρχουσες ηθικές τους αντιλήψεις, ως αυτονόητη «φύση» τους. Αυτές οι εγχαραγμένες, θα λέγαμε, ανταγωνιστικές και ατομικιστικές αξίες, εντός του υποκειμένου, ως βασικού φορέα τους, αφού μέσω αυτών δομείται η «καθημερινή του συνείδηση» ή ο «κοινός του νους», συνιστά ένα πεδίο, το οποίο, αφενός, απαιτεί επίγνωση των εγγενών αντιστάσεων και περιορισμών μιας νέας ηθικής διαπαιδαγώγησης του υποκειμένου, αφετέρου, καλεί τους εκπαιδευτικούς να διαμορφώσουν με ένα δυναμικά διαλεκτικό τρόπο τα χαρακτηριστικά αυτής της διαπαιδαγώγησης.

Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, μια απόπειρα ανάδειξης των βασικών χαρακτηριστικών μιας νέας χειραφετικής ηθικής αγωγής των υποκειμένων, δε μπορεί να μη λάβει υπόψη, το έργο<sup>25</sup> των σοβιετικών παιδαγωγών Α. Μακάρενκο και Β. Σουχομλίνσκι, ως το πρώτο ιστορικά εγχείρημα ανάπτυξης μιας παιδείας στην υπηρεσία της κοινωνικής χειραφέτησης. Έτσι, βγάζοντας κάποια κριτικά συμπεράσματα ως προς το έργο των δυο πρωτοπόρων παιδαγωγών, θα λέγαμε πως οι βασικές κατευθύνσεις μιας τέτοιας ηθικής διαπαιδαγώγησης, στην παρούσα συγκυρία, οφείλουν να είναι οι εξής:

Σε πρώτο επίπεδο, απέναντι στη διαφορετική θεώρηση της ηθικής αγωγής, ως εξωτερικά επιβαλλόμενου καθήκοντος από τη μια, και ως εσωτερικού συναίσθηματος από την άλλη, καθοριστική κρίνεται, πριν από όλα, μια ανάγνωση των κοινωνικοπολιτικών χαρακτηριστικών της συγκεκριμένης ιστορικής συγκυρίας εντός της οποίας η κάθε προσέγγιση αναπτύχθηκε. Από αυτή τη σκοπιά, η ηθική συμπεριφορά βάσει εξωτερικών ερεθισμάτων (προσέγγιση του Α. Μακάρενκο), αφορά και πηγάζει από κοινωνικές σχέσεις με ισχυρό διαχωρισμό μεταξύ της ατομικού και συλλογικού καλού, ενώ η συμπεριφορά που καθορίζεται από ένα ηθικό συναίσθημα (προσέγγιση του Β. Σουχομλίνσκι), αφορά σχέσεις αρμονικής συν-ύπαρξης του ατομικού με το συλλογικό συμφέρον (Παυλίδης, 2007β). Έτσι, στην παρούσα κοινωνικοπολιτική συγκυρία, δεδομένων των οξύτατων αντιθέσεων της, αλλά και της διαλεκτικής σχέσης που θεωρούμε πως διατηρεί η εκπαίδευση με την κοινωνία και τον αγώνα για την αλλαγή της, απαιτείται μια υπέρβαση του φαινομενικού αυτού διαζεύγματος και μια διαλεκτική σύζευξη και αξιοποίηση των δυο προσεγγίσεων. Μια ηθική αγωγή, δηλαδή, η οποία, ως καθήκον, γίνεται και συναίσθημα και, ως συναίσθημα, γίνεται αντιληπτή και ως καθήκον.

Καθοριστική, στο πλαίσιο αυτό, για τη γεφύρωση των δυο διαφορετικών αλλά εξίσου σημαντικών πτυχών της ηθικής αγωγής, κρίνεται, λοιπόν, η καλλιέργεια μιας ενιαίας φιλοσοφίας συλλογικής ανάπτυξης, επιτυχίας και ευτυχίας. Έτσι, σε αντίθεση με τις βραχυπρόθεσμες προοπτικές ατομικής επιτυχίας και προόδου, ως κατεξοχήν «αξιών» της ταξικής κοινωνίας, μια Απελευθερωτική Κριτική

<sup>25</sup> Για το έργο των δυο σοβιετικών παιδαγωγών βλ. σχετικά Παυλίδης, Π. (2007α). Ζητήματα ηθικής αγωγής στη σοσιαλιστική παιδεία- 1ο μέρος και Παυλίδης, Π. (2007β). Ζητήματα ηθικής αγωγής στη σοσιαλιστική παιδεία- 2ο μέρος.





Παιδαγωγική, με σκοπό την εγχάραξη μιας νέας χειραφετικής ηθικής στα υποκείμενα, διαμορφώνει μια νέα κουλτούρα «συνειδητοποιημένης» προοπτικής, που υπερβαίνει το άτομο και το συνδέει με τα ευρύτερα κοινωνικά ζητήματα και εγχειρήματα, έναν συλλογικό σκοπό που σύμφωνα με τον Α. Μακάρενκο, δυναμώνει και ομορφαίνει το άτομο, καθώς «όσο ευρύτερη είναι η ομάδα, οι προοπτικές της οποίας αποτελούν για το άτομο προσωπικές προοπτικές, τόσο ο άνθρωπος είναι ομορφότερος και καλύτερος» (Δαφερμάκης & Παυλίδης, 2006: 170). Η διαμόρφωση αυτής της κουλτούρας ως φιλοσοφίας επεκτείνεται, λοιπόν, σε κάθε πτυχή των σχολικών σχέσεων, της σχολικής διδασκαλίας και ζωής, αφορώντας:

i) Την οργάνωση της σχολικής ζωής, δραστηριότητας και εργασίας (ενδοσχολικής και εξωσχολικής), σε συλλογική βάση, η οποία βασίζεται στη συνεργασία<sup>26</sup> όλων των συλλογικοτήτων εντός της σχολικής κοινότητας, εκκινώντας από τις μικρές συλλογικότητες εντός της κάθε σχολικής τάξης, στις μεγαλύτερες, αφορώντας τις σχολικές τάξεις ως συλλογικότητες, στην ακόμη μεγαλύτερη θεωρώντας όλη τη σχολική κοινότητα ως μια συλλογικότητα. Η τακτική συνεδρίαση των συλλογικοτήτων μεταξύ τους αλλά και όλων των υποκειμένων, στο πλαίσιο συνεδρίασης όλης της σχολικής κοινότητας, για την επίλυση ζητημάτων που φέρνουν στην επιφάνεια τα ίδια τα υποκείμενα ή για το σχεδιασμό και την πραγμάτωση κάποιας κοινής συλλογικής εργασίας, είναι στο πλαίσιο αυτό αναγκαία.

ii) Τη συνακόλουθη διαμόρφωση νέων εκπαιδευτικών σκοπών και κριτηρίων «επιτυχίας», τα οποία αφορούν την αρμονική συνεργασία, συνύπαρξη, ευημερία και ανάπτυξη των επιμέρους συλλογικοτήτων αλλά και ολόκληρης της σχολικής κοινότητας, εντός της οποίας εντάσσονται οργανικά και αναπτύσσονται οι επί μέρους συλλογικότητες και τα ίδια τα υποκείμενα. Σε ένα τέτοιο πλαίσιο, η διαπαιδαγώγηση, του κάθε υποκειμένου, γίνεται δια μέσου της διαπαιδαγώγησης ολόκληρης της κοινότητας, εντός της οποίας αναπτύσσεται μια διαλεκτική<sup>27</sup> σχέση αλληλεπίδρασης και ανάπτυξης του κάθε υποκειμένου και της κάθε μικρότερης συλλογικότητας με την ίδια την κοινότητα.

iii) Η αναγκαία αυτή οικοδόμηση μιας νέας ιδέας περί «αξίας», υπερβαίνοντας την «καθημερινή συνείδηση» (Παυλίδης, 2003), έρχεται να δημιουργήσει μια διαφορετική πραγματικότητα, στην οποία όλα τα υποκείμενα πια αξίζουν. Μια τέτοια νέα αντίληψη, ακριβώς επειδή βασίζεται στο πλαίσιο αμοιβαίας και

<sup>26</sup> Για να αποφευχθεί ο κίνδυνος του εγκλωβισμού του κάθε υποκειμένου στα συμφέροντα μιας ξεχωριστής συλλογικότητας ή κοινότητας, ο Μακάρενκο εισηγήθηκε τη διαπαιδαγώγηση του παιδιού διαμέσου της ταυτόχρονης συμμετοχής του κάθε υποκειμένου σε διαφορετικές συλλογικότητες/κοινότητες (Παυλίδης, 2007α). Έτσι, κρίνεται απαραίτητη και η συνεργασία των σχολικών κοινοτήτων μεταξύ τους, σε ένα πλαίσιο σύνδεσης με τα ζητήματα της τοπικής αλλά και της ευρύτερης κοινωνίας.

<sup>27</sup> Πρόκειται για τη «Μέθοδο της παράλληλης παιδαγωγικής δράσης» που εισηγήθηκε ο Α. Μακάρενκο, σύμφωνα με την οποία το παιδί δε συνιστά ξεχωριστό αντικείμενο αγωγής, αλλά, «συμμετέχει σε ένα πλέγμα κατάλληλα διαμορφωμένων σχέσεων και δραστηριοτήτων, διά των οποίων και διαπαιδαγωγείται» (Δαφερμάκης & Παυλίδης, 2006: 174).





διαλεκτικής ανάπτυξης όλων, και σύγκρισης του κάθε υποκειμένου με τον εαυτό του, έρχεται να συγκρουστεί τελικά με την καθιερωμένη, ως αυτονόητη, και να εγχαράξει μια νέα συνείδηση, που σύμφωνα με τον Α. Μακάρενκο, ακριβώς επειδή βασίζεται σε μια «αισιόδοξη υπόθεση»<sup>28</sup> για το μέλλον του κάθε υποκειμένου, δύναται και να το δημιουργήσει.

iv) Εξαιρετικά κρίσιμης, βέβαια, σημασίας κρίνεται, πέραν της συλλογικής μορφής της εργασίας των υποκειμένων, η σύνδεσή της (ερευνητική και έμπρακτη) με τα ζητήματα<sup>29</sup> της τοπικής αλλά και της ευρύτερης κοινωνίας, διαδικασία άρρηκτα συνδεδεμένη με την καλλιέργεια της διαλεκτικής σκέψης των παιδιών και την ανάπτυξη της αναγκαίας ταξικής και κριτικής τους συνειδητοποίησης. Έτσι, ομαδικά σχέδια εργασίας με σκοπό την έρευνα ή/και την έμπρακτη αλληλεγγύη και τη δράση των μαθητών/τριών σε κρίσιμα κοινωνικά ζητήματα (τοπικά, εθνικά ή/και διεθνή), στο παρόν κοινωνικοπολιτικό πλαίσιο, κρίνεται επιβεβλημένη, ενώ, επίσης καθοριστική κρίνεται η επαφή<sup>30</sup> των παιδιών με τη λογοτεχνία, την ποίηση και τις τέχνες που, εξυμνώντας τους κοινωνικούς αγώνες των ανθρώπων, το πάθος και την αγάπη τους για την ελευθερία και τον συνάνθρωπο, εμπνέουν και εγχαράσσουν στους/στις μαθητές/τριες την ομορφιά και τη δυνατότητα που απορρέει, από την ένωση των ανθρώπων στο κοινό σκοπό της πανανθρώπινης χειραφέτησης.

v) Η διαμόρφωση μιας τέτοιας σχολικής κουλτούρας ανάπτυξης σχέσεων αμοιβαιότητας και αλληλεγγύης, δε γίνεται να μην αγγίζει, όμως, και τον τρόπο συνεργασίας των ίδιων των υποκειμένων μεταξύ τους. Έτσι, η νέα αντίληψη περί αξίας όλων, διαμορφώνει συνακόλουθα και ένα νέο πλέγμα σχέσεων στην καθημερινότητα της σχολικής ζωής και διδασκαλίας η οποία βασίζεται στην έμπρακτη αλληλεγγύη και αλληλοβοήθεια των μαθητών/τριών μεταξύ τους, τόσο σε επίπεδο διδασκαλίας και εμπέδωσης γνώσεων, όσο και σε επίπεδο καλλιέργειας

<sup>28</sup> Η «αισιόδοξη αυτή υπόθεση» για το μέλλον του κάθε παιδιού, κάθε άλλο παρά στερείται απαιτήσεων από κάθε προσωπικότητα. Η μέγιστη διαφορά αυτής της παιδαγωγικής από την αστική, όπως αναφέρει ο Α.Σ. Μακάρενκο σχετικά, είναι ότι ακριβώς οι απαιτήσεις πολύ περισσότερων από κάθε προσωπικότητα, εμφορούνται από το μέγιστο σεβασμό προς τις δυνάμεις και δυνατότητές της (Δαφερμάκης & Παυλίδης, 2006).

<sup>29</sup> Έτσι, σύμφωνα με τον Γ. Γρόλλιο (2012), στην παρούσα κοινωνικοπολιτική συγκυρία και εντός του παρόντος εκπαιδευτικού πλαισίου, οι κριτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί, παράλληλα με τα υπόλοιπα ενδιαφέροντα των μαθητών/τριών τους, οφείλουν να εντάξουν στην εκπαιδευτική διαδικασία και τα θέματα που σχετίζονται με την κρίση, α) συνδέοντας το περιεχόμενο των αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων με τις αιτίες και τις συνέπειες της κρίσης, β) αξιοποιώντας κατάλληλα τα χρονικά πλαίσια της ευέλικτης ζώνης και γ) εγείροντας τη δυνατότητα σύνδεσης της παιδαγωγικής με την κοινωνική δράση που προσφέρει η μέθοδος project.

<sup>30</sup> Για την καθοριστική σημασία επαφής των παιδιών με την τέχνη μίλησε ο Λ. Βυγκότσκι, καθώς συντελεί στην ανάπτυξη της φαντασίας, μιας νοητικής λειτουργίας απαραίτητης για την ίδια την κατάκτηση του επιστημονικού τρόπου σκέψης (Vygotsky, 1987). Μια επαφή, βέβαια, που είναι κρίσιμο να είναι ενεργητική, ώστε να βοηθήσει τα παιδιά να υπερβούν την παθητική και ενατενιστική στάση απέναντι στην πραγματικότητα και να τα αναγάγει, μέσα από συλλογικές διαδικασίες, σε γνήσιους δημιουργούς τέχνης (ποίησης, λογοτεχνίας, θεατρικών και καλλιτεχνικών έργων) και σε ζωντανά υποκείμενα «δημιουργικής φαντασίας» (Δαφερμάκης & Παυλίδης, 2006).



ικανοτήτων ή επίλυσης/διαχείρισης ζητημάτων σε διαπροσωπικό επίπεδο. Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, όλοι και όλες συνεισφέρουν προσωπικά στην επίτευξη της συλλογικής ανάπτυξης και ευημερίας όλης της σχολικής κοινότητας, και μέσω αυτής στην ανάπτυξη και ευτυχία του/της καθενός/καθεμιάς, ενώ η προσωπική ανάπτυξη και ευτυχία του κάθε υποκειμένου, συμβάλλει αντιστοίχως στην ενδυνάμωση και πρόοδο όλων.

vi) Το δυναμικό αυτό πλέγμα σχέσεων και αλληλεπίδρασης, δομεί, λοιπόν μια νέα αυθεντική σχέση του κάθε υποκειμένου τόσο με τα υπόλοιπα υποκείμενα όσο και τον ίδιο τον εαυτό του, ως αυθεντικό υποκείμενο διαπαιδαγώγησης και μάθησης της ίδιας της σχολικής κοινότητας και, μέσω αυτής, του εαυτού του. Έτσι, καθοριστικής σημασίας είναι η μορφή και το είδος της εργασίας που καλούνται τα υποκείμενα να πραγματώσουν, η οποία, ακριβώς, εκ της φύσης της, οφείλει να προωθεί έναν τέτοιο τύπο σχέσεων ενότητας και αμοιβαίας ανάπτυξης όλων. Μια τέτοια δια-νοητικής φύσεως εργασία, δια μέσου επιστημονικών εννοιών και κατηγοριών, ως «καθολικών μέσων της ανθρώπινης δραστηριότητας» (Παυλίδης, 2008α), βασιζόμενη αφενός στην καλλιέργεια του «ειδέναι», της έλλογης σκέψης, και του «συν-ειδέναι», της γνώσης και κατανόησης της ενότητας του υποκειμένου με τα άλλα υποκείμενα (Παυλίδης, 2008β), συμβάλλει τελικά, όχι μόνο στην ηθική διαπαιδαγώγηση της προσωπικότητας, αλλά και στην ανάπτυξη της αυτονομίας των μαθητών/τριών, ως φορέων συνείδησης. Έτσι, στο πλαίσιο της εκπαίδευσης, η σχολική εργασία, βασιζόμενη σε σχέδια εργασίας που προωθούν και βασίζονται στη συλλογική διεύθυνση και σχεδιασμό τους από τους/τις μαθητές/τριες, δύναται, στη βάση της αξιοποίησης επιστημονικών γνώσεων και εννοιών, να μετατραπεί σε κατεξοχήν ώριμη εργασία, όπου η δημιουργική δραστηριότητα του καθενός να αποτελεί «κτήμα» ταυτοχρόνως όλων και, έτσι, η ανάπτυξη του καθενός, να συνιστά, ακριβώς προϋπόθεση για την ανάπτυξη όλων (Παυλίδης, 2008α).

vii) Η διαδικασία αυτή, σηματοδοτεί, λοιπόν, μια βαθύτερη σχέση νοήματος με τη γνώση, τη μάθηση και τη σχολική εργασία, που επιτελείται πια ως αυτοσκοπός «για να ικανοποιηθεί η αντίστοιχη εσωτερική φυσική και πνευματική ανάγκη» του υποκειμένου (Βαζιούλιν, 2004: 414). Αυτό κρίνεται εξόχως καθοριστικό, για τους/τις μαθητές/τριες της εργατικής τάξης, λόγω της σύνδεσης που έχει παρατηρηθεί μεταξύ της χαμηλής επίδοσης των παιδιών εργατικών στρωμάτων και της σχέσης τους με τη διαδικασία μάθησης, καθώς για τα παιδιά αυτά η σχολική εργασία και μάθηση συνεπάγεται μια υποχρέωση την οποία οφείλουν να εκπληρώσουν, δίχως να της δίνουν μια θετική σημασία, έστω και ως μέσο που θα τους οδηγήσει στην αγορά εργασίας στο μέλλον, όπως συμβαίνει με τα παιδιά των μεσαίων στρωμάτων (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2013). Υπό αυτούς τους όρους η οικοδόμηση μιας εσωτερικής σχέσης με τη σχολική εργασία και μάθηση, αποτελεί για τα παιδιά των εργατικών στρωμάτων ένα στρατηγικής σημασίας, θα λέγαμε, βήμα όχι μόνο για την κριτική τους συνειδητοποίηση μα και για την ίδια την εργασιακή και κοινωνική τους χειραφέτηση.



**Επίλογος- Συμπεράσματα: Προς μια διαλεκτική θεώρηση της σχέσης κοινωνίας – εργασίας- εκπαίδευσης: η παιδεία ως «δύναμη παραγωγική» και ως παραγωγή δύναμης και ελπίδας**

Είναι γεγονός πως η ολοκλήρωση της διαμόρφωσης του κοινωνικού χαρακτήρα της εργασίας, προϋποθέτει την κατάργηση των κεφαλαιοκρατικών σχέσεων παραγωγής (Παυλίδης, 2008α). Παρομοίως, αυτό που κάλλιστα, βέβαια, μετατίθεται συχνά σε ένα επόμενο στάδιο ριζικής αλλαγής του παρόντος τύπου κοινωνικής εξέλιξης, είναι και το αίτημα της χειραφετικής ανασυγκρότησης της παιδείας, καθώς, εντός του υπάρχοντος κοινωνικού εποικοδομήματος, όπως δηλώνεται, αυτό δεν καθίσταται εφικτό. Στις διαπιστώσεις αυτές, έρχεται, λοιπόν, η θεωρία της κοινωνίας του Βαζιούλιν, να προτάξει τη διαλεκτική σχέση κοινωνίας και εργασίας, εντός της οποίας είναι εφικτή μια ταυτόχρονη δυναμική αλληλεπίδραση και ανάπτυξή τους, ενώ, στο ίδιο επίπεδο διαλεκτικής θεώρησης της σχέσης της κοινωνίας, ως ολότητας, και με την εκπαίδευση, πια, ως συστατικό της στοιχείο, αναδεικνύεται και ένα δυναμικό πεδίο παρέμβασης, εντός του οποίου η συνεισφορά της εκπαίδευσης κρίνεται στρατηγικής σημασίας.

Αυτή η θεώρηση της παιδείας όχι μόνο ως αναπαραγωγής των κυρίαρχων σχέσεων παραγωγής αλλά και ως «παραγωγής της βασικής παραγωγικής δύναμης» και «σχέσης παραγωγής», σύμφωνα με τον Δ. Πατέλη (2000), εντός του όλου πλαισίου σχέσεων παραγωγής, αναδεικνύει, επομένως, και τη συνακόλουθη εσωτερική διαλεκτική σχέση μεταξύ της εργασίας και της παιδείας, ως συστατικά μέρη της κοινωνίας που συνιστά «οργανική ολότητα». Έτσι, από τη μία ο δυναμικός χαρακτήρας της εργασίας επιδρά καθοριστικά στον τύπο κοινωνικών σχέσεων και στις σχέσεις παραγωγής, άρα και στην εκπαίδευση, από την άλλη, βέβαια, και η ίδια η εκπαίδευση, μέσω του τύπου των υποκειμένων της εργασίας που δύναται να παράγει, ως ολόπλευρα αναπτυγμένων προσωπικοτήτων, επενεργεί, στο μέτρο που της αναλογεί, τόσο στις σχέσεις παραγωγής, όσο και στις ευρύτερες κοινωνικές σχέσεις, γεννώντας τη δυνατότητα καθοριστικής συμβολής της παιδείας στη χειραφετική προοπτική.

Υπό αυτό το πρίσμα, συνοψίζοντας όσα αναλύθηκαν στην εργασία, θεωρούμε πως στην παρούσα συγκυρία αυξημένης αναβάθμισης της σημασίας της γνώσης και της μόρφωσης, ακριβώς επειδή οι αντιθέσεις του καπιταλισμού συνιστούν και ρήγματά του, η χειραφετική ανασυγκρότηση της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής, είναι δύσκολη, εντούτοις, αναγκαία και δυνατή. Στην κατεύθυνση αυτή, η καλλιέργεια συλλογικών υποκειμένων, προσωπικοτήτων, δηλαδή, ανεπτυγμένης νόησης και συνείδησης, που καθίστανται ικανά να αποδομούν τις αντιθέσεις της κοινωνικής πραγματικότητας, έχοντας επίγνωση της μετασχηματιστικής τους δυνατότητας ως «κοινωνικά, ιστορικά, σκεπτόμενα, επικοινωνιακά, μετασχηματιστικά, δημιουργικά όντα» (Γούναρη, 2015: 299), θεωρούμε πως οφείλει να αποτελεί έναν από τους



βασικούς στόχους της Απελευθερωτικής Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής, πάντα στο πλαίσιο καθορισμένων στρατηγικών σκοπών<sup>31</sup>.

Σκοποί που οφείλουν, εξίσου στρατηγικά βέβαια, να βασίζονται στη συνειδητοποίηση, εκ μέρους των κριτικών εκπαιδευτικών, πως η δυνατότητα της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής και των ριζοσπαστών εκπαιδευτικών να συμβάλλουν<sup>32</sup> στην κατεύθυνση της κοινωνικής χειραφέτησης, υπάρχει και μεγεθύνεται, στο βαθμό μονάχα που αυτή θεμελιώνεται, ως οργανικό μέρος των ευρύτερων κοινωνικοπολιτικών εγχειρημάτων και μαχητικών πολιτικών πρωτοποριών που αναπτύσσονται, ακριβώς, γι αυτό το σκοπό (Γρόλλιος, 2015; Γρόλλιος & Γούναρη, 2016; Παυλίδης, 2012). Αξιοποιώντας τη σχετική τους «αυτονομία»<sup>33</sup> και τις συλλογικότητες, των οποίων αποτελούν μέλη (σύλλογοι διδασκόντων, σχολικά συμβούλια, σύλλογοι εκπαιδευτικών και σωματεία εργαζομένων), οι κριτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί, οφείλουν λοιπόν, υπακούοντας στο εσωτερικευμένο καθήκον υπηρετήσης της ανθρωπότητας και του αγώνα για τη χειραφέτησή της, να προτάξουν μια γλώσσα της «ανυπακοής» (Γούναρη, 2015) αλλά και της «δυνατότητας» (Argonowitz & Giroux, 2010), ικανή να εμπνεύσει και να δώσει την απαιτούμενη «ελπίδα» και πίστη, για το αναγκαίο και εφικτό ενός εναλλακτικού πολιτικού και κοινωνικού οράματος, τόσο στους/στις υπόλοιπους/ες εκπαιδευτικούς αλλά και στην κοινωνία. Πρόκειται για μια «ελπίδα» που δε συνιστά, σύμφωνα με την ανάλυση του E. Fromm, μια αισιόδοξη ενατένιση του μέλλοντος, αλλά βασίζεται ακριβώς στη δυνατότητα μετασχηματιστικής παρέμβασης του ανθρώπου στο παρόν, σε μια διαλεκτική σχέση με την κοινωνία (Γούναρη, 2015). Με άλλα λόγια είναι μια ελπίδα που συνιστά, όπως δήλωσε και ο P. Freire, «μετασχηματιστική δράση» στο παρόν, ανάγοντας, έτσι, την Απελευθερωτική Κριτική Παιδαγωγική σε «αυθεντική παιδεία» (Παυλίδης, 2003), σε ένα όχι μόνο μορφωτικό αλλά και κοινωνικό εγχείρημα, υψίστης χειραφετικής σημασίας, οργανικά ενταγμένο, στον αγώνα κοινωνικής αλλαγής, όπως είναι και όπως οφείλει να είναι.

<sup>31</sup>Σύμφωνα με τους Γρόλλιο και Γούναρη (2016), ως στρατηγικός κοινωνικοπολιτικός σκοπός καθορίζεται «η κατάργηση της εκμετάλλευσης και της καταπίεσης» και η δημιουργία μιας κοινωνίας σοσιαλιστικής, προσδιορίζοντας, έτσι, και τον εκπαιδευτικό σκοπό που δεν είναι άλλος από «τη διαμόρφωση ανθρώπων που χαρακτηρίζονται από ισόρροπη σωματική, γνωστική, ηθική και καλλιτεχνική ανάπτυξη» (Γρόλλιος & Γούναρη, 2016: 278).

<sup>32</sup>Η έννοια αυτή της συμβολής της παιδείας στον αγώνα για την αλλαγή της κοινωνίας, είναι εξέχουσας σημασίας, επειδή αφορά, ακριβώς, την αναγκαιότητα επίγνωσης των ορίων συμβολής της, ώστε να αποφύγουμε, σύμφωνα με τον Π. Παυλίδη (2012), την αυτοεξιδανικευτική φιλελεύθερη αυταπάτη, μεγέθυνσης της μετασχηματιστικής δυνατότητάς της.

<sup>33</sup>Εξαιρετικά σημαντικό κρίνεται βέβαια το να διαφυλάξουμε την έννοια της «αυτονομίας» των εκπαιδευτικών από τον κίνδυνο φетиχοποίησης της, εντός της κυρίαρχης νεοφιλελεύθερης ρητορικής, η οποία στο πλαίσιο προσπάθειας νομιμοποίησης του κυρίαρχου μοντέλου οργάνωσης της κοινωνίας, τείνει, μετατρέποντάς την σε «ατομική ευθύνη» και «δράση», να μεταβιβάζει «την κοινωνική αιτία των αποτελεσμάτων της και των όποιων μορφών κρίσης της» στο άτομο (Παναγιωτόπουλος & Θάνος, 2008).



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## Οι εναλλακτικές προοπτικές των ψηφιακών κοινοτήτων γνώσης των καθηγητών της επαγγελματικής εκπαίδευσης που υποστηρίζουν το θεσμό της Μαθητείας απέναντι στον νεοφιλελευθερισμό και τον τεχνοκαπιταλισμό

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### Περίληψη

Το θεσμικό πλαίσιο του 4<sup>ο</sup> Μεταλυκειακού έτους Μαθητείας προσφέρει πολλαπλές δυνατότητες υποστήριξης των αποφοίτων των Επαγγελματικών Λυκείων (ΕΠΑΛ), τόσο όσον αφορά τις εργασιακές συνθήκες (σύμβαση, ασφάλιση, δικαιώματα κ.λπ.) όσο και το περιεχόμενο της εργασίας - Μαθητείας. Οι απόφοιτοι – μαθητευόμενοι διατηρούν την επαφή τους με το σχολείο και έτσι οι εκπαιδευτικοί έχουν τη δυνατότητα, αξιοποιώντας τις βιωματικές εμπειρίες των αποφοίτων από την εργασία, να αναδείξουν μία εκδοχή της παιδαγωγικής της αντίστασης και ένα ακόμη «εργαλείο» χειραφέτησης του κόσμου της εργασίας, ή τουλάχιστον να διαδραματίσουν καταλυτικό ρόλο στην αξιοπρεπή και με απαιτήσεις πρώτη επαφή των νέων με την εργασία. Να τους βοηθήσουν, εν τέλει, να διεκδικούν, ατομικά και συλλογικά, μια άλλη θέση του εργαζόμενου στην οικονομία, να αμφισβητούν το νεοφιλελευθερισμό και τον τεχνοκαπιταλισμό, και να διαμορφώσουν έναν άλλο συσχετισμό υπέρ της εργασίας. Οι προκλήσεις είναι σημαντικές και για το λόγο αυτό απαιτείται αλληλοϋποστήριξη εκπαιδευτικών και συνεργασία με εξωτερικές δομές υποστήριξης. Ο πλήρης και γραφειοκρατικός έλεγχος του Ελληνικού σχολείου από τα πάνω, η επακόλουθη έλλειψη κουλτούρας συστηματικής συνεργασίας και η χρόνια απομόνωση της εκπαίδευσης από το κοινωνικό της περιβάλλον έχουν περιορίσει την ικανότητα του σχολείου να συνεργάζεται. Γι αυτό, αναδεικνύεται η ανάγκη σημαντικών πρωτοβουλιών κυρίως από τα κάτω, με την αξιοποίηση παραδοσιακών και σύγχρονων τρόπων επικοινωνίας και συνεργασίας. Η εργασία αυτή αφορά την ενεργοποίηση κοινοτήτων γνώσης από τους εκπαιδευτικούς που διδάσκουν σε δομές Μαθητείας, με βασικό στόχο την αλλαγή και όχι την αναπαραγωγή του επιχειρηματικού προτύπου. Το άρθρο αυτό προτείνει τη μελέτη και τη μοντελοποίηση ολοκληρωμένων μεθόδων επικοινωνίας - συνεργασίας, με την αξιοποίηση συνδυασμών παραδοσιακών και ψηφιακών μέσων που θα δομούν εναλλακτικές και σύγχρονες κοινότητες γνώσης, υποστηριζόμενη από δίκτυα εκτός της εκπαιδευτικής κοινότητας (συνδικάτα, στελέχη συμβουλευτικής και επαγγελματικού προσανατολισμού, ψυχολόγους, κοινωνιολόγους, έμπειρους επαγγελματίες, γονείς κ.λπ.).

### Λέξεις κλειδιά

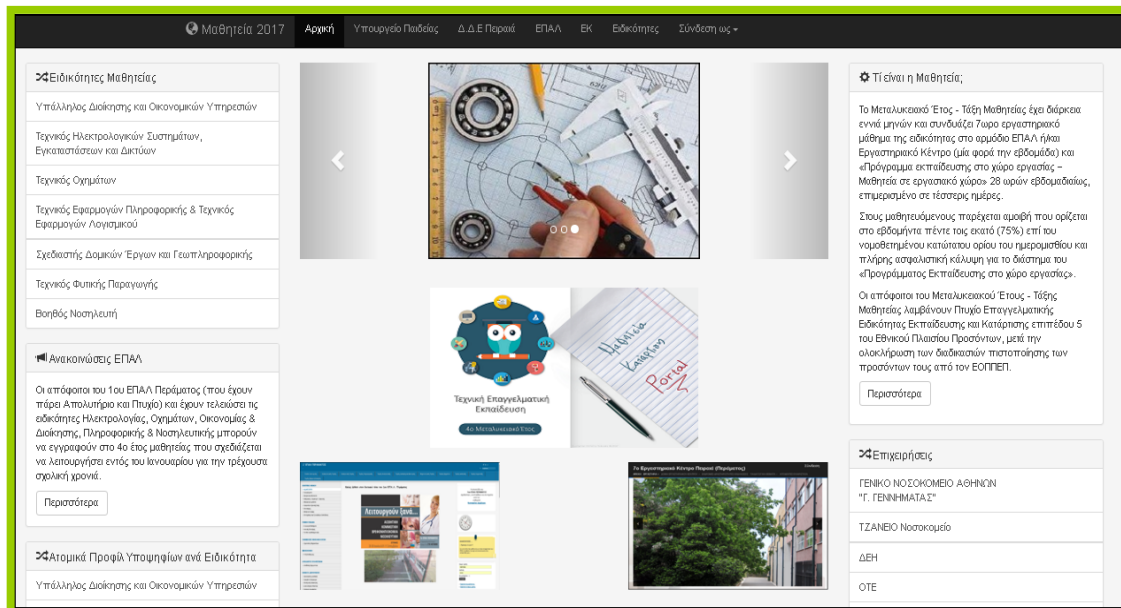
Μαθητεία, Κοινωνικές Δομές Υποστήριξης, Εκπαιδευτική Κοινότητα, Τεχνολόγος Εκπαιδευτικός, Επαγγελματική Εκπαίδευση και Κατάρτιση, Εναλλακτικοί Τρόποι Μάθησης.



**Εισαγωγή: σκοπός της αξιοποίησης ψηφιακών τεχνικών και τεχνολογιών διαδικτύου για τη δόμηση ομαδοσυνεργατικών εναλλακτικών στρατηγικών που αφορούν το 4<sup>ο</sup> έτος Μαθητείας της ΕΕΚ**

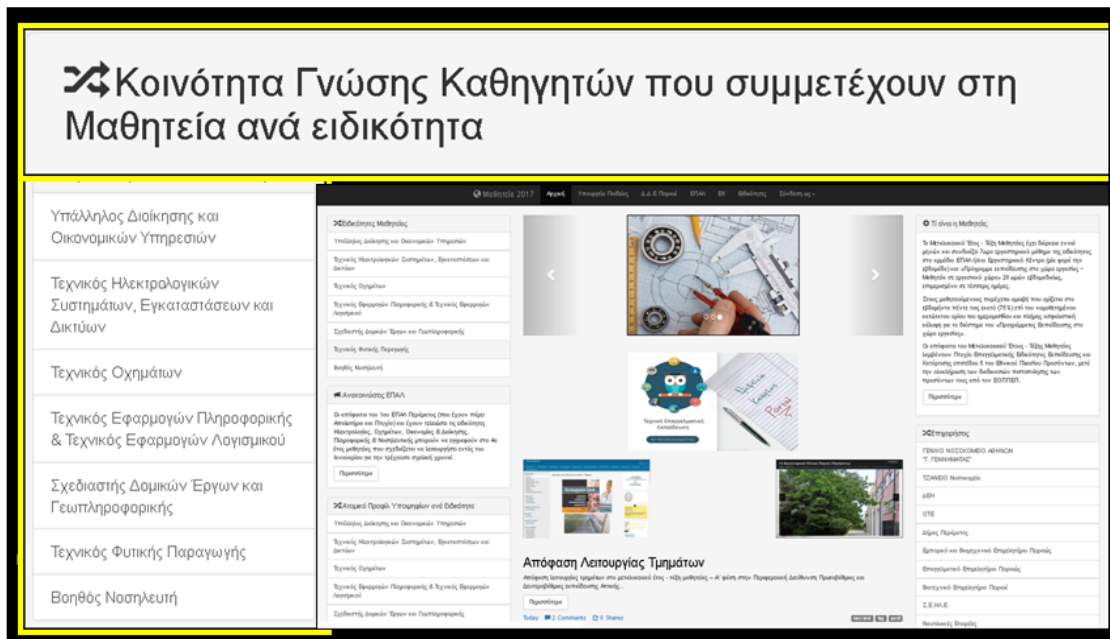
Σκοπός του άρθρου αυτού είναι να συμβάλει στον πολιτικό, κοινωνικό και επιστημονικό επαναπροσανατολισμό του εκπαιδευτικού της Επαγγελματικής Εκπαίδευσης και Κατάρτισης (ΕΕΚ) που διδάσκει σε δομές Μαθητείας (4<sup>ο</sup> Μεταλυκειακό έτος) ώστε να αξιοποιήσει τα διαδικτυακά ομαδοσυνεργατικά ψηφιακά σενάρια και εργαλεία των τεχνολογιών διαδικτύου υπέρ του κόσμου της εργασίας, ως εργαλεία συλλογικής δράσης στη σύγχρονη εποχή. Πολιτικά πειράματα ανάλογων πρακτικών αντλούν από τις δυνατότητες αυτών των νέων κοινωνικο-τεχνικών δομών προκειμένου να παράγουν μαζικές διαδικασίες συμμετοχής και συζητήσεις (Terranova 2014). Η συγκεκριμένη στρατηγική έχει προταθεί και αναπτυχθεί τα τελευταία χρόνια ως εφαρμογή μιας ερευνητικής διεργασίας που εμπλέκει μια σειρά από φορείς αυτοεκπαίδευσης μετά-αυτονομιστικής έμπνευσης («ελεύθερα» πανεπιστήμια που διοργανώνουν δημόσια σεμινάρια, συνέδρια, εργαστήρια κ.λπ.) και αγγλόφωνων κοινωνικών δικτύων διανοουμένων και ερευνητών που ασχολούνται με τη θεωρία και την πρακτική των ψηφιακών μέσων, σε επίσημη διασύνδεση με πανεπιστημιακά ιδρύματα και ερευνητικά κέντρα, καθώς επίσης και με καλλιτέχνες, ακτιβιστές και λοιπούς επαγγελματίες. Όλες αυτές οι ομάδες δραστηριοποιούνται στον τομέα διερεύνησης αυτού του ρευστού γνωστικού πεδίου που αφορά τις εναλλακτικές κοινωνικές παρεμβάσεις αξιοποιώντας τις νέες τεχνολογίες (<http://www.euronomade.info>, <http://www.commonware.org>, <http://quaderni.sanprecario.info>, κ.α.). Το βασικό στοίχημα που θέτουν αυτές οι όμορες στρατηγικές αφορά το κατά πόσο ο προσανατολισμός των νέων τεχνολογιών θα τείνει στην ενδυνάμωση της κοινωνικής συνεργασίας και αλληλεγγύης και όχι στην κατεύθυνση της συσσώρευσης χρήματος σε δομές νεοφιλελευθερισμού (Terranova, 2004). Για να προσδιορισθούν οι πραγματικές ανάγκες πληροφόρησης θα πρέπει να εξετάζονται λαμβάνοντας υπόψη ένα σύνολο κοινωνικών παραγόντων και όχι να γίνεται η απλή καταγραφή τους με βραχυπρόθεσμα κριτήρια της αγοράς. Στη συνέχεια, οι τεχνολογικές καινοτομίες, η σχεδιασμένη επικοινωνιακή πολιτική, οι υπόλοιπες πολιτικές και οικονομικές αποφάσεις θα πρέπει να διαμορφώνονται έτσι ώστε να ικανοποιούν τις παραπάνω ανάγκες (Haloran, 1986).

Το μοντέλο δράσης που προτείνουμε είναι μια εκδοχή διαδικτυακού ομαδοσυνεργατικού περιβάλλοντος. Μία πρώτη εκδοχή λειτουργεί εντός του σχολικού δικτύου (<http://www.sch.gr/>) σε ένα portal σχετικό με το 4ο έτος Μαθητείας στην διεύθυνση [http://kotsifakos.mysch.gr/latest\\_site/portal/](http://kotsifakos.mysch.gr/latest_site/portal/), (Εικόνα 1).



**Εικόνα 1: Διαδικτυακό portal για το πρόγραμμα της Μαθητείας**

Στο άρθρο παρουσιάζουμε και μελετάμε τους όρους δόμησης μίας διαδικτυακής κοινότητας γνώσης. Η κοινότητα αυτή προσφέρει μία εθελοντική υπηρεσία κοινωνικής δικτύωσης (Social Network Service, SNS) κλειστού τύπου και αφορά μία ειδική ομάδα, όσους δηλαδή με κάποιον τρόπο εμπλέκονται στο 4<sup>ο</sup> Έτος Μαθητείας (εκπαιδευτές, μαθητευόμενοι, σχολικοί σύμβουλοι, έμπειροι τεχνίτες, εκπαιδευτές των εταιρειών κ.λπ.), (Εικόνα 2).



**Εικόνα 2: Ενεργοί σύνδεσμοι της Κοινότητας Γνώσης Καθηγητών για το προτεινόμενο διαδικτυακό ομαδοσυνεργατικό περιβάλλον**





Οι SNS χρησιμοποιούνται τα τελευταία χρόνια ευρέως ως επικοινωνιακά εργαλεία για διάφορους σκοπούς (Osakaetal. 2017). Στην γενικότερη αποτύπωσή τους οι SNS βασίζονται στις ατομικές δραστηριότητες των χρηστών που συνδέονται μεταξύ τους χωρίς να είναι καθορισμένα τα ακριβή κίνητρα συμμετοχής και μπορούμε να υποστηρίξουμε ότι το προσομοιάζουν με τα “κοινά” (Bollier, 2016). Το βασικό κίνητρο συμμετοχής στις SNS επικεντρώνεται στο ότι οι εθελοντικές δραστηριότητες αναδύονται ως βέλτιστη στρατηγική για τις κοινωνικές ομάδες που εμπλέκονται. Για τη δική μας στρατηγική, το βασικό κίνητρο στο οποίο στοχεύουμε για την υλοποίηση αυτής της δικτύωσης είναι η αμοιβαιότητα και η αλληλεγγύη μεταξύ των χρηστών, με δεδομένο ότι η αμοιβαιότητα είναι ένας βασικός μηχανισμός που εξελίσσεται και διατηρεί τη συνεργασία εντός της κοινωνίας. Επιπλέον, θεωρούμε ότι οι ομαδοσυνεργατικές συμπεριφορές είναι βασικές και αναγκαίες σε περιβάλλοντα όπως αυτό της ΕΕΚ.

Η ενδυνάμωση και η προετοιμασία των νέων μεσαίων τεχνικών και στελεχών παραγωγής αντιμετωπίζει σήμερα σημαντικές προκλήσεις γιατί ως ανθρώπινο κεφάλαιο θα καλύψει τις μελλοντικές θέσεις εργασίας (Hillier, 2009). Η ίδια η φύση της γνώσης που πρέπει να εσωτερικευθεί από τους μαθητευόμενους, οι οριζόντιες δεξιότητες οι οποίες πρέπει να κατακτηθούν, οι τρόποι διδασκαλίας και οι δραστηριότητες των μαθημάτων της ΕΕΚ αφορούν, μη περιοριστικά, τη σχεδίαση, την κατασκευή ή τη χρήση ειδικών εργαλείων και τη βελτιστοποίηση υπαρχόντων τεχνολογιών (Mavrikios et al., 2013). Στο πεδίο της ΕΕΚ υπάγεται και ο ορίζοντας υλοποίησης ή εκσυγχρονισμού των εφαρμογών που αφορά το σύνολο των πραγμάτων που επινοήθηκαν, κατασκευάστηκαν ή χρησιμοποιήθηκαν, συμπεριλαμβανομένων των αναγκών και των σκοπών που εξυπηρετούν (Brahha and Maimon, 1997). Το σύνολο των διευθετήσεων και των επινοήσεων που περιγράφεται με τον όρο τεχνική (Hubka et al., 2012) έχει ως βάση διάφορους γνωσιοπαραγωγικούς τομείς εφαρμογής, όπως ένα σταθμό τηλεπικοινωνιών, μία συσκευή επικοινωνίας τελευταίας γενιάς, μηχανισμούς παραγωγής υψηλών συχνοτήτων, σταθμούς ραντάρ, εργαλεία και πρωτόκολλα επικοινωνιών, και σύγχρονα εργαλεία αναμετάδοσης της πληροφορίας στην τεχνική και βιομηχανική παραγωγή (Fujigaki, 1998; Bourdieu, 1975). Στην κοινωνία μας, παρ’ όλες τις προσπάθειες υιοθέτησης του ατομισμού από την πλευρά του νεοφιλελευθερισμού, ιδιαιτέρως κατά τον 20<sup>ο</sup> αιώνα (Higgs, 2016), στο σύνολό τους οι πολίτες τείνουν να συνεργάζονται μεταξύ τους (Takano et al., 2016). Αυτό που απαιτείται επομένως σε αυτή τη φάση για να υποστηριχθούν οι θεσμοί της ΕΕΚ είναι να αφομοιωθούν οι ψηφιακοί μηχανισμοί που θα εξασφαλίζουν τη συνεργασία σε κοινότητες γνώσης, όπως αυτήν που προτείνουμε, ώστε οι συμμετέχοντες να συμβάλλουν ως δημιουργοί στην μαθησιακή και ενταξιακή συνεργασία που αφορά τους μαθητευόμενους του 4ου έτους Μαθητείας.

Οι πρόσφατες μεταρρυθμιστικές εκπαιδευτικές στρατηγικές στο χώρο της ΕΕΚ οδήγησαν στη νομοθέτηση του 4ου Μεταλυκειακού έτους Μαθητείας για τους απόφοιτους των ΕΠΑΛ, προβλέποντας βασικές ρυθμίσεις προστασίας τους στην





πρώτη είσοδό τους στην εργασία, οι οποίες όμως προϋποθέτουν ενεργό υποστήριξη από τους εκπαιδευτικούς. Μέσω αυτής της εξέλιξης διαμορφώνονται όχι μόνο νέα ήθη εργατικού δικαίου αλλά και νέες προκλήσεις για τους εκπαιδευτικούς που θα πρέπει να αναδιοργανώσουν τα γνωσιακά και επικοινωνιακά τους χαρακτηριστικά και πρότυπα, ώστε να αναδείξουν στοιχεία πολιτικής και κοινωνικής συνεργασίας και αλληλεγγύης εντός και εκτός της σχολικής μονάδας. Οι τελευταίες μεταρρυθμιστικές εξελίξεις και το νομοθετικό πλαίσιο για τη Μαθητεία δίνουν την δυνατότητα να προαχθεί η παιδαγωγική και κοινωνική δράση του εκπαιδευτικού ώστε να εφαρμοστεί το αντικείμενο της διδασκαλίας του σε πιο εκτεταμένα μαθησιακά περιβάλλοντα από αυτό της σχολικής τάξης. Περιβάλλοντα τα οποία περιλαμβάνουν νέες προκλήσεις και δυσκολίες, τις οποίες ο εκπαιδευτικός δεν μπορεί πάντοτε να αντιμετωπίσει μόνος του, όπως συμβαίνει σε συνθήκες παραδοσιακής διδασκαλίας. Έτσι, οδηγούμαστε στην ανάγκη δημιουργίας μιας εναλλακτικής κοινότητας γνώσης και σε μία νέα μοντελοποίηση ψηφιακών εργαλείων που θα την δομήσουν αρχικά. Κεντρική θέση του άρθρου είναι ότι χωρίς τους περιορισμούς που θέτει η άκριτη αποδοχή των δομών του τεχνοκαπιταλισμού και χωρίς την αυταπάτη των συμμετοχικών ψευδαισθήσεων, οι συνεργατικές κοινότητες γνώσης των εκπαιδευτικών και των εξωτερικών συνεργατών τους (πχ συνδικάτα, επιστημονικοί φορείς κ.λπ.), αν εφαρμοστούν σε προοδευτική κατεύθυνση, μπορεί να αποτελέσουν μία εναλλακτική προοπτική ενάντια στον νεοφιλελευθερισμό. Οργανώνοντας μία εκδοχή της παιδαγωγικής της αντίστασης προσθέτουν ένα ακόμη «εργαλείο» χειραφέτησης για τον κόσμο της εργασίας, ιδιαίτερα σήμερα που η Ελληνική κοινωνία βιώνει μια πρωτοφανή κοινωνική και οικονομική κρίση που επιδρά σε όλους τους τομείς. Η Ελλάδα έχει υποβληθεί σε έναν μακρύ κατάλογο αξιώσεων και αναγωγών, όπου το χρέος και το έλλειμμα διαμορφώνουν όχι μόνο την κατάσταση της οικονομίας αλλά και την ηθική στάση του λαού (Douzinas, 2013). Ειδικότερα για την εκπαίδευση οι όροι μάθησης της νέας γενιάς αλλά και της εργασιακής ένταξής της αποτυπώνουν απαισιόδοξους δείκτες και προοπτικές. Απαιτούνται λοιπόν σχέδια παρέμβασης (και όχι απλά συνθήματα), τα οποία θα συμβάλουν στην ανατροπή της αρνητικής κατάστασης, λαμβάνοντας πάντοτε ακόμη και την, για πολλούς ακραία, άποψη ότι «για να γίνει η εκπαίδευση εργαλείο μετασχηματισμού θα πρέπει η τάξη που βρίσκεται στην εξουσία να αυτοκτονήσει. Θα πρέπει να εγκαταλείψει την εξουσία της στην κοινωνία, συμπεριλαμβανομένης της εποπτείας των σχολείων» (Γρόλλιος, 2014: 315). Σήμερα, αν ενισχυθούν οι δυνάμεις της οργανωμένης δράσης του εκπαιδευτικού και του ευρύτερου κινήματος, υπάρχουν πολλά περιθώρια παρέμβασης, λόγω της ιστορικά διαμορφωμένης έλλειψης ορθολογικής οργάνωσης της κοινωνίας, της οικονομίας και συνακόλουθα της εκπαίδευσης. Ορατά πεδία δράσης είναι η αντίσταση στην υπερεξειδίκευση της επαγγελματικής εκπαίδευσης και στον κατακερματισμό της γνώσης, τα οποία δομούν έναν ευάλωτο εργαζόμενο, όπως και η βελτίωση του εργασιακού προτύπου που έχει κυριαρχήσει κατά τα χρόνια της κρίσης με την επιδείνωση των συνθηκών εργασίας κλπ. Το ενδεχόμενο



των συνεργατικών κοινωνικών επιχειρήσεων αποφοίτων εμποτίζει την κριτική παιδαγωγική με την προοπτική μιας άλλης εργασιακής και επιχειρηματικής αναζήτησης. Οι δομές Μαθητείας υποστηριζόμενες από τους εκπαιδευτικούς και από το εκπαιδευτικό κίνημα θα πρέπει να συμβάλλουν στην διαδικασία «απομάγευσης» της εργασιακής ένταξης των μαθητών και να υποστηρίξουν την αξιοπρεπή και με απαιτήσεις είσοδό τους στην αγορά εργασίας. Σύμφωνα με τις αρχές διδασκαλίας του Freire που επικαλούνται οι θεωρητικοί της εναλλακτικής παιδαγωγικής (Γρόλλιος, 2014: 318), οι εκπαιδευτικοί πρέπει να έχουν ολοκληρωμένες γνώσεις για το πεδίο διδασκαλίας τους καθώς μέσω της Μαθητείας και των μαθητών τους «μαθαίνουν» από την πραγματικότητα των χώρων εργασίας. Υποστηρίζουμε ότι αυτή η «ειδικού τύπου γνώση» που προκύπτει από την σύνδεση με τους εργασιακούς χώρους θα μπορούσε να επιδράσει και να λειτουργήσει πολλαπλασιαστικά σε όλες τις δομές ΕΕΚ και σε όλες τις τάξεις του ΕΠΑΛ.

Επιστρέφοντας στην μεθοδολογία της εναλλακτικής παιδαγωγικής (Γρόλλιος, 2014: 319), οι κριτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί θα πρέπει να σκέφτονται μαζί με τις λαϊκές τάξεις και τα προβλήματά τους, μερικά από τα οποία αφορούν τις καταστάσεις που βιώνονται στους χώρους εργασίας. Για την εκπαιδευτική πραγματικότητα του δημόσιου σχολείου είναι πλέον δεδομένο πως χωρίς διάλογο δεν υπάρχει επικοινωνία και χωρίς επικοινωνία δεν υπάρχει αληθινή παιδεία (Ζυγούρη, 2014: 441). Θεωρούμε ότι εργαζόμαστε εντός των πλαισίων της κριτικής παιδαγωγικής όταν θέτουμε σε λειτουργία μηχανισμούς που επιχειρούν την προσέγγιση του σχολείου με τον κόσμο της εργασίας ως μέσο διαπαιδαγώγησης (Γρόλλιος, 2014: 325-326). Το σημαντικότερο για την εκπαιδευτική και παιδαγωγική διαδικασία των μαθητευόμενων που συμμετέχουν στο 4<sup>ο</sup> έτος είναι η αποκατάσταση της επιστημολογικής σχέσης στην άσκηση των ικανοτήτων τους και η απόδοση της πρακτικής γνώσης (Χριστίδη, 2014: 1312) καθώς η γενικευμένη και όχι εξειδικευμένη μαθητεία βοηθούν σε ικανότητα αναγνώρισης πολλαπλών καταστάσεων που θα κληθεί να αντιμετωπίσει ο σημερινός μαθητευόμενος ως αυριανός εργαζόμενος (Χριστίδη, 2014: 1319).

### **Νεοφιλελευθερισμός: η επίδραση του στον κοινωνικό ιστό και στο χώρο της εκπαίδευσης**

Στην εισαγωγική του ομιλία του στο VII Διεθνές Συνέδριο Κριτικής Εκπαίδευσης (International Conference on Critical Education, ICCE 2017 <http://icce-vii.weebly.com/>) στην Αθήνα ο David Hill, καθηγητής του Πανεπιστημίου του Μίντλσεξ στο Λονδίνο (<http://www.documentonews.gr/article/oneofile-leytherismos-eisballei-se-sxoleia-kai-Panepisthmia>) τόνισε χαρακτηριστικά: – «Είναι η πρώτη φορά στην ιστορία των κοινωνικών συγκρούσεων που η επίθεση προς το κατώτερα κοινωνικά στρώματα γίνεται τόσο έντονα και τόσο βίαια οργανωμένα από τα «πάνω», με ένα πολιτικό πρόγραμμα που ασκείται στην Ευρώπη αλλά και διεθνώς και έχει την ιδεολογική σφραγίδα του νεοφιλελευθερισμού. Ο Hill μαζί με άλλους θεωρητικούς της κριτικής παιδαγωγικής έχει επισημάνει πολύ νωρίτερα τις

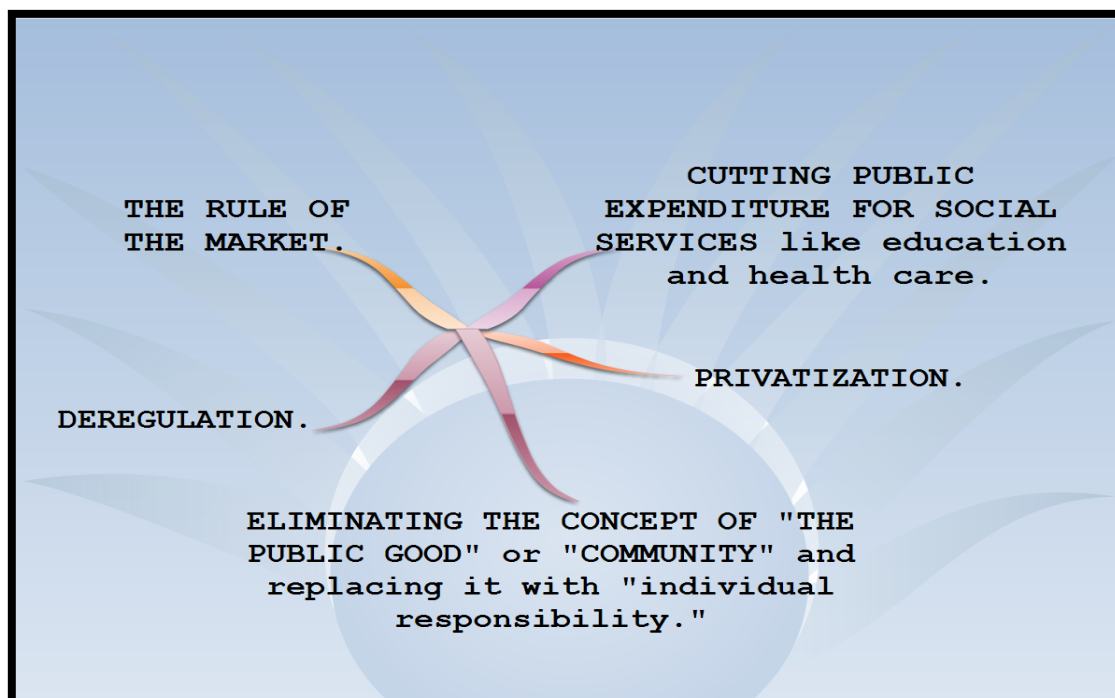


καταστροφικές συνέπειες του νεοφιλελευθερισμού στην εκπαίδευση και την ανάγκη να αναπτυχθεί ο αγώνας των εκπαιδευτικών ενάντια στις πολιτικές αποδόμησής της (Hill, 2009; 2011; 2012).

Μία από τις πρώτες έγκυρες καταγραφές των επιπτώσεων του νεοφιλελευθερισμού στον κοινωνικό ιστό έχει γίνει από τους ακτιβιστές Elizabeth Martinez και Arnoldo Garcia (1997) στο άρθρο τους «What is Neoliberalism? A Brief Definition for Activists». Εκεί οι συγγραφείς αναφέρουν συγκεκριμένα τα πέντε σημεία που ο νεοφιλελευθερισμός προσδιορίζει ως κεντρικά σημεία στόχευσης (Εικόνα 3). Τα πέντε αυτά σημεία αφορούν:

- 1] Τον κανόνα λειτουργίας σύμφωνα με τους νόμους της αγοράς (rule of the market), με βασικό αλλά αναπόδεικτο στην πράξη επιχείρημα ότι «μια άναρχη αγορά που θα αυξήσει την οικονομική ανάπτυξη, τελικά θα ωφελήσει όλους».
- 2] Τον σχεδιασμένο περιορισμό των δημόσιων δαπανών για τις κοινωνικές υπηρεσίες που αφορά κυρίως την εκπαίδευση (Duflo, 2012) και την υγειονομική περίθαλψη.
- 3] Τη μείωση όποιων κυβερνητικών ρυθμίσεων απειλούν ότι να περιορίσουν τα κέρδη, ή τις δράσεις που απειλούν την προστασία του περιβάλλοντος ή την ασφάλεια στην εργασία (deregulation).
- 4] Την προώθηση των ιδιωτικοποιήσεων (privatization) μέσω της παραχώρησης των κρατικών επιχειρήσεων, αγαθών και υπηρεσιών, συμπεριλαμβανομένης της εκπαίδευσης σε ιδιώτες επενδυτές.
- 5] Τον περιορισμό της έννοιας του «Δημόσιου αγαθού» ή της «κοινότητας» (Eliminating the concept of the public good or community) και την αντικατάστασή τους με την έννοια της «ατομικής ευθύνης». Με αυτόν τον τρόπο πιέζονται οι χαμηλότερες κοινωνικές τάξεις να αναζητήσουν ατομικές λύσεις για την έλλειψη υγειονομικής περίθαλψης, εκπαίδευσης και κοινωνικής ασφάλισης, αναλαμβάνοντας κάθε ευθύνη σε περίπτωση αποτυχίας.

Πέρα από τους Martinez και Garcia αρκετοί διανοούμενοι της κριτικής θεωρίας και της κριτικής παιδαγωγικής έχουν περιγράψει την ισοπέδωση και τη διάλυση του «κεϋνσιανικού» κράτους πρόνοιας που επιχειρεί ο νεοφιλελευθερισμός. Μία σειρά σύγχρονων θεωρητικών σχολών (Cole, 1998; Rikowski, 2001α, 2001β), και θεωρητικών της κριτικής παιδαγωγικής (McLaren, 2000) έχουν αμφισβητήσει τις επιταγές της νεοφιλελεύθερης αγοράς. Πρόσφατα, ο Χένρι Ζιρού (Henry Giroux) επισήμανε πως ο νεοφιλελευθερισμός έχει πλέον αποτυπωθεί ως μία ιδεολογία που χαρακτηρίζεται από την πεποίθηση ότι η συσσώρευση του πλούτου είναι η ουσία της δημοκρατίας και ότι η κατανάλωση είναι ο μοναδικός ρόλος του πολίτη (Giroux, 2017). Το χειρότερο για την παιδεία, πάντα κατά τον Giroux, είναι ότι τα νεοφιλελεύθερα σχέδια δεν έχουν καμία σχέση με τη διαμόρφωση κριτικά στοχαστικών νέων ανθρώπων που θα αναγνωρίζουν τις δυνατότητές τους, την ακεραιότητά τους και τις προοπτικές τους.



Εικόνα 3: Η αποτύπωση των νεοφιλελεύθερων πολιτικών στην κοινωνία και την εκπαίδευση.

Για τους μαθητές το μόνο πράγμα που έχει σημασία για τον νεοφιλελευθερισμό είναι οι εξετάσεις. Με αυτές τις κατευθύνσεις προωθείται η πολιτική και ιδεολογική συμμόρφωση, ενώ αγνοούνται βασικά προβλήματα όπως η ανισότητα, η φτώχεια και ο ρατσισμός. Ουσιαστικά πρόκειται για μία συστηματική πολιτική που επιχειρεί να επιβεβαιώσει ότι η παιδεία θα έχει σημασία μόνο για την ελίτ (Giroux, 2005).

### **Τεχνοκαπιταλισμός: ιδεολογικές αφετηρίες και η σύνδεση με τον νεοφιλελευθερισμό**

Θεωρούμε ότι είναι αναγκαίο στην ανάλυσή μας να λαμβάνεται υπόψη η κλασική μαρξιστική άποψη για τη σύνδεση της ανάπτυξης των παραγωγικών δυνάμεων με τις κοινωνικές σχέσεις, αλλά και οι σύγχρονες απόψεις για αυτήν τη σύνδεση που προσθέτουν την έννοια της σχετικότητας, της αβεβαιότητας και των πολλαπλών παραγόντων οι οποίοι επηρεάζουν αυτήν τη σύνδεση (Higgs, 2016). Επίσης, για να προσεγγίσουμε την έννοια του τεχνοκαπιταλισμού θα χρειαστεί αρχικά να κάνουμε φραστικές αναγωγές σε σημαντικά ιστορικά, επιστημονικά και πολιτικά κείμενα (Miliotis et al., 2002). Ο χώρος του διαδικτύου στον οποίο κυριαρχεί η διαχείριση δεδομένων με διανυσματική μορφή (ανυσματική διαχείριση – vector information management), εμφανίζεται ως καταγιστικός και διαρκώς συσσωρεύσιμος «σωρός» από bit(s) και bytes, πακέτα που διασπώνται και επανενώνονται, με πολλαπλές δυνατότητες αξιοποίησης από τον τελικό χρήστη κάθε ξεχωριστής πληροφορίας η οποία συγκροτείται και εμφανίζεται τελικά σαν στοιχειώδης μορφή ενός ενιαίου



όλου σε κάποιο περιβάλλον που έχει επιλέξει ο χρήστης. Γι' αυτό η έρευνά μας θα πρέπει να αρχίζει με την ανάλυση της πληροφορίας. Για να προσεγγίσουμε όμως αυτού του τύπου τη στοιχειώδη μορφή της πληροφορίας, θα πρέπει αφενός να συνδέσουμε τη χρήση της με την ενδεχομενικότητά της, και αφετέρου την συσχέτισή της με τις δομές που ανήκει, καθώς και με τη διαχείριση αυτών των δομών. Στον τεράστιο «πληροφοριακό» και «γνωσιακό» πλούτο που διακινείται καθημερινά στους κόμβους του διαδικτύου, κυριαρχεί η ανυσματική διαχείριση του υλικού και εμφανίζεται στον μέσο χρήστη ένας "τρομακτικός σωρός πληροφοριών" άσχετα από τη στοιχειώδη μορφή της μεμονωμένης πληροφορίας. Ως εκ τούτου η έρευνά μας θα πρέπει να εξετάζει την ανάλυση της πληροφορίας, αλλά και τη διακίνησή της (Gleick, 2012). Με ποιον τρόπο επιτυγχάνεται αυτή η μεταφορά; Αν θελήσουμε να αναζητήσουμε τον συνεκτικό ιστό μεταβίβασης της πληροφορίας, θα πρέπει να προσφύγουμε στην οργανωτική δομή των δικτύων υπολογιστών, το μοντέλο αναφοράς OSI (Open Systems Interconnection model, μοντέλο Ανοικτής Διασύνδεσης Συστημάτων), στο TCP πρωτόκολλο (Transmission Control Protocol - Πρωτόκολλο Ελέγχου Μεταφοράς), καθώς και στο πρωτόκολλο IP (Internet Protocol). Αυτά είναι σε βασικές γραμμές τα πρωτόκολλα επικοινωνίας στα οποία βασίζεται η διακίνηση των πληροφοριών στο διαδίκτυο. Η σύνθεση αυτών των πρωτοκόλλων και η επεξεργασία πιο σύνθετων τεχνολογιών διαδικτύου διαμορφώνει ένα είδος «κοινωνικής κυβερνητικής» που είναι σε θέση να συνθέσει τόσο την ισορροπία όσο και την εμφάνιση των πληροφοριών που «καταναλώνει» ο χρήστης. Με βάση αυτές τις δομές λειτουργιών διαμορφώνεται μια νέα δυναμική πραγματικότητα που συνδέει την τεχνολογία, τη φύση και τις ανθρώπινες δραστηριότητες (Bratton, 2014). Το διαδίκτυο αποτελείται εξίσου από κοινωνικά, ανθρώπινα και «αναλογικά» στρώματα (χθόνιες πηγές ενέργειας, χειρονομίες, επιρροές του χρήστη, διασυνδέσεις, συστήματα επαφής, πόλεις και δρόμους, δωμάτια και κτήρια, οργανικούς και ανόργανους φακέλους), ενημερωτικά, μη αντιληπτά από τον άνθρωπο υπολογιστικά και «ψηφιακά» στρώματα (καλώδια πολλαπλών οπτικών ινών, κέντρα δεδομένων, βάσεις δεδομένων, πρότυπα δεδομένων και πρωτοκόλλων, δίκτυα αστικής κλίμακας, ενσωματωμένα συστήματα, καθολικούς πίνακες οδήγησης των πακέτων κ.α.) (Terranova, 2014).

Βασικό χαρακτηριστικό της πληροφορίας είναι ότι συσσωρεύεται με την πάροδο του χρόνου και δεν εξαντλείται όπως οι περισσότεροι πόροι. Αντίθετα, όσο περισσότεροι την καταναλώνουν, τόσο μεγαλύτερη είναι η διάδοσή της και ανάλογα μεγαλώνει η ανάγκη για ανανέωσή της. Αυτό όμως συμβαίνει μέχρι κάποιο όριο, καθώς στη συνέχεια παρατηρούνται φαινόμενα απαξίωσης της γνώσης και δημιουργία «θορύβου» (Melody, 1994). Στην τεχνική πληροφόρηση, συναντάται παραδοσιακά η υπερπροσφορά περιεχομένου. Αυτό οφείλεται βέβαια σε αντικειμενικούς παράγοντες όπως είναι η εξέλιξη της τεχνολογίας. Όμως, σημαντική επίδραση στην υπερπληροφόρηση εξασκούν ο ανταγωνισμός προϊόντων και υπηρεσιών και οι μέθοδοι marketing με αποτέλεσμα φαινόμενα επαναληψιμότητας, αναξιοπιστίας αλλά και πολλές φορές αντικρουόμενης





πληροφόρησης (Allen, 1977). Αυτά τα φαινόμενα έχουν ενταθεί δραματικά από την εντεινόμενη εμπορευματοποίηση του διαδικτύου, αλλά και των υπόλοιπων μέσων επικοινωνίας.

Αν η πληροφορία αντιμετωπιστεί ως εμπόρευμα, αποτελεί καταρχάς εξωτερικό αντικείμενο, το οποίο ικανοποιεί δια των ιδιοτήτων του πραγματικές ή επιβαλλόμενες ανάγκες, άμεσα ως μέσο συντήρησης και αναπαραγωγής, ή διαμεσολαβημένα, ως ίδιον μέσο παραγωγής. Κάθε τέτοιο «πράγμα – εμπόρευμα» είναι ένα όλον, μια οντότητα πολλών ιδιοτήτων και ως εκ τούτου δύναται να είναι από διάφορες πλευρές χρήσιμο. Η ανακάλυψη αυτών των «διαφόρων πλευρών» και οι πολυποίκιλοι τρόποι χρήσης των πραγμάτων – εμπορευμάτων είναι πράξη της ιστορίας (Μαρξ, 1991). Η αντίληψη για την πληροφορία ως «αγαθού» φωτίζει τον τρόπο που αντιλαμβανόμαστε τη διακίνηση των εμπορευμάτων και των υπηρεσιών στις μέρες μας. Η διερεύνηση των συναλλαγών και ο ρόλος του χρήματος ως κρυστάλλωση της αξίας με την υλική του έννοια είναι κεντρική για το πώς λειτουργεί το οικονομικό σύστημα σήμερα και ισχύει για όλα τα εμπορεύματα αδιακρίτως (DeBrunhoff, 2016). Προφανώς, η πληροφορία θα πρέπει να εξεταστεί και από την άποψη των κοινών, ως αγαθό το οποίο αποτελεί αποτέλεσμα συσσωρευμένης κοινωνικής γνώσης, άρα απαιτείται ο κάθε πολίτης να έχει δυνατότητα πρόσβασης και επαναχρησιμοποίησης, με κάποιους συγκεκριμένους κανόνες (Bollier, 2016). Οι παραπάνω προσεγγίσεις της πληροφορίας, είτε ως εμπόρευμα είτε ως κοινό αγαθό, απαιτεί πολλαπλές διαδικασίες βελτίωσης της ποιότητάς της, η οποία συνίσταται στη δυνατότητα πρόσβασης και αξιοποίησής της. Η εναλλακτική προσέγγιση αναζητά ψηφιακούς ή υβριδικούς τρόπους (συνδυασμός ψηφιακής επικοινωνίας με δια ζώσης ή/και εκπαίδευση χρηστών) ώστε η πληροφορία να είναι προσβάσιμη από τον κάθε πολίτη ο οποίος θα μπορεί να διακρίνει την αξία της ανάμεσα στην ποικιλία των πληροφοριακών σκουπιδιών, της διασποράς ψευδών ειδήσεων και της κατευθυνόμενης πληροφόρησης.

Ωστόσο, για τους εκπαιδευτικούς της αντίστασης και των εναλλακτικών λύσεων είναι σημαντικό να αντιληφθούν ότι ο τεχνοκαπιταλισμός ως νεοφιλελεύθερο ιδεολογικό αφήγημα και ως οικονομικό παράδειγμα έχει επιβληθεί και σαρώνει το χώρο των επικοινωνιών – και όχι μόνο αυτόν – τα τελευταία είκοσι χρόνια (Πατέλη, 2017). Με βάση αυτήν την επιβολή, η ιδέα ότι η ψηφιακή τεχνολογία ενσαρκώνει τα πρότυπα της ελεύθερης αγοράς έχει εδραιωθεί στο παρασκήνιο της πάσης φύσεως ψηφιακής τεχνολογίας. Αυτό είναι σημαντικό γιατί πλέον σε αντίθεση με τις μάχες που δίνονται με τη χρήση βίας, η ηγεμονία σε συνθήκες νεοφιλελεύθερου καπιταλισμού κερδίζεται μέσω της πειθούς και της εμπλοκής σε βιώματα, ώστε οι άνθρωποι να είναι ικανοί να εκτιμήσουν το αναπόφευκτο, το απρόσβλητο και το «κανονικό», αλλά και να αναζητούν το εναλλακτικό. Για τον Β. Η. Bratton (2014) η νέα γενιά γίνεται μάρτυρας της ανάδυσης ενός νέου νόμου επί της γης, στον οποίο παλαιότερες γεωπολιτικές διαιρέσεις, που συνδεόντουσαν με κυρίαρχες εδαφικές εξουσίες, τέμνουν τους νέους νόμους του Διαδικτύου και των νέων μορφών της κυριαρχίας, επεκτεινόμενες στο ηλεκτρονικό πεδίο των επικοινωνιών. Αυτός ο νέος,





ετερογενής νόμος περιλαμβάνει εθνικές κυβερνήσεις, διεθνείς οργανισμούς και φορείς (ΔΝΤ, ΠΟΕ, Ευρωπαϊκές τράπεζες, τις μη κυβερνητικές οργανώσεις διαφόρων τύπων, κ.α.) και τέλος, εταιρείες όπως η Google, το Facebook, η Apple, η Amazon κ.λπ, οι οποίες και παράγουν διαφοροποιημένα πρότυπα αμοιβαίας κατανόησης, που χαρακτηρίζονται από στιγμές σύγκρουσης. Οι δομές και η οργάνωση των κοινωνικών μέσων δικτύωσης συντελούν στη διαμόρφωση νέων μορφών κοινωνικότητας όπως ο δικτυωμένος ατομικισμός (Castells, 2007), ο οποίος στην ουσία βασίζεται στην άρθρωση μιας νέας μορφής ατομικισμού με τις τεχνολογικές δυνατότητες των κοινωνικών μέσων. Ταυτόχρονα, καθώς οι εταιρείες αυτές λειτουργούν για το κέρδος, η μόνη δυνατότητα που έχει ο πολίτης να παρέμβει ατομικά, είναι αυτή που απορρέει από την ιδιότητα του πελάτη (Σιαπέρα, 2017). Όμως, αν μιλήσουμε για συλλογική – κοινωνική παρέμβαση, τότε αναδεικνύονται οι αντιφάσεις που χαρακτηρίζουν πάντοτε την ανάπτυξη των παραγωγικών δυνάμεων, καθώς τα κοινωνικά ψηφιακά δίκτυα αποτελούν μία εξαιρετική ευκαιρία αντιμετώπισης του ατομισμού του νεοφιλελευθερισμού, εφόσον όμως ενεργοποιήσουν την κοινωνική παρέμβαση και δεν αντιμετωπιστούν απλώς για κατανάλωση (Higgs, 2016; Bollier, 2016). Τα τελευταία χρόνια της δεύτερης δεκαετίας του 21<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα μπορούμε να θεωρήσουμε ως δεδομένο πως οι ψηφιακές τεχνολογίες και τα κοινωνικά δίκτυα διείσδυσαν στις κοινωνικές σχέσεις τόσο πολύ, ώστε άρχισαν να μετατρέπονται σε διακριτά αντικείμενα, εισάγοντας νέα συμπληρωματικά ήθη στις ήδη υπάρχουσες κοινωνικές και συναισθηματικές σχέσεις (Terranova, 2014).

### **Προκλήσεις για τη Μάθηση και εργασιακή ένταξη των αποφοίτων της ΕΕΚ**

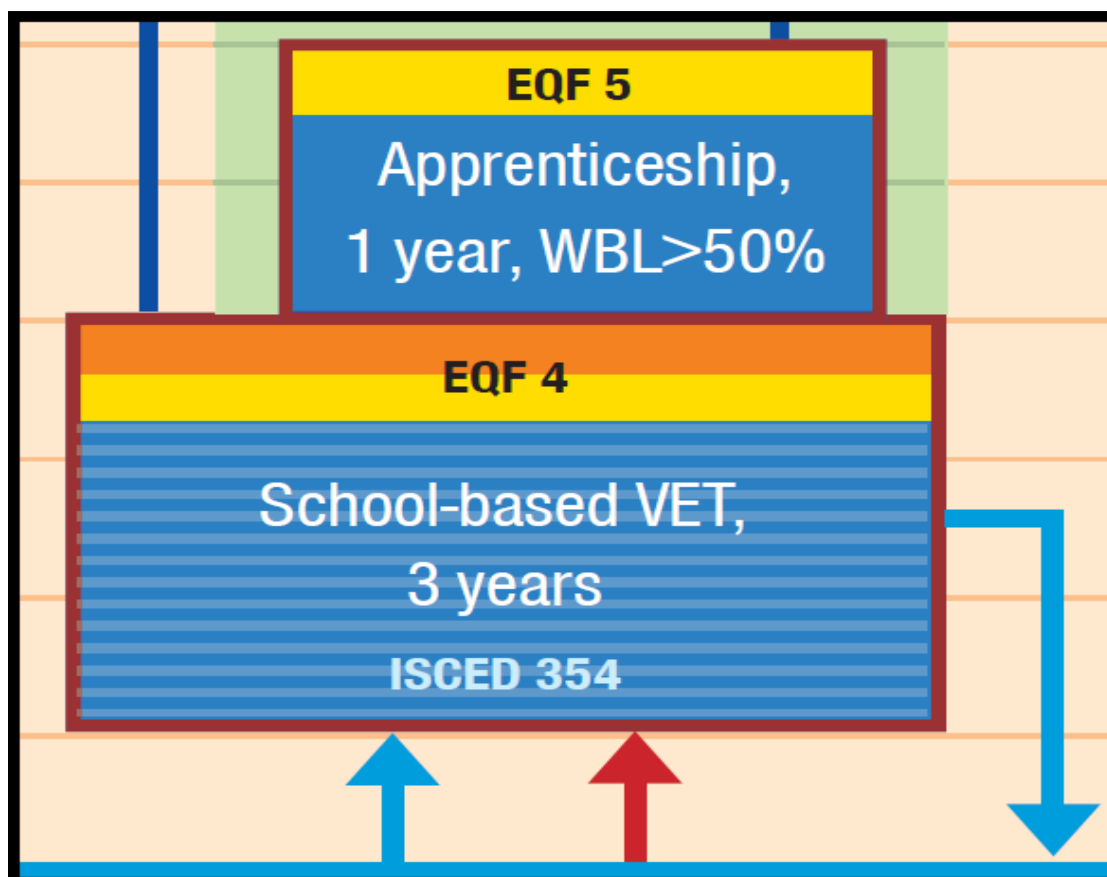
Στον τομέα της Επαγγελματικής Εκπαίδευσης και Κατάρτισης (ΕΕΚ) η εκπαίδευση αντιμετωπίζει σημαντικές προκλήσεις για την προετοιμασία αλλά και την προστασία του ανθρώπινου κεφαλαίου για την εργασία του μέλλοντος. Η τυπική ΕΕΚ αποτελεί ένα μέρος της δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης (Εικόνα 4) και είναι βασισμένο σε γνωσιο-παραγωγικούς μηχανισμούς, με το γνωστικό πλαίσió της να ασχολείται κυρίως με τα δομικά στοιχεία της διαδικασίας της εργασιακής ένταξης, δηλαδή τις στάσεις και τις γνώσεις που καθορίζουν δεξιότητες και ικανότητες.

Επιχειρείται ο απόφοιτος της ΕΕΚ να προσανατολιστεί σε ένα πλαίσιο που να ανταποκρίνεται αυστηρά στις προδιαγραφές για την παροχή εργασίας σε χώρους παραγωγής και σε περιβάλλοντα εργασιακής ένταξης, ανάλογα με την ειδικότητα που έχει επιλέξει. Από την άλλη πλευρά, σε μια εποχή αβεβαιότητας ως προς το μέλλον των επαγγελματιών και ανεργίας, είναι απαραίτητο ο μαθητής να προετοιμάζεται για να αντιμετωπίσει πρωτόγνωρες καταστάσεις οι οποίες πιθανόν να μην έχουν προβλεφθεί στις σπουδές του, άρα θα πρέπει να δοθεί σημαντικό βάρος κατά την εκπαίδευσή του σε ανάπτυξη ικανοτήτων αντιμετώπισης τέτοιων καταστάσεων.

Το θεσμικό πλαίσιο Μαθητείας προβλέπει πολλές ρυθμίσεις οι οποίες διασφαλίζουν την ασφαλή και αξιοπρεπή αρχική ένταξη των μαθητευομένων στην



εργασία, αναπτύσσοντας μια άλλη κουλτούρα εργαζομένων, με βιωματική μάθηση των δικαιωμάτων τους στην εργασία, κάτι που τα τελευταία χρόνια έχει εκλείψει στην πράξη. Επιπλέον, διατηρεί τις σχέσεις των μαθητευομένων με τους εκπαιδευτικούς της δημόσιας εκπαίδευσης, προσφέροντας τη δυνατότητα καταλυτικής υποστήριξής τους, τόσο ως προς το αντικείμενο εργασίας, όσο και ως προς τις συνθήκες εργασίας. Αυτή όμως η δυνατότητα δεν μπορεί να υλοποιηθεί αν δεν υπάρξει συλλογική υποστήριξη των εκπαιδευτικών από τους υπόλοιπους εκπαιδευτικούς του σχολείου, από κοινότητες γνώσης της ειδικότητάς τους και από την υποστήριξη συνδικάτων σε ό,τι αφορά την ανάδειξη προβλημάτων και δικαιωμάτων στους χώρους εργασίας, όταν μάλιστα τα περισσότερα από αυτά τα δικαιώματα έχουν καταργηθεί τα τελευταία χρόνια για τους υπόλοιπους νέους εργαζόμενους.



Εικόνα 4: Η δομή της ΕΕΚ στο εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα

Οι παραπάνω προσεγγίσεις στην ακραία τους μορφή καθιστούν τον απόφοιτο ιδιαίτερα ευάλωτο στον τομέα της εργασίας. Η μία προσέγγιση οδηγεί σε ολοκληρωμένες γνώσεις σε ένα επάγγελμα, το οποίο, όμως, πιθανόν να μην υπάρχει στο μέλλον, άρα ο απόφοιτος θα πρέπει να ξεκινάει πάλι από την αρχή, σε διάφορες φάσεις της ζωής του. Η δεύτερη οδηγεί σε αδυναμία του εργαζόμενου να



ανταποκριθεί σε συγκεκριμένα εργασιακά καθήκοντα αμέσως μετά την αποφοίτησή του και έτσι να είναι ευάλωτος και με μειωμένες απαιτήσεις. Πόσο μάλλον που ο δρόμος που θα ακολουθήσει θα τον οδηγήσει σε ένα ατομικό προφίλ, άρα αδύναμο ως προς το να διεκδικήσει μαζί με άλλους τα δικαιώματά του. Αυτή είναι μια βασική πρόκληση που πρέπει να πάρει υπόψη της μια κοινότητα γνώσης, ώστε να βρει τρόπους να προσφέρει συλλογικές, κοινωνικά ελεγχόμενες αναζητήσεις για τη σωστή αναλογία των παραπάνω ακραίων προσεγγίσεων. Μια άλλη βασική πρόκληση είναι να καθίσταται δυνατός ο συνδυασμός της γνώσης της διεθνούς εμπειρίας με την Ελληνική πραγματικότητα στους χώρους εργασίας και στον τρόπο εξάσκησης των επαγγελματιών. Με αυτόν τον τρόπο, πέραν των άλλων, να είναι σε θέση οι εκπαιδευτικοί να προετοιμάσουν τους μαθητές για μια κριτική αντιμετώπιση της εργασίας. Στο συγκεκριμένο επίπεδο, πρέπει να διασφαλίζεται η καταγραφή και αξιοποίηση της συλλογικής γνώσης (ρητής και άρρητης π.χ. μαστορική) ως βασικό πλεονέκτημα αποτελεσματικότητας των εκπαιδευτικών και, εν τέλει, των αποφοίτων αλλά και ως συλλογικό αντίδοτο στις καλά μελετημένες κατευθύνσεις σπουδών που προέρχονται από ιδιωτικούς φορείς. Η διερεύνηση του τυπικού προφίλ του σημερινού εκπαιδευτικού της επαγγελματικής εκπαίδευσης και εξ αυτού, ο αρχικός προσδιορισμός των αναγκών του, των πλεονεκτημάτων του, των ανασφαλειών του από τη χρήση αυτών των υπηρεσιών, αποτελούν επίσης μια βασική πρόκληση. Σχετικό με το παραπάνω είναι και το συλλογικό προφίλ των συνδικαλιστικών οργάνων των εκπαιδευτικών αλλά και γενικότερα, η δυνατότητά τους να υποστηρίξουν συλλογικά τον ατομικά μαχόμενο εκπαιδευτικό για να αντιμετωπίσει την πρόκληση της Μαθητείας και να υποστηρίξει καταλυτικά τους μαθητές του. Απαραίτητη στο σχεδιασμό είναι η αξιοποίηση των αρχών της διάδοσης καινοτομιών που ως βασικό τους στοιχείο έχουν τη συμμετοχή των χρηστών στην αναδιαμόρφωση των υπηρεσιών, την υποστήριξη των μειονεκτούντων στη χρήση κ.λπ. (Rogers, 1995).

#### **Συμπεράσματα: Για ένα πρόγραμμα έρευνας και δράσης που αφορά την ενότητα του κινήματος των εκπαιδευτικών της κριτικής εκπαίδευσης**

Σκοπός είναι να σχεδιαστεί μία εναλλακτική κινηματική πολιτική που αν εφαρμοστεί θα φέρει σε επαφή τους ερευνητές και τους σχεδιαστές διαδικτυακών εφαρμογών των τεχνολογιών διαδικτύου με τους ακτιβιστές εκπαιδευτικούς και τους μαθητές, ώστε να δημιουργηθούν πυρήνες «ομάδων μετασχηματισμού». Οι προτάσεις που θα θέλαμε να προκύψουν αφορούν σχέδια δράσης και παρεμβάσεων που θα αξιοποιούν τις τεχνολογίες διαδικτύου και θα μετασχηματίζουν τις δομές της ΕΕΚ, υπέρ των συμφερόντων των νέων που εισέρχονται για πρώτη φορά στον κόσμο της μισθωτής εργασίας αλλά και του κόσμου της εργασίας συνολικότερα. Μέσα από αυτήν την κινηματική προοπτική θελήσαμε να προσεγγίσουμε συνολικότερα τις εναλλακτικές σε σχέση με το κυρίαρχο μοντέλο λύσεις, που θα υποστηρίξουν τον σχεδιασμό πολιτικών για τη δημιουργία συμμαχιών του κόσμου της εργασίας, της νεολαίας και του κλάδου των



εκπαιδευτικών που εργάζονται σε δομές ΕΕΚ . Επιπλέον στόχος ήταν να εμπλουτιστούν στην τρέχουσα αρθρογραφία οι αναφορές σε διαφορετικά μοντέλα προσέγγισης της γνώσης (worked based learning) και η προσέγγιση νέων προτύπων για την διδασκαλία των ΤΕ, τα οποία με τη σειρά τους θα επιδρούσαν στην ανάπτυξη κριτικής και δημιουργικής σκέψης των μαθητών μέσω των διαδικασιών που θα περιλάμβαναν. Οι προκλήσεις του νεοφιλελευθερισμού και η οργάνωση αντίστασης στις ατομικού τύπου λύσεις απαιτούν την αλληλοϋποστήριξη εκπαιδευτικών και τη συνεργασία με εξωτερικές δομές αλληλεγγύης και αλληλοϋποστήριξης. Ο πλήρης και γραφειοκρατικός έλεγχος του Ελληνικού σχολείου από τα πάνω και η χρόνια απομόνωση της εκπαίδευσης από το κοινωνικό της περιβάλλον αποτελούν ταξική επιλογή. Ως συνέπεια αυτών, η έλλειψη κουλτούρας συστηματικής συνεργασίας έχει περιορίσει την ικανότητα του σχολείου να συνεργάζεται εσωτερικά και εξωτερικά. Στο πλαίσιο αυτού του προγραμματισμού, κλείνοντας το άρθρο, θα προσδιορίσουμε εν είδει κατακλείδας, πέντε θεμελιώδεις αρχές οργάνωσης του κινήματος των εκπαιδευτικών ενάντια στον νεοφιλελευθερισμό και τον τεχνοκαπιταλισμό στην εκπαίδευση, θεωρώντας ότι έτσι θα συμβάλουμε στην περαιτέρω ανάπτυξη και τον προσανατολισμό του κινήματος.

- Η οργάνωση εναλλακτικών πολιτικών απέναντι στον νεοφιλελευθερισμό και τον τεχνοκαπιταλισμό πρέπει να αποτυπώνει συλλογικές διαδικασίες που θα περιλαμβάνουν διαλογικές μαθησιακές προσεγγίσεις με όσο το δυνατόν περισσότερους φορείς που θα συμμετέχουν υποστηρικτικά στη σχολική πραγματικότητα.
- Οι κατευθύνσεις του κινήματος πρέπει να εντοπίζουν τις μη ορατές αιτίες εκμετάλλευσης και οικονομικής καταπίεσης, μέσα στο κοινωνικό, πολιτικό και οικονομικό πλαίσιο των σχέσεων παραγωγής, των μαθητών, οι οποίοι έρχονται για πρώτη φορά σε επαφή με τον κόσμο της εργασίας.
- Η παιδαγωγική που θα εφαρμοστεί πρέπει να είναι βαθιά αντιιουστινιανική, με την έννοια ότι θα αξιοποιεί τη διαλεκτική μέθοδο έρευνας, θα ξεκινά από τη «συμπυκνωμένη πραγματικότητα» των νέων εργαζομένων και θα κινείται προς μία ταξινόμηση, σύλληψη, ανάλυση και διαχωρισμό του κόσμου της εργασίας γενικά και ειδικότερα της ειδικότητας, προκειμένου να συλληφθεί η ουσία των κοινωνικών και επιστημονικών φαινομένων που εμφανίζονται στην παραγωγική διαδικασία.
- Η παιδαγωγική αυτή πρέπει να είναι συμμετοχική και να περιλαμβάνει το χτίσιμο συμμαχιών ανάμεσα στα μέλη των κοινοτήτων που συμμετέχουν, τους καθηγητές, τους μαθητές, τα κινήματα βάσης, τα εργατικά σωματεία και τον κόσμο της παραγωγής.
- Οι ψηφιακές δομές και η οργάνωση των ψηφιακών εργαλείων που θα αποτυπώνουν τις δράσεις και την οργάνωση της κριτικής παιδαγωγικής πρέπει να εγγράφουν δημιουργικά στοιχεία και να είναι έτοιμες να αλλάζουν και να αξιοποιούν τις πιο πρόσφατες εξελίξεις των τεχνολογιών



διαδικτύου, υπέρ του κόσμου της εργασίας, με στόχο την άνοδο της πολιτικής συνείδησης των μαθητών και των εκπαιδευτών τους.

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## Η εκπαιδευτική πολιτική της κυβέρνησης ΣΥΡΙΖΑ-ΑΝΕΛ: Από τις αντιμνημονιακές προσδοκίες, στις εργαλειοθήκες του ΟΟΣΑ και της ΕΕ

Κρεασίδης Γιώργος  
Εκπαιδευτικός

### Περίληψη

Η ανακοίνωση αυτή εξετάζει την πορεία της εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής του Συνασπισμού Ριζοσπαστικής Αριστεράς (ΣΥΡΙΖΑ), από τον προγραμματικό λόγο που διατύπωνε σαν αντιπολίτευση, στην εφαρμοζόμενη πολιτική στα πλαίσια της κυβέρνησης συνεργασίας με το κόμμα των Ανεξαρτήτων Ελλήνων (ΑΝΕΛ). Η κυβέρνηση ΣΥΡΙΖΑ-ΑΝΕΛ ανέλαβε το Γενάρη του 2015 με την επαγγελία της κατάργησης των μνημονίων που συμφωνήθηκαν με την τρόικα της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης (ΕΕ), του Διεθνούς Νομισματικού Ταμείου (ΔΝΤ) και της Ευρωπαϊκής Κεντρικής Τράπεζας (ΕΚΤ). Ειδικά σε ό,τι αφορά την πρωτοβάθμια και δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση υπήρχε η προεκλογική δέσμευση για μια σειρά από άμεσα μέτρα που θα αναιρούσαν το μνημονιακό πλαίσιο για τα οικονομικά, τη δομή και λειτουργία, το περιεχόμενο και τις εργασιακές σχέσεις. Ακολούθησε μια περίοδος ουσιαστικής αδράνειας με σταθμούς την υπογραφή του τρίτου μνημονίου, παρά το λαϊκό «όχι» στο δημοψήφισμα του Ιούλη του 2015 και τη νέα εκλογική νίκη τον επόμενο Σεπτέμβρη, με ένα πρόγραμμα που είχε σαν άξονα τον αναπόφευκτο χαρακτήρα του μνημονίου και του καθεστώτος επιτροπείας. Σε αυτή τη φάση οξύνθηκε η κρίση της δημόσιας εκπαίδευσης, ενώ παγιώθηκε το μνημονιακό πλαίσιο. Εξάιρεση ήταν μέτρα της προηγούμενης κυβέρνησης που βρέθηκαν στο στόχαστρο σημαντικών κινητοποιήσεων του εκπαιδευτικού κινήματος, όπως η μαζική απόλυση εκπαιδευτικών της τεχνικής εκπαίδευσης, η οποία αναιρέθηκε και η αξιολόγηση, η οποία «πάγωσε». Στη συνέχεια ξεκίνησε η εφαρμογή μιας σειράς από νεοφιλελεύθερα μέτρα που εντάσσονταν στο μνημονιακό πλαίσιο. Ταυτόχρονα ήρθε και η υιοθέτηση ανάλογων επιλογών, όχι πια σαν αποτέλεσμα εκβιασμού της τρόικας, αλλά σαν βασικές πλευρές της εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής ή ακόμα και μιας αναγκαίας εκπαιδευτικής μεταρρύθμισης. Ο πυρήνας της αντίληψης που οδηγεί σε αυτή τη μετάβαση από την αντιμνημονιακή ρητορική στην επιθετική εφαρμογή των προαπαιτούμενων του μνημονίου βρίσκεται στην αδιαπραγμάτευτη θέση του ΣΥΡΙΖΑ υπέρ της συμμετοχής της Ελλάδας στην ΕΕ, αλλά και την αποδοχή σαν επιστημονικών και κοινωνικά ουδέτερων των βασικών θέσεων της ΕΕ και του Οργανισμού Οικονομικής Συνεργασίας και Ανάπτυξης (ΟΟΣΑ) για την εκπαίδευση.

### Λέξεις-κλειδιά

μνημόνιο, εκπαιδευτική πολιτική ΣΥΡΙΖΑ-ΑΝΕΛ, νεοφιλελεύθερη πολιτική, εκπαιδευτικό κίνημα

Το κόμμα του ΣΥΡΙΖΑ ανέλαβε την κυβέρνηση μετά τις εκλογές που έγιναν στις 25.1.2015, σαν ο κορμός του κυβερνητικού συνασπισμού με το κόμμα των ΑΝΕΛ, με εθνικιστικές και αντιμνημονιακές αναφορές<sup>1</sup>. Η εκλογική νίκη του ήρθε σαν αποτέλεσμα της βαθιάς κοινωνικής και οικονομικής κρίσης, αλλά και της

<sup>1</sup> Οι Ανεξάρτητοι Έλληνες (ΑΝΕΛ) συγκροτήθηκαν σαν κόμμα όταν ο πρόεδρος της ΝΔ διέγραψε τους βουλευτές του κόμματός του που δεν υπερψήφισαν το δεύτερο μνημόνιο στις 12.2.2012., με στελέχη προερχόμενα κατά βάση από τη ΝΔ.



αποσταθεροποίησης του κυρίαρχου πολιτικού συστήματος που έφερε η ένταξη της χώρας στο καθεστώς των μνημονίων το 2010 που προβλέπανε την εφαρμογή σκληρών αντικοινωνικών μέτρων νεοφιλελεύθερου χαρακτήρα. Για την εφαρμογή των μνημονίων που συνομολόγησαν οι ελληνικές κυβερνήσεις με τη λεγόμενη Τρόικα, δηλαδή το συνδυασμό ΕΕ, ΔΝΤ και ΕΚΤ, επιβλήθηκε η επιτροπεία της χώρας από αυτή. Οι κοινωνικές αντιστάσεις και οι λαϊκοί αγώνες ενάντια στα σκληρά μέτρα σε βάρος της κοινωνικής πλειοψηφίας που επιβλήθηκαν με τα μνημόνια, οδήγησαν σε ταχύτατη φθορά και απαξίωση την κυβέρνηση του ΠΑΣΟΚ που ξεκίνησε το 2010 τον καταστροφικό μνημονιακό κύκλο, τη ΝΔ και το ακροδεξιό ΛΑΟΣ<sup>2</sup> που συμμετείχαν στη δεύτερη μνημονιακή κυβέρνηση υπό το Λ. Παπαδήμο<sup>3</sup> και την ευρωαριστερή ΔΗΜΑΡ<sup>4</sup> που πλαισίωσε ΝΔ-ΠΑΣΟΚ στην τρίτη μνημονιακή κυβέρνηση μετά τις εκλογές στις 18.6.2012. Το πολιτικό σκηνικό μετατοπίστηκε σε πολύ συντηρητικότερες θέσεις και συρρικνώθηκε η επιρροή του.

Ο χαρακτήρας της πολιτικής των μνημονίων που εφαρμόστηκαν στο όνομα της αντιμετώπισης του δημόσιου χρέους ήταν στην ουσία μια στρατηγική αντιμετώπισης της καπιταλιστικής κρίσης που ξέσπασε το 2008 στις ΗΠΑ, σε βάρος της εργατικής τάξης και των λαϊκών στρωμάτων, με ιδιαίτερα επιβαρυντικές συνέπειες στους νέους. Σαν περιεχόμενο είχαν τη λεγόμενη «εσωτερική υποτίμηση», στο όνομα υποτίθεται της δημοσιονομικής προσαρμογής, με βασικά στοιχεία τη ριζική μείωση των δημοσίων δαπανών για κοινωνικές υπηρεσίες, άρα και για την εκπαίδευση, νεοφιλελεύθερου χαρακτήρα αναδιαρθρώσεις στο δημόσιο τομέα, τις εργασιακές σχέσεις, μαζικές ιδιωτικοποιήσεις, διάλυση ελεγκτικών μηχανισμών για τα θέματα των εργασιακών σχέσεων, της ασφάλισης, της τήρησης περιβαλλοντικών όρων, της υγιεινής της εργασίας. Παράλληλα μειώθηκε η φορολογία των επιχειρήσεων, αυξήθηκε η φορολόγηση και οι ασφαλιστικές εισφορές των μισθωτών, ελαστικά εργαζόμενων, συνταξιούχων, αγροτών και μικρομεσαίων στρωμάτων (ελεύθερων επαγγελματιών, αυτοαπασχολούμενων), μειώθηκαν οι μισθοί, οι συντάξεις και τα επιδόματα ανεργίας, περιορίστηκε ριζικά η

<sup>2</sup> Το ακροδεξιό κόμμα ΛΑΟΣ έμεινε εκτός βουλής στις εκλογές που προκήρυξε η κυβέρνηση Παπαδήμου στις 6.5.2012. Είχε προηγηθεί η μετακίνηση των υπουργών του στη ΝΔ, ενώ στελέχη του και η εκλογική του βάση μετακινήθηκε προς τη νεοναζιστική Χρυσή Αυγή. Οι δημοσκοπήσεις εντοπίζουν σαν αφετηρία αυτής της μετακίνησης, όπως και της αντίστοιχης τάσης μέρους της εκλογικής βάσης της ΝΔ, τη συμμετοχή στην κυβέρνηση Παπαδήμου. Βλ. ενδεικτικά Erodotos weblog (2012), GPO (2011) και Public Issue, (2012)

<sup>3</sup> Ο Λουκάς Παπαδήμος ανέλαβε πρωθυπουργός στην κυβέρνηση που συγκρότησαν ΠΑΣΟΚ, ΝΔ και ΛΑΟΣ το Νοέμβριο του 2011, μετά την παραίτηση του Γ. Παπανδρέου και χωρίς να έχουν προηγηθεί εκλογές. Παρά το γεγονός ότι το ΠΑΣΟΚ υπό τον Γ. Παπανδρέου είχε κοινοβουλευτική πλειοψηφία, δεν μπορούσε να αντέξει το κοινωνικό κόστος της πολιτικής του Μνημονίου που ανακοίνωσε στις 23.4.2010. Ο Λ. Παπαδήμος, πρώην αντιπρόεδρος της ΕΚΤ και πρώην πρόεδρος της Τράπεζας της Ελλάδος, μέλος της διεθνούς οργάνωσης Τριμερής Επιτροπή (Trilateral Commission) που στελεχώνεται από παράγοντες της πολιτικής και οικονομικής εξουσίας, ήταν η επιλογή της Τρόικας.

<sup>4</sup> Η ΔΗΜΑΡ συμμετείχε στην κυβέρνηση από τις εκλογές στις 18.6.2012 μέχρι τον Ιούνιο του 2013, όταν με πρωτοβουλία του πρωθυπουργού Α. Σαμαρά και της ΝΔ καταργήθηκε η ΕΡΤ και απολύθηκε το προσωπικό.



δυνατότητα των εργαζομένων να εξασφαλίζουν μέσω των συνδικάτων συλλογικές συμβάσεις εργασίας. Ευρύτατα κοινωνικά στρώματα δέχτηκαν πλήγμα με το άνοιγμα των λεγόμενων «κλειστών επαγγελμάτων» και τη φορολογική στοχοποίηση της μικρής ιδιοκτησίας και ιδιοκατοίκησης. Στις συνθήκες αυτές και απέναντι στις έντονες λαϊκές αντιδράσεις, ήρθε ένας παροξυσμός κρατικής καταστολής, δικαστικής και αστυνομικής που υποβάθμισε σημαντικά το επίπεδο των δημοκρατικών ελευθεριών και δικαιωμάτων.

Σε ό,τι αφορά τους δεδηλωμένους στόχους, τη μείωση του χρέους και τις αναπτυξιακές προοπτικές, η αποτυχία ήταν σαφής, όπως φαίνεται από την αύξηση του χρέους σαν ποσοστό επί του ΑΕΠ, το οποίο με τη σειρά του μειώθηκε, την αύξηση της ανεργίας, της φτώχειας, της μετανάστευσης και των μαζικών αυτοκτονιών<sup>5</sup>.

Στη βασική και μέση εκπαίδευση, με τις νομοθετικές παρεμβάσεις κυρίως της κυβέρνησης του ΠΑΣΟΚ με υπουργό Παιδείας την Α. Διαμαντοπούλου, αλλά και από την κυβέρνηση ΝΔ-ΠΑΣΟΚ με υπουργούς Παιδείας τους Κ. Αρβανιτόπουλο και Α. Λοβέρδο, με επιδίωξη τον άξονα φτηνό σχολείο, ελαστικές εργασιακές σχέσεις, δεξιότητες και κατάρτιση αντί γνώσεων, επιχειρηματικότητα που θα οδηγούσαν τη νεολαία να γίνει φτηνό εργατικό δυναμικό<sup>6</sup>, είχαμε<sup>7</sup>:

- Κλείσιμο 2.500 σχολικών μονάδων διά της συγχώνευσης. Το 2013, καταργήθηκαν στην τεχνική-επαγγελματική εκπαίδευση (ΤΕΕ) οι 1.300 ΕΠΑΣ με το νόμο Αρβανιτόπουλου. Σαν νέο πρόβλημα στην εκπαίδευση, μετά τις συγχωνεύσεις-κλεισίματα και τη νέα συγκέντρωση του μαθητικού πληθυσμού μακριά από τον τόπο κατοικίας, εμφανίστηκε και η μεταφορά των μαθητών. Την κατάσταση επιβάρυνε η μεταφορά της σχετικής αρμοδιότητας στις Περιφέρειες, χωρίς τη μεταφορά των αντίστοιχων κονδυλίων, μέσα από την αλλαγή στο νομοθετικό πλαίσιο της αυτοδιοίκησης (τοπικού κράτους).

<sup>5</sup> Η ανεργία από 7,9% το 2008 εκτινάχτηκε στο 23,5-27%, όταν στους νέους 15-24 έφτασε στο 50% και στους μακροχρόνια άνεργους το 73%. Η αγοραστική δύναμη των μισθωτών μειώθηκε κατά 50%. Περίπου 4,5 εκατ. ζουν στο όριο της φτώχειας, ενώ 230.000 παιδιά ζουν σε νοικοκυριά χωρίς κανέναν εργαζόμενο. Ένας στους δυο φορολογούμενους έχουν ληξιπρόθεσμες οφειλές, το 41% των δανειοληπτών στεγαστικών δανείων δεν μπορούν να πληρώσουν τη δόση. Εμφανίστηκε το τρίτο μεγαλύτερο κύμα μετανάστευσης στην ιστορία της Ελλάδας, καθώς στο διάστημα 2008-16 427.000 εγκατέλειψαν τη χώρα. Οι αυτοκτονίες αυξήθηκαν με μέσο ετήσιο ρυθμό 7,9 από 1.6%, η παιδική θνησιμότητα κατά 26%, οι άνθρωποι που έχουν ανάγκη ιατρική βοήθεια αλλά δεν έχουν πρόσβαση σε αυτή από 10% έφτασαν στο 22%. Το ΑΕΠ μειώθηκε κατά 27%, 244.717 επιχειρήσεις έκλεισαν το 2008-15, το εμπόριο συρρικνώθηκε κατά 26,2% το λιανικό και 37,1 το χονδρικό. Το δημόσιο χρέος έφτασε στο 180%. Το 2016 το 52% των εισηγμένων επιχειρήσεων στο Χρηματιστήριο Αθηνών είχε κέρδη.

<sup>6</sup> Βλ. αναλυτικά Καλημερίδης (2013)

<sup>7</sup> Αναλυτικά βλ. Αντωνόπουλος, Καλούσης, Κρεασίδης, Ρέππα., Τουλγαρίδης (2011), Βουρεκάς (2011), Δομούζη (2012), Ιωαννίδου-Κρεασίδης (2013)



- Κατάργηση του Οργανισμού Σχολικών Κτιρίων (ΟΣΚ) και Οργανισμού Εκδόσεως Διδακτικών Βιβλίων (ΟΕΔΒ), ενώ μειώθηκαν επανειλημμένα και οι πόροι των δήμων που αφορούν τη λειτουργία των σχολικών μονάδων (πιστώσεις Συλλογικής Απόφασης Τοπικής Αυτοδιοίκησης-ΣΑΤΑ),
- Μηδενικές προσλήψεις νέου εκπαιδευτικού προσωπικού<sup>8</sup>. Ακόμα και η νεοφιλελεύθερης λογικής αναλογία μίας πρόσληψης για κάθε 10 συνταξιοδοτήσεις, στην εκπαίδευση εφαρμόστηκε προς το χειρότερο. Παράλληλα είχαμε αύξηση της ελαστικοποίησης της εργασίας των εκπαιδευτικών, προσλήψεις αναπληρωτών με δυσμενέστερες συμβάσεις (ΕΣΠΑ, μειωμένου ωραρίου-ΑΜΩ), εργασία σε πολλές σχολικές μονάδες, μετατάξεις, αύξηση διδακτικού ωραρίου στη μέση εκπαίδευση το 2013<sup>9</sup>. Η ανάθεση των μαθημάτων<sup>10</sup> και η διαχείριση της διδασκαλίας ξένης γλώσσας έγινε με όρους εξοικονόμησης προσωπικού σε βάρος της εκπαιδευτικής διαδικασίας (δυνατότητες επιλογών των μαθητών στην ξένη γλώσσα, τμήματα ανάλογα με το επίπεδο γλωσσομάθειας), «πάγωμα» της προσμέτρησης της προϋπηρεσίας των αναπληρωτών. Αυτές οι πολιτικές οδήγησαν σε ριζική μείωση του προσωπικού στη δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση και στη διαιώνιση του θεσμού του αναπληρωτή για την εξυπηρέτηση πάγιων εκπαιδευτικών αναγκών, ακόμα και κατ' αποκλειστικότητα (ειδική αγωγή)<sup>11</sup>,
- Ένταση του αυταρχισμού στη σχολική ζωή, προβολή του «διευθυντικού δικαιώματος» στα πρότυπα του ιδιωτικού τομέα αντί της νομικά κατοχυρωμένης δημοκρατικής λειτουργίας της σχολικής μονάδας με ευθύνη του συλλόγου διδασκόντων («καθηκοντολόγιο»), αυταρχικότερος δημοσιοϋπαλληλικός κώδικας με έλεγχο στην κοινωνική ζωή και δράση, διώξεις εκπαιδευτικών και μαθητών<sup>12</sup>
- Ριζική μείωση συντάξεων και αποδοχών κατά 25% μέσο όρο, αύξηση ασφαλιστικών εισφορών, αποδόμηση της ιατροφαρμακευτικής περίθαλψης, αναδρομικές κρατήσεις (ειδικά μετά το μισθολόγιο του 2011).
- Θεσμοθέτηση «νέου λυκείου»: τράπεζα θεμάτων, εξεταστικοκεντρικό σύστημα, τυποποίηση, μεθοδολογίες αντί γνώσης με κακέκτυπα τύπου πρότζεκτ<sup>13</sup>
- Αξιολόγηση-αυτοαξιολόγηση σχολικών μονάδων. Εξάρτηση της μισθολογικής και βαθμολογικής εξέλιξης από την αξιολόγηση, υιοθέτηση του στόχου κατάδειξης του 15% προσωπικού ως ανεπαρκές<sup>14</sup>. Η

<sup>8</sup> Κάτσικας (2011β) και (2014)

<sup>9</sup> Βλ. αναλυτικά Κάτσικας (2011)

<sup>10</sup> Βλ. Καρυώτης (2012)

<sup>11</sup> Βλ. Παππά (2017)

<sup>12</sup> Βλ. αναλυτικά Ιωαννίδου, Τουλγαρίδης (2011)

<sup>13</sup> Βλ. Ιωαννίδου (2014α)

<sup>14</sup> Βλ. αναλυτικά Αντωνόπουλος (2012)



αυτοαξιολόγηση στόχευε και στην μετακύλιση των ευθυνών για τις συνθήκες της εκπαιδευτικής διαδικασίας και τις συνέπειες της υποχρηματοδότησης της εκπαίδευσης στο σύλλογο διδασκόντων με άμεσες συνέπειες την κατηγοριοποίηση των σχολικών μονάδων και την ώθηση στην αναζήτηση χορηγού (σπόνσορα) και γενικότερα σε λογικές λειτουργίας με ιδιωτικοοικονομικά κριτήρια<sup>15</sup>.

- Μαθητεία που θεσπίστηκε από το νόμο Αρβανιτόπουλου το 2013, παράλληλα με τη θεσμοθέτηση της επαγγελματικής κατάρτισης για αποφοίτους γυμνασίου. Στόχος ήταν ο προσανατολισμός του μαθητικού πληθυσμού στη φτηνή, κακοπληρωμένη και μισοασφαλισμένη εργασία και κατάρτιση με κέντρο τον αναχρονιστικό θεσμό της μαθητείας που αντικαταστάθηκε από την οργανωμένη ΤΕΕ, η οποία με το μνημόνιο υποβαθμίζεται ριζικά<sup>16</sup>. Η ΤΕΕ, διακηρυκτικά τουλάχιστον, συνδυάζει γενική παιδεία, θεωρητική και εργαστηριακή εκπαίδευση πάνω σε συγκεκριμένους τεχνικούς τομείς και ήταν ένα βήμα μπροστά από την επαγγελματική εκπαίδευση με όρους παραγιού<sup>17</sup>.
- Διαθεσιμότητα 2.500 εκπαιδευτικών στην ΤΕΕ με στόχο την απόλυση, μέσω της κατάρτησης των δυο δημοφιλών τομέων της (υγείας πρόνοιας και γραφικών τεχνών)<sup>18</sup>. Το μέτρο που στόχευε στην πλέον μαζική στον 21<sup>ο</sup> αιώνα απόλυση εργαζομένων από ένα εργασιακό χώρο, χρησιμοποιήθηκε για να παρακαμφθεί η συνταγματική προστασία (από το 1911) της εργασίας των εργαζομένων στο δημόσιο τομέα. Οι δημοφιλείς τομείς που καταργήθηκαν θα προσφέρονταν πλέον μόνο από ιδιωτικό πλέγμα επαγγελματικής κατάρτισης,
- Κατάργηση διδασκαλείων επιμόρφωσης στην πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση, «πάγωμα» για αόριστο διάστημα, επί της ουσίας κατάργηση, των εκπαιδευτικών αδειών για μεταπτυχιακές σπουδές και εκπόνηση διδακτορικής διατριβής.

Τα απανωτά μέτρα αυτού του χαρακτήρα συνολικά στην κοινωνία, αλλά και ειδικά στην εκπαίδευση, μέσα από εκατοντάδες νόμους και άλλες σχετικές ρυθμίσεις προκάλεσαν ένα πραγματικό σοκ. Κρίσιμο ρόλο στην προπαγάνδα αυτής της μεταρρύθμισης είχε η επίκληση των –νεοφιλελεύθερης υφής- εκθέσεων, υποδείξεων και προτάσεων του ΟΟΣΑ, που εμφανίζονταν σαν δήθεν πολιτικά ουδέτερες και ιδεολογικά άχρωμες επιστημονικές παρεμβάσεις<sup>19</sup>. Υπήρξαν μεγάλοι και παρατεταμένοι κοινωνικοί αγώνες στην εκπαίδευση, με μια μεγάλη ποικιλομορφία (απεργίες, στάσεις εργασίας, συγκεντρώσεις, ανοιχτές εκδηλώσεις,

<sup>15</sup> Βλ. αναλυτικά Διαμαντής (2011) και Καββαδίας (2012)

<sup>16</sup> Βλ. Ιωαννίδου (2014β)

<sup>17</sup> Αναλυτικά για το θεσμό της μαθητείας και τις συνέπειες στην παρεχόμενη εκπαίδευση και τα εργασιακά δικαιώματα βλ. Νικολόπουλος, Λιόντος (2017)

<sup>18</sup> Βλ. αναλυτικά Ιωαννίδου, Κρεασίδης (2013β)

<sup>19</sup> Βλ. αναλυτικά Βαρδαλαχάκης (2014)





πρωτοβουλίες συντονισμού πρωτοβάθμιων σωματείων, αλληλεγγύη σε αγωνιζόμενους κλάδους και συμμετοχή σε κινητοποιήσεις για ευρύτερα κοινωνικά θέματα, πρωτοβουλίες ενημέρωσης της κοινωνίας για τα προβλήματα της εκπαίδευσης<sup>20</sup>). Κορυφαίες στιγμές αυτών των κινητοποιήσεων ήταν η μαζική συμμετοχή στις γενικές συνελεύσεις των ΕΛΜΕ την άνοιξη του 2013 που αποφάσισαν απεργία διαρκείας ενάντια στην απόφαση του υπουργού Παιδείας να αυξηθεί το διδακτικό ωράριο<sup>21</sup>, μια απόφαση που αντιμετωπίστηκε με ωμό αυταρχισμό και αναιρέθηκε αντικαταστατικά από την πλειοψηφία του ΔΣ της ΟΛΜΕ<sup>22</sup>, η απεργία διαρκείας ενάντια στην κατάργηση τομέων, τη διαθεσιμότητα εκπαιδευτικών της ΤΕΕ και συνολικά το νόμο Αρβανιτόπουλου το Σεπτέμβρη του 2013 και ο εμβληματικός πολύμηνος αγώνας για την επιστροφή των διαθεσίμων εκπαιδευτικών στα σχολεία που τελικά δικαιώθηκε την άνοιξη του 2015<sup>23</sup>.

Σε αυτές τις συνθήκες ο ΣΥΡΙΖΑ, που σαν πολιτικός χώρος είχε στον κόσμο της εκπαίδευσης μεγαλύτερη επιρροή από ό,τι συνολικά στην κοινωνία, πρότεινε σαν διέξοδο από τη μνημονιακή κρίση την κυβερνητική εναλλαγή, μέσα από την ανάδειξη μιας «κυβέρνησης της Αριστεράς», πρόταση που σταδιακά τροποποιήθηκε σαν «κυβέρνηση με κορμό την Αριστερά», στην προοπτική πιθανής συνεργασίας με τους ΑΝΕΛ. Στο μαζικό και εκπαιδευτικό κίνημα η πρόταση αυτή ανέθετε ρόλο ανάδειξης της κοινωνικής διαμαρτυρίας και διαμόρφωσης αιτημάτων σαν προτάσεις προς τη μελλοντική κυβέρνηση και όχι σαν στόχους άμεσης διεκδίκησης.

Έτσι στις προεκλογικές δεσμεύσεις του, ειδικά την περίοδο πριν τις εκλογές που τον ανάδειξαν σε κυβερνητική δύναμη, ο ΣΥΡΙΖΑ υποσχέθηκε να υλοποιήσει κάποια από τα αιτήματα του εκπαιδευτικού κινήματος σε σημαντικές πλευρές της εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής<sup>24</sup>: αυξήσεις στο εισόδημα των εκπαιδευτικών και

<sup>20</sup> Χαρακτηριστική για όσα αντιμετώπισε η δημόσια εκπαίδευση και ειδικότερα η μέση εκπαίδευση, αλλά και των κινητοποιήσεων που αναπτύχθηκαν είναι οι αποφάσεις των συνελεύσεων των ΕΛΜΕ. Βλ. ενδεικτικά ΟΛΜΕ (2011).

<sup>21</sup> Βλ. σχετικά Καββαδίας (2013)

22 Πάνω από 30.000 εκπαιδευτικοί συμμετείχαν στις συνελεύσεις όπου σχεδόν ομόφωνα υπερψηφίζονταν η εισήγηση του ΔΣ της ΟΛΜΕ για απεργία διαρκείας ακόμα και στις πανελλαδικές εξετάσεις προκειμένου να εφαρμοστεί η αύξηση του διδακτικού ωραρίου κατά δύο ώρες. Η κυβέρνηση Σαμαρά των ΝΔ-ΠΑΣΟΚ-ΔΗΜΑΡ δρομολόγησε την επιστράτευση των εκπαιδευτικών πριν καν η γενική συνέλευση προέδρων των ΕΛΜΕ επικυρώσει την απόφαση για την απεργία, καθώς το καταστατικό της ΟΛΜΕ προβλέπει για την κήρυξη απεργίας ενισχυμένη πλειοψηφία στη ΓΣ προέδρων ΕΛΜΕ που αντιστοιχεί στα δύο τρίτα (66,3%) των μελών των ΕΛΜΕ. Μπροστά στην επιστράτευση, η πλειοψηφία τότε του ΔΣ της ΟΛΜΕ, με ευθύνη των συνδικαλιστικών παρατάξεων ΣΥΝΕΚ (ΣΥΡΙΖΑ), ΔΑΚΕ (ΝΔ) και ΠΕΚ (ΠΑΣΟΚ) αναίρεσε την απόφαση για απεργία, λειτουργώντας αντικαταστατικά. Οι συνδικαλιστές του ΠΑΜΕ (ΚΚΕ) είχαν εξ αρχής απορρίψει την απεργιακή πρόταση, η οποία υποστηρίχτηκε μέχρι τέλους μόνο από τις Παρεμβάσεις (αντικαπιταλιστική Αριστερά). Βλ. αναλυτικά Νικολάου, Αντωνόπουλος (2013).

<sup>23</sup> Βλ. Ιωαννίδου, Τσαγκαράτου (2013)

<sup>24</sup> Βλ αναλυτικά Αμανατίδης (2014), Κουράκης (2015) και κυρίως ΣΥΡΙΖΑ-ΕΚΜ (2013), ΣΥΡΙΖΑ Εκπαιδευτικών Α/βάθμιας και Β/βάθμιας εκπαίδευσης (2015)



αποκατάσταση των απωλειών σε κοινωνική ασφάλιση και ιατροφαρμακευτική περίθαλψη, μαζικούς διορισμούς εκπαιδευτικών, κατάργηση της αξιολόγησης, αλλά και της διαθεσιμότητας των εκπαιδευτικών της ΤΕΕ, με παράλληλη ανασύσταση των τομέων και των σχολικών μονάδων που συγχωνεύτηκαν-καταργήθηκαν. Οι προγραμματικές δεσμεύσεις περιλάμβαναν την επιμόρφωση των εκπαιδευτικών, την αναζωογόνηση του ολοήμερου δημοτικού σχολείου, των δομών αντισταθμιστικής εκπαίδευσης, όπως η ενισχυτική διδασκαλία στα γυμνάσια και η πρόσθετη διδακτική στήριξη (ΠΔΣ) στα λύκεια, αλλά και της ειδικής αγωγής. Μπήκαν οι στόχοι της εξασφάλισης της επάρκειας για όλους τους μαθητές σε ξένες γλώσσες και χειρισμό Η/Υ. Κεντρικοί στόχοι του εκπαιδευτικού προγράμματος του ΣΥΡΙΖΑ ήταν η υποχρεωτική 12χρονη εκπαίδευση. Αν και έμπαιναν στο στόχαστρο βασικές πλευρές των μνημονιακών ρυθμίσεων, αλλά και του εκπαιδευτικού μοντέλου που προϋπήρχε, έλλειπε από την πρόταση του ΣΥΡΙΖΑ ένα συγκεκριμένο, όσο και δεσμευτικό πλαίσιο εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής που να περιγράφει αρχές στο επίπεδο του περιεχομένου της εκπαιδευτικής διαδικασίας, την οργάνωση και χρηματοδότηση του εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος, το ρόλο και τα εργασιακά και παιδαγωγικά δικαιώματα του εκπαιδευτικού και, κυρίως, τους γενικούς στόχους της εκπαίδευσης και της επιδιωκόμενης προοπτικής για τους απόφοιτους. Έτσι η δέσμευση για 12χρονη υποχρεωτική εκπαίδευση, συνδυαζόταν με την υπόσχεση για αναβάθμιση της ΤΕΕ και την παράλληλη επιδίωξη ενός Ενιαίου Σχολείου Θεωρίας και Πράξης. Έμενε ανοιχτό αν και πώς θα υπάρξει υπέρβαση της διαίρεσης σε βαθμίδες (δημοτικό και γυμνάσιο για την υποχρεωτική εκπαίδευση, λύκειο), αλλά και του διπλού σχολικού δικτύου στο ανώτερη μέση εκπαίδευση με γενικό και επαγγελματικό (τεχνικό) λύκειο. Παράλληλα υπήρχε μια δισημία σε ό,τι αφορά τη θέση του ΣΥΡΙΖΑ για την αξιολόγηση, αν δηλαδή η αντίθεση αφορούσε την απόρριψη της αξιολόγησης από θέση αρχών ή απλά τη συγκεκριμένη μορφή που επιχειρούσε να επιβάλλουν οι κυβερνήσεις με κορμό τη ΝΔ και το ΠΑΣΟΚ, με την κατά καιρούς στήριξη από ΛΑΟΣ και ΔΗΜΑΡ<sup>25</sup>.

Μετά την εκλογική νίκη και το σχηματισμό κυβέρνησης με τη συνεργασία του κόμματος των ΑΝΕΛ, ο ΣΥΡΙΖΑ προχώρησε σε κάποια συγκεκριμένα μέτρα. Συγκεκριμένα προχώρησε στην αναστολή ισχύος («πάγωμα») του νομοθετικού πλαισίου για την αξιολόγηση, όπως και του θεσμού της μαθητείας, ενώ η τράπεζα θεμάτων δεν είχε πλέον υποχρεωτικό χαρακτήρα. Αναιρέθηκε η κατάργηση των τομέων της ΤΕΕ, αλλά όχι των ΕΠΑΣ, και έληξε η διαθεσιμότητα των εκπαιδευτικών που επέστρεψαν στην εργασία. Επίσης, θεσπίστηκε νέο σύστημα επιλογής διευθυντών σχολικών μονάδων, με το οποίο συνυπολογιζόταν και η ψήφος εκπαιδευτικών. Όχι όμως σαν την παράμετρο που ορίζει δημοκρατικά τον υπεύθυνο της σχολικής μονάδας, αλλά σαν ένα στοιχείο που προσμετράται σε ποσοστό έως και 30%, παράλληλα με τη μοριοδότηση άλλων στοιχείων.

<sup>25</sup> Ενδεικτικά βλ. Πιλάλης, Κουντούρης (2014)



Οι αλλαγές αυτές αφορούσαν τα θέματα που βρέθηκαν στην αιχμή των αγώνων του εκπαιδευτικού κινήματος και αφορούσαν βασικές διεκδικήσεις του, κάτι που δημιουργούσε μια αντικειμενική πίεση στη νέα κυβέρνηση. Συνολικά η κυβέρνηση ΣΥΡΙΖΑ-ΑΝΕΛ εμφανιζόταν αναβλητική στην εφαρμογή του εκπαιδευτικού της προγράμματος που είχε καλλιεργήσει προσδοκίες. Σαν βασική αιτία επικαλούνταν τη διαπραγμάτευση με την Τρόικα των ΕΕ, ΔΝΤ και ΕΚΤ για το θέμα του χρέους και της εφαρμογής των μνημονιακών προαπαιτούμενων. Βέβαια η νέα κυβέρνηση είχε προϋδεάσει για τη μετεκλογική αποκήρυξη της αντιμνημονιακής φυσιολογίας, στις προγραμματικές δηλώσεις του Α. Τσίπρα το Γενάρη του 2015, όταν η αντιμνημονιακή ρητορική συμπληρώθηκε από την κατηγορηματική δέσμευση ότι η κυβέρνηση ΣΥΡΙΖΑ-ΑΝΕΛ θα συνεχίσει την αποπληρωμή του χρέους<sup>26</sup>.

Η εκπαιδευτική πολιτική του υπουργού Παιδείας Α. Μπαλτά και του αναπληρωτή του Τ. Κουράκη χαρακτηρίστηκε από την έλλειψη ενός συνεκτικού οράματος, μιας εναλλακτικής εκπαιδευτικής στρατηγικής απέναντι στο σχολείο που είχαν διαμορφώσει τα μνημόνια. Η υλοποίηση των αιτημάτων εμβληματικών αγώνων όπως αυτός των εκπαιδευτικών της ΤΕΕ, που ήταν σε διαθεσιμότητα, για την εργασία και τους τομείς τους, δε συνδέθηκε με μια άλλη στρατηγική για το σχολείο. Εξάλλου, δεσμεύσεις για άλλα εξίσου κρίσιμα για την εκπαίδευση αιτήματα και διεκδικήσεις έμειναν μετέωρες, όπως το φλέγον θέμα των προσλήψεων μόνιμου εκπαιδευτικού προσωπικού, καθώς οι ελλείψεις ήταν σοβαρές, παρά τους μνημονιακούς χειρισμούς για τη μείωση των πραγματικών αναγκών για εκπαιδευτικούς. Παράλληλα η δέσμευση για ένα σύστημα ελεύθερης πρόσβασης στην τριτοβάθμια έμεινε κενό γράμμα, δεδομένου ότι για την ηγεσία του υπουργείου Παιδείας εμπόδιο ήταν η ζήτηση για πανεπιστημιακές σχολές, θέση που οδηγεί στο συμπέρασμα ότι σαν προϋπόθεση για την ελεύθερη πρόσβαση έμπαινε μια αλλαγή στο χαρακτήρα του λυκείου ώστε να μειωθεί ο αριθμός των αποφοίτων που έχουν το δικαίωμα πρόσβασης στην τριτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση<sup>27</sup>. Δηλαδή επαναφορά σε συνταγές εξεταστικοκεντρικού και ελιτίστικου λυκείου που είχαν δοκιμαστεί στο παρελθόν, όπως με το «νέο λύκειο» του νόμου Αρβανιτόπουλου, το εξεταστικό πλέγμα στο λύκειο του νόμου Αρσένη (Ν. 2525/87) ή τις προτάσεις για «εθνικό απολυτήριο». Όλα αυτά ήρθαν ξανά στο προσκήνιο στη συνέχεια με το λεγόμενο Πόρισμα Λιάκου.

Με αυτούς τους όρους, τα μέτρα θετικού χαρακτήρα που είχαν το αποτύπωμα των κινηματικών διεκδικήσεων, έμοιαζαν αποσπασματικά, έξω από ένα συνολικό πλαίσιο άρνησης της δυστοπίας του Νέου Σχολείου του μνημονίου, ενός φτηνού σχολείου, με αυταρχισμό, ελαστικές εργασιακές σχέσεις εκπαιδευτικών,

<sup>26</sup> Βλ. Τσίπρας (2015).

<sup>27</sup> Το Μάρτη του 2015 ο υπουργός Παιδείας δήλωνε –βλ. Μπαλτάς (2015)- πως «αν αυτή τη στιγμή ανοίξουν για όλους τα πανεπιστήμια, τότε η Ιατρική θα έχει δέκα χιλιάδες φοιτητές και άλλες σχολές θα είναι κενές», ενώ στο ίδιο κλίμα δήλωνε πως «Αν πούμε τώρα ελεύθερη πρόσβαση στα πανεπιστήμια, θα εμφανιστούν 20.000 άτομα που θα θέλουν να εισαχθούν στην Ιατρική. Χρειάζεται χρόνος για την κατάργηση των Πανελλαδικών». Βλ. Μπαλτάς (2015β)



αναλώσιμους μαθητές που προορίζονταν να γίνουν αναλώσιμοι εργαζόμενοι. Είναι χαρακτηριστική επίσης η πολιτική της κυβέρνησης με ημίμετρα για τα λεγόμενα πρότυπα σχολεία<sup>28</sup>. Με δεδομένη την κρίση περιεχόμενου και προοπτικής της εκπαίδευσης, η κεκτημένη αδράνεια πίεζε προς τις νεοφιλελεύθερες συνταγές που εμφανίζονταν σαν μια διέξοδος με ένα κοινωνικά άδικο αλλά χειροπιαστό αποτέλεσμα σε μια κοινωνία που υποφέρει από την ανεργία, τις δουλειές του ποδαριού μέσα από το κατώφλι της μαθητείας<sup>29</sup>. Εξάλλου πολύ σύντομα φάνηκε, ότι η κυβέρνηση ΣΥΡΙΖΑ-ΑΝΕΛ θα συνεργάζονταν με τον ΟΟΣΑ, υιοθετώντας τη γραμμή ότι οι υποδείξεις και προτάσεις του είναι τεχνοκρατικές και όχι στρατευμένα νεοφιλελεύθερες<sup>30</sup>.

Η κατάσταση στασιμότητας κράτησε μέχρι το τέλος των διαπραγματεύσεων με την Τρόικα και τις πολιτικές εξελίξεις που δρομολόγησε το δημοψήφισμα στις 5.7.2015, το «όχι» του ελληνικού λαού με 62% και την προδοσία του από την κυβέρνηση ΣΥΡΙΖΑ-ΑΝΕΛ που υπέγραψε στις 13.7.2015 το τρίτο κατά σειρά μνημόνιο<sup>31</sup>.

Με αυτό το τρίτο μνημόνιο η κυβέρνηση δεσμεύτηκε απέναντι σε ΕΕ, ΔΝΤ και ΕΚΤ για τη μείωση κόστους της εκπαίδευσης, την εφαρμογή της αξιολόγησης και της μαθητείας, την προώθηση της επιχειρηματικότητας στην εκπαίδευση<sup>32</sup>.

Μετά την εκλογική τους νίκη στις 20.9.2015 τα κόμματα της κυβέρνησης συνασπισμού ΣΥΡΙΖΑ-ΑΝΕΛ προχώρησαν στην εφαρμογή των μέτρων του τρίτου μνημονίου. Η νέα πολιτική ηγεσία του υπουργείου Παιδείας υπό τον Ν. Φίλη ανακοίνωσε «εθνικό διάλογο» για την εφαρμογή αυτών των μνημονιακών δεσμεύσεων<sup>33</sup> και η σχετική επιτροπή κατέθεσε το Πόρισμα Λιάκου<sup>34</sup>, όπως ονομάστηκε από τον επικεφαλής της επιτροπής, καθηγητή Α. Λιάκο<sup>35</sup>.

Το Πόρισμα Λιάκου πρότεινε μεταξύ άλλων για τη μέση εκπαίδευση ένα σχολείο εντατικοποιημένο και εξεταστικοκεντρικό που λειτουργεί με «φίλτρα» ώστε να μειωθεί η ζήτηση για τριτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση, στην οποία θα οδηγήει ένα ελιτίστικο λύκειο και να παροχετευθεί η πλειοψηφία του μαθητικού πληθυσμού στη μαθητεία, καταρχήν μέσα από μια υποβαθμισμένη ΤΕΕ. Το σχολείο του Πορίσματος

<sup>28</sup> Ο υπουργός Παιδείας Μπαλτάς αφού αμφισβήτησε την επιλογή των προηγούμενων μνημονιακών κυβερνήσεων τα πειραματικά σχολεία να γίνουν «πρότυπα», σχολεία που στο όνομα της «αριστείας» θα προάγουν την ανταγωνιστικότητα και θα λειτουργούν τελικά σαν οιενεί ιδιωτικά σχολεία για τις ανάγκες μεσοστρωμάτων, επιχείρησε τελικά να εφαρμόσει ένα μοντέλο που θα τα συνδυάζει. Στην πράξη τα πειραματικά σχολεία δε λειτουργούν ως τέτοια. Για κριτική στα λεγόμενα «πρότυπα» σχολεία βλ. Β' ΕΛΜΕ Αθήνας (2012).

<sup>29</sup> Βλ. Τσαγκαράτου (2015)

<sup>30</sup> Στις 12.3.2015 ο γραμματέας του ΟΟΣΑ Α. Γκουρία επισκέφτηκε την Ελλάδα και συναντήθηκε με τον πρωθυπουργό Α. Τσίπρα εγκαινιάζοντας τη συνεργασία του με τη νέα ελληνική κυβέρνηση. Βλ. σχετικά Κάτσικας (2015)

<sup>31</sup> Βλ. αναλυτικά Καβαβιάδης (2015)

<sup>32</sup> Αναλυτικά περιγράφονται στο κεφάλαιο «Αγορά εργασίας και ανθρώπινο δυναμικό». Βλ. αναλυτικά Ιωαννίδου (2015β)

<sup>33</sup> Βλ. αναλυτικά Ιωαννίδου (2016) και Καλημερίδης (2016<sup>α</sup>)

<sup>34</sup> Βλ. *Επιτροπή Εθνικού και Κοινωνικού Διαλόγου για την Παιδεία* (2016)

<sup>35</sup> Βλ. αναλυτικά Ιωαννίδου, Κρεασίδης, Ρέππα, Τσαγκαράτου, (2016)



Λιάκου προβλεπόταν μέσα από τις πρακτικές της «αυτονομίας» και αυτοαξιολόγησης της σχολικής μονάδας<sup>36</sup> ένα σχολείο φτηνό, με προσαρμογή στη μνημονιακή υποχρηματοδότηση της εκπαίδευσης, αναζήτηση χορηγών στον επιχειρηματικό τομέα και μέτρα περιορισμού των υποδομών με μεγάλες σχολικές μονάδες, μέσω ενός νέου κύματος συγχωνεύσεων-καταργήσεων, καθώς και άλλες πρακτικές μείωσης του λειτουργικού κόστους, αλλά και του επιπέδου της εκπαιδευτικής διδασκαλίας (βίντεο διδασκαλίας αντί για την παρουσία εκπαιδευτικού κ.τ.ό.). Είναι χαρακτηριστικός για το ύφος του Πορίσματος Λιάκου ο τρόπος που αντιμετωπίζονται οι εκπαιδευτικοί, αφού η ιδέα για προσλήψεις από το δυναμικό των αδιόριστων νέων πτυχιούχων συνδέεται όχι με την κάλυψη των εκπαιδευτικών αναγκών, αλλά με την αντικατάσταση του υφιστάμενου εκπαιδευτικού δυναμικού, δεδομένου ότι λόγω των εμπειριών του πιθανά θα έχει παθητική στάση απέναντι στις προτεινόμενες αλλαγές.

Σε ανάλογη κατεύθυνση κινήθηκε και η Επιτροπή Μορφωτικών Υποθέσεων της Βουλής με το Πόρισμα Γαβρόγλου<sup>37</sup>, όπως ονομάστηκε από τον βουλευτή πρόεδρό της, ο οποίος μετά από λίγο ανέλαβε και το υπουργείο Παιδείας<sup>38</sup>. Τόσο η διαδικασία του «εθνικού διαλόγου», όσο και το πόρισμα Λιάκου συνάντησαν την αντίδραση της εκπαιδευτικής κοινότητας που εκφράστηκε με κινητοποιήσεις των ΕΛΜΕ, των Συλλόγων Πρωτοβάθμιας Εκπαίδευσης, των Ενώσεων Γονέων και του φοιτητικού κινήματος<sup>39</sup>.

Πέρα από το Πόρισμα Λιάκου, οι βασικές επιλογές της κυβέρνησης ήταν η διαχείριση του προγράμματος σπουδών με τρόπο που θα εξασφάλιζε την κάλυψη των κενών σε διδακτικό προσωπικό, προκειμένου να μη χρειαστούν διορισμοί εκπαιδευτικών (μείωση ωρών διδασκαλίας οικιακής οικονομίας, αρχαίων ελληνικών κ.ά.)<sup>40</sup>.

Ειδικά στην ΤΕΕ υπήρξαν μια σειρά από παρεμβάσεις, όπως η κατάργηση των ολιγομελών τμημάτων, συγχωνεύσεις σε επίπεδο τομέα που δημιούργησε αντικειμενικά εμπόδια στη δυνατότητα επιλογής τομέα λόγω έλλειψης σχολείου στον τόπο κατοικίας, πράγμα που επιτείνει το σύστημα ηλεκτρονικών εγγραφών, ο πρόωρος χαρακτηρισμός φοίτησης για την ΤΕΕ που μετατρέπει τμήματα σε ολιγομελή, τα οποία δε θα λειτουργήσουν με τη νέα χρονιά. Ξεκίνησε παράλληλα η μαθητεία, με το πρόσχημα ότι έχει αλλάξει ο χαρακτήρας της μαθητείας που προέβλεπε ο νόμος Αρβανιτόπουλου. Αφορούσε εργασία άνεργων νέων κάτω των 24, με το 75% του «υποκατώτατου» μισθού που καλύπτεται από έξοδα του δημοσίου και πόρους ΕΣΠΑ. Μάλιστα η μαθητεία εφαρμόστηκε όχι μόνο στον

<sup>36</sup> Βλ. αναλυτικά Καλημερίδης (2016γ)

<sup>37</sup> Βλ. Διαρκής Επιτροπή Μορφωτικών Υποθέσεων της Βουλής (2016)

380 Κ. Γαβρόγλου, πανεπιστημιακός, μέλος της διοίκησης του Ινστιτούτου Ν. Πουλαντζάς, αλλά και του Ιδρύματος Λάτση, ανέλαβε υπουργός Παιδείας μετά την αποπομπή του Ν. Φίλη κατ' απαίτηση της Εκκλησίας.

<sup>39</sup> Βλ. Καλημερίδης (2016β)

<sup>40</sup> Βλ. Ρέππας (2016)





ιδιωτικό τομέα, αλλά και για την κάλυψη κενών θέσεων στον δημόσιο τομέα. Τέλος σε ό,τι αφορά την ΤΕΕ προχώρησε η ενοποίησή της σε διοικητικό επίπεδο με την κατάρτιση και μη τυπική εκπαίδευση (Εθνικό Στρατηγικό Πλαίσιο για την ΕΕΚ), δείχνοντας ότι η αποφασιστικότητα στην εφαρμογή της μαθητείας κάθε άλλο παρά συνεπάγεται την αναβάθμιση των σχολείων της ΤΕΕ (ΕΠΑΛ).

Στην επιλογή των διευθυντών σχολικών μονάδων, καθώς το προηγούμενο σύστημα κρίθηκε από το ΣΤΕ αντισυνταγματικό, λόγω της προσμέτρησης της επιλογής του συλλόγου διδασκόντων, επανήλθε μια μορφή προηγούμενου συστήματος με συνέντευξη και μετρήσιμα προσόντα. Η επιλογή του συλλόγου διδασκόντων μετατράπηκε σε μία διαδικασία με ένα συμβουλευτικό χαρακτήρα και βαθμολογική μορφή αξιολόγησης, εμποδώνοντας τη λογική της στη λειτουργία του σχολείου και δημιουργώντας ένα προηγούμενο<sup>41</sup>.

Με τη θεσμοθέτηση της λεγόμενης δημιουργικής εργασίας στα λύκεια και της θεματικής εβδομάδας στα γυμνάσια, ήρθαν έστω και σε ένα πρώτο επίπεδο μια σειρά από χαρακτηριστικά του σχολείου που περιγράφει το πόρισμα Λιάκου. Υπήρξε εξοικονόμηση ωρών με την παράλληλη κατάρτιση των πρότζεκτ που από δίωρο μάθημα διαχύθηκαν σε αυτούς δυο νέους θεσμούς, με τη διαφορά ότι αφορούν πια όλες τις ειδικότητες, εμποδώνονται πρακτικές ενός εντατικοποιημένου και απαιτητικού σχολείου χωρίς να υπάρχει η απαραίτητη υλικοτεχνική υποδομή και κουλτούρα, ταυτόχρονα με την κατηγοριοποίηση των μαθητών, ενώ εφαρμόζονται μέτρα όπως ο ατομικός φάκελος και τα μετρήσιμα αποτελέσματα που στοχεύουν στη διευκόλυνση της εφαρμογής της αξιολόγησης και παράλληλα έχουμε αύξηση ωραρίου και φόρτου<sup>42</sup>.

Όλα αυτά συμβαίνουν ενώ το νέο μισθολόγιο για το δημόσιο τομέα που ψήφισε η κυβέρνηση, ο ασφαλιστικός νόμος Κατρούγκαλου και η φορολογική πολιτική, καθώς κινούνται στα πλαίσια του τρίτου μνημονίου, περιορίζουν παραπέρα το εισόδημα και υποβαθμίζουν περισσότερο το επίπεδο ζωής των εκπαιδευτικών, όπως όλων των εργαζομένων στον δημόσιο και τον ιδιωτικό τομέα.

Στο πλαίσιο του ελέγχου υλοποίησης των προαπαιτούμενων του τρίτου μνημονίου, η Τρόικα των ΕΕ, ΕΚΤ και ΔΝΤ, προχωρά σε αξιολογήσεις της εφαρμογής του σαν προϋπόθεση για την παροχή της δόσης του συμφωνημένου δανείου, αλλά και υπαγόρευσης του ρυθμού και της έντασης στην εφαρμογή μέτρων, με το δικαίωμα της επιβολής ακόμα και νέων μέτρων. Οι πρακτικές αυτές συνδέονται και με την επικοινωνιακή τακτική κυβέρνησης και τρόικας να εμφανίζονται τα μνημονιακά μέτρα σαν κάτι νέο και αναπόφευκτο, ώστε να μην αποτύχει το πρόγραμμα εφαρμογής του μνημονίου καθιστώντας τις μέχρι τότε θυσίες μάταιες. Έτσι στις 18.5.2017 ψηφίστηκε νομοσχέδιο που δεσμεύει την κυβέρνηση στην εφαρμογή 113 προαπαιτούμενων. Λίγο πριν από αυτή τη νέα δέσμη μέτρων που χαρακτηρίστηκε λόγω του μεγάλου τους αριθμού και της σημασίας τους «τέταρτο μνημόνιο», ο

<sup>41</sup> Βλ. Ιωαννίδου, Τζορτζιώτης (2015)

<sup>42</sup> Βλ. αναλυτικά Ιωαννίδου, Μπαχτή (2017)





πρωθυπουργός Α. Τσίπρας προχώρησε σε εξαγγελίες για την εκπαίδευση, μετά από μια συμβολική επίσκεψη στο υπουργείο Παιδείας<sup>43</sup>.

Συγκεκριμένα ανήγγειλε ότι οι εξετάσεις τύπου πανελλαδικών θα πραγματοποιούνται για το εθνικό απολυτήριο του λυκείου, στην προοπτική να αντικαταστήσουν ουσιαστικά τις εισαγωγικές εξετάσεις για την τριτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση, όπως πρότεινε και το Πόρισμα Λιάκου, ότι οι απόφοιτοι των ΕΠΑΛ θα μπορούν να γράφονται σε αδιαβάθμητες σχολές διετούς φοίτησης, η ειδική αγωγή θα στελεχώνεται αποκλειστικά από αναπληρωτές, ενώ για την ξένη γλώσσα θα καταργηθεί η επιλογή και η διδασκαλία σε επίπεδα. Ουσιαστικά επιβεβαίωσε τη στρατηγική συναίνεση της κυβέρνησης με τις κατευθύνσεις των μνημονίων και στο επίπεδο της εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής. Ούτε το ελιτίστικο εξεταστικοκεντρικό σχολείο αμφισβητείται ούτε η ώθηση της μαθητικής νεολαίας σε μια ΤΕΕ που είναι προσανατολισμένη στη μαθητεία-ελαστική εργασία, μαζί όλα αυτά με την εγκατάλειψη της προοπτικής διορισμών και γενίκευσης των ελαστικών εργασιακών σχέσεων των αναπληρωτών εκπαιδευτικών, αλλά και κάθε μέτρο που μπορεί να εξοικονομήσει πόρους και θέσεις εργασίας, σε βάρος φυσικά της ποιότητας της παρεχόμενης εκπαίδευσης<sup>44</sup>.

Είναι χαρακτηριστικό ότι το τρίτο μνημόνιο προβλέπει με σαφήνεια την εφαρμογή της αξιολόγησης των εκπαιδευτικών, την αυταξιολόγηση σχολικών μονάδων και την αναβάθμιση οργάνων (ΑΔΙΠΔΕ) δηλαδή εξωτερική αξιολόγηση. Εξάλλου οι διαδικασίες αξιολόγησης των στελεχών στην εκπαίδευση συνεχίζονταν από την κυβέρνηση ΣΥΡΙΖΑ-ΑΝΕΛ.

Η προετοιμασία της κοινής γνώμης γίνεται μέσα από τις εκθέσεις ΣΕΒ και ΟΟΣΑ<sup>45</sup>, όπως και στο ξεκίνημα της μνημονιακής φάσης. Ο ΟΟΣΑ σταθερά ζητάει τριπλή αξιολόγηση (εσωτερική, εξωτερική και αυτοαξιολόγηση) και ένταση αξιολόγησης πανελλαδικά των μαθητών, ορθολογική αξιοποίηση εκπαιδευτικού προσωπικού, αύξηση ωραρίου, βλέπει το 80% των εκπαιδευτικών δαπανών να κατευθύνεται στους μισθούς, ενώ ο ΣΕΒ βλέπει πολλούς φοιτητές στις παιδαγωγικές και καθηγητικές σχολές. Το γενικό μοτίβο ότι η κρίση στην εκπαίδευση βρίσκεται στους πολλούς και όχι παραγωγικούς εκπαιδευτικούς που κοστίζουν πολύ, στην έλλειψη αξιολόγησης και στους περιορισμούς στην άσκηση του «διευθυντικού δικαιώματος» στα στελέχη της εκπαίδευσης. Οι οικονομικές και οι κοινωνικές συνέπειες της κρίσης και των μνημονιακών συνταγών που ακολουθήθηκαν για να ξεπεραστεί αυτή σε βάρος του κόσμου της εργασίας, έντεχνα αποσιωπώνται σε τέτοιου είδους κείμενα.

Είναι χαρακτηριστικό ότι για τον ΟΟΣΑ οι «βέλτιστες πρακτικές» που πρέπει οπωσδήποτε να υιοθετηθούν στην εκπαίδευση αφορούν τη μείωση μισθού, τη σύνδεση εξέλιξης με την αξιολόγηση (και των μαθητών), την τυποποίηση της

<sup>43</sup> Βλ. αναλυτικά Ιωαννίδου (2017)

<sup>44</sup> Βλ. Ιωαννίδου (2016α) και Καλημερίδης, Μπαχτή, Ιωαννίδου (2016)

<sup>45</sup> Βλ. αναλυτικά Βαρδαλαχάκης (2016)



αξιολόγησης και τη γενίκευσή της με τη αυτοαξιολόγηση σχολικών μονάδων και την εξωτερική αξιολόγηση, την εφάπαξ επιχορήγηση τύπου κουπονιού (voucher), τον περιορισμό των εισακτέων στην τριτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση<sup>46</sup>.

Για την ΕΕ οι αντίστοιχες «καλές πρακτικές» αφορούν την έμφαση στις δεξιότητες αντί της γνώσης, τη μάθηση στην εργασία, δηλαδή τον συνδυασμό της μαθητείας και των ελαστικών μορφών, τις εταιρικές σχέσεις δημόσιου-ιδιωτικού τομέα με την προσαρμογή παράλληλα στις ανάγκες του δεύτερου<sup>47</sup>.

Ο ΣΥΡΙΖΑ διάβαζε και διαβάζει τις πολιτικές του κεφαλαίου σαν λιτότητα. Στην πραγματικότητα είναι καπιταλιστικές αναδιαρθρώσεις με συνεκτική λογική και στρατηγικές στοχεύσεις. Δεν περιορίζονται μόνο σε επιλογές μονεταριστικού χαρακτήρα και υποχρηματοδότησης, που είναι όμως ένας βασικός άξονας της εφαρμοζόμενης στρατηγικής. Εντάσσεται σε μια προσπάθεια αλλαγής της φύσης της εκπαίδευσης, με άμεσες και συνέπειες στο ρόλο του εκπαιδευτικού και στόχευση σε έναν απόφοιτο του εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος, προσαρμοσμένο στη σταθερότητα της κοινωνικής βαρβαρότητας που ανέδειξε η καπιταλιστική κρίση.

Παραπέρα θεωρεί ο ΣΥΡΙΖΑ ότι η ΕΕ είναι κομμάτι της λύσης, ότι έχει δυνατότητα να αποκτήσει κοινωνικό πρόσημο και ότι η αποδέσμευση από αυτή συνιστά εθνική αναδίπλωση, στοιχείο εθνικισμού και αδιέξοδη προοπτική. Είναι χαρακτηριστικό ότι στην μπροσούρα της Επιτροπής Ελέγχου Κυβερνητικού Έργου (ΕΕΚΕ) Παιδείας του ΣΥΡΙΖΑ που εκδόθηκε για τις ανάγκες της προεκλογικής εκστρατείας τον Γενάρη του 2015 δεν αναφέρεται σχεδόν πουθενά η ΕΕ και η εκπαιδευτική της στρατηγική. Η αντίθεση στο μνημονιακό πλαίσιο διαχωρίζεται έτσι σαφώς από μια αντιΕΕ στάση, στην ουσία ακυρώνοντας τη<sup>48</sup>.

Στην πραγματικότητα η ΕΕ φτιάχτηκε για να δώσει ισχύ φυσικού νόμου σε επιλογές νεοφιλελεύθερου χαρακτήρα και να απαξιώσει κοινωνικές κατακτήσεις και δικαιώματα ως παράγοντες δημοσιονομικής αστάθειας και που επέβαλε ο λαϊκισμός<sup>49</sup>. Στο εκπαιδευτικό και μαζικό κίνημα είδε ρόλο άκριτου υποστηρικτή της απόπειρας του να συγκροτήσει κυβέρνηση με «πυρήνα την Αριστερά» στα όρια της ΕΕ και των στρατηγικών της, επιλογή που θα οδηγήσει να γίνει η δική του ενσωμάτωση στο μνημονιακό πλαίσιο, ήττα του εκπαιδευτικού κινήματος.

Η υποστήριξη των δίκαιων αιτημάτων και διεκδικήσεων στο εκπαιδευτικό κίνημα για την υπεράσπιση του δημόσιου σχολείου προϋποθέτει την αυτοτέλεια από τους πολιτικούς συμβιβασμούς και την προτεραιότητα του πλαισίου αιτημάτων και διεκδικήσεων που ανέδειξαν οι αγώνες του εκπαιδευτικού κινήματος, μέσα σε μια αγωνιστική παρακαταθήκη υπεράσπισης του μορφωτικού αγαθού, της δημόσιας

<sup>46</sup> Βλ. αναλυτικά Καλημερίδης (2017)

<sup>47</sup> Βλ. αναλυτικά Ιωαννίδου (2015β)

<sup>48</sup> Βλ. αναλυτικά ΣΥΡΙΖΑ/ΕΕΚΕ Παιδείας (2015)

<sup>49</sup> Καθόλου τυχαία το προδρομικό σχήμα της ΕΕ, πριν καν γίνει Ευρωπαϊκή Οικονομική Κοινότητα (ΕΟΚ), ήταν η Ευρωπαϊκή Κοινότητα Άνθρακα και Χάλυβα (ΕΚΑΧ) που αφορούσε τη διαχείριση σε διακρατικό επίπεδο των βιομηχανικών πρώτων υλών σε όφελος των ευρωπαϊκών μονοπωλίων και πολυεθνικών.



και δωρεάν παιδείας, η οποία έχει σφραγίσει την εξέλιξη του εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος και έχει δώσει σημαντικές κατακτήσεις, δικαιώματα και ελευθερίες για τη νεολαία και την κοινωνία συνολικά. Προϋποθέτει αυτός ο δρόμος και πολιτικούς στόχους ενάντια σε χρέος, μνημόνια, ευρώ και ΕΕ. Προϋποθέτει, όμως, και τη διαμόρφωση ενός συνεκτικού οράματος απέναντι στη δυστοπία των μνημονίων που μπορεί να έχει πυρήνα το ενιαίο δωδεκάχρονο δημόσιο και δωρεάν σχολείο που θα δίνει όλη τη γνώση σε όλα τα παιδιά<sup>50</sup>.

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<sup>50</sup> Βλ. αναλυτικά Βουρεκάς (2017) και Ιωαννίδου (2015α)



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## Η υπουργική απόφαση για τον «ενιαίο τύπο ολοήμερου δημοτικού σχολείου» σαν αποτέλεσμα της νεοφιλελεύθερης πολιτικής της κυβέρνησης ΣΥΡΙΖΑ-ΑΝΕΛ

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Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης

### Περίληψη

Η συγκεκριμένη ανακοίνωση εξετάζει το χαρακτήρα της Υπουργικής Απόφασης Φ12/657/70691/Δ1 του υπουργού παιδείας Νίκου Φίλη για το «Ωρολόγιο Πρόγραμμα Ενιαίου Τύπου Ολοήμερου Δημοτικού Σχολείου» και τις αλλαγές που επιφέρει στην ελληνική πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση. Με αφετηρία τη θέση ότι η εκπαίδευση δεν μπορεί να θεωρείται ουδέτερη, καθώς αποτελεί πεδίο ταξικής σύγκρουσης και αντιπαράθεσης, ερευνάται αρχικά η οικονομική, πολιτική και εκπαιδευτική συγκυρία των τελευταίων ετών και πιο συγκεκριμένα, η στρατηγική της κυβέρνησης του Συνασπισμού Ριζοσπαστικής Αριστεράς (ΣΥΡΙΖΑ) με τους Ανεξάρτητους Έλληνες (ΑΝΕΛ) που σφραγίζει τη συγκεκριμένη μεταρρύθμιση στην πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση. Στη συνέχεια αναλύονται οι προβλέψεις της υπουργικής απόφασης για τη λειτουργία του ενιαίου τύπου ολοήμερου δημοτικού σχολείου σε σύγκριση με τις προηγούμενες διατάξεις, βάσει των τελευταίων υπουργικών αποφάσεων σχετικά με το ωρολόγιο πρόγραμμα των σχολείων που λειτουργούσαν με Ενιαίο Αναμορφωμένο Εκπαιδευτικό Πρόγραμμα (ΕΑΕΠ) και των σχολείων που λειτουργούσαν με κλασικό πρόγραμμα, συνοδευόμενες από την επιχειρηματολογία του υπουργού. Η ανακοίνωση ολοκληρώνεται με την κριτική αποτίμηση της υπουργικής απόφασης και τη σύνδεσή της με το γενικότερο νεοφιλελεύθερο χαρακτήρα της πολιτικής που ασκείται από τη σημερινή κυβέρνηση.

### Λέξεις-κλειδιά

Ενιαίος τύπος ολοήμερου δημοτικού σχολείου, εκπαιδευτική πολιτική ΣΥΡΙΖΑ-ΑΝΕΛ, νεοφιλελεύθερη εκπαιδευτική πολιτική

Το 2009 εκδηλώθηκε στην Ελλάδα με πρωτοφανή ένταση η παγκόσμια καπιταλιστική κρίση. Τα αίτια που οδήγησαν τη χώρα ένα βήμα πριν τη χρεωκοπία δεν μπορούν να αναλυθούν εκτενώς στο πλαίσιο της παρούσας εργασίας. Ωστόσο, συνοπτικά μπορούμε να αναφέρουμε πως η γενεσιουργός αιτία της παγκόσμιας κρίσης και, επομένως, της οικονομικής κρίσης στην Ελλάδα είναι η πτωτική τάση του μέσου ποσοστού κέρδους. Η επαναστατικοποίηση των μέσων παραγωγής αποστερεί το κεφάλαιο από τη δυνατότητα απόσπασης απόλυτης υπεραξίας του μεταβλητού κεφαλαίου, παράγοντα που αποτελεί την πεμπτουσία της ύπαρξής του. Αυτή η αντιφατική διαδικασία προκαλεί μια σειρά από προβλήματα, όπως η υπερσυσσώρευση κεφαλαίου, που σε ένα βαθμό επιχειρείται να ξεπεραστεί με την καταφυγή στη χρηματοπιστωτική οικονομική σφαίρα. Οι ισχυρισμοί περί κρίσης διαφθοράς ή χρέους δεν μπορούν να αντιμετωπίζονται με σοβαρότητα· η διαφθορά δεν μπορεί παρά να είναι αναπόσπαστο στοιχείο ενός συστήματος που χαρακτηρίζεται από τη λογική της με κάθε τρόπο απόκομισης κέρδους, ενώ η



ραγδαία αύξηση του χρέους είναι σε μεγάλο βαθμό αποτέλεσμα της προσπάθειας διάσωσης του ισχυρού ιδιωτικού κεφαλαίου από πλευράς κρατών (Μπογιόπουλος, 2011: 23-29; Ρούσης, 2012: 25-28, 30-33, 40-41).

Πιο συγκεκριμένα όσον αφορά στην ελληνική περίπτωση, ενώ τα καθεστωτικά Μέσα Μαζικής Ενημέρωσης (ΜΜΕ) προέβαλλαν ως υπαίτιους για την οικονομική κατάρρευση της χώρας τον υποτιθέμενο μεγάλο δημόσιο τομέα και τις υψηλές δημόσιες δαπάνες και κοινωνικές παροχές, την αύξηση της ιδιωτικής κατανάλωσης και του ιδιωτικού δανεισμού, με μια προσεκτικότερη ανάλυση γίνεται φανερό ότι για τη δεινή κατάσταση, στην οποία περιήλθε η ελληνική οικονομία, ευθύνεται η ελλιπής ανταγωνιστικότητα του ελληνικού καπιταλισμού, που εντάθηκε αφενός κυρίως μετά την ένταξη της Ελλάδας στην Ευρωπαϊκή Οικονομική Κοινότητα (ΕΟΚ) το 1981 και αφετέρου υπό την πίεση της παγκόσμιας οικονομικής κρίσης (Σακελλαρόπουλος, 2014: 33-44). Η κρίση αξιοποιήθηκε για την επιβίωση των πιο ανταγωνιστικών μερίδων του κεφαλαίου με το μικρότερο δυνατό κόστος για το ίδιο. Με άλλα λόγια η κατάσταση στην Ελλάδα αποτέλεσε ευκαιρία για την εφαρμογή ενός συστήματος το οποίο αφενός θα εξασφάλιζε την προσωρινή βιωσιμότητα του συστήματος, αφετέρου δε, λόγω του φαινομενικού αδιεξόδου, θα προωθούσε χωρίς αντιστάσεις από τις πληττόμενες λαϊκές τάξεις αναδιάρθρωση των κοινωνικών και οικονομικών σχέσεων προς όφελος του κεφαλαίου, που θα μπορούσαν να αποτελέσουν παράδειγμα για τα κράτη με τις πιο αδύναμες οικονομίες (Γρόλλιος, 2012).

Ήδη από τις αρχές του 2010 οι ελληνικές κυβερνήσεις ακολούθησαν μια ακραία νεοφιλελεύθερη και νεοσυντηρητική πολιτική σε συμφωνία με τις επιταγές της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης (ΕΕ) και των θεσμών της, όπως η Ευρωπαϊκή Κεντρική Τράπεζα (ΕΚΤ) και η Τρόικα, αλλά και Διεθνών Οργανισμών, όπως το Διεθνές Νομισματικό Ταμείο (ΔΝΤ). Υπό την απειλή χρεωκοπίας και μέχρι τον Ιανουάριο του 2015 επιβλήθηκαν στον ελληνικό λαό δύο μνημόνια και διάφορα πακέτα μέτρων, χαρακτηριστικό των οποίων είναι ότι ρίχνουν το βάρος στις κατώτερες τάξεις και διευρύνουν το χάσμα μεταξύ πλουσίων και φτωχών. Ειπωμένα εν συντομία, περιλαμβάνουν μείωση των λειτουργικών εξόδων του κράτους, αλληπάλληλες περικοπές των αποδοχών των εργαζομένων και συνταξιούχων του δημόσιου τομέα, κατάργηση της Εθνικής Γενικής Συλλογικής Σύμβασης Εργασίας (ΕΓΣΣΕ) που συνεπάγεται, μεταξύ άλλων, διαρκείς μειώσεις του κατώτατου μισθού και απελευθέρωση απολύσεων, αύξηση φορολογίας που πλήττει τις λιγότερο προνομιούχες τάξεις και γενικά, προώθηση ελαστικών σχέσεων εργασίας τόσο στον δημόσιο όσο και στον ιδιωτικό τομέα (Σακελλαρόπουλος, 2014: 76-83).

Η εκπαίδευση, επίσης, χρησιμοποιήθηκε για να καλυφθούν οι μνημονιακές υποχρεώσεις της χώρας, αλλά και για να πραγματοποιηθεί μια συντηρητική στροφή στη λειτουργία της ως θεσμού του κράτους. Για τους σκοπούς αυτούς, λοιπόν, μειώθηκε η χρηματοδότηση για την εκπαίδευση άμεσα ως ποσοστό του Ακαθάριστου Εγχώριου Προϊόντος (ΑΕΠ), αλλά και έμμεσα μέσω της συγχώνευσης εκατοντάδων σχολείων πρωτοβάθμιας και δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης, τμημάτων



Ανώτατων Εκπαιδευτικών Ιδρυμάτων (ΑΕΙ) και Τεχνολογικών Εκπαιδευτικών Ιδρυμάτων (ΤΕΙ) και 3 ΑΕΙ και 3 ΤΕΙ, όπως όριζε το σχέδιο ΑΘΗΝΑ, μέσω μείωσης του διδακτικού προσωπικού που πήρε τη μορφή απολύσεων ή μη προσλήψεων νέων εκπαιδευτικών, αύξησης του διδακτικού ωραρίου των εκπαιδευτικών, μείωσης των αποδοχών και αύξησης του αριθμού των μαθητών ανά τάξη. Επιπλέον, θεσμοθετήθηκε η αξιολόγηση του εκπαιδευτικού έργου και των σχολικών μονάδων, η οποία είναι συνδεδεμένη με τη βαθμολογική και μισθολογική κλίμακα, ενώ δεν έχει καμία παιδαγωγική λειτουργία. Παράλληλα επιβλήθηκε νέος αυστηρός πειθαρχικός κώδικας για τους δημόσιους υπαλλήλους, που επηρεάζει αναπόφευκτα και τους εκπαιδευτικούς. Ενώ με την πολιτική της υποχρηματοδότησης των πανεπιστημίων ανοίγει ο δρόμος για την επιχειρηματοποίησή τους. Ορόσημο, επίσης, της εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής των μνημονιακών κυβερνήσεων Νέας Δημοκρατίας (ΝΔ) και Πανελληνίου Σοσιαλιστικού Κινήματος (ΠΑΣΟΚ) αποτελεί και η μεταρρύθμιση στη δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση με το νόμο 4186/2013, το νόμο για το Νέο Λύκειο, όπως είναι γνωστός, ο οποίος προέβλεπε τη δημιουργία ενός αυστηρού πλέγματος πανελλαδικού τύπου εξετάσεων σε όλες τις τάξεις γενικού και επαγγελματικού λυκείου, συνυπολογισμό των βαθμών των τριών τάξεων για τον υπολογισμό των μορίων των υποψηφίων για την εισαγωγή στην τριτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση, σύνδεση της μαθητείας με το επαγγελματικό λύκειο, προώθηση των φορέων μη τυπικής εκπαίδευσης που είναι άρρηκτα δεμένοι με την μαθητεία και αποκόπτουν τους φοιτούντες από την πορεία τους προς την τριτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση (Ν. 4186/2013).

Τον Ιανουάριο του 2015 εκλέχτηκε στην κυβέρνηση ο ΣΥΡΙΖΑ με σημαία το αδιέξοδο των πολιτικών λιτότητας, την κατάργηση των μνημονίων «με ένα νόμο κι ένα άρθρο», τον αγώνα για μια άλλη Ευρώπη, αυτήν της δημοκρατίας, της προόδου και των ισότιμων λαών και άλλα ηχηρά παρόμοια. Ένα από τα πρώτα σημάδια της πολιτικής που θα ασκούσαν μετά την ανάληψη της διακυβέρνησης από τον ΣΥΡΙΖΑ ήταν η υπογραφή της «συμφωνίας γέφυρας», που «σήμαινε οικειοθελή παράταση του μνημονιακού καθεστώτος και παραίτηση από την άσκηση κυρίαρχης πολιτικής» (Ρινάλντι, 2016: 59). Εφτά περίπου μήνες χρειάστηκαν για να αρθούν οι αυταπάτες για τη δυνατότητα μιας αριστερής διαχείρισης της κατάστασης, όπου μέσα από «σκληρές διαπραγματεύσεις» και «δημιουργικές ασάφειες» θα επιτυχανόταν εντός καπιταλιστικού συστήματος, εντός ΕΕ και ευρώ, η έξοδος από την οικονομική κρίση και η σταδιακή ανάκαμψη της χώρας. Τον Αύγουστο του 2015, παρά την έκβαση του δημοψηφίσματος της 5<sup>ης</sup> Ιουλίου, δηλαδή το «ΟΧΙ» του ελληνικού λαού στις αυταρχικές πολιτικές των μνημονίων των ελληνικών κυβερνήσεων και της ΕΕ, η κυβέρνηση ΣΥΡΙΖΑ-ΑΝΕΛ υπέγραψε το τρίτο μνημόνιο εγκαταλείποντας οριστικά τη ρητορεία για τη δυνατότητα φιλολαϊκής διαχείρισης της κρίσης εντός ΕΕ και πραγματοποιώντας μια αμετάκλητη στροφή προς αστικές, νεοφιλελεύθερες πολιτικές. Το δίδυμο ΣΥΡΙΖΑ-ΑΝΕΛ, που σχημάτισε εκ νέου κυβέρνηση μετά τις εκλογές του Σεπτεμβρίου 2015 κατάφερε να «περάσει» σε σύντομο χρονικό διάστημα ρυθμίσεις που δεν τόλμησαν οι προηγούμενες κυβερνήσεις. Η



μνημονιακή κυβέρνηση ΣΥΡΙΖΑ-ΑΝΕΛ είναι υπεύθυνη για το νέο ασφαλιστικό νομοσχέδιο που φέρνει περικοπές κύριων και επικουρικών συντάξεων, καταργήσεις επιδομάτων και αυξήσεις εισφορών και ορίων συνταξιοδότησης. Η «δίκαιη» κατανομή των βαρών σε πλούσιους και φτωχούς με ταξικό πρόσημο, που επικαλείται ο ΣΥΡΙΖΑ, δεν μπορεί παρά να μην ανταποκρίνεται στην πραγματικότητα.

Η εκπαίδευση αποτελεί, επίσης, πεδίο άσκησης των νεοφιλελεύθερων πολιτικών της τωρινής κυβέρνησης. Ήδη από το πρώτο διάστημα της ανάληψης διακυβέρνησης από τον ΣΥΡΙΖΑ και τους ΑΝΕΛ διαφάνηκε η εκπαιδευτική στρατηγική που θα ακολουθούσαν. Πρώτη ένδειξη αποτελεί το γεγονός πως δεν απέσυραν εξαρχής και εν τω συνόλω το νόμο 4186/2013 για τη δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση, που τόσο δριμεία κριτική του είχαν ασκήσει από τη θέση της αξιωματικής αντιπολίτευσης. Σαν κίνηση εντυπωσιασμού κατάργησαν την τράπεζα θεμάτων διαβαθμισμένης δυσκολίας ως πηγή άντλησης θεμάτων για εξετάσεις και απέσυραν τις διατάξεις του νόμου που όριζαν το συνυπολογισμό των βαθμών των εξετάσεων όλων των μαθημάτων και των τριών τάξεων του γενικού και επαγγελματικού λυκείου για τον υπολογισμό των μορίων για την εισαγωγή των υποψηφίων στην τριτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση. Παρόλα αυτά διατήρησαν τις προβλέψεις για το επαγγελματικό λύκειο και τους φορείς μη τυπικής εκπαίδευσης. Κυρίως, όμως, διατηρήθηκε η στενή σύνδεση του επαγγελματικού λυκείου με το θεσμό της μαθητείας, ο οποίος μάλιστα άρχισε να προβάλλεται από την κυβέρνηση ως κάτι το προοδευτικό, που μόνο θετικές συνέπειες μπορεί να έχει στη φυσική και πνευματική συγκρότηση των μαθητών.

Εξαιτίας της περιορισμένης έκτασης της εργασίας δεν μπορούμε να επεκταθούμε σε λεπτομέρειες. Πρέπει, ωστόσο, να τονιστεί ότι δεν έγιναν διορισμοί παρά τις εξαγγελίες και υποσχέσεις. Είναι χαρακτηριστικό ότι το σχολικό έτος 2015-2016 το 14% των ανθρώπων που εργάστηκαν στη δημόσια εκπαίδευση ήταν αναπληρωτές. Συγκεκριμένα από το σύνολο των 158.081 εκπαιδευτικών οι αναπληρωτές ήταν περισσότεροι από 22.000 (alfavita.gr, 2017). Επιπλέον πρέπει να αναφερθεί πως με την τροπολογία για την ειδική εκπαίδευση που περιλαμβάνεται στο νόμο «Ρυθμίσεις για την ελληνόγλωσση εκπαίδευση, τη διαπολιτισμική εκπαίδευση και άλλες διατάξεις» χαλαρώνουν τα κριτήρια προκειμένου να εργαστεί κάποιος εκπαιδευτικός ως δάσκαλος ειδικής αγωγής. Έτσι σε αυτή τη θέση μπορεί να βρεθούν ακόμη και δάσκαλοι γενικής αγωγής χωρίς κάποια ειδίκευση ή έστω επιμόρφωση προς χάριν της κάλυψης των κενών και της αξιοποίησης με το «βέλτιστο» τρόπο του υφιστάμενου ανθρώπινου δυναμικού. Στο άρθρο 28 του ίδιου νόμου, που αφορά την ιδιωτική εκπαίδευση, προβλέπονται μειώσεις αποζημίωσης απόλυσης και συνταξιοδότησης, καθώς και διευκόλυνση και απορρύθμιση των απολύσεων. Με την υπουργική απόφαση για τον ενιαίο τύπο ολοήμερου νηπιαγωγείου ανατρέπεται το ωράριο λειτουργίας του νηπιαγωγείου, το οποίο μετατρέπεται σε κέντρο φύλαξης και χάνει τον παιδαγωγικό και κοινωνικό του ρόλο. Οι διαψευσμένες πλέον διακηρύξεις σχετικά με την κατάργηση των





αρχαίων ή της πρωινής προσευχής, οι προτεινόμενες διατάξεις για τη διδασκαλία του μαθήματος των θρησκευτικών, που, από ομολογιακό, θα γινόταν μάθημα γνώσης των θρησκειών με κάποια έμφαση, βέβαια, στην ελληνική ορθόδοξη χριστιανική παράδοση έχουν μοναδικό στόχο να αποπροσανατολίσουν από τα ουσιώδη προβλήματα της εκπαίδευσης. Επαναφέρεται, επίσης, το ζήτημα της αξιολόγησης και αυτοαξιολόγησης του εκπαιδευτικού έργου. Η εκπαίδευση των προσφυγόπουλων τέθηκε στο περιθώριο του επίσημου σχολικού δικτύου ή εγκαταλείφθηκε στις ΜΚΟ.

Συγκεκριμένα όσον αφορά στην υπουργική απόφαση του Ν. Φίλη για τα δημοτικά σχολεία καθιερώνεται ο Ενιαίος Τύπος Ολοήμερου Δημοτικού Σχολείου σε όλα τα δημοτικά σχολεία της χώρας. Το βασικό σχολικό ωράριο ξεκινάει στις 08:00 με την υποδοχή των μαθητών και διαρκεί 6 ώρες, λήγει, δηλαδή, στις 13:15. Το ωράριο του ολοήμερου προγράμματος εκτείνεται από τη λήξη του βασικού προγράμματος ως τις 16:00. Συγκρίνοντας αυτή την υπουργική απόφαση με τις προηγούμενες διατάξεις διαπιστώνουμε πως σε ό,τι αφορά στο ωρολόγιο πρόγραμμα των δημοτικών σχολείων με Ενιαίο Αναμορφωμένο Εκπαιδευτικό Πρόγραμμα (ΕΑΕΠ) βάσει της υπουργικής απόφασης που εξετάζουμε καταργείται η πρωινή ζώνη 07:00-08:00 και η έβδομη διδακτική ώρα, με την οποία το βασικό πρόγραμμα εκτεινόταν ως τις 14:00 για όλες τις τάξεις σύμφωνα με τις διατάξεις της Υπουργικής Απόφασης Χριστοφιλοπούλου του 2011. Σε ό,τι αφορά στα υπόλοιπα δημοτικά σχολεία τίθενται σε ισχύ τα παραπάνω<sup>1</sup>, ενώ καταργείται και η προαιρετική ζώνη του ολοήμερου 16:15-17:00, όπως προβλεπόταν στην υπουργική απόφαση Γιαννάκου 2006. Αξίζει, επίσης, να σημειωθεί ότι πλέον το Ολοήμερο Πρόγραμμα ολοκληρώνεται στις 16:00, ενώ βάσει των δύο προηγούμενων σχετικών υπουργικών αποφάσεων το υποχρεωτικό Ολοήμερο Πρόγραμμα τελείωνε στις 16:15.

Όσον αφορά στις διδακτικές ώρες του κάθε διδακτικού αντικειμένου, παρατηρούνται μόνο μειώσεις. Συγκριτικά με τις διατάξεις της υπουργικής απόφασης 2011 για τα ΕΑΕΠ παρατηρούμε ότι το μάθημα των θρησκευτικών μειώνεται κατά μία ώρα στις Ε' και ΣΤ' τάξεις και, επομένως, διδάσκεται για μόνο μία ώρα εβδομαδιαίως. Το μάθημα της γλώσσας μειώνεται κατά μία ώρα στην Α' και τη Β' δημοτικού και διδάσκεται πλέον 9 ώρες σε εβδομαδιαία βάση. Η μελέτη περιβάλλοντος διδάσκεται πλέον δύο ώρες τη βδομάδα στην Γ' και Δ' τάξη, η διδασκαλία της, δηλαδή, μειώνεται κατά μία ώρα. Η διδασκαλία της μουσικής, επίσης, μειώνεται κατά μία ώρα στην Α' και Β' δημοτικού με αποτέλεσμα να διδάσκεται μόνο μία ώρα την εβδομάδα στις δύο αυτές τάξεις, ενώ η θεατρική αγωγή βγαίνει εντελώς από το βασικό πρόγραμμα για τις Ε' και ΣΤ' τάξεις. Η φυσική αγωγή ελαττώνεται κατά μία ώρα στο ωρολόγιο πρόγραμμα των Α', Β', Γ' και Δ' τάξεων. Το μάθημα των αγγλικών διδάσκεται κατά μία ώρα λιγότερο σε όλες τις

1 Οφείλουμε να διευκρινίσουμε ότι στα δημοτικά σχολεία που δε λειτουργούν με Ενιαίο Αναμορφωμένο Εκπαιδευτικό Πρόγραμμα το σχολικό ωράριο είναι εφτάωρο μόνο για τους μαθητές των Ε' και ΣΤ' τάξεων, ενώ για τις υπόλοιπες τάξεις το πρόγραμμα λήγει στις 13:15 (ΥΑ Φ12/773/77094/Γ1 2006).





τάξεις του δημοτικού. Η ευέλικτη ζώνη μειώνεται κατά μία ώρα στο πρόγραμμα των Α', Β', Γ και Δ' τάξεων, ενώ βγαίνει από το πρόγραμμα των Ε' και ΣΤ' τάξεων. Τέλος, το μάθημα Τεχνολογίες της Πληροφορίας και της Επικοινωνίας (ΤΠΕ) μειώνεται κατά μία ώρα από το πρόγραμμα των Γ', Δ', Ε' και ΣΤ' τάξεων. Συνολικά λοιπόν οι αλλαγές στο ωρολόγιο πρόγραμμα μεταφράζονται σε μειώσεις πέντε διδακτικών ωρών σε κάθε τάξη, από 35 σε 30.

Συγκριτικά με τις διατάξεις της υπουργικής απόφασης 2006 για τα δημοτικά σχολεία που δε λειτουργούν με ενιαίο αναμορφωμένο εκπαιδευτικό πρόγραμμα παρατηρούμε και πάλι σχεδόν αποκλειστικά μειώσεις. Το μάθημα των θρησκευτικών μειώνεται κατά μία ώρα εβδομαδιαίως στην Ε' και ΣΤ' τάξη. Η μελέτη περιβάλλοντος μειώνεται κατά μία ώρα στις Γ' και Δ' τάξεις. Το μάθημα της αισθητικής αγωγής συνολικά μειώνεται κατά μία ώρα στις Α' και Β' τάξεις. Η φυσική αγωγή αυξάνεται κατά μία ώρα στις Α', Β', Γ' και Δ' τάξεις. Προστίθεται μία ώρα αγγλικών στις Α' και Β' τάξεις. Η ευέλικτη ζώνη μειώνεται κατά μία ώρα από το πρόγραμμα των Γ' και Δ' τάξεων και αφαιρείται από το πρόγραμμα των Ε' και ΣΤ' τάξεων. Το μάθημα των μαθηματικών αυξάνεται κατά μία ώρα στην Α' και Β' τάξη ώστε να διδάσκεται 5 ώρες σε εβδομαδιαία βάση. Προστίθεται σε όλες τις τάξεις η διδασκαλία του μαθήματος ΤΠΕ κατά μία ώρα σε εβδομαδιαία βάση. Κατά αυτόν τον τρόπο το πρόγραμμα των Α' και Β' τάξεων αυξάνεται κατά πέντε ώρες από 25 σε 30. Η διάρκεια του ωρολόγιου προγράμματος των Γ' και Δ' τάξεων παραμένει σταθερή, ενώ το πρόγραμμα των Ε' και ΣΤ' τάξεων μειώνεται κατά δύο ώρες από 32 σε 30.

Πέρα από το ωρολόγιο πρόγραμμα, η υπουργική απόφαση προωθεί τις αναθέσεις μαθημάτων. Το μάθημα της ευέλικτης ζώνης δύναται να ανατίθεται, εκτός από τους δασκάλους ΠΕ70, σε δασκάλους ειδικοτήτων ή ακόμη και στον Διευθυντή του σχολείου για τη «συμπλήρωση του υποχρεωτικού διδακτικού ωραρίου». Ενώ το αντίστροφο μπορεί να γίνεται για τα «γνωστικά αντικείμενα» της αισθητικής αγωγής, τα οποία μπορούν να διδάσκονται από εκπαιδευτικούς του κλάδου ΠΕ70, σε περίπτωση έλλειψης εκπαιδευτικών ειδικοτήτων ή ανάγκης συμπλήρωσης του ωραρίου των εκπαιδευτικών ΠΕ70.

Ακόμη σύμφωνα με όσα ορίζονται στην υπουργική απόφαση, «στον *Ενιαίο Τύπο Ολοήμερου Δημοτικού Σχολείου δεν προβλέπεται ορισμός ενός εκπαιδευτικού ως υπεύθυνου ολοήμερου, αλλά ορίζεται ανά ημέρα ο εκπαιδευτικός που θα φέρει την ευθύνη λειτουργίας του Ολοήμερου Προγράμματος. [...] Στους εκπαιδευτικούς που φέρουν την ευθύνη λειτουργίας στο Ολοήμερο Πρόγραμμα δεν προβλέπεται χορήγηση επιδόματος*». Επιτυγχάνεται με αυτόν τον τρόπο μείωση προσωπικού και αποδοχών.

Προϋπόθεση για τη λειτουργία του Ολοήμερου Προγράμματος είναι η εγγραφή και αναπόσπαστη φοίτηση τουλάχιστον 14 μαθητών με δύο εργαζόμενους γονείς, που προσκομίζουν βεβαίωση του φορέα εργασίας τους. Επίσης, ως υποχρεωτική ορίζεται η αποστολή στη διεύθυνση αναλυτικής κατάστασης των φοιτούντων στο Ολοήμερο το πρώτο πενταήμερο κάθε μήνα. Ο ελάχιστος απαιτούμενος αριθμός για



τη λειτουργία του Ολοήμερου Προγράμματος σύμφωνα με τις υπουργικές αποφάσεις των Χριστοφιλοπούλου και Γιαννάκου για τα σχολεία που λειτουργούν με το «κλασικό» πρόγραμμα και τα σχολεία ΕΑΕΠ είναι 15 μαθητές, οι γονείς των οποίων δεν υποχρεούνται, όμως, να προσκομίζουν βεβαίωση εργασίας. Όσον αφορά στο πρόγραμμα των μαθημάτων, στην υπουργική απόφαση του Φίλη ορίζεται πρόγραμμα 15ωρης διάρκειας σε εβδομαδιαία βάση για όλες τις τάξεις. Οι ώρες αυτές κατανομούνται ώστε να διατίθενται 5 ώρες για σίτιση, 5 ώρες για μελέτη-προετοιμασία και, τέλος, 5 ώρες για ένα διδακτικό αντικείμενο, το οποίο επιλέγουν οι μαθητές μεταξύ των Τεχνολογιών της Πληροφορίας και της Επικοινωνίας, των Αγγλικών, του Αθλητισμού, των Εικαστικών, της Μουσικής, της Θεατρικής Αγωγής και των Πολιτιστικών Ομίλων Δραστηριοτήτων. Σύμφωνα με την υπουργική απόφαση της Χριστοφιλοπούλου για τα σχολεία ΕΑΕΠ το πρόγραμμα μαθημάτων του Ολοήμερου διαρκεί 10 ώρες την εβδομάδα για κάθε τάξη. Πρέπει να διευκρινιστεί ότι σε αυτές τις δέκα ώρες δεν συμπεριλαμβάνεται ο χρόνος που διατίθεται για σίτιση. Είναι προφανές, επομένως, ότι το ωράριο του ολοήμερου παραμένει ίδιο στον Ενιαίο Τύπο Ολοήμερου Δημοτικού Σχολείου, ενώ θα έπρεπε να αυξηθεί, εφόσον το κανονικό ωράριο όλων των μαθητών λήγει στις 13:15 και όχι στις 14:00. Αξίζει, ακόμη, να σημειωθεί ότι στα σχολεία ΕΑΕΠ προσφερόταν και το μάθημα της Δεύτερης Ξένης Γλώσσας στο Ολοήμερο Πρόγραμμα. Σύμφωνα με την υπουργική απόφαση της Γιαννάκου για τα σχολεία που λειτουργούσαν με κλασικό πρόγραμμα, το Ολοήμερο διαρκούσε 20 ώρες για τις τάξεις Α' και Β', 15 ώρες για τις τάξεις Γ' και Δ' και 13 ώρες για τις Ε' και ΣΤ' τάξεις. Τα διδακτικά αντικείμενα που περιλαμβάνονταν στο πρόγραμμα ήταν όσα αναφέρθηκαν και προηγουμένως με την προσθήκη του χορού. Πρέπει να υπογραμμιστεί ότι στα σχολεία με «κλασικό» πρόγραμμα ήταν δυνατόν να λειτουργεί και η προαιρετική ζώνη από τις 16:15 ως τις 17:00, με τουλάχιστον 10 μαθητές, όπου προσφέρονταν τα εξής μαθήματα: μελέτη-προετοιμασία, λογοτεχνία, μυθολογία-παραμύθι, θεατρικό παιχνίδι, εικαστικά και μουσική (ΥΑ Φ12/657/70691/Δ1, 2016, ΥΑ Φ12/520/61575/Γ1, 2011, ΥΑ Φ12/773/77094/Γ1, 2006).

Ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει ο τρόπος με τον οποίο επιχειρεί να παρουσιάσει τη μεταρρύθμιση ο υπουργός παιδείας. Η βασική επιχειρηματολογία του Ν. Φίλη υπέρ της υπουργικής απόφασης εστιάζει στον υποτιθέμενο εκδημοκρατισμό που αυτή θα επιφέρει στην πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση. Σε όλες του τις συνεντεύξεις δηλώνει ότι πλέον όλα τα παιδιά και όχι μόνο το 1/3, όπως κατά τα λεγόμενά του ίσχυε πριν, σε όλα τα σχολεία, από την πρώτη δημοτικού θα διδάσκονται σε όλα τα παιδιά αγγλικά, θεατρική αγωγή και άλλα μαθήματα που εμπλουτίζουν το δημοτικό σχολείο. Υποστηρίζει ότι η υπουργική απόφαση συμμορφώνεται με τη «*συνταγματική επιταγή για ίσες ευκαιρίες εκπαίδευσης*», αναβαθμίζει τη δημόσια εκπαίδευση και βάζει φραγμό στα σχέδια του Κυριάκου Μητσοτάκη και της Νέας Δημοκρατίας γενικώς για επέκταση της ιδιωτικής εκπαίδευσης εις βάρος της δημόσιας. Με αυτόν τον τρόπο αποκρύπτει τεχνηέντως ότι εκεί ακριβώς οδηγεί η πολιτική που ασκεί ο ίδιος. Δεν είναι δυνατόν να γίνεται λόγος για εκδημοκρατισμό



της πρωτοβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης, όταν το δημόσιο σχολείο συρρικνώνεται, τόσο με τη μείωση ωρών διδασκαλίας, την κατάργηση μαθημάτων από το βασικό ωρολόγιο πρόγραμμα και τη μεταφορά τους ως επιλεγόμενων στο ολόημερο πρόγραμμα, όσο και με την αναπόφευκτη μείωση του προσωπικού που προκύπτει από τις παραπάνω αναδιαρθρώσεις. Ενώ, κάθε άλλο παρά εμπλουτισμό του δημόσιου σχολείου επιφέρουν η υποβάθμιση του ολόημερου προγράμματος και οι αναθέσεις διδακτικών αντικειμένων ειδικοτήτων σε εκπαιδευτικούς ΠΕ70. Εδώ, εφόσον τα Παιδαγωγικά Τμήματα Δημοτικής Εκπαίδευσης των ελληνικών ΑΕΙ παρέχουν ευρύτερη μόρφωση και καλλιέργεια στους μελλοντικούς εκπαιδευτικούς, ώστε να είναι ικανοί να διδάσκουν το σύνολο των μαθημάτων του σχολικού προγράμματος, τίθεται το ζήτημα της αναγκαιότητας ή μη ύπαρξης μαθημάτων που διδάσκονται μόνο από εκπαιδευτικούς ειδικοτήτων. Σε κάθε περίπτωση, όμως, δεν μπορούμε να κάνουμε λόγο για εκδημοκρατισμό της εκπαίδευσης και ποιοτική διδασκαλία και μάθηση με την αύξηση του ωραρίου και την κινητικότητα των εκπαιδευτικών, τα πολυπληθή τμήματα, τα κλειστά σχολεία και τον όγκο της γραφειοκρατίας που θα επωμίζονται οι εκπαιδευτικοί.

Αν έπρεπε να συνοψίσουμε τη μεταρρύθμιση στο δημοτικό σχολείο με βάση την υπουργική απόφαση του Ν. Φίλη για τον Ενιαίο Τύπο Ολοήμερου Δημοτικού Σχολείου θα ήταν αρκετό να αναφέρουμε δυο φράσεις: καταργήσεις και μειώσεις ωρών και μαθημάτων και επιδιωκόμενη μείωση του αριθμού των εκπαιδευτικών. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, πραγματοποιούνται μειώσεις ωρών διδασκαλίας σε διάφορα μαθήματα, όπως αναφέρθηκε αναλυτικότερα προηγουμένως, προκειμένου να ευθυγραμμιστεί το ωράριο όλων των μαθητών, οι οποίοι σχολούν πλέον στις 13:15. Επιπλέον, προωθούνται οι αναθέσεις μαθημάτων που κανονικά διδάσκονται από εκπαιδευτικούς του κλάδου ΠΕ70 σε εκπαιδευτικούς ειδικοτήτων και το αντίστροφο, προκειμένου να καλυφθούν οι ανάγκες και τα κενά με το υπάρχον προσωπικό. Ειδικότερα, για το ολόημερο πρόγραμμα στην υπουργική απόφαση τονίζεται ότι δικαίωμα φοίτησης έχουν μόνο οι μαθητές των οποίων και οι δύο γονείς εργάζονται αποδεδειγμένα. Δεδομένης της κατάστασης που επικρατεί στην αγορά εργασίας με την αδήλωτη, μαύρη εργασία στο πλαίσιο των ελαστικών εργασιακών σχέσεων, είναι αυτονόητη η δυσκολία που προκύπτει προκειμένου να συμπληρωθεί ο ελάχιστος αριθμός μαθητών που πληρούν τα κριτήρια συμμετοχής στο ολόημερο πρόγραμμα. Δεν πρέπει να παραγνωρίζουμε, επίσης, το γεγονός ότι το ολόημερο πρόγραμμα συρρικνώνεται τόσο από άποψη ωρών, όσο και από άποψη μαθημάτων. Καταργείται η πρωινή, καθώς και η προαιρετική απογευματινή ζώνη, ενώ αφαιρούνται από τα μαθήματα επιλογής η δεύτερη ξένη γλώσσα και ο χορός. Καταλήγει με αυτόν τον τρόπο το ολόημερο να είναι κέντρο φύλαξης παιδιών και όχι μάθησης.

Σε ένα πρώτο επίπεδο ανάλυσης γίνεται φανερό πως η συγκεκριμένη μεταρρύθμιση εξυπηρετεί μνημονιακές απαιτήσεις και δημοσιονομικούς στόχους της χώρας μέσω της συρρίκνωσης του δημόσιου δημοτικού σχολείου και, επομένως, ενός μέρους των υποχρεώσεων του κράτους για τη δημόσια εκπαίδευση. Το σχολείο με βάση μια



λογιστική λογική αντιμετωπίζεται ως μια επιχείρηση που πρέπει να λειτουργήσει με το χαμηλότερο δυνατό κόστος ό,τι κι αν αυτό συνεπάγεται για την ποιότητα του «παραγόμενου προϊόντος». Χαρακτηριστικό δείγμα αυτής της λογικής είναι οι προσλήψεις αναπληρωτών τη σχολική χρονιά 2016-17, οι οποίες φαινομενικά και μόνο είναι ελάχιστα αυξημένες σχετικά με την προηγούμενη σχολική χρονιά, δηλαδή 14.043 προσλήψεις το 2016-17 έναντι 13.866 το 2015-16. Συγκεκριμένα προσλήφθηκαν 177 περισσότεροι. Ωστόσο η αύξηση αυτή οφείλεται κυρίως στην αυξημένη πρόσληψη αναπληρωτών μειωμένου ωραρίου (817 έναντι 256). Είναι αξιοσημείωτο ότι τη φετινή χρονιά προσλήφθηκαν 836 λιγότεροι δάσκαλοι γενικής αγωγής, 217 λιγότεροι καθηγητές αγγλικής γλώσσας, 101 λιγότεροι γυμναστές, 87 λιγότεροι καθηγητές μουσικής και 8 λιγότεροι δραματικής τέχνης (alfavita.gr, 2017). Σε αυτή τη συρρίκνωση στοχεύει η μείωση του ωραρίου των μαθητών. Δεν μπορεί να γίνεται λόγος για απογυμνασιοποίηση του δημοτικού σχολείου όταν διατηρούνται η ύλη, η βαθμοθηρία, και το πλήθος εργασιών για το σπίτι. Αξίζει, επίσης, να αναφερθεί ότι 1.337 δημοτικά σχολεία ΕΑΕΠ καταργήθηκαν μετά την υπουργική απόφαση (iraidia.gr, 2017).

Δεν πρέπει, ωστόσο, να δούμε την μεταρρύθμιση μόνο υπό το πρίσμα της κάλυψης των μνημονιακών υποχρεώσεων της χώρας. Υπάρχει βαθύτερη στόχευση ώστε να ευθυγραμμιστεί η εκπαιδευτική πολιτική των ελληνικών κυβερνήσεων με τις σχετικές συστάσεις διεθνών οργανισμών, όπως του Οργανισμού Οικονομικής Συνεργασίας και Ανάπτυξης (ΟΟΣΑ) και της ΕΕ. Αυτό το διαπιστώνει κανείς αν μελετήσει λόγω χάριν την έκθεση του 2011 του ΟΟΣΑ για το ελληνικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα. Στη σύνοψη των προτάσεων για την πρωτοβάθμια και δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση στην έκθεση του ΟΟΣΑ διαβάζουμε ότι, για να γίνει ανταγωνιστικό το ελληνικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα, είναι απαραίτητο να επιτευχθεί η ορθολογική λειτουργία των σχολείων. Για το σκοπό αυτό, σύμφωνα πάντα με την έκθεση του ΟΟΣΑ, θα πρέπει να αυξηθεί το ωράριο των εκπαιδευτικών και να καθιερωθεί ένα ελάχιστο όριο μαθητών που να απαιτείται για τη λειτουργία των σχολείων. Ενδεικτικά προτείνονται και συγκεκριμένα νούμερα όσον αφορά στον κατώτατο αριθμό μαθητών ανά βαθμίδα, τα οποία αξίζει να αναφερθούν: 75 μαθητές για τα δημοτικά σχολεία, 150 για τα γυμνάσια και 250 για τα λύκεια. Είναι προφανές το τοπίο της εκπαίδευσης στο οποίο θα οδηγούσε μια ενδεχόμενη εφαρμογή της ως άνω πρότασης με δεδομένο το πλήθος σχολείων ανά την ελληνική περιφέρεια με μικρό μαθητικό πληθυσμό. Το μέλλον αυτών των σχολείων προδιαγράφεται με σαφήνεια στην έκθεση του ΟΟΣΑ και δεν είναι άλλο από τις συγχωνεύσεις, όπου είναι δυνατόν, ή τις καταργήσεις. Επιπλέον, μεταξύ των απαραίτητων βημάτων που πρέπει να γίνουν για τη βελτίωση του ελληνικού εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος συγκαταλέγεται και η προώθηση της αυτό-αξιολόγησης των σχολικών μονάδων και φυσικά της αξιολόγησης των εκπαιδευτικών με κυρίαρχο κριτήριο τη σχολική επίδοση του μαθητικού πληθυσμού, διαδικασίας που εναποθέτει την ευθύνη για τη σχολική αποτυχία στους εκπαιδευτικούς και αποκρύπτει την κοινωνική προέλευση του προβλήματος. Συνιστάται, επίσης, η τυποποίηση των αποτελεσμάτων της αυτό-



αξιολόγησης και της εξωτερικής αξιολόγησης, ώστε να είναι δυνατή η κατηγοριοποίηση των σχολείων. Σε άλλο σημείο της έκθεσης αναφέρεται πως η χρηματοδότηση των σχολείων πρέπει να γίνεται με ευθύνη των δήμων και του Υπουργείου Εσωτερικών, ενώ υπάρχουν διαρκείς αναφορές στην ανάγκη αποκέντρωσης της διοίκησης και της ευθύνης λειτουργίας των σχολείων. Αξίζει, τέλος, να υπογραμμίσουμε ότι στην έκθεση υιοθετείται μια φρασεολογία ενδεικτική του τρόπου θέασης των σχολείων και της εκπαίδευσης γενικότερα. Οι διευθυντές, διαβάζουμε στην έκθεση του ΟΟΣΑ, πρέπει να ενισχυθούν με σεμινάρια προκειμένου να γίνουν καλοί ηγέτες και να διαχειρίζονται με το βέλτιστο τρόπο το ανθρώπινο δυναμικό των σχολείων τους· γίνεται, δηλαδή, αναφορά σε αυτούς σαν να είναι επιχειρηματίες με επιχειρήσεις τους τα σχολεία (OECD, 2011).

Καθίσταται σαφές πως οι προβλέψεις της υπουργικής απόφασης του υπουργού παιδείας, που οδηγούν σε φτωχοποίηση του ελληνικού δημοτικού σχολείου, δεν αποτελούν εξαίρεση της συνολικής εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής της κυβέρνησης ΣΥΡΙΖΑ-ΑΝΕΛ. Το δημόσιο σχολείο αντιμετωπίζεται ως επιχείρηση που πρέπει να λειτουργήσει με το μικρότερο δυνατό κόστος για το κράτος. Γι αυτό τον λόγο οι προωθούμενες ρυθμίσεις δε διέπονται από καμία παιδαγωγική λογική. Μοναδικό κριτήριο των ρυθμίσεων για την εκπαίδευση αποτελούν οι «αριθμοί» που πρέπει να βρίσκονται σε απόλυτη συνάφεια με τις προτάσεις του ΟΟΣΑ για την ελληνική εκπαίδευση, αλλά και με τους περιορισμούς που θέτει η ΕΕ και άλλοι διεθνείς οργανισμοί μέσω των μνημονίων.



### Πίνακας Συντομογραφιών

- ΑΕΙ:** Ανώτατα Εκπαιδευτικά Ιδρύματα
- ΑΕΠ:** Ακαθάριστο Εγχώριο Προϊόν
- ΑΝΕΛ:** Ανεξάρτητοι Έλληνες
- ΔΝΤ:** Διεθνές Νομισματικό Ταμείο
- ΕΑΕΠ:** Ενιαίο Αναμορφωμένο Εκπαιδευτικό Πρόγραμμα
- ΕΓΣΣΕ:** Εθνική Γενική Συλλογική Σύμβαση Εργασίας
- ΕΕ:** Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση
- ΕΚΤ:** Ευρωπαϊκή Κεντρική Τράπεζα
- ΕΟΚ:** Ευρωπαϊκή Οικονομική Κοινότητα
- ΜΜΕ:** Μέσα Μαζικής Ενημέρωσης
- ΝΔ:** Νέα Δημοκρατία
- ΠΑΣΟΚ:** Πανελλήνιο Σοσιαλιστικό Κίνημα
- ΣΥΡΙΖΑ:** Συνασπισμός Ριζοσπαστικής Αριστεράς
- ΤΕΙ:** Τεχνολογικά Εκπαιδευτικά Ιδρύματα
- ΤΠΕ:** Τεχνολογίες της Πληροφορίας και της Επικοινωνίας





Παράρτημα

16145

# ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΔΑ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΕΩΣ

## ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑΣ

ΤΕΥΧΟΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟ Αρ. Φύλλου 1324

11 Μαΐου 2016

### ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΑ

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>ΑΠΟΦΑΣΕΙΣ</b></p> <p>Ωρολόγιο Πρόγραμμα Ενιαίου Τύπου Ολοήμερου Δημοτικού Σχολείου.....</p> <p>Έγκριση λειτουργίας κοινού Προγράμματος Μεταπτυχιακών Σπουδών, μεταξύ του Τμήματος Επιστήμης Φυσικής Αγωγής και Αθλητισμού της Σχολής Επιστήμης Φυσικής Αγωγής και Αθλητισμού του Δημοκριτίου Πανεπιστημίου Θράκης και του Τμήματος Επιστημών Ζωής και Υγείας της Σχολής Επιστημών και Μηχανικής του Πανεπιστημίου Λευκωσίας Κύπρου με τίτλο «Ειδική Φυσική Αγωγή και Ψυχοκινητική».....</p>	<p>2. Την παράγραφο 2 περίπτωση γ του άρθρου 24, του Ν. 1566/1985 (ΦΕΚ 167, τ.Α'), «Δομή και λειτουργία της Πρωτοβάθμιας και Δευτεροβάθμιας Εκπαίδευσης και άλλες Διατάξεις».</p> <p>3. Την παράγραφο 5, του άρθρου 4 του Νόμου 2525/1997 (ΦΕΚ 188, τ.Α'), «Ενιαίο Λύκειο, πρόσβαση των αποφοίτων του στην Τριτοβάθμια Εκπαίδευση, αξιολόγηση του εκπαιδευτικού έργου και άλλες διατάξεις».</p> <p>4. Την παράγραφο 1, του άρθρου 10 του Π.δ. 201/1998, (ΦΕΚ 161, τ. Α') «Οργάνωση και λειτουργία των Δημοτικών Σχολείων».</p> <p>5. Τις διατάξεις του άρθρου 90 του «Κώδικα Νομοθεσίας για την Κυβέρνηση και τα κυβερνητικά όργανα» που κυρώθηκε με το άρθρο πρώτο του Π.δ. 63/2005 (ΦΕΚ 98 Α').</p> <p>6. Τις διατάξεις του άρθρου 1 του Π.δ. 70/2015 (ΦΕΚ 114/2015) περί Ανασύστασης του Υπουργείου Πολιτισμού και Αθλητισμού, μετονομασίας του Υπουργείου Πολιτισμού, Παιδείας και Θρησκευμάτων σε Υπουργείο Παιδείας, Έρευνας και Θρησκευμάτων.</p> <p>7. Τις διατάξεις του Π.δ. 73/2015 (ΦΕΚ116/2015) περί Διορισμού Αντιπροέδρου της Κυβέρνησης, Υπουργών, Αναπληρωτών Υπουργών και Υφυπουργών.</p> <p>8. Την με αριθμ. 9/17-3-2016 πράξη του Δ.Σ. του ΙΕΠ.</p> <p>9. Το με αριθμ. 631/5-4-2016 Υ.Σ. της Διεύθυνσης Σπουδών, Προγραμμάτων και Οργάνωσης Π.Ε.</p>
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### ΑΠΟΦΑΣΕΙΣ

Αριθμ. Φ12/657/70691/Δ1 (1)

Ωρολόγιο Πρόγραμμα Ενιαίου Τύπου Ολοήμερου Δημοτικού Σχολείου.

**Ο ΥΠΟΥΡΓΟΣ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ, ΕΡΕΥΝΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΡΗΣΚΕΥΜΑΤΩΝ**

Έχοντας υπόψη:

1. Την παράγραφο 11, περίπτωση ε, του άρθρου 4 του Ν. 1566/1985, (ΦΕΚ 167, τ.Α'), «Δομή και λειτουργία της Πρωτοβάθμιας και Δευτεροβάθμιας Εκπαίδευσης και άλλες Διατάξεις», όπως αυτή τροποποιήθηκε με την παράγραφο 2, του άρθρου 7, του Ν. 2525/1997 (ΦΕΚ 188, τ.Α'), «Ενιαίο Λύκειο, πρόσβαση των αποφοίτων του στην Τριτοβάθμια Εκπαίδευση, αξιολόγηση του εκπαιδευτικού έργου και άλλες διατάξεις».

1. Ωρολόγιο Πρόγραμμα

ΩΡΕΣ	ΔΙΑΡΚΕΙΑ	
08.00-08.10	10'	Υποδοχή μαθητών
08.10 - 09:40	90'	1η διδακτική περίοδος
09:40 - 10:00	20'	Διάλειμμα
10:00- 11:30	90'	2η διδακτική περίοδος
11:30- 11:45	15'	Διάλειμμα
11:45- 12:25	40'	5η διδακτική ώρα
12:25- 12:35	10'	Διάλειμμα





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ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΔΑ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΕΩΣ (ΤΕΥΧΟΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟ)

12.35- 13.15	40'	1η διδακτική ώρα (λήξη υποχρεωτικού προγράμματος)
13.15- 13.20	5'	Μετάβαση μαθητών Ολοήμερου στην αίθουσα οίτισης
13.20-14.00	40'	1η ώρα Ολοήμερου Προγράμματος Σίτιση
14.00- 14.15	15'	Διάλεμμα
14.15- 15.00	45'	2η ώρα Ολοήμερου Προγράμματος Μελέτη-Προετοιμασία
15.00 - 15.15	15'	Διάλεμμα
15.15- 16.00	45'	3η ώρα Ολοήμερου Προγράμματος Επιλογή διδακτικού αντικείμενου (ΠΤΕ, Αθλητισμός, Αγγλικά, Εικαστικά, Μουσική, Θεατρική Αγωγή, Πολιτιστικοί Όμιλοι Δραστηριοτήτων) (λήξη ολοήμερου προγράμματος)

2. Κατανομή του χρόνου ανά διδακτικό αντικείμενο στα 6/θέσια και άνω δημοτικά σχολεία.

ΤΑΞΕΙΣ		A	B	Γ	Δ	E	ΣΤ
α/α	ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ	Ενιαίος τύπος					
1	ΘΡΗΣΚΕΥΤΙΚΑ	-	-	2	2	1	1
2	ΓΛΩΣΣΑ	9	9	8	8	7	7
3	ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΙΚΑ	5	5	4	4	4	4
4	ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ	-	-	2	2	2	2
5	ΜΕΛΕΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΒΑΛ.	4	4	2	2	-	-
6	ΓΕΩΓΡΑΦΙΑ	-	-	-	-	2	2
7	ΦΥΣΙΚΑ	-	-	-	-	3	3
8	ΚΟΙΝ. και ΠΟΛ. ΑΓΩΓΗ	-	-	-	-	1	1
9	ΑΙΣΘΗΤΙΚΗ ΑΓΩΓΗ						
	Εικαστικά	2	2	1	1	1	1
	Μουσική	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Θεατρική Αγωγή	1	1	1	1	-	-
10	ΦΥΣΙΚΗ ΑΓΩΓΗ	3	3	3	3	2	2
11	ΑΓΓΛΙΚΑ	1	1	3	3	3	3
12	ΕΥΕΛΙΚΤΗ ΖΩΝΗ - ΒΙΩΜΑΤΙΚΕΣ ΔΡΑΣΕΙΣ	3	3	2	2	-	-
13	2η ΞΕΝΗ ΓΛΩΣΣΑ	-	-	-	-	2	2
14	Τ.Π.Ε.	1	1	1	1	1	1
ΣΥΝΟΛΟ ΩΡΩΝ		30	30	30	30	30	30

- Το μάθημα των Θρησκευτικών διδάσκεται για 2 ώρες στις Γ' και Δ' τάξεις και για 1 ώρα στις Ε' και ΣΤ' τάξεις.
- Το μάθημα της Γλώσσας διδάσκεται για 9 ώρες στις Α' και Β' τάξεις, 8 στις Γ' και Δ' και για 7 ώρες στις Ε' και ΣΤ' τάξεις.
- Το μάθημα των Μαθηματικών διδάσκεται για 5 ώρες στις Α' και Β' τάξεις και για 4 ώρες στις Γ', Δ', Ε' και ΣΤ' τάξεις.
- Το μάθημα της Ιστορίας διδάσκεται για 2 ώρες στις Γ', Δ', Ε' και ΣΤ' τάξεις.
- Η Μελέτη Περιβάλλοντος διδάσκεται για 4 ώρες στις Α' και Β' τάξεις και για 2 ώρες στις Γ' και Δ' τάξεις.
- Το μάθημα της Γεωγραφίας διδάσκεται για 2 ώρες στις Ε' και ΣΤ' τάξεις.
- Το μάθημα των Φυσικών διδάσκεται για 3 ώρες στις Ε' και ΣΤ' τάξεις.
- Το μάθημα της Κοινωνικής και Πολιτικής Αγωγής διδάσκεται για 1 ώρα στις Ε' και ΣΤ' τάξεις.
- Το μάθημα της Φυσικής Αγωγής διδάσκεται για 3 ώρες στις Α', Β', Γ', και Δ' τάξεις και για 2 ώρες στις Ε' και ΣΤ' τάξεις.
- Το μάθημα των Αγγλικών διδάσκεται για 1 ώρα στις Α' και Β' τάξεις και για 3 ώρες στις υπόλοιπες τάξεις.
- Η δεύτερη ξένη γλώσσα διδάσκεται για 2 ώρες στις Ε' και ΣΤ' τάξεις.
- Το μάθημα των Τ.Π.Ε. διδάσκεται για 1 ώρα εβδομαδιαίως σε όλες τις τάξεις.
- Η Ευέλικτη Ζώνη διδάσκεται για 3 ώρες στις τάξεις Α' και Β' και για 2 ώρες στις τάξεις Γ' και Δ'. Το μάθημα της Ευέλικτης Ζώνης μπορεί να διδάσκεται από εκπαιδευτικούς του κλάδου ΠΕ/0 και εκπαιδευτικούς όλων των ειδικοτήτων



ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΔΑ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΕΩΣ (ΤΕΥΧΟΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟ)

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για συμπλήρωση του υποχρεωτικού διδακτικού ωραρίου καθώς και από τον/την Δ/ντή-Δ/ντρια του σχολείου. Η ανάθεση ωρών Ευέλικτης Ζώνης σε εκπαιδευτικούς ειδικότητων γίνεται, αφού έχουν ικανοποιηθεί κατά προτεραιότητα οι ανάγκες σε διδακτικές ώρες του γνωστικού αντικείμενου τους στις σχολικές μονάδες της οικείας Διεύθυνσης Π.Ε.

• Αισθητική Αγωγή: Περιλαμβάνει τα Εικαστικά, τη Μουσική και τη Θεατρική Αγωγή. Το μάθημα των Εικαστικών διδάσκεται για 2 ώρες στις Α' και Β' τάξεις και για 1 ώρα στις Γ', Δ', Ε' και ΣΤ' τάξεις. Το μάθημα της Μουσικής διδάσκεται για 1 ώρα εβδομαδιαίως σε όλες τις τάξεις και το μάθημα της Θεατρικής Αγωγής για 1 ώρα στις Α', Β', Γ' και Δ' τάξεις.

• Η διδασκαλία των γνωστικών αντικείμενων της Αισθητικής Αγωγής, της Φυσικής Αγωγής, των ΤΠΕ και της Ξένης Γλώσσας στο νέο ωρολόγιο πρόγραμμα ανατίθεται σε εκπαιδευτικούς των αντίστοιχων ειδικοτήτων. Σε περιπτώσεις αδυναμίας κάλυψης του προγράμματος από εκπαιδευτικούς των αντίστοιχων ειδικοτήτων, η διδασκαλία των γνωστικών αντικείμενων της Αισθητικής Αγωγής και της Φυσικής Αγωγής δύναται να ανατεθεί σε εκπαιδευτικούς του κλάδου ΠΕ70. Ειδικότερα για τα 4/θέσια και 5/θέσια Δημοτικά Σχολεία η διδασκαλία του γνωστικού αντικείμενου των ΤΠΕ, σε περιπτώσεις αδυναμίας κάλυψης του ωρολογίου προγράμματος από εκπαιδευτικούς της αντίστοιχης ειδικότητας, δύναται να ανατεθεί σε εκπαιδευτικούς του κλάδου ΠΕ70 οι οποίοι διαθέτουν πιστοποίηση Β' επιπέδου.

3. Κατανομή του χρόνου ανά 5/θέσια

Κατανομή του χρόνου ανά διδακτικό αντικείμενο στα 4/θέσια και αντικείμενο και τάξη στο 4/θέσιο Δημοτικό Σχολείο.

Α/Α	ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ	Α'	Β'	Τμήμα συνδιδασκαλίας Γ' - Δ'				Τμήμα συνδιδασκαλίας Ε' - ΣΤ'			
				Γ'	Δ'	Συνδιδασκαλία Γ'-Δ'	Σύνολο ωρών Γ'-Δ'	Ε'	ΣΤ'	Συνδιδασκαλία Ε'-ΣΤ'	Σύνολο ωρών Ε'-ΣΤ'
1	Θρησκευτικά	-	-	-	-	2/2	1	-	-	2/2	1
2	Γλώσσα	9	9	-	-	8	8	-	-	7	7
3	Μαθηματικά	5	5	3	3	-	6	3 1/2	3 1/2	-	7
4	Ιστορία	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	2	2
5	Μελέτη Περιβάλλοντος	4	4	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-
6	Γεωγραφία	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2/2	1
7	Φυσικά	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
8	Κοινωνική Πολιτική Αγωγή	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
9	Αισθητική Αγωγή*	4	4	-	-	3	3	-	-	2/2	1
10	Φυσική Αγωγή	3	3	-	-	3	3	-	-	2	2
11	Αγγλικά	1	1	3/2	3/2	-	3	3/2	3/2	-	3
12	Ευέλικτη Ζώνη	3	3	-	-	2/2	1	-	-	-	-
13	ΤΠΕ	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1
14	Β' Ξένη Γλώσσα	-	-	-	-	-	-	1/2	1/2	-	1
	Σύνολο	30	30				30				30

*Αισθητική Αγωγή											
Εικαστικά	2	2					1				1
Μουσική	1	1					1				
Θεατρική Αγωγή	1	1					1				

Κατανομή του χρόνου ανά διδακτικό αντικείμενο και τάξη στο 5/θέσιο Δημοτικό Σχολείο

Α/Α	ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ	Α'	Β'	Τμήμα συνδιδασκαλίας Γ' - Δ'				Ε'	ΣΤ'
				Γ'	Δ'	Συνδιδασκαλία Γ'-Δ'	Σύνολο ωρών Γ'-Δ'		
1	Θρησκευτικά	-	-	-	-	2/2	1	1	1
2	Γλώσσα	9	9	-	-	8	8	7	7
3	Μαθηματικά	5	5	3	3	-	6	4	4
4	Ιστορία	-	-	-	-	2	2	2	2
5	Μελ. Περιβάλλοντος	4	4	-	-	2	2	-	-
6	Γεωγραφία	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
7	Φυσικά	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
8	Κοινων. Πολ. Αγωγή	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
9	Αισθητική Αγωγή*	4	4	-	-	3	3	2	2
10	Φυσική Αγωγή	3	3	-	-	3	3	2	2
11	Αγγλικά	1	1	3/2	3/2	-	3	3	3



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ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΔΑ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΕΩΣ (ΤΕΥΧΟΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟ)

12	Ευέλικτη Ζώνη	3	3	-	-	2/2	1	-	-
13	ΤΠΕ	1	1	-	-	1	1	1	1
14	Β' Ξένη Γλώσσα							2	2
<b>Σύνολο</b>		<b>30</b>	<b>30</b>				<b>30</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>30</b>
*Λοιπτική Αγωγή									
	Εικαστικά	2	2				1	1	1
	Μουσική	1	1				1	1	1
	Θεατρική Αγωγή	1	1				1		

4. Ολοήμερο πρόγραμμα

ΑΑ	ΩΡΑ	ΔΙΑΡΚΕΙΑ					
	13.15-13.20	5'	Χρόνος μετάβασης στην αίθουσα αίτησης				
1η ώρα	13.20-14.00	40'	Ύπνηση	Ύπνηση	Ύπνηση	Ύπνηση	Ύπνηση
	14.00-14.15'	15'	Διάλειμμα				
2η ώρα	14.15-15.00	45'	Μελέτη-Προετοιμασία	Μελέτη-Προετοιμασία	Μελέτη-Προετοιμασία	Μελέτη-Προετοιμασία	Μελέτη-Προετοιμασία
	15.00-15.15	15'	Διάλειμμα				
3η ώρα	15.15-16.00	45'	Επιλογή διδακτικού αντικειμένου	Επιλογή διδακτικού αντικειμένου	Επιλογή διδακτικού αντικειμένου	Επιλογή διδακτικού αντικειμένου	Επιλογή διδακτικού αντικειμένου

• Στον Ενιαίο Τύπο Ολοήμερου Δημοτικού Σχολείου δεν προβλέπεται ορισμός ενός εκπαιδευτικού ως υπεύθυνου ολοήμερου, αλλά ορίζεται ανά ημέρα ο εκπαιδευτικός που θα φέρει την ευθύνη λειτουργίας του ολοήμερου προγράμματος. Η ημερήσια ευθύνη λειτουργίας του Ολοήμερου Προγράμματος δύναται να ανατίθεται στο σύνολο των ειδικοτήτων καθώς και στον/στην Δ/ντή-Δ/ντρια του σχολείου. Στους εκπαιδευτικούς που φέρουν την ευθύνη λειτουργίας στο Ολοήμερο Πρόγραμμα δεν προβλέπεται χορήγηση επιδόματος.

• Με απόφαση και σχετική πράξη του Συλλόγου Διδασκόντων, ύστερα από εισήγηση του/της Δ/ντή-Δ/ντριας του σχολείου, ορίζονται α) οι εκπαιδευτικοί οι οποίοι διδάσκουν και συμπληρώνουν το υποχρεωτικό διδακτικό τους ωράριο στο Ολοήμερο Πρόγραμμα και β) ανά ημέρα, ο εκπαιδευτικός που θα φέρει την ευθύνη λειτουργίας του Ολοήμερου Προγράμματος.

• Αντίγραφο του πρακτικού Συλλόγου Διδασκόντων στο οποίο αναφέρονται οι εκπαιδευτικοί οι οποίοι διδάσκουν στο Ολοήμερο Πρόγραμμα, οι εκπαιδευτικοί οι οποίοι θα φέρουν την ευθύνη λειτουργίας του Ολοήμερου καθώς και η ημέρα για την οποία έχει οριστεί κάθε εκπαιδευτικός ως ο φέρων την ευθύνη λειτουργίας του Ολοήμερου Προγράμματος κοινοποιείται: α) στον οικείο Διευθυντή Πρωτοβάθμιας Εκπαίδευσης, β) στον οικείο Σχολικό Σύμβουλο, γ) επισυνάπτεται στο Εβδομαδιαίο Ωρολόγιο Πρόγραμμα Διδασκαλίας Ολοήμερου Προγράμματος και δ) αναρτάται σε εμφανές σημείο στο γραφείο των εκπαιδευτικών.

• Στο Ολοήμερο Πρόγραμμα καθημερινά και για 1 διδακτική ώρα εντάσσεται το γνωστικό αντικείμενο της Μελέτης-Προετοιμασίας το οποίο ανατίθεται σε εκπαιδευτικούς του κλάδου ΠΕ70.

• Στο Ολοήμερο Πρόγραμμα καθημερινά και για 1 διδακτική ώρα εντάσσεται επιλεγμένο διδακτικό αντικείμενο

από τα αναφερόμενα: Τ.Π.Ε., Αγγλικά, Αθλητισμός, Εικαστικά, Μουσική, θεατρική Αγωγή και Πολιτιστικοί Όμιλοι Δραστηριοτήτων. Το διδακτικό αντικείμενο των Πολιτιστικών Ομίλων Δραστηριοτήτων δύναται να ανατίθεται στο σύνολο των ειδικοτήτων για συμπλήρωση του υποχρεωτικού διδακτικού ωραρίου.

• Το Ολοήμερο Πρόγραμμα διαμορφώνεται με απόφαση του Συλλόγου Διδασκόντων, ύστερα από εισήγηση του/της Δ/ντή-Δ/ντριας της σχολικής μονάδας, συυπολογίζοντας τα ενδιαφέροντα των μαθητών, την υλικοτεχνική υποδομή της σχολικής μονάδας καθώς και το υπάρχον εκπαιδευτικό προσωπικό. Η σειρά των ωρών διδασκαλίας (2η και 3η), κατά τη σύνταξη του Εβδομαδιαίου Ωρολογίου Προγράμματος Διδασκαλίας του Ολοήμερου, προσαρμόζεται σύμφωνα με τις ανάγκες λειτουργίας του Ολοήμερου Προγράμματος.

• Με εγκυκλίους του ΥΠΠΕΘ δύναται να ρυθμίζονται θέματα εκπαιδευτικής και παιδαγωγικής φύσης, λειτουργίας, κτλ των σχολείων που εφαρμόζουν το νέο Ωρολόγιο Πρόγραμμα.

• Κατά τη σύνταξη των ωρολογίων προγραμμάτων σε καμία περίπτωση δεν παραβιάζεται το εργασιακό και διδακτικό ωράριο των εκπαιδευτικών το οποίο ορίζεται από τις σχετικές διατάξεις.

• Το υποχρεωτικό ωράριο λειτουργίας στον Ενιαίο Τύπο Ολοήμερου Δημοτικού Σχολείου είναι για όλες τις τάξεις τριάντα (30) διδακτικές ώρες εβδομαδιαίως (08:10-13:15), ενώ το προαιρετικό ολοήμερο πρόγραμμα εκτείνεται έως τις 16:00.

• Σε όλα τα Ολοήμερα Δημοτικά Σχολεία είναι δυνατόν να λειτουργήσει Ολοήμερο Πρόγραμμα με τις εξής προϋποθέσεις:

1. Στα 6/θέσια και άνω δημοτικά σχολεία ο ελάχιστος αριθμός για τη λειτουργία του Ολοήμερου Προγράμματος





είναι 14 φοιτώντες μαθητές. Στο Ολοήμερο Πρόγραμμα εγγράφονται και φοιτούν οι μαθητές των οποίων και οι δύο γονείς είναι εργαζόμενοι προσκομίζοντας σχετική βεβαίωση του φορέα εργασίας τους.

2. Στις σχολικές μονάδες οι οποίες λειτουργούν ως 4/θέσιες και 5/θέσιες ο ελάχιστος αριθμός μαθητών για τη λειτουργία του Ολοήμερου Προγράμματος ορίζεται στους 10 φοιτώντες μαθητές, χωρίς την προϋπόθεση προσκόμισης βεβαίωσης εργασίας.

3. Όταν ο αριθμός των μαθητών που φοιτούν στο Ολοήμερο Πρόγραμμα είναι χαμηλότερος των 14 φοιτώντων μαθητών σε 6/θέσια και άνω δημοτικά σχολεία ή είναι χαμηλότερος των 10 φοιτώντων μαθητών σε 4/θέσια και 5/θέσια δημοτικά σχολεία, τότε με απόφαση του οικείου Διευθυντή Πρωτοβάθμιας Εκπαίδευσης αναστέλλεται η λειτουργία του τμήματος.

Εντός του πρώτου πενήμηρου κάθε μήνα, με ευθύνη του/της Δ/ντή-Δ/ντριας της σχολικής μονάδας, συντάσσεται και αποστέλλεται στην οικεία Διεύθυνση αναλυτική κατάσταση φοιτώντων μαθητών στο Ολοήμερο Πρόγραμμα, η οποία κοινοποιείται και στον οικείο Σχολικό Σύμβουλο.

#### Εφημερεύοντες - Επίτηρηση μαθητών στο Ολοήμερο Πρόγραμμα.

Με πράξη του Συλλόγου Διδασκόντων, από το σύνολο των εκπαιδευτικών που διδάσκουν στο Ολοήμερο Πρόγραμμα ορίζονται οι εφημερεύοντες και καθορίζονται τα καθήκοντα και οι αρμοδιότητές τους. Αντίγραφο του πρακτικού αναρτάται στο γραφείο του Διευθυντή και στο γραφείο των εκπαιδευτικών.

#### Σίτιση

Η ώρα του φαγητού - χαλάρωσης εντάσσεται στην παιδαγωγική διαδικασία και θεωρείται ως διδακτική ώρα για τον εκπαιδευτικό ο οποίος ορίζεται με σχετική πράξη του Συλλόγου Διδασκόντων ως υπεύθυνος λειτουργίας του ολοήμερου προγράμματος τη συγκεκριμένη ημέρα και ο οποίος έχει την ευθύνη για τη σίτιση των μαθητών. Το εκπαιδευτικό προσωπικό που διδάσκει τη δεύτερη ώρα του ολοήμερου προγράμματος, παρευρίσκεται κι επιβλέπει τη σίτιση των μαθητών.

#### Αποχώρηση μαθητών

Η αποχώρηση των μαθητών του ολοήμερου προγράμματος μπορεί να γίνει:

- Με τη λήξη του ολοήμερου προγράμματος (16:00).
- Με τη λήξη της 2ης ώρας του Ολοήμερου Προγράμματος (15:00), εφόσον έχει συμπεριληφθεί στην αρχική δήλωση εγγραφής.
- Η αποχώρηση των μαθητών γίνεται με ευθύνη του εκάστοτε υπεύθυνου λειτουργίας του Ολοήμερου Προγράμματος, ο οποίος αποχωρεί μετά τη λήξη του (16:00), ασχέτως αν ασκεί διδακτικά καθήκοντα στο ενδιάμεσο χρονικό διάστημα.

#### 5. Δημιουργία τμημάτων διδασκαλίας της δεύτερης ξένης γλώσσας.

α) Οι μαθητές διδάσκονται ως 2η ξένη γλώσσα όποια από τις δυο (Γαλλικά-Γερμανικά) έχει την πλειοψηφία των δηλώσεων προτίμησης σε επίπεδο τμήματος, όπως αυτή διαμορφώνεται μετά τις δηλώσεις των μαθητών που θα φοιτήσουν κατά το επόμενο σχολικό έτος στην Ε' τάξη. Σε περίπτωση ισοψηφίας στις προτιμήσεις των μαθητών του τμήματος, διδάσκεται ως 2η ξένη γλώσσα αυτή για την οποία υπάρχουν διαθέσιμες διδακτικές ώρες σε επίπεδο οικείας Διεύθυνσης Πρωτοβάθμιας Εκπαίδευσης. Δεν επι-

τρέπεται αλλαγή τμήματος μαθητών λόγω διαφορετικής προτίμησης σε σχέση με τη 2η ξένη γλώσσα που πλειοψηφεί και διδάσκεται στο τμήμα τους.

β) Αν μέχρι την 1η Οκτωβρίου κάθε σχολικού έτους δεν έχει καλυφθεί η θέση του εκπαιδευτικού της ξένης γλώσσας που επιλέχθηκε από τις δηλώσεις προτίμησης, τότε οι μαθητές διδάσκονται την ξένη γλώσσα για την οποία υπάρχουν διαθέσιμες διδακτικές ώρες σε επίπεδο οικείας Διεύθυνσης Πρωτοβάθμιας Εκπαίδευσης.

Ειδικότερα, για το σχολικό έτος 2016-2017 και για τους μαθητές της ΣΤ' τάξης, η οργάνωση των τμημάτων διδασκαλίας της 2ης ξένης γλώσσας θα διατηρηθεί όπως διαμορφώθηκε το σχολικό έτος 2015-2016. Στην περίπτωση κατά την οποία στην ΣΤ' τάξη δεν υπάρχει ήδη διαμορφωμένη οργάνωση τμημάτων από το προηγούμενο σχολικό έτος, τότε υλοποιείται διαδικασία επιλογής 2ης ξένης γλώσσας όπως προβλέπεται στα παραπάνω (α) και (β) εδάφια.

#### 6. Σύνταξη Εβδομαδιαίου Ωρολογίου Προγράμματος Διδασκαλίας.

α. Το Εβδομαδιαίο Ωρολόγιο Πρόγραμμα Διδασκαλίας (ΕΩΠΔ) συντάσσεται σύμφωνα με τις κείμενες διατάξεις το πρώτο δεκάημερο του Σεπτεμβρίου από τον/την Δ/ντή-Δ/ντρια του σχολείου σε συνεργασία με το Σύλλογο Διδασκόντων και τον Σχολικό Σύμβουλο. Το ΕΩΠΔ βασίζεται σε παιδαγωγικά κριτήρια και στο πλαίσιο αυτό αξιοποιείται το υποχρεωτικό διδακτικό ωράριο των εκπαιδευτικών και οι διδακτικές ώρες για τις οποίες έχουν τοποθετηθεί στη σχολική μονάδα. Στη συνέχεια το Εβδομαδιαίο Ωρολόγιο Πρόγραμμα Διδασκαλίας υποβάλλεται σε τρία αντίγραφα στον αρμόδιο Σχολικό Σύμβουλο για θεώρηση, ο οποίος επιστρέφει ένα θεωρημένο αντίγραφο στο σχολείο και ένα στέλνει για ενημέρωση στον οικείο Διευθυντή Πρωτοβάθμιας Εκπαίδευσης.

Αντίγραφο του πρακτικού Συλλόγου Διδασκόντων α) επισυνάπτεται στο Εβδομαδιαίο Ωρολόγιο Πρόγραμμα Διδασκαλίας του Σχολείου και β) αναρτάται σε εμφανές σημείο στο γραφείο των εκπαιδευτικών.

β. Έως ότου τοποθετηθεί στη σχολική μονάδα το σύνολο του εκπαιδευτικού προσωπικού για την πλήρη ανάπτυξη του ΕΩΠΔ, το Εβδομαδιαίο Ωρολόγιο Πρόγραμμα Διδασκαλίας αναμορφώνεται προσωρινά ως προς τα διδακτικά αντικείμενα, κατόπιν αιτήρησης του/της Δ/ντή-Δ/ντριας και απόφασης του Συλλόγου Διδασκόντων σε συνεργασία με τον αρμόδιο Σχολικό Σύμβουλο, αξιοποιώντας το σύνολο των προσφερόμενων διδακτικών ωρών με βάση το υποχρεωτικό διδακτικό ωράριο και τις διδακτικές ώρες των εκπαιδευτικών για τις οποίες έχουν τοποθετηθεί στη σχολική μονάδα.

γ. Με βάση τις προβλέψεις στις οποίες αναφέρονται οι παραπάνω παράγραφοι (α) και (β) και μέχρι την πλήρη κάλυψη των κενών σε διδακτικό προσωπικό για την πλήρη ανάπτυξη του ΕΩΠΔ, δύναται να υπάρξει πρόωπη αποχώρηση των μαθητών. Την απόφαση για την πρόωπη αποχώρηση των μαθητών λαμβάνει ο οικείος Διευθυντής Πρωτοβάθμιας Εκπαίδευσης, ύστερα από εισήγηση του/της Δ/ντή-Δ/ντριας του σχολείου και πλήρως αιτιολογημένη απόφαση του Συλλόγου Διδασκόντων. Μετά την απόφαση του οικείου Διευθυντή Π.Ε., ο Δ/ντής-Δ/ντρια του σχολείου ενημερώνει εγγράφως τους γονείς και κηδεμόνες των μαθητών. Αντίγραφο της έγγραφης ενημέρωσης κοινοποιείται στον οικείο Διευθυντή Πρωτοβάθμιας Εκπαίδευσης και στον αρμόδιο Σχολικό Σύμβουλο.





16150

ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΔΑ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΕΩΣ (ΤΕΥΧΟΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟ)

Από την δημοσίευση της παρούσας υπουργικής απόφασης στην Εφημερίδα της Κυβερνήσεως παύει να ισχύει κάθε άλλη διάταξη αντίθετη με όσα αναφέρονται σε αυτή.  
Η απόφαση αυτή να δημοσιευθεί στην Εφημερίδα της Κυβερνήσεως.

Μαρούσι, 26 Απριλίου 2016

ο ΥΠΟΥΡΓΟΣ  
ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ ΦΙΛΗΣ

Αριθμ. απόφ. 117/2016

Έγκριση λειτουργίας κοινού Προγράμματος Μεταπτυχιακών Σπουδών μεταξύ του Τμήματος Επιστήμης Φυσικής Αγωγής και Αθλητισμού της Σχολής Επιστήμης Φυσικής Αγωγής και Αθλητισμού του Δημοκρίτειου Πανεπιστημίου Θράκης και του Τμήματος Επιστημών Ζωής και Υγείας της Σχολής Επιστημών και Μηχανικής του Πανεπιστημίου Λευκωσίας Κύπρου με τίτλο «Ειδική Φυσική Αγωγή και Ψυχοκινητική».

Ο ΠΡΥΤΑΝΗΣ  
ΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΙΤΕΙΟΥ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟΥ ΘΡΑΚΗΣ

Έχοντας υπόψη:

1. Τις διατάξεις της παρ. 18 του άρθρου 8 του Ν. 40/09/2011 «Για τη δομή, λειτουργία διασφάλιση της ποιότητας των σπουδών και διεθνοποίηση των ανωτάτων εκπαιδευτικών ιδρυμάτων» (ΦΕΚ 159 Α'), οι οποίες αναφέρονται στις αρμοδιότητες του Πρύτανη.

2. Τις διατάξεις του Ν. 3685/2008 και ιδίως τα άρθρα 6 και 10 (ΦΕΚ 148 τ. Α') «Θεσμικό πλαίσιο για τις μεταπτυχιακές σπουδές», όπως τροποποιήθηκε με τις διατάξεις του άρθρου 24 του Ν. 3696/2008 (ΦΕΚ 177, τ. Α'), του άρθρου 27 του Ν. 3794/2009 (ΦΕΚ 156 τ. Α') και της παρ. 5 του άρθρου 37 του Ν. 3848/2010 (ΦΕΚ 71 τ. Α').

3. Τις διατάξεις της παρ. 11α του άρθρου 80 του Ν. 40/09/2011 (ΦΕΚ 195 τ. Α'), «Δομή, λειτουργία, διασφάλιση ποιότητας των σπουδών και διεθνοποίηση των ανωτάτων εκπαιδευτικών ιδρυμάτων», όπως τροποποιήθηκε με τις διατάξεις του άρθρου 47 παρ. γ' του Ν. 4025/2011 (ΦΕΚ 228 τ. Α'), του άρθρου 5 παρ. 8 του Ν. 4076/2012 (ΦΕΚ 159 τ. Α'), του άρθρου 34 παρ. 2 του Ν. 4115/2013 (ΦΕΚ 24 τ. Α') και του άρθρου 34 του Ν. 4301/2014 (ΦΕΚ 223 τ. Α').

4. Τις διατάξεις του άρθρου 34 του Ν. 4301/2014 (ΦΕΚ 223 τ. Α') «Οργάνωση της νομικής μορφής των θρησκευτικών κοινοτήτων και των ενώσεων τους στην Ελλάδα και άλλες διατάξεις αρμοδιότητας Γενικής Γραμματείας Θρησκευμάτων και λοιπές διατάξεις».

5. Τις διατάξεις του Ν. 3374/2005 (ΦΕΚ 189 τ. Α') «Διασφάλιση της ποιότητας στην ανώτατη εκπαίδευση. Σύστημα μεταφοράς και συσσώρευσης πιστωτικών μονάδων - Παράρτημα Διπλώματος», όπως τροποποιήθηκε και ισχύει.

6. Τις διατάξεις του άρθρου 90 του «Κώδικα Νομοθεσίας για την Κυβέρνηση και τα Κυβερνητικά Όργανα» που κυρώθηκε με το άρθρο 1 του Π.δ. 63/2005 (ΦΕΚ 98/τ. Α').

7. Τις διατάξεις του άρθρου 3 του Κανονισμού Μεταπτυχιακών Σπουδών του Δημοκρίτειου Πανεπιστημίου Θράκης.

8. Τις διατάξεις του Π.δ. 86 (ΦΕΚ 124 τ. Α') «Συγχώνευση Τμημάτων, ίδρυση - συγκρότηση - ανασυγκρότηση Σχολών στο Δημοκρίτειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θράκης».

9. Το απόσπασμα πρακτικών της Γενικής Συνέλευσης Ειδικής Σύθεσης του Τμήματος Επιστήμης Φυσικής Αγωγής και Αθλητισμού της Σχολής Επιστήμης Φυσικής Αγωγής και Αθλητισμού του Δημοκρίτειου Πανεπιστημίου Θράκης (συνεδρίαση 192/11-02-2016).

10. Τα απόσπασμα πρακτικών της Συγκλήτου Ειδικής Σύθεσης του Δημοκρίτειου Πανεπιστημίου Θράκης (συνεδρίαση 16/11-02-2016).

11. Το απόσπασμα πρακτικών της Συγκλήτου του Πανεπιστημίου Λευκωσίας Κύπρου (συνεδρίαση 70/12-11-2015).

12. Το Ειδικό Πρωτόκολλο Συνεργασίας μεταξύ του Δημοκρίτειου Πανεπιστημίου Θράκης και του Πανεπιστημίου Λευκωσίας Κύπρου που εγκρίθηκε από τη Σύγκλητο Ειδικής Σύθεσης του Δημοκρίτειου Πανεπιστημίου Θράκης (συνεδρίαση 16/11-02-2016).

13. Το με αριθμ. Πρωτ. 1079/09.09.2010 έγγραφο της Α.Δ.Π. από το οποίο προκύπτει ότι έχει ολοκληρωθεί η εξωτερική αξιολόγηση του Τ.Ε.Φ.Α.Α. του Δημοκρίτειου Πανεπιστημίου Θράκης.

14. Το γεγονός ότι το Πανεπιστήμιο Λευκωσίας της Κύπρου έχει αναγνωριστεί από το ΔΟΑΤΑΠ ως ομοταγές προς τα ελληνικά ΑΕΙ (82 Ολ. ΔΣ/10-12-2010).

15. Το γεγονός ότι από τις διατάξεις της απόφασης αυτής δεν προκαλείται δαπάνη σε βάρος του τακτικού προϋπολογισμού του Δημοκρίτειου Πανεπιστημίου Θράκης και του κρατικού προϋπολογισμού, σύμφωνα με την αριθμ. πρωτ. ΔΠΘ/ΔΟΔ/11006/1448/24-03-2016 βεβαίωση του Αν. Προϊσταμένου της Διεύθυνσης Οικονομικής Διαχείρισης, αποφασίζουμε:

Εγκρίνουμε από το ακαδημαϊκό έτος 2016-2017 τη λειτουργία κοινού Προγράμματος Μεταπτυχιακών Σπουδών (Π.Μ.Σ.) με τίτλο «Ειδική Φυσική Αγωγή και Ψυχοκινητική» του Τμήματος Επιστήμης Φυσικής Αγωγής και Αθλητισμού της Σχολής Επιστήμης Φυσικής Αγωγής και Αθλητισμού του Δημοκρίτειου Πανεπιστημίου Θράκης σε συνεργασία με το Τμήμα Επιστημών Ζωής και Υγείας της Σχολής Επιστημών και Μηχανικής του Πανεπιστημίου Λευκωσίας της Κύπρου, ως ακολούθως:

Άρθρο 1  
Γενικές διατάξεις

Το Τμήμα Επιστήμης Φυσικής Αγωγής και Αθλητισμού της Σχολής Επιστήμης Φυσικής Αγωγής και Αθλητισμού του Δημοκρίτειου Πανεπιστημίου Θράκης σε συνεργασία με το Τμήμα Επιστημών Ζωής και Υγείας της Σχολής Επιστημών και Μηχανικής του Πανεπιστημίου Λευκωσίας της Κύπρου θα λειτουργήσουν από το ακαδημαϊκό έτος 2016-2017 κοινό Πρόγραμμα Μεταπτυχιακών Σπουδών (Π.Μ.Σ.) σύμφωνα με τις διατάξεις της απόφασης αυτής και τις διατάξεις του Ν. 3685/2008 (ΦΕΚ 148, τ. Α'), όπως τροποποιήθηκε και ισχύει.

Επιστεύδον Τμήμα (υπεύθυνο για το συντονισμό και την οργάνωση) του Προγράμματος είναι το Τμήμα Επιστήμης Φυσικής Αγωγής και Αθλητισμού της Σχολής Επιστήμης Φυσικής Αγωγής και Αθλητισμού του Δημοκρίτειου Πανεπιστημίου Θράκης.

Το Π.Μ.Σ. διοικείται από Συντονιστικό Όργανο το οποίο αποτελείται από εκπροσώπους των συνεργαζομένων Τμημάτων οι οποίοι ορίζονται στο Ειδικό Πρωτόκολλο Συνεργασίας.

Οι λεπτομέρειες συνεργασίας μεταξύ των δύο Τμημάτων περιγράφονται στο Ειδικό Πρωτόκολλο Συνεργασίας που έχουν καταρτίσει.

Άρθρο 2  
Αντικείμενο - Σκοπός

1. Το εν λόγω κοινό Πρόγραμμα Μεταπτυχιακών Σπουδών έχει ως σκοπό την κατάρτιση επιστημονικών συγγενών ειδικοτήτων σε θέματα που άπτονται της Ειδικής Φυσικής Αγωγής, της Ψυχοκινητικής και γενικότερα του Αθλητισμού και της Προσαρμοσμένης Φυσικής Δραστηριότητας Ατόμων με Αναπηρία, δια μέσου ακαδημαϊκής και εφαρ-





ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΔΑ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΕΩΣ (ΤΕΥΧΟΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟ)

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μοαμένη διδασκαλίας και έρευνας. Ειδικότερα, οι στόχοι του Προγράμματος είναι:

α. Η κατάρτιση επιστημονικών ειδικοτήτων συγγενών της επιστήμης του αθλητισμού που αναφέρεται στην ανάπτυξη, οργάνωση και καθοδήγηση μεθόδων και τεχνικών για τη βελτίωση της απόδοσης ατόμων με αναπηρία -αθλητών ή /και ομάδων υψηλών προδιαγραφών και αγωνιστικών απαιτήσεων οι οποίες μετέχουν σε αντίστοιχες αθλητικές δραστηριότητες/αθλήματα.

β. Η κατάρτιση επιστημονικών ειδικοτήτων συγγενών της επιστήμης της αγωγής όπου αναφέρεται στην ειδική φυσική αγωγή, όπως αυτή συναντάται σε όλες τις βαθμίδες και τις δομές της εκπαίδευσης.

γ. Η κατάρτιση επιστημονικών ειδικοτήτων συγγενών της επιστήμης της άσκησης/άθλησης για την πρόληψη παθήσεων, την προαγωγή της υγείας, την αποκατάσταση προβλημάτων υγείας/τραυματισμών και γενικότερα για τη βελτίωση της ποιότητας της ζωής διαφόρων ευπαθών κοινωνικών ομάδων και ατόμων με αναπηρία.

δ. Η κατάρτιση επιστημονικών ειδικοτήτων συγγενών της επιστήμης της οργάνωσης της φυσικής δραστηριότητας, του αθλητισμού αναψυχής και του αθλητικού τουρισμού που αναφέρονται στη βελτίωση της φυσικής κατάστασης, της ψυχικής ευεξίας και γενικότερα στην ποιότητα ζωής των ατόμων με αναπηρία πολιτών.

2. Υποχρέωση όλων των συντελεστών λειτουργίας του Π.Μ.Σ. είναι η διασφάλιση της ποιότητας και της συνεχούς βελτίωσης κάθε πτυχής του προγράμματος της εκπαιδευτικής και ερευνητικής διαδικασίας, καθώς και η προώθηση συνεργασιών με συναφή Προγράμματα και Κέντρα της ημεδαπής και αλλοδαπής.

Άρθρο 3  
 Μεταπτυχιακοί τίτλοι

Το Π.Μ.Σ. απονέμει κοινό Μεταπτυχιακό Δίπλωμα Ειδικεύσεως (ΜΔΕ) στην «Ειδική Φυσική Αγωγή και Ψυχοκινητική» (Master in Adapted Physical Education and Psychomotricity) με δύο (2) κατεύθυνσεις:

α) Ειδική Φυσική Αγωγή στην Εκπαίδευση Adapted Physical Education in Education.

β) Αναψυχή και Αθλητισμός στα Άτομα με Αναπηρία Recreation and Sports for individuals with Special Needs. Ο χορηγούμενος τίτλος θα είναι στην ελληνική ή/και αγγλική γλώσσα.

Άρθρο 4  
 Κατηγορίες πτυχιούχων

Στο κοινό Π.Μ.Σ. γίνονται δεκτοί πτυχιούχοι Σχολών και Τμημάτων Πανεπιστημίων της ημεδαπής και της Κύπρου και αναγνωρισμένων ομοταγών Ιδρυμάτων της αλλοδαπής, καθώς και πτυχιούχοι ΤΕΙ συναφούς γνωστικού αντικείμενου.

Άρθρο 5  
 Χρονική διάρκεια

Η χρονική διάρκεια των σπουδών του κοινού Π.Μ.Σ. για την απονομή του Μεταπτυχιακού Διπλώματος Ειδικεύσεως (ΜΔΕ) ορίζεται σε τέσσερα (4) εξάμηνα.

Άρθρο 6  
 Πρόγραμμα μαθημάτων

Το σύνολο των Πιστωτικών Μονάδων (ECTS) που απαιτούνται για την απόκτηση του ΜΔΕ ανέρχεται σε εκατόν είκοσι (120).

Τα προσφερόμενα μαθήματα διακρίνονται σε μαθήματα Κορμού, σε μαθήματα Κατεύθυνσης και σε μαθήματα

Ελεύθερης Επιλογής. Κατά τη διάρκεια των σπουδών κάθε φοιτητής υποχρεούται να παρακολουθήσει τρία (3) μαθήματα κορμού, τρία (3) μαθήματα κατεύθυνσης και δύο (2) ή τέσσερα (4) μαθήματα ελεύθερης επιλογής.

Η Μεταπτυχιακή Διπλωματική Εργασία (ΜΔΕ) εκπονείται στο τρίτο (Γ) εξάμηνο σπουδών. Σε περίπτωση που ο φοιτητής/τρια δεν επιλέξει να πραγματοποιήσει ΜΔΕ υποχρεούται να παρακολουθήσει δύο (2) πρόσθετα μαθήματα επιλογής στο αντίστοιχο (Γ) εξάμηνο.

Η πρακτική άσκηση υλοποιείται στο τέταρτο (Δ') εξάμηνο σε δομές ειδικής εκπαίδευσης.

Το ήμισυ των εισακτέων φοιτητών εγγράφονται στο Τμήμα Επιστήμης Φυσικής Αγωγής και Αθλητισμού του Δημοκρίτειου Πανεπιστημίου Θράκης και αντίστοιχα το ήμισυ αυτών εγγράφονται στο Τμήμα Επιστημών Ζωής και Υγείας του Πανεπιστημίου Λευκωσίας.

Το πρόγραμμα των μαθημάτων διαμορφώνεται ανά εξάμηνο ως εξής:

Α' ΕΞΑΜΗΝΟ	
ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ (κορμού)	ECTS
- Ειδική Εκπαίδευση Ατόμων με Μειονεξίες και Αναπηρίες	10
- Θεωρίες Ειδικής Φυσικής Αγωγής και της Ψυχοκινητικής	10
- Μεθοδολογία Έρευνας στην Ειδική Φυσική Αγωγή	10
Σύνολο ECTS Α' Εξαμήνου	30

Κάθε φοιτητής υποχρεούται να παρακολουθήσει τρία (3) μαθήματα κορμού στο Α' εξάμηνο.

Στο Β' εξάμηνο, σε κάθε κατεύθυνση, κάθε φοιτητής υποχρεούται να παρακολουθήσει τρία (3) μαθήματα κατεύθυνσης. Τα μαθήματα ανά κατεύθυνση είναι τα εξής:

Β' ΕΞΑΜΗΝΟ	
ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ κατεύθυνσης «Ειδική Φυσική Αγωγή στην Εκπαίδευση»	ECTS
- Εφαρμοσμένη Ψυχολογία στην Ειδική Φυσική Αγωγή	10
- Αξιολόγηση στην Ειδική Φυσική Αγωγή και στην Ψυχοκινητική	10
- Σχεδιασμός Παρεμβατικών Προγραμμάτων στην Ειδική Φυσική Αγωγή και στην Ψυχοκινητική	10
Σύνολο ECTS Β' Εξαμήνου	30
ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ κατεύθυνσης «Αναψυχή και Αθλητισμός στα Άτομα με Αναπηρία»	ECTS
- Κοινωνιοδυναμικές Σχέσεις στο Χώρο των Ατόμων με Αναπηρία	10
- Άσκηση και Αθλητικοί Τραυματισμοί στα Άτομα με Αναπηρία	10
- Αναψυχή και Αθλητισμός σε Άτομα με Αναπηρία	10
Σύνολο ECTS Β' Εξαμήνου	30

Επιπλέον, στο Γ εξάμηνο, κάθε φοιτητής ανεξαρτήτως κατεύθυνσης, υποχρεούται να υλοποιήσει Μεταπτυχιακή Διπλωματική Εργασία (διατριβή) και να παρακολουθήσει ένα (1) μάθημα ελεύθερης επιλογής. Δίνεται η δυνατότητα στο φοιτητή να αντικαταστήσει την εκπόνηση της ΜΔΕ με την παρακολούθηση δύο (2) μαθημάτων ελεύθερης επιλογής.





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Γ' ΕΞΑΜΗΝΟ	
ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ	ECTS
- Μεταπτυχιακή Διπλωματική Εργασία ή	20
(- Μάθημα Ελεύθερης Επιλογής	10
- Μάθημα Ελεύθερης Επιλογής)	10
- Μάθημα ελεύθερης επιλογής	10
Σύνολο ECTS Γ' Εξαμήνου	30

Στο Δ' εξάμηνο, κάθε φοιτητής, ανεξαρτήτως κατεύθυνσης, υποχρεούται να υλοποιήσει πρακτική άσκηση, και να παρακολουθήσει ένα (1) μάθημα ελεύθερης επιλογής. Η Πρακτική Άσκηση υλοποιείται σε δομές ειδικής εκπαίδευσης στην Ελλάδα ή στην Κύπρο.

Δ' ΕΞΑΜΗΝΟ	
ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ	ECTS
- Πρακτική άσκηση	20
- Μάθημα ελεύθερης επιλογής	10
Σύνολο ECTS Δ' Εξαμήνου	30

ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΗΣ ΕΠΙΛΟΓΗΣ	
ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ προσφερόμενα στο Γ' εξάμηνο	ECTS
- Χρόνες Παθήσεις και Άσκηση	10
- Διαταραχές της Κινητικής Συναρμογής - Ανάπτυξης	10
- Κινητική Μάθηση στην Ειδική Φυσική Αγωγή	10
ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ προσφερόμενα στο Δ' εξάμηνο	
ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ προσφερόμενα στο Δ' εξάμηνο	ECTS
- Υποστηρικτική Τεχνολογία και Άτομα με Αναπηρία	10
- Συμβουλευτική στην Αναπηρία	10
- Πρακτικές της Ψυχοκινητικής Παρέμβασης	10

Η γλώσσα διδασκαλίας όλων των μαθημάτων καθώς και η συγγραφή της Μεταπτυχιακής Διπλωματικής Εργασίας είναι η Ελληνική ή και η Αγγλική.

Με απόφαση του Συντονιστικού Οργάνου του Π.Μ.Σ. και έγκριση των αρμοδίων οργάνων μπορεί να γίνεται τροποποίηση του προγράμματος των μαθημάτων και ανακατανομή μεταξύ των εξαμήνων.

Άρθρο 7  
Αριθμός εισακτέων

Ο αριθμός εισακτέων στο πρόγραμμα ορίζεται κατ' ανώτατο όριο στους διακόσιους (200) κατ' έτος.

Άρθρο 8  
Προσωπικό

Για την υλοποίηση του κοινού Π.Μ.Σ. θα απασχοληθούν Καθηγητές και Λέκτορες των συνεργαζομένων Τμημάτων (Τ.Ε.Φ.Α.Α. του Δημοκρίτειου Πανεπιστημίου Θράκης και Τμήματος Επιστημών Ζωής και Υγείας του Πανεπιστημίου Λευκωσίας) ή άλλων Τμημάτων του Δημοκρίτειου Πανεπι-

στημίου Θράκης και του Πανεπιστημίου Λευκωσίας Κύπρου ή άλλων Πανεπιστημίων της ημεδαπής και αλλοδαπής, καθώς και άλλες κατηγορίες διδασκόντων σύμφωνα με τις διατάξεις του άρθρου 5 του Ν. 3685/2008 (ΦΕΚ 148 Α').

Άρθρο 9  
Υλικοτεχνική υποδομή

Για την υλοποίηση του Π.Μ.Σ. θα διατεθεί η υποδομή των συμμετεχόντων Τμημάτων και Σχολών. Επιπλέον, θα χρησιμοποιηθούν ψηφιακό εκπαιδευτικό υλικό και υλικό διαδραστικών εφαρμογών, συστήματα και διαδραστικές εφαρμογές εκπαίδευσης.

Άρθρο 10  
Διάρκεια λειτουργίας

Το Π.Μ.Σ. θα λειτουργήσει μέχρι το ακαδημαϊκό έτος 2023-2024 με την επιφύλαξη των διατάξεων της παρ. 11α του άρθρου 80 του Ν. 4009/2011 (ΦΕΚ 195 Α'), όπως τροποποιήθηκε και ισχύει.

Άρθρο 11  
Κόστος λειτουργίας

Σύμφωνα με το άρθρο 8 του Ν. 3685/2008 (ΦΕΚ 148 Α') το 65% του ετήσιου συνολικού κόστους λειτουργίας του Π.Μ.Σ. αφορά στις λειτουργικές δαπάνες, ανέρχεται στο ποσό των 728.000 ευρώ και αναλύεται ως εξής:

Κατηγορία Δαπάνης	ΠΟΣΟ (Ευρώ)
Αμοιβές - Αποζημιώσεις διδακτικού, διοικητικού και τεχνικού προσωπικού	550.000€
Δαπάνες Μετακινήσεων	40.000€
Δαπάνες για αναλώσιμα	30.000€
Προμήθεια συντήρηση εξοπλισμού	25.000€
Δαπάνες Δημοσιότητας	25.000€
Λοιπές Δαπάνες	10.000€
Υποτροφίες	48.000
ΣΥΝΟΛΟ:	728.000€

Το Π.Μ.Σ. είναι αυτοχρηματοδοτούμενο και το κόστος λειτουργίας του θα καλυφθεί από τα διδάκτρα των μεταπτυχιακών φοιτητών καθώς και από άλλες πηγές όπως εσφορές, χορηγίες, υποτροφίες, δωρεές από ιδιωτικούς και δημόσιους φορείς κλπ.

Άρθρο 12  
Ειδικές διατάξεις

Όσα θέματα δεν ρυθμίζονται στην παρούσα απόφαση, ρυθμίζονται από το Ειδικό Πρωτόκολλο Συνεργασίας καθώς και από τα αρμόδια όργανα, σύμφωνα με την ισχύουσα νομοθεσία.

Η απόφαση αυτή να δημοσιευθεί στην Εφημερίδα της Κυβερνήσεως.

Καμωτηνή, 13 Απριλίου 2016

Ο Πρύτανης  
ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ ΚΑΡΑΜΠΙΝΗΣ



ΑΠΟ ΤΟ ΕΘΝΙΚΟ ΤΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΙΟ  
 ΚΑΠΟΔΙΣΤΡΕΙΟΥ 34 \* ΑΘΗΝΑ 104 32 \* ΤΗΛ. 210 52 79 000 \* FAX 210 52 79 054  
 ΗΛΕΚΤΡΟΝΙΚΗ ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΣΗ: http://www.et.gr - e-mail: webmaster.et@et.gr



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## Προς έναν Κριτικό Λογοτεχνικό Γραμματισμό με «Λογισμό και μ' Όνειρο»

**Μαλαφάντης Δ. Κωνσταντίνος**

Καθηγητής Εθνικού και Καποδιστριακού Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών  
Πρόεδρος της Παιδαγωγικής Εταιρείας Ελλάδος

### Περίληψη

Αν η σύγχρονη εκπαίδευση αποσκοπεί, αφενός, στην ολόπλευρη («ολιστική») γνώση και, αφετέρου, στην κριτική «πολιτισμική αγωγή» των μαθητών, είναι αυτονόητο ότι και η σχολική λογοτεχνική εκπαίδευση υπηρετεί τους ίδιους σκοπούς με κύριο ζητούμενο την καλλιέργεια μιας γενικής λογοτεχνικής παιδείας, η οποία να συντελεί στον «κριτικό λογοτεχνικό γραμματισμό» των μαθητών. Εντασσόμενη μέσα στο πλαίσιο της Παιδαγωγικής του Κριτικού Γραμματισμού, η ανάγνωση των κειμένων ισοδυναμεί με κριτική αποδόμηση της γλώσσας, των ρητών νοημάτων και των υπονοημάτων τους, καθώς και των πραγματικοτήτων που αυτά αναπαριστούν, εμπλέκοντας τον αναγνώστη σε μια ενεργητική διαδικασία παραγωγής νόηματος. Πώς, όμως, όλα αυτά αποτυπώνονται στη διδακτική πράξη και κυρίως στα θεσμικά κείμενα που την υποστηρίζουν;

Με αφετηρία αυτόν τον προβληματισμό, η παρούσα διερεύνηση εστιάζεται στη μελέτη του Προγράμματος Σπουδών για τη Διδακταλία της Λογοτεχνίας στην Πρωτοβάθμια Εκπαίδευση σε συνάρτηση με το Ανθολόγιο Λογοτεχνικών Κειμένων. Θέτει ως ειδικότερους στόχους: α) τη διερεύνηση κριτικού λογοτεχνικού προσανατολισμού στη σκοποθεσία και στοχοθεσία του Προγράμματος Σπουδών και β) την ποιοτική και ποσοτική ταξινόμηση των δραστηριοτήτων-ερωτήσεων-εργασιών που ακολουθούν τα επιλεγμένα λογοτεχνικά κείμενα που εντάσσονται στο Ανθολόγιο της Ε' και Στ' Δημοτικού Με λογισμό και μ' όνειρο, με τον ίδιο στόχο. Ως προς τη μεθοδολογία, αξιοποιείται η μέθοδος της ανάλυσης περιεχομένου για τη μελέτη των Α.Π.Σ. με μονάδα καταγραφής το θέμα και η ταξινομία του Bloom, συνδέοντας επιμέρους πτυχές της γνωστικής λειτουργίας των ερωτήσεων με επιμέρους κατηγορίες νοητικών - γνωστικών δεξιοτήτων χαμηλού ή υψηλού επιπέδου σκέψης.

Τα αποτελέσματα που θα προκύψουν αναμένεται να αναδείξουν αν και σε ποιο βαθμό τα θεσμικά κείμενα –Α.Π.Σ. και σχολικό εγχειρίδιο– συμβάλλουν στο να καταστούν οι μαθητές ικανοί για αυτορρυθμιζόμενη μάθηση και αναπτυγμένη κριτική σκέψη, μέσω του μαθήματος της λογοτεχνίας, αναδεικνύοντας την καίρια σημασία τους.

### Λέξεις κλειδιά

ανθολόγιο λογοτεχνικών κειμένων, κριτικός λογοτεχνικός γραμματισμός, λογοτεχνική παιδεία, παιδαγωγική της λογοτεχνίας, ταξινομία του Bloom

### 1.Η «Παιδαγωγική του Κριτικού Γραμματισμού» και η «Παιδαγωγική του Λογοτεχνικού Γραμματισμού»

Η ανάπτυξη δεξιοτήτων Κριτικού Γραμματισμού αποτελεί τη μεγαλύτερη πρόκληση στο πλαίσιο της σύγχρονης εκπαιδευτικής διαδικασίας, καθώς έτσι εισάγεται η διάσταση της κριτικής σκέψης που συμπληρώνει την αποτελεσματική κοινωνική δράση (Δεδούλη & Κατσαρού, 2010). Ένα κριτικά εγγράμματο άτομο είναι σε θέση



να αντιλαμβάνεται τους επικοινωνιακούς στόχους ενός κειμένου, τις προθέσεις του συντάκτη του και τις κοινωνικές αλληλεπιδράσεις που αυτός επιδιώκει. Βασικός στόχος του Κριτικού Γραμματισμού είναι να χειραφετήσει τους ανθρώπους, καθιστώντας τους ενεργούς κριτές της κοινωνικής πραγματικότητας (Freire & Macedo, 1987).

Σύμφωνα με τους Luke & Freebody (1997) ο Κριτικός Γραμματισμός είναι μια κοινωνική πρακτική που ωθεί τους αναγνώστες να συμπεριφέρονται ως παραβάτες κωδίκων (code breakers), δημιουργοί ερμηνειών (meaning makers), κριτές κειμένων (text critics) μέσα από δραστηριότητες ανάγνωσης και γραφής. Ιδιαίτερη σημασία έχει η τελευταία ιδιότητα του αναγνώστη, καθώς «αναλύει κριτικά το κείμενο και μαθαίνει να βλέπει πίσω από τις λέξεις στη σελίδα, ώστε να συμπεράνει πώς «δουλεύει» το κείμενο γλωσσικά (linguistically), πολιτικά (politically), πολιτισμικά (culturally) και κοινωνικά (socially) (Jewett & Smith, 2003: 69). Η Coffey (2008) ορίζει τον Κριτικό Γραμματισμό ως την ικανότητα να διαβάσει κανείς κείμενα με ενεργό και αντανακλαστικό (reflective) τρόπο, ώστε να κατανοήσει καλύτερα την εξουσία, την ανισότητα και την αδικία στις ανθρώπινες σχέσεις. Έτσι, μπορεί να ερμηνεύσει τα μηνύματα στο σύγχρονο κόσμο μέσα από έναν κριτικό φακό και να θέσει υπό αμφισβήτηση τις εξουσιαστικές σχέσεις.

Για τους σκοπούς του Κριτικού Γραμματισμού, το κείμενο ορίζεται ως «όχημα μέσω του οποίου τα άτομα επικοινωνούν μεταξύ τους, χρησιμοποιώντας κώδικες και συμβάσεις της κοινωνίας» (Robinson & Robinson, 2003: 3). Κατά συνέπεια, τα τραγούδια, τα μυθιστορήματα, οι συζητήσεις, οι φωτογραφίες, οι ταινίες θα μπορούσαν να θεωρηθούν κειμενικά είδη, τα οποία περιέχουν μορφές και έννοιες που απορρέουν και εγγράφουν τις λειτουργίες, τους σκοπούς και τα νοήματα των κοινωνικών περιστάσεων. Τα κείμενα, λοιπόν, τελούν υπό διαπραγμάτευση ως προς τη δόμηση και την κατανόησή τους σε ένα διαφορετικό, κάθε φορά, πλαίσιο κοινωνικών συναλλαγών και έχουν ρευστές ιδιότητες, ανάλογες με τις ισχύουσες κοινωνικές και πολιτικές συνθήκες. Αποτελούν κοινωνικές δράσεις που, μέσω των διαφοροποιημένων ανά περίπτωση γλωσσικών υλικών τους και των εν γένει δομικών στοιχείων τους, κατασκευάζουν, κατ' επιλογή και συνειδητά, ποικίλες οπτικές του κόσμου και πραγματικότητες, όπως κοινωνικές ταυτότητες, ρόλους, αξίες, σχέσεις. Έτσι, αντιμετωπίζονται ως μεταβλητές και, παράλληλα, ως μη ουδέτερες ιδεολογικά οντότητες, ως εργαλεία αντίστασης κατά των πάγιων στοιχείων που αφορούν στην κοινωνία αλλά και επίτευξης νέων δεδομένων (Cervetti et al., 2001).

Επομένως, τα κείμενα υφίστανται οποιαδήποτε κριτική, επηρεάζουν και επηρεάζονται από τις ιστορικές συγκυρίες και τις ιδεολογικές θέσεις και τίθενται στην υπηρεσία του κάθε αναγνώστη και της ανάγνωσής του. Η επεξεργασία τους είναι πλέον μια κοινωνικά προσανατολισμένη διαδικασία που αποσκοπεί στη διαμόρφωση μιας κριτικής στάσης έναντι αυτών. Γι' αυτό και οι εκπαιδευτικοί που επιδιώκουν την ανάπτυξη του Κριτικού Γραμματισμού μέσα στο πλαίσιο της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής ενθαρρύνουν τους μαθητές να κρίνουν τις κοινωνικές δομές





που λειτουργούν ως πρότυπα, καθώς και να δείξουν ότι αυτές οι νόρμες δεν αντιμετωπίζονται το ίδιο από όλα τα μέλη της κοινωνίας (McLaren & Kincheloe, 2007) με τη δημιουργία διαφορετικών οπτικών και την παραγωγή ατομικών κειμένων (counter texts) (εφημερίδες, προσωπικές αφηγήσεις, ερασιτεχνικά βίντεο) (Behrman, 2006). Αξιοποιούν, έτσι, την εμπειρία των μαθητών, σέβονται την προσωπική τους εκτίμηση, ευνοούν τις πολλαπλές επιλογές και λύσεις, αναλύουν τον τρόπο σκέψης τους, ενισχύουν την κριτική ανάγνωση και αποσκοπούν στην ενίσχυση και απόκτηση μεταγνωστικών δεξιοτήτων (Μαλαφάντης & Μουλά, 2015: 53) μέσα από ενδεικτικές ερωτήσεις και διδακτικές δραστηριότητες, οι οποίες εξυπηρετούν την αποδόμηση και αναδόμηση των λογοτεχνικών κειμένων, στοχεύοντας στην αμφισβήτηση και την κριτική επεξεργασία του περιεχομένου τους και στη διαμόρφωση της προσωπικής θέσης των μαθητών (Arol 1998: 38).

Το ερώτημα που τίθεται είναι πώς η λογοτεχνία και ιδιαίτερα η λογοτεχνική ανάγνωση συνδέεται με τον Κριτικό Γραμματισμό; Η απάντηση βρίσκεται στην ίδια τη φύση της λογοτεχνίας, που αποτελεί ένα ιδιαίτερα πρόσφορο έδαφος για την πραγματοποίηση κριτικής ανάγνωσης των κειμένων και κατ' επέκταση για την ανάπτυξη δεξιοτήτων Κριτικού Γραμματισμού. Κι' αυτό, διότι χαρακτηρίζεται από μια πολυφωνία, η οποία προσφέρει απεριόριστες δυνατότητες γνωριμίας και εξοικείωσης με πλήθος αξιών διαφόρων εποχών, πολιτισμών, κοινωνικών στρωμάτων και ανθρώπινων τύπων, που μεταβιβάζονται από γενιά σε γενιά. Η κριτική, λοιπόν, ανάγνωση των λογοτεχνικών κειμένων αποτελεί μια ενεργητική διαδικασία παραγωγής νοήματος, στην οποία εμπλέκεται η προηγούμενη γνώση που πάντα διαθέτει ο άνθρωπος για τον κόσμο. Ο Κριτικός Γραμματισμός θέτοντας την εξατομικευμένη ανάγνωση στο ιστορικο-κοινωνικό και πολιτικό πλαίσιο στο οποίο τα λογοτεχνικά κείμενα γράφονται και διαβάζονται, προσφέρει τη δυνατότητα διατήρησης μιας απόστασης, ακόμα και όταν ο αναγνώστης νιώθει πως η δική του ευαισθησία συγχωνεύεται με την ευαισθησία του κειμένου, και τον βοηθά να μάθει να διαβάζει πέρα από τις λέξεις εστιάζοντας, σύμφωνα με μια γνωστή φράση του Freire, στην «ανάγνωση του κόσμου» (Freire & Macedo, 1987), για να καταλάβει πώς λειτουργεί το κείμενο σε επίπεδο γλωσσικό, κοινωνικο-πολιτικό και πολιτισμικό· για να διερευνήσει τις σχέσεις εξουσίας που είναι εγγενείς στη γλωσσική χρήση· για να συνειδητοποιήσει τους τρόπους με τους οποίους μας “τοποθετεί” το κείμενο ως αναγνώστες αλλά και τους τρόπους με τους οποίους το προσωπικό μας κοινωνικο-πολιτισμικό και ιδεολογικό υπόβαθρο, το φύλο κ.λπ. επηρεάζουν την πρόσληψη και νοηματοδότηση του κειμένου (Luke & Freebody, 1997).

Αυτό είναι ιδιαίτερα σημαντικό στην εκπαιδευτική πραγματικότητα, καθώς σύμφωνα και με τη διεθνή βιβλιογραφία, η ενασχόληση με τα λογοτεχνικά κείμενα παρέχει τη δυνατότητα ενεργητικής συμμετοχής των μαθητών στη διαδικασία της γνώσης, ως κοινότητας αναγνωστών και ερμηνευτών και διευρύνει τον ορίζοντα των εμπειριών τους μέσω των πολλαπλών οπτικών (multiple perspectives) στην επεξεργασία των κειμένων, τα οποία πρέπει να είναι ανοικτά σε πολλές ερμηνείες





(Appleman, 2000; Μαλαφάντης, 2015). Επίσης, οξύνει το γλωσσικό αισθητήριο και το αισθητικό τους κριτήριο, αναπτύσσει την κριτική τους ικανότητα μέσα από πεδία στοχασμού και κριτικού προβληματισμού (Schmidt & Pailliotet, 2001), τους ενθαρρύνει να σκέφτονται κριτικά (Mathis, 2006) και να συζητούν για τα κοινωνικά θέματα, τις αξίες και τους θεσμούς που επηρεάζουν την καθημερινή τους ζωή με αναστοχαστικό τρόπο (Meller et al., 2009; Knickerbocker & Rycik, 2006). Τους καθιστά, συνεπώς, ικανούς να αντιλαμβάνονται την πραγματικότητα στις πολυειδείς όψεις και εκδοχές της και να παίρνουν κριτική θέση απέναντι σε ζητήματα της ατομικής και της κοινωνικής ζωής (Collins & Blot, 2003).

Στο θεωρητικό υπόβαθρο της σύνδεσης Κριτικού Γραμματισμού και λογοτεχνίας εδράζονται οι Αναγνωστικές θεωρίες που έπαψαν να ενδιαφέρονται αποκλειστικά για το κείμενο, όπως αυτό παρουσιαζόταν ως αυτόνομη λεκτική οντότητα με μοναδική δομή και ένα νόημα καθορισμένο και στράφηκαν στη «διάδραση κειμένου και αναγνώστη» (Iser, 1980: 107), δηλαδή στο πώς τα κείμενα αλληλενεργούν με τους αποδέκτες τους και πώς ανταποκρίνονται οι τελευταίοι σε αυτά. Αυτό σημαίνει ότι κλονίζεται ο τετελεσμένος χαρακτήρας του, αφού επιτρέπει τη συμμετοχή του αναγνώστη στην παραγωγή του νοήματός του. «Ένας αναγνώστης θα διαβάσει διαφορετικά κείμενα με διαφορετικούς τρόπους. Ένα κείμενο θα διαβαστεί με διαφορετικούς τρόπους από διαφορετικούς αναγνώστες. Ένας αναγνώστης θα διαβάσει το ίδιο κείμενο διαφορετικά σε διαφορετικές συνθήκες, καθώς η διάθεσή του, ο σκοπός του και η γνώση του αλλάζουν» (Hatt, 1976: 71). Αυτή η διαδικασία βοηθάει τον αναγνώστη να ανακαλύψει ότι τα λογοτεχνικά κείμενα δεν είναι ουδέτερα, αλλά διέπονται από κοινωνικές, πολιτικές και οικονομικές συνθήκες παραγωγής και δημιουργίας και ότι «ποτέ δεν μπορεί να υπάρχει μια μοναδική τελική ανάγνωση, επειδή δεν υπάρχει η πιθανότητα μιας ουδέτερης και αντικειμενικής κρίσης» (Mellor et al., 1991: 4).

Το λογοτεχνικό έργο, επομένως, αποκτά αξία, μόνο όταν μελετηθεί με τη ματιά του αναγνώστη, υπάρχει σε σχέση με αυτόν και το ίδιο έχει τη δυνατότητα να παρέχει και να χειρίζεται την παραγωγή του νοήματος. Συνεπώς, ο αναγνώστης είναι σχεδόν τόσο απαραίτητος όσο και ο συγγραφέας και το κείμενο δεν υπάρχει στα ράφια των βιβλιοθηκών, είναι διαδικασία νοηματοδότησης που υλοποιείται μόνο με την πράξη της ανάγνωσης (Ηγκλετον 1996: 121). Είναι μια «νωχελική μηχανή», που απαιτεί από τον αναγνώστη μια κοπιώδη συνεργατική δράση, για να καλύψει τους χώρους του μη-ειπωμένου ή του ήδη-ειπωμένου που έμειναν κενοί (Eco, 1985: 29). Έτσι, ο αναγνώστης διαβάζοντας το κείμενο, παλινδρομεί συνεχώς ανάμεσα στην οργάνωση και την αναδιοργάνωση των δεδομένων, που αυτό του προσφέρει, αφού κάθε πρόταση ανοίγει έναν ορίζοντα, ο οποίος επιβεβαιώνεται, αμφισβητείται ή υπονομεύεται από την επόμενη πρόταση (Culler 2000: 86). Κατανοεί, λοιπόν, τα κείμενα σύμφωνα με τους κώδικές τους και τους κώδικες που προβάλλει αυτός στα κείμενα, τη γλώσσα και τους κανόνες του παιχνιδιού, δηλαδή σε τι αναφέρεται το κείμενο, με ποιον τρόπο λειτουργεί και γιατί (Hunt, 1991: 104). Αυτή, άλλωστε, είναι και η πεμπτουσία της κριτικής ανάγνωσης.



Επομένως, γίνεται κατανοητή η συμβολή της λογοτεχνίας στην επίτευξη του Γραμματισμού εν γένει, αλλά και του Κριτικού Γραμματισμού ιδιαίτερα, δεδομένου ότι πραγματεύεται συχνά κοινωνικά ζητήματα τα οποία συνδέονται με σχετικά πρόδηλα αξιακά και ιδεολογικά στοιχεία ταυτοτήτων των υποκειμένων της γραφής και συνεπακόλουθα της ανάγνωσης, στο κατά περίπτωση κοινωνικοπολιτισμικό συγκείμενο της αναγνωστικής πράξης, και έτσι προσφέρονται για να ασκήσουν οι μαθητές τις αναλυτικές και κριτικές δεξιότητές τους (Αραβανή & Δημάση, 2016: 132). Η θεματολογία των λογοτεχνικών κειμένων, με άλλα λόγια, μέσα από τη διαχρονική και τη συγχρονική της διάσταση, διασφαλίζει τη δημιουργία κινήτρων ανάγνωσης και μπορεί να αποτελέσει την αφετηρία για τη δημιουργία ευκαιριών συζήτησης, αντιπαράθεσης και κριτικής σκέψης (Khatib & Rahimi, 2012: 33-34; Llach, 2007).

## **2.Ερευνώντας και διερευνώντας το Πρόγραμμα Σπουδών για τη Γλώσσα και τη Λογοτεχνία (2011) & το Ανθολόγιο Λογοτεχνικών Κειμένων με κριτικό προσανατολισμό**

Ο προβληματισμός που δημιουργείται είναι πώς μπορούν όλα αυτά να αξιοποιηθούν διδακτικά, ώστε να μετατρέψουμε τους μαθητές από απλούς αναγνώστες σε κριτικούς αναγνώστες; Και σε ένα δεύτερο επίπεδο, τα θεσμικά κείμενα δίνουν αυτή τη δυνατότητα; Αυτό που αρχικά απαιτείται είναι «να τους διδάσκουμε να σκέφτονται κριτικά (thinking critically) και να ανταποκρίνονται αισθητικά (respond aesthetically) στη λογοτεχνία» (Cianciolo, 1995: 156). Είναι σημαντικό, επίσης, οι μαθητές να ενθαρρύνονται να ακολουθούν έναν αναλυτικό και διερευνητικό τρόπο προσέγγισης στην ανάγνωσή τους, να προχωρούν πέρα από την απλή επιφανειακή ερμηνεία και να ξεκαθαρίζουν τι είναι αυτό που ρητά αναφέρεται, αλλά και τι υποκρύπτεται, προκειμένου να αναλύουν και να εκτιμούν την ερμηνεία και το σκοπό του συγγραφέα (Bainbridge et al., 2009; Johnson & Freedman, 2005). Τα προβλέπει όλα αυτά το *Νέο Πρόγραμμα Σπουδών* (2011) για τη διδασκαλία της Λογοτεχνίας στην Πρωτοβάθμια Εκπαίδευση; Υπάρχουν αυτές οι διδακτικές κατευθύνσεις αποτυπωμένες στο *Ανθολόγιο Λογοτεχνικών Κειμένων*, το βασικό και μοναδικό εγχειρίδιο με το οποίο οι μαθητές της Πρωτοβάθμιας Εκπαίδευσης έρχονται σε επαφή –δυστυχώς όχι με συστηματικό τρόπο– με τη λογοτεχνική παραγωγή;

### *2.1. Η έρευνα: Σκοπός και ερευνητικοί στόχοι*

Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη τα προαναφερθέντα, η παρούσα έρευνα εστιάζεται στη μελέτη του Προγράμματος Σπουδών για τη διδασκαλία της Λογοτεχνίας στην Πρωτοβάθμια Εκπαίδευση (2011) σε συνάρτηση με το *Ανθολόγιο Λογοτεχνικών Κειμένων*. Θέτει ως ειδικότερους στόχους:

α) τη διερεύνηση κριτικού λογοτεχνικού προσανατολισμού στη σκοποθεσία και στοχοθεσία του Προγράμματος Σπουδών και



β) την ποιοτική και ποσοτική ταξινόμηση των δραστηριοτήτων-ερωτήσεων-εργασιών που ακολουθούν τα επιλεγμένα λογοτεχνικά κείμενα που εντάσσονται στο Ανθολόγιο της Ε΄ και Στ΄ Δημοτικού *Με λογισμό και μ΄ όνειρο* με τον ίδιο στόχο.<sup>1</sup>

## 2.2. Μεθοδολογία έρευνας

Χρησιμοποιήθηκε η μέθοδος της ανάλυσης περιεχομένου για τη μελέτη του Νέου Προγράμματος Σπουδών για τη Γλώσσα και τη Λογοτεχνία (2011) με μονάδα καταγραφής το *θέμα*. Ως εργαλείο για την ταξινόμηση των ερωτήσεων-εργασιών αξιοποιήθηκε η *ταξινομία του Bloom* (1986) συνδέοντας επιμέρους πτυχές της γνωστικής λειτουργίας των ερωτήσεων με επιμέρους κατηγορίες νοητικών - γνωστικών δεξιοτήτων χαμηλού ή υψηλού επιπέδου σκέψης<sup>2</sup>. Άλλωστε, είναι ερευνητικά αποδεδειγμένο ότι οι μαθητές σκέφτονται με τον τρόπο που καθορίζει ο εκπαιδευτικός με τις ερωτήσεις του. Κάθε ερώτηση δραστηριοποιεί και μια νοητική λειτουργία. Η ταξινομία των ερωτήσεων γίνεται με βάση τη νοητική λειτουργία που δραστηριοποιούν και είναι ταυτόσημη με την ταξινόμηση των νοητικών λειτουργιών με στόχο την προοδευτική μετακίνηση από τις απλές ερωτήσεις προς τις πιο σύνθετες και από τις χαμηλές νοητικές λειτουργίες προς τις ανώτερες (Βαϊνάς, 1998: 35). Αναλυτικότερα στην ταξινομία του Bloom έχουμε τις εξής νοητικές λειτουργίες:

- α. **Γνώση:** Δραστηριοποιούν τη λειτουργία της μνήμης - ανάκληση πληροφοριακού υλικού,
- β. **Κατανόηση:** Απαιτούν την απομόνωση στοιχείων, εννοιών, πληροφοριών, ερμηνεία αυτών και προέκτασή τους - επεξήγηση φαινομένων και απόδοση με δική τους φρασεολογία,
- γ. **Εφαρμογή:** Απαιτούν εφαρμογή κάποιων τεχνικών και κανόνων για την επίλυση προβλημάτων - ορθή χρήση των γνωστών εννοιών,
- δ. **Ανάλυση:** Απαιτούν την ανάλυση μιας κατάστασης και την επισήμανση των μερών που την απαρτίζουν - συσχετισμός μεταξύ των μερών,
- ε. **Σύνθεση:** Τονίζεται η δημιουργική σκέψη και εργασία των μαθητών, ώστε μέσα από γνωστές έννοιες να προκύψει κάτι καινούριο,
- στ. **Αξιολόγηση:** Απαιτούν την εξαγωγή κρίσεων με βάση εσωτερικά και εξωτερικά κριτήρια (Bloom & Krathwohl, 1986: 260-270).

1 Οι έρευνες σχετικά με τις ερωτήσεις-εργασίες που περιέχονται σε ένα σχολικό εγχειρίδιο έχουν δείξει ότι αυτές: α) ελέγχουν την επίτευξη των στόχων διδασκαλίας και μάθησης, β) προσδιορίζουν τον τρόπο αυτοαξιολόγησης, γ) λειτουργούν ως μέσο παρακίνησης για αναζήτηση και δημιουργική εργασία (Horsley & Campbell, 2009), δ) συμβάλλουν στην εμπέδωση του μαθήματος (Cerdán et al., 2009), ε) παρέχουν την ευκαιρία της διορθωτικής ανατροφοδότησης (Θεοφιλίδης, 1988; Γιοκαρίνης, 1995; Καποθανάση & Κουνέλη, 2001; Χατζηγεωργίου, 2003; Μπονίδης, 2005; Suto & Nadas, 2009).

2 Ταξινομία κατά Bloom (1986): 1) Χαμηλού επιπέδου: α) γνώσης, β) κατανόησης, γ) εφαρμογής, 2) Υψηλού επιπέδου: α) ανάλυσης, β) σύνθεσης, γ) αξιολόγησης.



### 2.3. Διαπιστώσεις – Σχολιασμός – Προβληματισμός

#### 2.3.1. Νέο Πρόγραμμα Σπουδών για τη Γλώσσα και τη Λογοτεχνία (2011)

Η φιλοσοφία του Νέου Προγράμματος Σπουδών για τη Λογοτεχνία στο Δημοτικό σχολείο, καθώς και του *Οδηγού για τον Εκπαιδευτικό*, κινείται μέσα στο ευρύτερο πνεύμα της καλλιέργειας του Κριτικού Γραμματισμού, καθώς αντιμετωπίζει τη λογοτεχνία ως ένα σύνθετο πολιτισμικό φαινόμενο που μας παρέχει εργαλεία για να κατανοήσουμε τον κόσμο που μας περιβάλλει, αλλά και για να οξύνουμε την κριτική στάση μας απέναντι σ' αυτόν. Χαρακτηριστικά αναφέρεται ότι «**βασικός σκοπός της διδασκαλίας της λογοτεχνίας είναι “η κριτική αγωγή στο σύγχρονο πολιτισμό”**. Με τη φράση αυτή επιδιώκουμε να τονίσουμε πως αφετηρία μας είναι το παρόν, τα προβλήματα και τα χαρακτηριστικά του σύγχρονου, περίπλοκου και δυσνόητου κόσμου. Να αναδείξουμε τη λογοτεχνία ως ένα σύνθετο πολιτισμικό φαινόμενο το οποίο χαρακτηρίζεται από την ιστορικότητα του συγγραφέα, του κειμένου αλλά και των αναγνωστών του, εκπαιδευτικών και μαθητικού κοινού. Ένα φαινόμενο το οποίο έχει σημαντική θέση στη ζωή μας, γιατί μας δίνει εργαλεία να κατανοήσουμε τον κόσμο και να συγκροτήσουμε την υποκειμενικότητά μας. Να θέσουμε ως πρωταρχική αξία του μαθήματος την **κριτική στάση** απέναντι στις πολιτισμικές παραδόσεις, τις αξίες και τα μηνύματα από όπου κι αν προέρχονται» (Π.Σ., 2011: 25-26).

Συμπληρωματικά στο Π.Σ. διατυπώνεται ξεκάθαρα ότι μέσω της λογοτεχνίας επιτυγχάνεται «η συνειδητοποίηση, η διερεύνηση και η **κριτική κατανόηση** του τρόπου με τον οποίο αντιλαμβανόμαστε την κοινωνική, ιστορική και πολιτισμική μας εμπειρία και συγκροτούμε την ταυτότητά μας». Αντιμετωπίζει τη μαθητική κοινότητα ως «**μια κοινότητα αναγνωστών, η οποία θα διέπεται από τις αξίες της δημοκρατίας, της ισότητας, του σεβασμού της διαφοράς, του πλουραλισμού, του διαλόγου, της κριτικής εγρήγορσης και αυτογνωσίας, της διαπολιτισμικής συνείδησης**». Παράλληλα προβάλλει τον ενεργητικό ρόλο των μαθητών ως πολιτών και παραγωγών πολιτισμού μέσω της «**ανάπτυξης της κριτικής και ταυτόχρονα δημιουργικής τους σχέσης με το σύγχρονο κοινωνικό και πολιτισμικό περιβάλλον, καθώς και τη συμβολική ενδυνάμωση της υποκειμενικότητάς τους**».

Κάνοντας μια ιδιαίτερη και σύντομη αναφορά στους ειδικούς σκοπούς της λογοτεχνίας ως προς την πρόσληψη των λογοτεχνικών κειμένων, εντοπίζεται ότι προβάλλεται η σχετικότητα και πολλαπλότητα των ερμηνευτικών προσεγγίσεων, καθώς και η κριτική αντιμετώπιση των προσωπικών ερμηνευτικών προτάσεων των μαθητών-αναγνωστών. Το υπόβαθρο των σύγχρονων αναγνωστικών θεωριών και του Κριτικού Γραμματισμού είναι έκδηλο σε μια τέτοια στοχοθεσία, όπως και στους ακόλουθους διατυπωμένους στόχους, όπου οι μαθητές πρέπει «**να είναι σε θέση να διερευνούν όλους τους συντελεστές και τους αναγκαίους παράγοντες που συμβάλλουν στην παραγωγή και στην πρόσληψη των λογοτεχνικών κειμένων [...] να εντοπίζουν και να αναγνωρίζουν τις αξίες και τις ιδέες που ενυπάρχουν στα λογοτεχνικά κείμενα [...] να κατανοήσουν ότι οι πολιτισμικές αξίες σχετίζονται με το**



χώρο, το χρόνο και την κοινωνική ομάδα που τις παράγει, είναι επομένως προσδιορισμένες ιστορικά, γεγονός που δικαιολογεί τη σχετικότητα αλλά και την ποικιλία τους [...] **να διερευνούν** την ιστορικότητά τους και **να τοποθετούνται κριτικά** απέναντι σε αυτές». Σχετικά με την προτεινόμενη μεθοδολογία η **διδασκαλία σε ομάδες** και η **μέθοδος project** φαίνεται ότι, αν αξιοποιηθούν εποικοδομητικά και επικεντρωμένα ως προς τους ευρύτερους στόχους της αισθητικής απόλαυσης και κριτικής ανάπτυξης, μπορούν να καλλιεργήσουν τη συνεργασία, την ομαδικότητα, να προωθήσουν την ενεργητική μάθηση και να δώσουν τη δυνατότητα στους μαθητές να εκφράζουν ελεύθερα τη γνώμη τους κατά τη διδακτική πράξη.

Γίνεται, επομένως, αντιληπτό ότι η διδασκαλία της λογοτεχνίας στοχεύει «στην καλλιέργεια μιας ποικιλίας αναγνωστικών και επικοινωνιακών δεξιοτήτων, μέσα από την αξιοποίηση κειμένων από όλο το φάσμα της πολιτισμικής παραγωγής, από όλα δηλαδή τα διαφορετικά είδη της εικονικής, θεατρικής και μαζικής επικοινωνίας [...] στην ενίσχυση της αίσθησης ότι η δύναμη και οι δυνατότητες της γλώσσας μπορούν να είναι μία από τις μεγαλύτερες χαρές της ανάγνωσης της λογοτεχνίας, καθώς η απόκτηση, μέσα από τη λογοτεχνία, πολλαπλών γλωσσικών εμπειριών και η εξοικείωση με τη μεταφορική λειτουργία της γλώσσας είναι απαραίτητη για τη φιλοσοφία, την έρευνα και το στοχασμό (Π.Σ. 2011: 22-23). Το ζητούμενο, όμως, είναι κατά πόσο όλα αυτά παραμένουν θέματα ευσεβών πόθων και μέσα στο ευρύτερο πλαίσιο των «θεσμικών» θεωρητικών εξαγγελιών; Πόσο συγκεκριμένος αλλά και αφηρημένος ταυτόχρονα είναι ο βασικός σκοπός της λογοτεχνίας, όπως παρατίθεται, περί κριτικής αγωγής στον σύγχρονο πολιτισμό; Και σε ένα δεύτερο επίπεδο πώς συνδέονται με τα σχολικά εγχειρίδια, την επιλογή των ανάλογων λογοτεχνικών κειμένων, των εργασιών που τα συνοδεύουν; Βρίσκονται σε σχέση συνάφειας και αλληλοσύνδεσης;

### 2.3.2. Το Ανθολόγιο Λογοτεχνικών Κειμένων Με λογισμό και μ' όνειρο

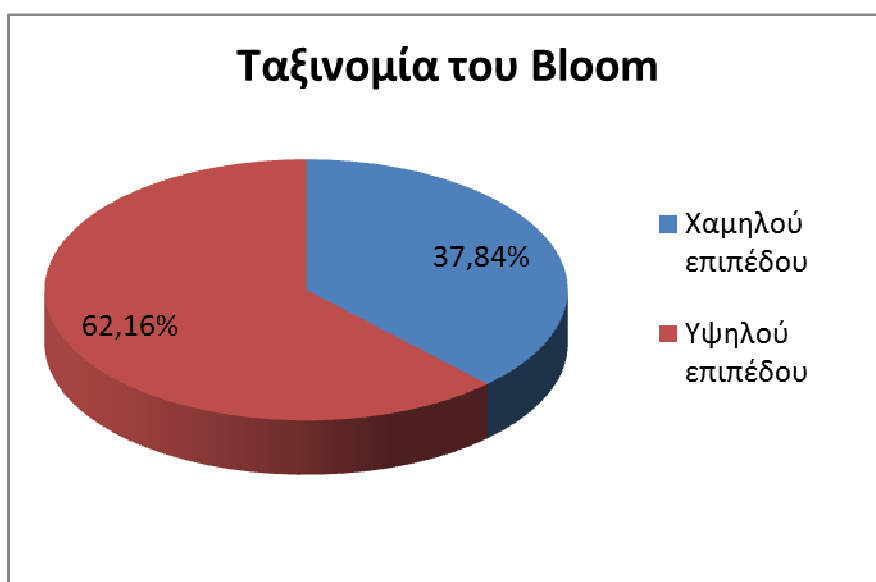
Στο Δημοτικό Σχολείο η “ελεύθερη” και ολοκληρωμένη επαφή του μαθητή με τη Λογοτεχνία γίνεται με βάση τα Ανθολόγια Λογοτεχνικών Κειμένων, πρωταρχικός στόχος των οποίων είναι η πρώτη γνωριμία των μαθητών με τη λογοτεχνική εκφορά του λόγου. Τα νέα Ανθολόγια δεν στηρίζονται μόνο στις αρχές και στους κανόνες της σύγχρονης Παιδαγωγικής, αλλά και στις θέσεις της σύγχρονης Θεωρίας της Λογοτεχνίας, έχοντας ως κύριους στόχους τη διάσωση της απόλαυσης, μέσω της ανάγνωσης των λογοτεχνικών κειμένων και τον προσανατολισμό του αναγνώστη-μαθητή σε πιο δημιουργικούς δρόμους, μέσα από τη σχέση του με τα ανθολογούμενα κείμενα (Αραβανή, 2008). Ιδιαίτερα σημαντικό είναι το γεγονός ότι ο αποδέκτης αυτών των κειμένων αντιμετωπίζεται πρώτα ως αναγνώστης και ύστερα ως μαθητής. Ο προβληματισμός, όμως, που δημιουργείται είναι τι είδους μαθητής; Κριτικά σκεπτόμενος μαθητής; Μαθητής της γνώσης και της μεταγνώσης; Για την απάντηση αυτού του ερωτήματος μελετήθηκε το Ανθολόγιο της Ε΄ και Στ΄ Δημοτικού *Με λογισμό και μ' όνειρο*. Σημείο αναφοράς ήταν οι εργασίες-





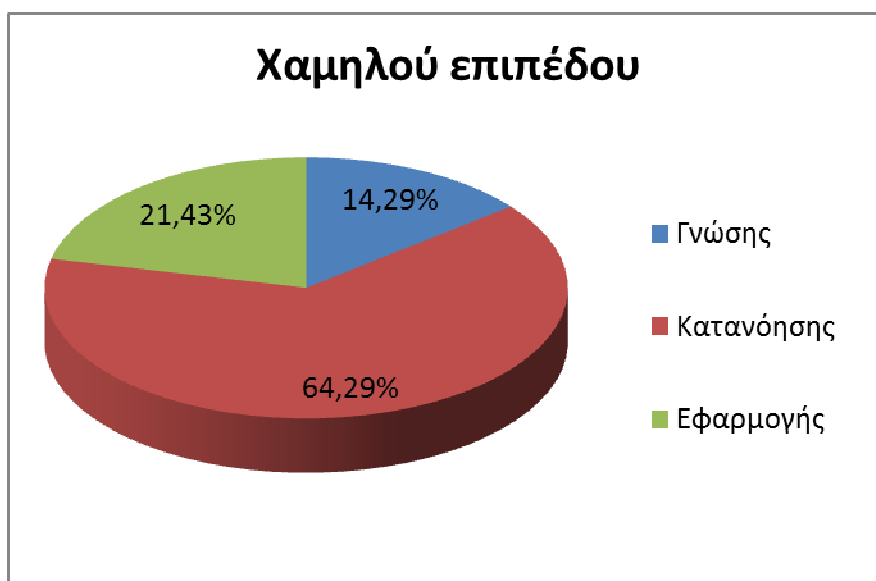
δραστηριότητες που ακολουθούν τα λογοτεχνικά κείμενα. Οι ερωτήσεις, ασκήσεις και εργασίες που περιλαμβάνει ένα σχολικό βιβλίο κρίνονται ως καθοριστικές για τη σχέση του μαθητή με το βιβλίο και την κατάκτηση της γνώσης, καθώς φέρνουν τον μαθητή σε επαφή με το καθήκον της μελέτης, της σκέψης, της δημιουργίας, της σύνθεσης, της μεθοδολογίας, της καταγραφής, της συνεργασίας. Αποτελούν, δηλαδή, ευκαιρία ατομικής και ομαδικής εξέλιξης μέσα από την επεξεργασία, ανάλυση, εμπέδωση και επέκταση της γνώσης, ενώ, παράλληλα, αποτελεί μορφή “υποστηρικτικού εργαλείου”, όπως το όρισε ο Vygotsky (scaffolding), (Good & Brophy, 2008: 315), που θα βοηθήσει και θα προωθήσει την ανάπτυξη του νοητικού και γνωστικού επιπέδου των μαθητών. Ως μεθοδολογικό εργαλείο αξιοποιήθηκε η ταξινομία του Bloom, γιατί αυτή χρησιμοποιείται κατά κύριο λόγο από τους εκπαιδευτικούς για να ορίσουν, να οργανώσουν και να αξιολογήσουν τα γνωστικά αποτελέσματα της διδασκαλίας τους. Το εγχείρημα με βάση αυτή την ταξινομία είναι ότι οι μαθητές, με τις κατάλληλες ερωτήσεις που ανταποκρίνονται σε ορισμένη γνωστική κατηγορία διδακτικών στόχων, μπορούν να οδηγηθούν στην ανάπτυξη του αντίστοιχου επιπέδου σκέψης.

Ως εκ τούτου το Ανθολόγιο περιέχει 11 Θεματικές Ενότητες, στις οποίες περιλαμβάνονται 93 λογοτεχνικά κείμενα και 335 ερωτήσεις-δραστηριότητες που συνοδεύουν αυτά τα κείμενα. Ο αριθμός αυτός αφορά στις αριθμημένες εργασίες, καθώς οι περισσότερες από αυτές έχουν 2 ή και 3 υποερωτήματα. Από αυτές οι 140 (37,84%) είναι χαμηλού επιπέδου και οι 230 (62,16%) είναι υψηλού επιπέδου.



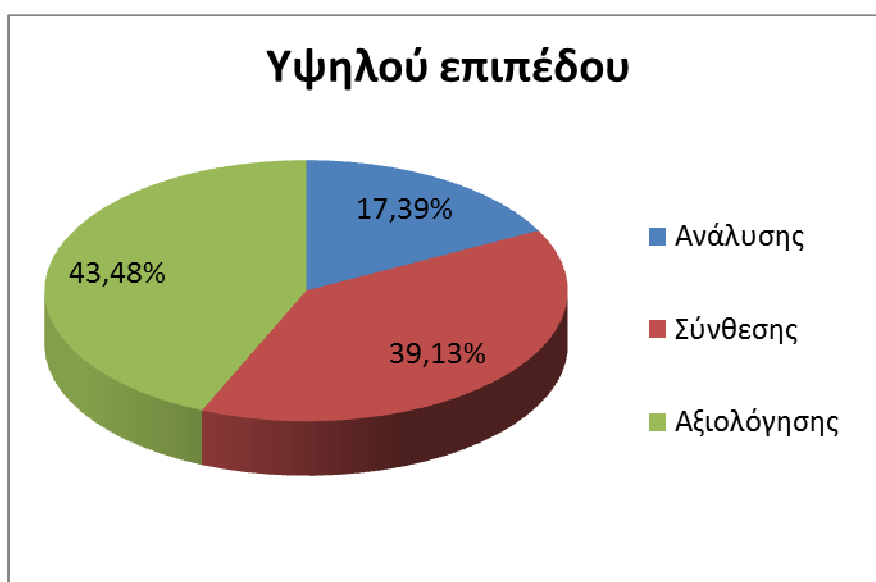
Διάγραμμα 1

Συγκεκριμένα, από τις 140 ερωτήσεις χαμηλού επιπέδου, οι 20 (14,29%) είναι χαμηλού επιπέδου - γνώσης, οι 90 (64,29%) είναι χαμηλού επιπέδου - κατανόησης, οι 30 (21,43%) είναι χαμηλού επιπέδου - εφαρμογής.



Διάγραμμα 2

Από τις 230 ερωτήσεις υψηλού επιπέδου, οι 40 (17,39%) είναι υψηλού επιπέδου - ανάλυσης, οι 90 (39,13%) είναι υψηλού επιπέδου - σύνθεσης και οι 100 (43,48%) είναι υψηλού επιπέδου - αξιολόγησης.



Διάγραμμα 3

Σύμφωνα με τα ευρήματα, λοιπόν, διαπιστώνεται ότι οι ερωτήσεις υψηλού επιπέδου υπερέρχουν έναντι των ερωτήσεων χαμηλού επιπέδου, πράγμα που



συνάδει τόσο με τις αρχές του Προγράμματος Σπουδών, όσο και με τις αρχές της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής, του Κριτικού Γραμματισμού και της Αναγνωστικής πρόσληψης. Ειδικότερα, από τις ερωτήσεις χαμηλού επιπέδου φάνηκε ότι οι περισσότερες είναι κατανόησης, κάτι αναμενόμενο, καθώς οι ερωτήσεις κατανόησης βοηθούν τους μαθητές να «πλησιάσουν» το νόημα του κειμένου.

Ενδεικτικά παραδείγματα:

- «Γιατί οι κάτοικοι του χωριού, μικροί και μεγάλοι, είχαν συνδεθεί με την Ασπρούδα;» (Ελένη Χωρεάνθη, «Η Ασπρούδα», σελ. 43).
- «Πώς νιώθει ο ξένος του δημοτικού τραγουδιού και γιατί;» (Δημοτικό τραγούδι, «Της ξενιτιάς», σελ. 56).

Λιγότερες είναι οι ερωτήσεις χαμηλού επιπέδου - εφαρμογής οι οποίες ίσως να τραβούν κάποιες φορές το ενδιαφέρον των μαθητών και οι οποίες έχουν άμεση σύνδεση και με την κατανόηση.

Ενδεικτικά παραδείγματα:

- «Να βρείτε τις δυσκολίες που αντιμετωπίζει το παιδί στην προσπάθειά του να αποκτήσει βιβλία» (Μενέλαος Λουντέμης, Ένα παιδί μετράει τ' άστρα, σελ. 73).
- «Το πρόσωπο που μιλά στο κείμενο είναι ευτυχισμένο. Γιατί; Με ποιες λέξεις εκφράζει την ευτυχία του;» (Ανδρέας Εμπειρικός, «Ο κορυδαλλός», σελ. 89).

Οι ερωτήσεις γνώσης είναι λιγότερες, για παράδειγμα η ερώτηση 3 στη σελίδα 147 από τον μύθο του Αισώπου, «Ο κάβουρας και η μάνα του» «Να βρείτε και να διηγηθείτε στην τάξη και άλλους μύθους του Αισώπου».

Η πλειονότητα, όμως, των ερωτήσεων, όπως παρατηρήθηκε, σύμφωνα με την ταξινομία του Bloom, είναι υψηλού επιπέδου. Αυτή είναι μία διαπίστωση ιδιαίτερα θετική για την αξιοποίησή τους στη διδακτική πράξη και την κινητοποίηση των μαθητών. Οι περισσότερες υψηλού επιπέδου είναι οι ερωτήσεις αξιολόγησης που καλλιεργούν και προβάλλουν την κριτική σκέψη των μαθητών.

Ενδεικτικά παραδείγματα:

- «Πιστεύετε και σεις, όπως ο μικρός Νικόλας στο τέλος της ιστορίας, πως δεν τον αγαπούσαν οι γονείς του; Γράψτε την άποψή σας και τα επιχειρήματά σας σε μια παράγραφο» (Ρενέ Γκοσινύ, «Οι έλεγχοι», σελ. 116).
- «Πώς κρίνετε τη συμπεριφορά της δασκάλας και των συμμαθητών της Ασπραδενής; Εσείς, στη θέση τους, πώς θα ενεργούσατε;» (Ευγενία Φακίνου, «Η Ασπραδενή στο νέο σχολείο της», σελ. 124).
- «Πώς βλέπετε να αντιμετωπίζονται οι μετανάστες στις μέρες μας και ποια γνώμη έχετε για την αντιμετώπιση αυτή; (Δημοτικό τραγούδι, «Της ξενιτιάς», σελ. 56).

Επίσης, οι ερωτήσεις που καθοδηγούν τους μαθητές να προστρέξουν σε άλλες πηγές και κείμενα ταξινομήθηκαν ως αξιολόγησης καθώς κινητοποιούν την κριτική σκέψη. Μελέτες έχουν δείξει πως η αξιοποίηση άλλων πηγών και άλλων κειμένων καλλιεργεί την γνωστική δεξιότητα και την κριτική σκέψη (Grant & Gradwell, 2005).



Οι ερωτήσεις υψηλού επιπέδου-σύνθεσης είναι και αυτές σε σημαντικά μεγάλο ποσοστό. Πρόκειται για εργασίες που ενεργοποιούν τους μαθητές και τους δίνουν την ευκαιρία να εκφραστούν βιωματικά, με αφορμή το κείμενο, ώστε να δημιουργήσουν ένα δικό τους κείμενο μέσα στο ευρύτερο πλαίσιο δημιουργικής γραφής και αναγνωστικής ανταπόκρισης (θεατρική μεταγραφή, δημιουργία αφίσας, συνέχεια της ιστορίας, απάντηση-γράμμα στον συγγραφέα, δημιουργία ποιήματος, παιχνίδι ρόλων κ.τ.λ.).

Παραδειγματικά:

- «Να διασκευάσετε το κείμενο για το θέατρο, να το παίξετε και να το βιντεοσκοπήσετε» (Αγγελική Βαρελά, Δρακοπαραμύθι, σελ. 66).
- «Τοποθετήστε τον εαυτό σας στη θέση της Μίνας και απαντήστε με ένα γράμμα στον ποιητή (Γιώργος Σεφέρης, «Ένα γράμμα στη Μίνα», σελ. 136).
- «Τα παιδιά επιστρέφουν στο σπίτι. Να συνεχίσετε γραπτά την ιστορία (Ντιμίτερ Ινκίόφ, «Οι κάλοι της Κλάρας», σελ. 140).
- «Να κάνετε ένα παιχνίδι ρόλων, παίζοντας ο καθένας ένα ρόλο παρμένο από τη ζωή ή τη λογοτεχνία (Μισέλ Τουρνιέ, «Το παιχνίδι της μεταμφίεσης», σελ. 157).

Σε μικρότερο –αλλά αξιοσημείωτο– ποσοστό εμφανίζονται οι ερωτήσεις υψηλού επιπέδου- ανάλυσης που βοηθούν τους μαθητές στη βαθύτερη γνωστική προσέγγιση του κειμένου, όπως για παράδειγμα: «Να συγκρίνετε το περιεχόμενο του αποσπάσματος με τη φράση «για δεσ καιρό που διάλεξε ο χάρος να με πάρει», που λέγεται ότι είπε ο Αθανάσιος Διάκος, λίγο πριν πεθάνει, άνοιξη και αυτός» (Διονύσιος Σολωμός, «Οι ελεύθεροι πολιορκημένοι», σελ. 198).

### Συμπεράσματα

Ολοκληρώνοντας, θα υποστηρίζαμε ότι ο καλύτερος αναγνώστης είναι ένας κριτικός, ανθιστάμενος αναγνώστης, ο οποίος αντιλαμβάνεται τόσο την κατασκευή του κειμένου όσο και της αναγνωστικής θέσης και ο οποίος ταυτόχρονα ανασυγκροτεί το κείμενο με έναν τρόπο που θα του είναι χρήσιμος (Kress, 1988). Η σύγχρονη εποχή καθιστά επιτακτικό το αίτημα να κάνουμε τους μαθητές «καλύτερους αναγνώστες», όπως τους ορίζει ο Kress, κριτικά εγγράμματους, που δεν θα περιορίζονται απλά στο να «διαβάσουν και να κάνουν την περίληψη» ή στο να «απαντήσουν στις ερωτήσεις στο τέλος του κειμένου», αλλά θα «συναλλάσσονται» κριτικά με το λογοτεχνικό κείμενο (Μαλαφάντης, 2005).

Για να μάθει όμως, κανείς να **κρίνει** πρέπει να μάθει και να **συγκρίνει**, πράγμα που συνεπάγεται, ή μάλλον προϋποθέτει, την άσκηση των μαθητών στη **συνανάγνωση** των κειμένων, όπως επίσης την εξάσκηση στη **διακειμενική** προσέγγιση-ανάλυση-ερμηνεία. Μέσα από το διάλογο των κειμένων αναπτύσσεται και ο διάλογος των προσώπων. Κατ' αυτόν τον τρόπο, η διδακτική-μαθησιακή διαδικασία από διαδικασία παραγωγής του κειμενικού νοήματος μετουσιώνεται εν τέλει σε διαδικασία παραγωγής νοήματος του εαυτού. Είναι εξίσου απαραίτητο να



εξετάζεται η αναπαράσταση των ποικίλων κοινωνικών ομάδων στο κείμενο, ώστε να διαφανεί ότι τα λογοτεχνικά κείμενα προσφέρουν μια συγκεκριμένη όψη του κόσμου, να αναλύονται οι μέθοδοι που χρησιμοποιούνται για να μεταφερθούν τα μηνύματα, να διαβάζεται το κείμενο από διαφορετικές οπτικές γωνίες, να ενθαρρύνονται οι μαθητές να παίρνουν κριτική θέση στις απόψεις του συγγραφέα και να διατυπώνουν τις δικές τους σκέψεις-απόψεις με αφορμή το περιεχόμενο των κειμένων (Lenski, 2008). Τόσο το Π.Σ., όσο και το Ανθολόγιο φαίνεται να έχουν έναν τέτοιο προσανατολισμό.

Η κριτική ανάγνωση της λογοτεχνίας από τους μαθητές στηρίζεται επομένως και στη διάθεση του καθενός «φωτισμένου» εκπαιδευτικού, που πρέπει να έχει πάντα ως πυξίδα «να διαβάσει ο μαθητής όχι για να αντικρούσει και να ανατρέψει, ούτε για να πιστέψει και να θεωρήσει δεδομένο, μήτε για να βρει θέμα κουβέντας και να συζητήσει, αλλά για να μετρήσει και να κρίνει».

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## Σχολείο και κρίση. Η απάντηση της ζωντανής εκπαίδευσης

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### Περίληψη

Στην ανακοίνωσή μας επιδιώκουμε να παρουσιάσουμε τους προβληματισμούς, τις διεκδικήσεις και τις προτάσεις για το σχολείο, του κόσμου της «ζωντανής εκπαίδευσης», ο οποίος συγκρούστηκε και συγκρούεται με τις συντηρητικές αναδιαρθρώσεις που προωθούνται, με ιδιαίτερη ένταση την τελευταία δεκαετία, στον εκπαιδευτικό θεσμό, ως μνημονιακές επιταγές. Επιδιώκουμε να διερευνήσουμε τα δομικά στοιχεία των προωθούμενων αναδιαρθρώσεων, καθώς και τις ιδεολογικές και παιδαγωγικές αναφορές τους και να ανιχνεύσουμε το καινούριο τοπίο που διαμορφώνεται στην ελληνική εκπαίδευση, χαρτογραφώντας τις νέες απόψεις και προτάσεις που διατυπώνονται για το μέλλον του σχολικού θεσμού. Στην ανακοίνωσή μας υποστηρίζουμε την πρόταση για ένα ενιαίο, δωδεκάχρονο, υποχρεωτικό, δημόσιο, δωρεάν, σχολείο με δίχρονη υποχρεωτική προσχολική αγωγή-εκπαίδευση ως την αναγκαία εκπαιδευτική δομή που υπηρετεί καλύτερα ένα μορφωτικό σχέδιο κοινωνικής και εκπαιδευτικής χειραφέτησης.

### Λέξεις κλειδιά

Παρεμβάσεις, ζωντανή εκπαίδευση, ενιαίο σχολείο

Η παρούσα ανακοίνωση στηρίζεται σε επεξεργασίες και κείμενα συλλογικοτήτων εκπαιδευτικών, των οποίων η συνδικαλιστική δράση στο χώρο της πρωτοβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης συγκροτεί τις Παρεμβάσεις-Κινήσεις Συσπειρώσεις Π.Ε., πολλά εκ των οποίων δημοσιεύτηκαν στο περιοδικό «Εκπαιδευτική Λέσχη». Χρησιμοποιήσαμε ιδιαίτερα τα κείμενα του Α΄ Συλλόγου Π.Ε. Αθηνών και μελετήσαμε παλαιότερα και σύγχρονα παιδαγωγικά κείμενα, εργασίες και άρθρα που αντανάκλουν τις αναζητήσεις και τις σύγχρονες τάσεις στο χώρο της παιδαγωγικής επιστήμης.

Σκοπός της ανακοίνωσής μας είναι να παρουσιάσουμε τους προβληματισμούς, τις διεκδικήσεις και τις προτάσεις των εκπαιδευτικών, που συγκροτούν με την παρουσία, τις τοποθετήσεις και τη δράση τους το ανεξάρτητο, ταξικό, ανταγωνιστικό κίνημα στην εκπαίδευση σήμερα.

Το ρεύμα αυτό, έχοντας διανύσει μια πολύχρονη διαδρομή, βρίσκεται σήμερα μπροστά σε κρίσιμο σταυροδρόμι. Στην εποχή των μνημονίων και των τεκτονικών αλλαγών που εξελίσσονται πάνω στο έδαφος της καπιταλιστικής κρίσης, η λειτουργία του εκπαιδευτικού θεσμού, οι παιδαγωγικές του αρχές και οι διδακτικές του μέθοδοι, ακόμα και η ίδια η ύπαρξη του σχολείου, έτσι όπως το γνωρίζουμε, τίθενται σε αμφισβήτηση.



Απέναντι σε μία συντηρητική αναδιάρθρωση, που δεν περιορίζεται μόνο στο επίπεδο της θεσμοθέτησης αλλαγών που ναρκοθετούν το δημόσιο, δωρεάν σχολείο, αλλά επιδιώκει να κυριαρχήσει στο ιδεολογικό πεδίο κερδίζοντας την συγκατάθεση ή έστω την ανοχή ευρύτατων κοινωνικών στρωμάτων στην αποδόμηση μιας εκπαίδευσης – δημόσιου αγαθού, ο κόσμος της ζωντανής εκπαίδευσης έχει ανάγκη να αναστοχαστεί και να νοηματοδοτήσει ξανά τα αναλυτικά του εργαλεία.

Επιλέγουμε να χρησιμοποιήσουμε την έννοια της *ζωντανής εκπαίδευσης* και όχι άλλες έννοιες, όπως για παράδειγμα, *ο κόσμος του αγώνα*, ακριβώς γιατί η έννοια της ζωντανής εκπαίδευσης είναι ευρύτερη και πιο σύνθετη. Περιλαμβάνει τόσο τον κόσμο του αγώνα, δηλαδή ένα ενεργό πολιτικοσυνδικαλιστικά δυναμικό, όσο και δυνάμεις ασύνταχτες και διάχυτες που λειτουργούν μέσα στο σχολικό θεσμό, διεκδικώντας να αναδιαμορφώσουν ριζοσπαστικά το περιεχόμενο της γνώσης και την διαδικασία μάθησης. Είναι προφανές ότι τα δύο αυτά ρεύματα συναντώνται και αλληλοεπιδρούν μέσα στον εκπαιδευτικό θεσμό, ωστόσο δεν ταυτίζονται.

Επιλέγουμε επομένως την έννοια της ζωντανής εκπαίδευσης, γιατί θέλουμε να συνενώσουμε την πολιτική και την παιδαγωγική στην καθημερινή μας πράξη, γιατί θεωρούμε ότι η πολιτική μας παρέμβαση πρέπει να έχει άποψη όχι μόνο για την κοινωνία αλλά και για την παιδαγωγική και αυτή η άποψη πρέπει να διαθέτει θεωρητικό λόγο και να υποστηρίζεται έμπρακτα στην τάξη. Θεωρούμε ότι η παιδαγωγική πράξη είναι ταυτόχρονα πολιτική πράξη.

Καθοριστική σημασία για την ανάπτυξη της ζωντανής εκπαίδευσης και την αλληλεπίδραση των ρευμάτων, συγκροτημένων ή μη, που δρουν στο σώμα της έχει η προσπάθεια για τη δημιουργία ενός μορφωτικού ρεύματος με θεωρητικές επεξεργασίες και ριζοσπαστικές δράσεις μέσα στα σχολεία. Η ζωντανή εκπαίδευση διαμορφώνει αντίληψη για το σχολείο, για το παρόν και το μέλλον του, για τη σύνδεση της εξέλιξής του με το κοινωνικό και πολιτικό γίνεσθαι, βλέπει το συνολικό και όχι το ειδικό, αντιμετωπίζει το ειδικό ως μέρος ενός συνόλου.

Αγωνιζόμαστε για ένα κίνημα λόγου και πράξης που θα αφορά όχι μόνο τους όρους αλλά και το περιεχόμενο της εργασίας μας, ένα κίνημα που θα παρεμβαίνει παντού καταλυτικά, ανατρέποντας δεδομένα και πολιτικές, μπλοκάροντας τη νεοσυντηρητική-νεοφιλελεύθερη επέλαση, ανοίγοντας νέους δρόμους σκέψης, δημιουργώντας γεγονότα, οργανώνοντας συλλογικότητες, οικοδομώντας το αντίπαλο δέος. Στους συλλόγους, στην απεργία, στη διαδήλωση, στο σχολείο, στους συλλόγους διδασκόντων, «στο μαύρο κουτί» όπου όλα διακυβεύονται: στην τάξη.

Στις σύγχρονες κοινωνίες η πράξη της αγωγής αποτελεί αντικείμενο κρατικού ενδιαφέροντος. Μέσω του ελέγχου των εκπαιδευτικών συστημάτων, τα οποία θεσμοθετήθηκαν και επεκτάθηκαν στην Ευρώπη κατά τη διάρκεια του 19<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα, τα σύγχρονα κράτη παρεμβαίνουν και καθορίζουν, σε μεγάλο βαθμό την αγωγή των μελλοντικών πολιτών τους. Κύριο χαρακτηριστικό των εκπαιδευτικών συστημάτων αποτέλεσε ευθύς εξ' αρχής η καθολικότητα τους και ο προσανατολισμός τους στις κοσμικές ανάγκες της αστικής κοινωνίας και του κράτους (Green, 2010: 88-89).





Στηριζόμαστε σε μία βασική παραδοχή ότι η ανάπτυξη των παραγωγικών δυνάμεων, οι επιδιώξεις της οικονομικής και κοινωνικής σφαίρας, η βούληση της Πολιτείας και ο εκπαιδευτικός θεσμός, είναι άρρηκτα συνδεδεμένοι και αλληλοεπιδρούν. (Γούναρη & Γρόλλιος, 2010).

Παρ' όλο που και οι τρεις αυτοί παράγοντες επιδρούν στην λειτουργία και την εξέλιξη του εκπαιδευτικού θεσμού - σε διαφορετικό βαθμό και με διαφορετική ένταση βέβαια- γεγονός παραμένει ότι τα εκπαιδευτικά συστήματα στην πλειοψηφία τους δεν δημιουργήθηκαν από «τα κάτω» αλλά από «τα πάνω».

Η μαζικοποίηση της εκπαίδευσης εξαρτήθηκε σε μεγάλο βαθμό από τη διαθέσιμη χρηματοδότηση και τη θέληση των κυβερνήσεων και των κυρίαρχων κοινωνικών ομάδων να ενθαρρύνουν την επέκταση του σχολικού δικτύου. Η εκπαίδευση δεν προέκυψε αυθόρμητα από τη λαϊκή ζήτηση ούτε ως ανταπόκριση στη δράση των δυνάμεων της αγοράς και μόνο. Ήταν σε μεγάλο βαθμό οργανωμένη άνωθεν από το κράτος. Τα εκπαιδευτικά συστήματα είναι δημιουργήματα των κρατών (Green, 2010: 88-89).

Σε ότι αφορά τις δύο τελευταίες δεκαετίες θεωρούμε ότι οι εξελίξεις της εκπαίδευσης στην Ελλάδα ακολουθούν, ή μάλλον απηχούν, τη γενική τάση της νοητής καμπύλης των κεντρικών οικονομικών και πολιτικών εξελίξεων: ανάπτυξη-κέρδος-ύφεση-κρίση-μνημόνια. Είναι προφανές ότι το σχολείο των αναγκών και των οραμάτων μας δε χωράει στο πλαίσιο των μνημονίων και της ΕΕ, αντίθετα συμβαδίζει με τις αναγκαίες ρήξεις στα ζητήματα της οικονομίας και της ιδεολογίας και συγκρούεται με την «ρεαλιστικότητα» των «θεσμών» και όσων σκέφτονται μόνο εντός των ορίων που αυτοί ορίζουν.

Στην ανακοίνωση αυτή, επιχειρούμε να αναλύσουμε την υπάρχουσα εκπαιδευτική πραγματικότητα και να παρουσιάσουμε κάποια βασικά στοιχεία της λογικής μας, θέτοντας στο τραπέζι της συζήτησης τέσσερα ερωτήματα:

### **Ερώτημα 1<sup>ο</sup> : Ποια είναι η αξία της συζήτησης για το σχολείο;**

Ποια είναι η αξία της συζήτησης για το σχολείο σε μια εποχή περικυκλωμένη, σε μια εποχή όπου οι αποφάσεις, που επηρεάζουν την ζωή των πολιτών, έχουν μετατεθεί σε υπερεθνικούς οργανισμούς μακριά από κάθε πεδίο που μπορεί να επηρεαστεί από τη λαϊκή θέληση, σε μια εποχή όπου κάθε αντίσταση μοιάζει μάταια, στην εποχή δηλαδή της καπιταλιστικής κρίσης και του μνημονιακού καθεστώτος;

Υποστηρίζουμε την δημόσια διεξαγωγή με τον κόσμο της ζωντανής εκπαίδευσης μίας, σε βάθος, συζήτησης για την εκπαιδευτική πραγματικότητα επισημαίνοντας ιδιαίτερα την αναγκαιότητα της οργανωμένης και συλλογικής αντίστασης στις μνημονιακές εκπαιδευτικές πολιτικές καθώς και την αναγκαιότητα άρθρωσης ενός αντίπαλου λόγου για την κοινωνία και το δημόσιο δωρεάν σχολείο.

Θεωρούμε ότι υπάρχει ένας ακόμα σοβαρός παράγοντας που συνηγορεί στην αξία αυτής της συζήτησης: Η εκπαιδευτική πολιτική σε επίπεδο θεσμών αφορά τα ζητήματα δομής του εκπαιδευτικού θεσμού (γενική/τεχνική εκπαίδευση, διάρκειας (στοιχειώδους, μέσης και ανώτατης εκπαίδευσης, διάρκεια υποχρεωτικής), τους



γενικούς στόχους και σκοπούς της παρεχόμενης εκπαίδευσης, τους υλικούς όρους λειτουργίας της (δαπάνες, κτίρια, προσωπικό, υλικοτεχνική υποδομή), καθώς και το δημόσιο ή ιδιωτικό χαρακτήρα, των αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων και των σχολικών εγχειριδίων.

Στο επίπεδο της καθημερινότητας όμως, η εκπαιδευτική πολιτική εκφράζεται και υλοποιείται μέσα από αυτό που πραγματικά συμβαίνει στις σχολικές τάξεις. Εκεί όπου, το αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα και το σχολικό εγχειρίδιο διαμεσολαβούνται από τον εκπαιδευτικό και τις πρακτικές που ακολουθεί. Η αποτελεσματικότητα των σχολικών μηχανισμών επομένως, η αποτελεσματικότητα των εκπαιδευτικών πολιτικών και η επιτυχία ή αποτυχία των αντι-εκπαιδευτικών αναδιαρθρώσεων, κρίνονται, σε σημαντικό βαθμό, σε αυτό ακριβώς το κρίσιμο πεδίο της καθημερινής σχολικής πραγματικότητας (Νούτσος, 2003: 27-28).

Γι' αυτό, η κυρίαρχη ιδεολογία μέσα από την προσπάθεια της να ενεργοποιήσει την πρωτοβουλία και την επινοητικότητα των εκπαιδευτικών και, πολύ περισσότερο, μέσα από τις εκκλήσεις για καθημερινή επένδυση των παραπάνω στη σχολική πράξη, διεκδικεί την ψυχή και το μυαλό των εκπαιδευτικών, αφήνοντας την πολιτική και την κοινωνική πάλη έξω από τις καθημερινές πρακτικές. Ωστόσο, σε αυτό το κακοτράχαλο έδαφος της σχολικής πραγματικότητας, δηλαδή στη δική μας έδρα, είναι που συντρίφτηκαν οι πολιτικές της αξιολόγησης, του διοικητικού αυταρχισμού και της κατάργησης της δημοκρατίας του συλλόγου διδασκόντων το προηγούμενο διάστημα.

Βεβαίως, οι εκπαιδευτικοί δεν αποτελούν ένα ενιαίο και ομοιογενές σώμα ούτε από ιδεολογικοπολιτική ούτε από παιδαγωγική άποψη, με αποτέλεσμα, η συζήτηση στο εσωτερικό του κλάδου να περιέχει και το στοιχείο της ιδεολογικής διαπάλης, των αντιπαραθέσεων, της κατάθεσης διαφορετικών και, σε ορισμένες περιπτώσεις, ανταγωνιστικών αντιλήψεων. Από την πλευρά μας θεωρούμε ότι η συμβολή της Κριτικής Ριζοσπαστικής Παιδαγωγικής, στη συγκρότηση και ανάπτυξη ενός ρεύματος κριτικής και αμφισβήτησης των μνημονικών επιταγών για την εκπαίδευση, στη βάση του κλάδου, μπορεί να αποτελέσει ισχυρό όπλο πάλης που θα ανατρέψει πολλά από όσα θεωρούνται δεδομένα ακόμα και στην εποχή των μνημονίων.

Η συζήτηση για το σύγχρονο σχολείο, όπως ήδη σχολιάσαμε, δεν γίνεται σε πολιτικό και κοινωνικό κενό. Έχει μια ισχυρή αφετηρία και στηρίζεται, κατ' αρχάς, στις θεσμικές και κυρίως στις ιδεολογικές κατακτήσεις του εκπαιδευτικού κινήματος σε βάθος δεκαετιών. Στο πλαίσιο του σημερινού σχολείου και κάτω από την πίεση του κινήματος, αποτυπώνεται θετικά ο κοινωνικός και ταξικός συσχετισμός της προηγούμενης περιόδου: η σημαντική επίδραση των θεσμοθετημένων συλλογικών οργάνων που διαμορφώνουν ένα επίπεδο δημοκρατικής λειτουργίας και ένα βαθμό παιδαγωγικής αυτονομίας, η ύπαρξη μιας κουλτούρας ανθρωπιστικής παιδείας και ένα αυξημένο ενδιαφέρον από το σώμα των εκπαιδευτικών για τα «παιδιά των πίσω θρανίων», που μεταφράζεται σε διδακτικούς αυτοσχεδιασμούς και εκπαιδευτικά αιτήματα για την υποστήριξή τους. Όλα αυτά αποτελούν κομμάτι



μιας σημαντικής παράδοσης που πεισματικά αντιστέκεται στη νέα εποχή της εκπαιδευτικής νεοφιλελεύθερης ζούγκλας.

Σήμερα ωστόσο, απαιτείται να συνδεθούν με ένα νέο προγραμματικό κοινωνικοπολιτικό σχέδιο και ένα νέο οραματικό λόγο για το δημόσιο δωρεάν σχολείο των όλων και των ίσων. Διαφορετικά θα χαρακτηριστούν εξαιρέσεις, ανθρωπιστικά και συναισθηματικά υπολείμματα στο πλαίσιο μιας «σοβαρής» και «επαγγελματικής» εργασίας που πρέπει να επιβιώσει και να προχωρήσει σε ένα εξαιρετικά ανταγωνιστικό περιβάλλον χωρίς τα «βαρίδια» του ρομαντισμού<sup>1</sup>.

### **Ερώτημα 2<sup>ο</sup> : Ποια είναι τα δομικά στοιχεία των αναδιαρθρώσεων στην εκπαίδευση ;**

Από το 1990 με τα νομοσχέδια Κοντογιαννόπουλου ως και σήμερα, με πυξίδα και έμπνευση τις νεοφιλελεύθερες – νεοσυντηρητικές εκπαιδευτικές πολιτικές που προωθεί η ΕΕ και ο ΟΟΣΑ και συγκεκριμένα, με τις ποικιλώνυμες συντηρητικές αναδιαρθρώσεις που προωθήθηκαν, με ιδιαίτερη μάλιστα ένταση στα χρόνια της κρίσης, η εκπαίδευση βρέθηκε μπροστά σε μια δομική επίθεση που στόχους είχε:

- Ο άνθρωπος από εκπαιδευόμενος και εργαζόμενος να μετατραπεί σε καταρτίσιμο και απασχολήσιμο - που θα αλλάζει και δυο και τρεις δουλιές στη διάρκεια του εργασιακού του βίου.
- Το μορφωτικό αγαθό από κοινωνικό αίτημα να μετατραπεί σε εμπορικό προϊόν και το σχολείο σε επιχείρηση.
- Τα σχολεία, οι μαθητές και οι εκπαιδευτικοί να κατηγοριοποιηθούν οικοδομώντας ένα εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα πολλαπλών ταχυτήτων.
- Οι εργασιακές σχέσεις στην εκπαίδευση να ανατραπούν και να ελαστικοποιηθούν.
- Να ισχυροποιηθούν οι γραφειοκρατικές ιεραρχίες με απώτερο σκοπό τον έλεγχο και την ομοιομορφία του παραγόμενου εκπαιδευτικού έργου.
- Να αναδυθεί στη θέση του δημόσιου, δωρεάν και καθολικού σχολείου, ένα ευέλικτο σχολείο της αγοράς και του κέρδους.
- Αυτή η στοχοθεσία διαμόρφωσε, στη διάρκεια όλων αυτών των χρόνων, μια σειρά από αρχές που καθόρισαν τις ασκούμενες εκπαιδευτικές πολιτικές και συνοψίζονται στα ακόλουθα:
- Η κρατική χρηματοδότηση για το δημόσιο σχολείο πρέπει να μειωθεί και να θεωρείται οικονομική «επένδυση».
- Κάθε μορφωτικό σχέδιο για τις λαϊκές τάξεις είναι ξεπερασμένη φενάκη, δεν τους χρειάζεται. Η εκμάθηση μιας σειράς δεξιοτήτων τους αρκεί.
- Η μόρφωση είναι ατομική υπόθεση και κάθε οικογένεια θα μορφώνει τα παιδιά της στο μέτρο των δυνατοτήτων της.

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.e-lesxi.gr/about-us>



- Η Παιδαγωγική συντηρητικοποιείται και στο επίκεντρο του ενδιαφέροντος τοποθετείται το εκπαιδευτικό management, το οποίο αντιλαμβάνεται την παιδαγωγική σχέση ως ένα σύνολο «αποδοτικών» διδακτικών τεχνικών. Η «νέα» Παιδαγωγική είναι η Παιδαγωγική των ΕΣΠΑ και του ΟΟΣΑ, του κατακερματισμού και της ποσοτικοποίησης, των «καινοτόμων» προγραμμάτων που προωθούν το «πολιτικά ορθό» και το μεταμοντέρνο.
- Το δημόσιο σχολείο, μεταλλάσσεται έτσι στο πολυκατακερματισμένο, φθινό σχολείο της ευελιξίας, της αγοράς και της αποσπασματικής πληροφορίας.
- Την ίδια στιγμή που το σχολείο κατακερματίζεται το κράτος αυξάνει το συγκεντρωτικό έλεγχο πάνω σε αυτό επιχειρώντας να ελέγξει κάθε πτυχή της σχολικής ζωής (πχ αξιολόγηση, myschool).
- Τα νέα σχολικά βιβλία και η εξαιρετικά δύσκολη ύλη, διαμορφώνουν μια νέα σχολική πραγματικότητα εμποδίων και αποκλεισμών για τα παιδιά των ασθενέστερων κοινωνικών τάξεων.
- Η σταθερή εργασία και η μονιμότητα στην εκπαίδευση, δίνει τη θέση της στην αποδόμηση των εργασιακών σχέσεων, στην ελαστική εργασία, στην ωρομισθία, στους μηδενικούς διορισμούς, στα χιλιάδες κενά στα σχολεία.

### **Ερώτημα 3<sup>ο</sup> : Πώς διαμορφώνεται το σημερινό τοπίο στην εκπαίδευση;**

Το σημερινό τοπίο στην εκπαίδευση, διαμορφώθηκε σε γενικές γραμμές, από την αντιπαράθεση ανάμεσα στα αλληπάλληλα κύματα αναδιαρθρώσεων και στις αντιστάσεις και τους αγώνες της εκπαιδευτικής κοινότητας.

Ο όρος «αντιστάσεις και αγώνες» νοηματοδοτείται τόσο από τις συλλογικές και συνειδητές μορφές αγώνα, όσο και από την καθημερινή στάση των εκπαιδευτικών μέσα στο σχολείο, στο σύλλογο διδασκόντων, στη σχολική τάξη. Μια στάση που αποκλίνει ή καμιά φορά αντιστρατεύεται, τις εκπαιδευτικές πολιτικές και την κυρίαρχη Παιδαγωγική. Επομένως, ο όρος αυτός συμπεριλαμβάνει το σύνολο των τυπικών και άτυπων αντιστάσεων. Από τις απεργίες, τις διαδηλώσεις και το κίνημα ενάντια στην αξιολόγηση, μέχρι τις καθημερινές διδακτικές παρεμβάσεις, που αποκλίνουν από τα επίσημα αναλυτικά προγράμματα και σε ορισμένες περιπτώσεις αποκτούν συλλογικό και συνειδητό χαρακτήρα (Γρόλλιος & Τζήκας, 2002: 8).

Η υπουργική απόφαση για το «νέο» δημοτικό σχολείο συνιστά μηχανισμό εξοικονόμησης και δημοσιονομικής προσαρμογής του δημόσιου σχολείου στη μνημονιακή πολιτική της κοινωνικής λεηλασίας. Το Υπουργείο Παιδείας γενικεύει το σχολικό μοντέλο του κατακερματισμού της γνώσης και των αντικειμένων, κομμένο και ραμμένο στα όρια των μνημονιακών περιορισμών. Το ωρολόγιο πρόγραμμα λειτουργεί πλέον, ως δημοσιονομικός κόφτης στο πεδίο της εκπαίδευσης με στόχο την εξαφάνιση των εκπαιδευτικών κενών και τη δημιουργία τεράστιων τεχνητών πλεονασμάτων. Αποτέλεσμα: το σχολείο κατακερματίζεται, το πρόγραμμά του διαμορφώνεται και αναδιαμορφώνεται με βάση τους μνημονιακούς περιορισμούς, με πλήρη αδιαφορία για τις μαθησιακές δυνατότητες και ανάγκες των μαθητών



όπως αυτές καταγράφονται στα πορίσματα των παιδαγωγικών ερευνών, την ίδια ώρα που χιλιάδες αναπληρωτές απολύονται και χιλιάδες εκπαιδευτικοί αντιμετωπίζουν τον κίνδυνο μετακινήσεων με πλήρη αδιαφορία για την ανατροπή των όρων της ζωής τους.

#### **Ερώτημα 4ο: ποιες τάσεις και απόψεις διαμορφώνονται για το μέλλον του σχολείου;**

Οι σχεδιασμοί για αναδιάρθρωση της τριτοβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης, για εκτεταμένες συγχωνεύσεις Παιδαγωγικών Τμημάτων Νηπιαγωγών και ΤΕΙ Βρεφονηπιοκόμων, η δραματική υποβάθμιση των Παιδαγωγικών Τμημάτων, η υπολειτουργία τους λόγω έλλειψης προσωπικού, η ανοιχτή πλέον αμφισβήτηση του ρόλου τους ως σχολές που παράγουν απόφοιτους νηπιαγωγούς και δασκάλους/ες που έχουν διδαχθεί Επιστήμες της Αγωγής και κατοχυρώνουν επαγγελματικά δικαιώματα που αφορούν την αγωγή – εκπαίδευση στις ηλικίες 4-6 και 6-12 αντίστοιχα, η προώθηση της αντίληψης της πλήρους εξειδίκευσης για τις τελευταίες τάξεις του δημοτικού, επαναφέρουν με νέα αμφίεση και όρους γυμνασιοποίησης του δημοτικού, ένα παλιό, αλλά πάντα προσφιλές για συγκεκριμένα κοινωνικά συμφέροντα, σενάριο: το τετρατάξιο δημοτικό το οποίο αποτελούσε μόνιμο στόχο των συντηρητικών παιδαγωγών πριν από αρκετές δεκαετίες και αποσκοπούσε στο κατέβασμα των ταξικών φραγμών στη μόρφωση από την Α΄ Γυμνασίου, στο τέλος της Δ΄ Δημοτικού (Εξαρχόπουλος, χ.χ.; Καλλιόφας, 1945).

Οι πολιτικές αυτές παράγουν ήδη πολύ συγκεκριμένα αποτελέσματα: τη σχολική χρονιά 2015-16, 1249 αναπληρωτές της προηγούμενης σχολικής χρονιάς δεν επαναπροσλήφθηκαν – από αυτούς, οι 836 είναι δάσκαλοι/ες (βλ. Πίνακα 1). Αυτό το αδιαμφισβήτητο γεγονός, πέρασε απαρατήρητο, για να μην πούμε ότι αποσιωπήθηκε συνειδητά. Θα μπορούσε να θεωρηθεί τυχαίο;

Σε επίπεδο προσχολικής αγωγής, μετά την κίβδηλη κυβερνητική εξαγγελία για υποχρεωτική δίχρονη προσχολική αγωγή, η συμμαχία Δήμων, επιχειρηματικών συμφερόντων, πανεπιστημιακών κύκλων και συντεχνιακών συμφερόντων σε επίπεδο ΟΤΑ, αποδεικνύεται ισχυρή και καθορίζει τις εξελίξεις στο χώρο, συκοφαντώντας το δημόσιο νηπιαγωγείο, παρομοιάζοντάς το με ένα κακέκτυπο της Βόρειας Κορέας εντός του οποίου τα νήπια- προνήπια υποφέρουν και προωθώντας την παλιά γνωστή συνταγή της υπαγωγής των νηπιαγωγείων στους Δήμους. Είναι άραγε τυχαίο και αυτό;<sup>2</sup>

Οι συγκεκριμένες επιλογές, σε σχέση με την εκπαίδευση, που προωθήθηκαν από όλες ανεξαιρέτως τις κυβερνήσεις των μνημονιακών χρόνων, κατακερματίζουν το εκπαιδευτικό σώμα, συναντούν την ανοχή της πλειοψηφίας της πανεπιστημιακής κοινότητας και τροφοδοτούνται από ένα πλήθος επιστημονικών ενώσεων και συλλόγων που επιδιώκουν ανοιχτά πλέον την πλήρη εξειδίκευση στο δημοτικό σχολείο.

<sup>2</sup> Στελέχη Τοπικής Αυτοδιοίκησης στο <http://www.athina984.gr>





Στο νέο τοπίο που διαμορφώνεται, οι επιλογές είναι δύο: Ή θα οικοδομηθεί ένα νέο επίπεδο ενότητας όλων ανεξαιρέτως των εκπαιδευτικών στη βάση ενός σχολείου αγωγής σε ανοιχτή αντιπαράθεση με τις μνημονιακές πολιτικές ή θα κατακερματιστεί το εκπαιδευτικό σώμα σε ένα αρχιπέλαγος επιστημονικών ενώσεων, συντεχνιών και φυλών, που θα αλληλοσπαράσσονται και θα διαγκωνίζονται στους διαδρόμους των υπουργείων ποια θα πετύχει καλύτερους όρους διαπραγμάτευσης σε βάρος της άλλης.

### **Όταν το Υποκείμενο υποτάσσεται στο Αντικείμενο**

Σε παγκόσμιο επίπεδο, εμφανίζεται μια ισχυρότατη τάση για διαρκή ειδίκευση. Η τάση αυτή, στην εκπαίδευση, συνδέεται ποικιλότροπα με τη νεοφιλελεύθερη ατζέντα και με όλα τα συστατικά στοιχεία της: αποτελεσματικότητα, μέτρηση, αξιολόγηση, ανταγωνισμός, αξιοκρατία, ατομικότητα, αριστεία, «αυτονομία», αγορά (ΟΟΣΑ, 2011. ; ΟΟΣΑ, 2017).

Ο καπιταλισμός αλλάζει και έχει ανάγκη από ένα εντελώς διαφορετικό σχολείο. Η εποχή του «ανθρώπινου κεφαλαίου», όταν δηλαδή κυριάρχησε η άποψη πως η επέκταση του σχολικού θεσμού και η δυνατότητα των κατώτερων κοινωνικά στρωμάτων να έχουν πρόσβαση στις ανώτερες βαθμίδες του, συνέφερε την καπιταλιστική ανάπτυξη, έχει παρέλθει. Αν στη δεκαετία του '60, υπό την επίδραση αυτής της αντίληψης και κάτω από την πίεση ισχυρών εκπαιδευτικών κινημάτων, το σχολείο έγινε περισσότερο δημοκρατικό επιτρέποντας την πρόσβαση ευρύτερων κοινωνικών στρωμάτων σε αυτό (Δημαράς & Βασιλού-Παπαγεωργίου, 2008: 160) σήμερα παρακολουθούμε να εξελίσσεται η αντίστροφη διαδικασία. Οι δαπάνες για την Παιδεία περιορίζονται, το εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα επιχειρείται να συρρικνωθεί, οι ταξικοί φραγμοί εντείνονται. Τα μορφωτικά δικαιώματα των μαθητών υποχωρούν μπροστά στις επιταγές της καπιταλιστικής ανάπτυξης. Η ολόπλευρη ανάπτυξη της ανθρώπινης προσωπικότητας, μετατρέπεται σε απόκτηση των απαραίτητων για την αγορά δεξιοτήτων, το δικαίωμα του παιδιού να γίνονται σεβαστές οι ανάγκες του και ο τρόπος που γνωρίζει τον κόσμο, παραγνωρίζεται μπροστά στην κερδοφορία της αγοράς.

Αντί για ένα σχολείο Αγωγής όλο και περισσότερο προβάλλεται και κυριαρχεί το σχολείο της Εξειδίκευσης, των πολλών διακριτών και κατακερματισμένων αντικειμένων, των κατακερματισμένων γνώσεων, του κατακερματισμένου κόσμου. Κι ωστόσο ισχύει αυτό το παράδοξο: Αν και για το πιο μικρό γρανάζι στην αλυσίδα της παραγωγής προβάλλεται η ανάγκη να μελετηθεί σε κάθε του λεπτομέρεια για ότι αφορά στον ίδιο τον άνθρωπο, στον τρόπο που μαθαίνει και στον τρόπο που αναπτύσσεται, αυτή η ανάγκη παραγνωρίζεται. Η εξειδίκευση δεν αφορά το Υποκείμενο της Αγωγής, αφορά το Αντικείμενο, δεν αφορά τη μελέτη του μαθητή και των αναγκών του, αφορά μόνο οτιδήποτε κρίνει η αγορά κάθε φορά απαραίτητο να γνωρίζει ο μαθητής. Η γνώση για τον ίδιο τον άνθρωπο δεν κρίνεται αναγκαία και η ίδια η επιστήμη που μελετά το φαινόμενο της Αγωγής, η Παιδαγωγική, απαξιώνεται. Η αγορά και οι απαιτήσεις της καθορίζουν τη



λειτουργία του σχολικού θεσμού και όχι το παιδί και οι ανάγκες της αγωγής του. Στην κυρίαρχη αυτή λογική, δυστυχώς, υποτάσσονται, εκκινώντας από άλλες αφετηρίες, αρκετές εκδοχές της εκπαιδευτικής αριστεράς.

Στα χρόνια της καπιταλιστικής κρίσης και των μνημονίων, η δημόσια εκπαίδευση βρίσκεται σε τροχιά αποδόμησης. Απέναντι σε αυτή τη δραματική κατάσταση, το εκπαιδευτικό κίνημα ορθώνει τις διεκδικήσεις του, οι οποίες όμως έρχονται σε ευθεία αντιπαράθεση με το μνημονιακό καθεστώς καθώς έχουν να αναμετρηθούν με ένα νομοθετικό πλαίσιο, που καθορίζεται από τις μνημονιακές πολιτικές για την εκπαίδευση και υπηρετεί συνολικότερες επιδιώξεις για συντηρητικές αναδιαρθρώσεις (π.χ. αξιολόγηση, σχολική αυτονομία) και συγκρούονται με ασφυκτικές πολιτικές λιτότητας και περικοπών, καθώς και με τις δεσμεύσεις του 4ου μνημονίου για την εκπαίδευση (μηδενικοί διορισμοί, αύξηση διδακτικού ωραρίου, αύξηση του αριθμού των μαθητών ανά τμήμα, προώθηση της αξιολόγησης – αυτοαξιολόγησης).

Επομένως, τόσο οι αντιστάσεις στην κυρίαρχη πολιτική, όσο και η συγκρότηση ενός προγραμματικού λόγου για το σχολείο, συνδέονται άμεσα με την αμφισβήτηση του μνημονιακού καθεστώτος, τη ρήξη με τα όρια και τις δεσμεύσεις που θέτει καθώς και με ένα συνολικότερο κίνημα κοινωνικής απελευθέρωσης.

Στη βάση αυτή υποστηρίζουμε ότι, σήμερα, χρειαζόμαστε ένα νέο μορφωτικό-κοινωνικό σχέδιο για το δημόσιο, δωρεάν, σχολείο που θα αποτελεί αναπόσπαστο τμήμα μιας συνολικότερης στρατηγικής, ριζικής κοινωνικής και εκπαιδευτικής χειραφέτησης. Η διατύπωση ενός προγραμματικού λόγου για το μετασχηματισμό του σχολείου στο πλαίσιο ενός ευρύτερου κινήματος, αποβλέπει, πέρα από τους μακροπρόθεσμους στόχους, άμεσα, να μειωθεί η συμβολή της εκπαίδευσης στην αναπαραγωγή των ταξικών-κοινωνικών ανισοτήτων και να αμφισβητηθεί έμπρακτα η αναπαραγωγή της κυρίαρχης ιδεολογίας μέσα από το σχολικό θεσμό.

Το σχέδιο αυτό, οφείλει να αναμετρηθεί με κάποια στοιχειώδη ερωτήματα: Ποιοι πρέπει να είναι οι σκοποί και οι στόχοι της εκπαίδευσης; Ποιος πρέπει να είναι ο προσανατολισμός της και με ποιες βαθύτερες κοινωνικές διεργασίες και μετασχηματισμούς συνδέονται αυτά;

Αυτά τα πρωταρχικά ερωτήματα, θέτουν τις πολιτικές, κοινωνικές και ιδεολογικές παραδοχές με βάση τις οποίες δομείται μια αντίληψη για την εκπαίδευση. Θέτουν και τις αφετηρίες από τις οποίες ασκείται η κριτική, η απόρριψη και η αντίσταση στην κυρίαρχη Παιδαγωγική. Αποτελούν δηλαδή την πυξίδα και το χάρτη χωρίς τα οποία είναι εμφανής ο κίνδυνος να πέφτει κανείς σε διαδοχικές αντιφάσεις, επιμέρους κριτικές, αποσπασματικές ή επιφανειακές πολεμικές που αφορούν πλευρές της αναδιάρθρωσης αλλά όχι την ουσία της.

Ένας προγραμματικός λόγος για το μετασχηματισμό του σχολείου, οφείλει, κατά την άποψή μας, να αντιλαμβάνεται ότι τα αιτήματα για την ανασυγκρότηση της παιδείας συσχετίζονται με εκείνα για την ανασυγκρότηση της εργασίας και τελικά όλης της κοινωνίας. Οι αναγκαίες ανατρεπτικές τομές και αλλαγές στην εκπαίδευση συνδέονται με αυτές στην οργάνωση της εργασίας, της παραγωγής, των σχέσεων



ιδιοκτησίας στα μέσα παραγωγής. Και ο αγώνας για μια απελευθερωτική παιδεία συνδυάζεται με την πάλη για τη χειραφετημένη και χωρίς εκμετάλλευση εργασία. Διεκδικεί να κυριαρχούν οι ανάγκες της κοινωνικής πλειοψηφίας στο τι, πώς, με ποιο τρόπο και για ποιο σκοπό μαθαίνουμε καθώς και στο τι, πώς, για ποιο σκοπό και με ποιο τρόπο παράγουμε.

### Το «ενιαίο σχολείο»

Η εκπαιδευτική δομή που υπηρετεί καλύτερα, κατά τη γνώμη μας, ένα μορφωτικό σχέδιο κοινωνικής και εκπαιδευτικής χειραφέτησης, είναι το ενιαίο δωδεκάχρονο υποχρεωτικό δημόσιο δωρεάν σχολείο (στο εξής αναφέρεται ως «ενιαίο σχολείο» για λόγους συντομίας) και η δίχρονη υποχρεωτική προσχολική αγωγή- εκπαίδευση. Το ενιαίο σχολείο αποτελεί την απάντηση που υπερβαίνει τη διάκριση γενικής και τεχνικής εκπαίδευσης αλλά και τη διάκριση δημόσιας και ιδιωτικής εκπαίδευσης. Αποτελεί σημαντική κοινωνική στήριξη στην εργαζόμενη λαϊκή πλειοψηφία, καθώς παρέχει δωρεάν υψηλού επιπέδου μόρφωση στα παιδιά της για μεγάλο χρονικό διάστημα.

Το ενιαίο σχολείο συνιστά άραγε, όπως ισχυρίστηκαν εκπρόσωποι του υπουργείου Παιδείας, κρατικό εμφύτευμα, ένα δημιούργημα δηλαδή του κεντρικού κρατικού μηχανισμού ξένο προς τις ανάγκες και τις παραδόσεις των τοπικών κοινωνιών; Τίθεται το ερώτημα: επιθυμούμε ένα συγκεντρωτικό σχολικό σύστημα καθοδηγούμενο από έναν κεντρικό κρατικό μηχανισμό ή ένα «σχετικά» αποκεντρωμένο σχολικό σύστημα που θα λειτουργεί ως κόμβος του τοπικού κοινωνικού δικτύου;

Θεωρούμε ότι ένα μαχόμενο εκπαιδευτικό κίνημα πρέπει, ξεπερνώντας την αντίθεση εθνικό- τοπικό, συγκεντρωτικό - αποκεντρωμένο να θέσει το ερώτημα: Σχολείο για τους λίγους ή σχολείο για όλους; Ποια είναι εκείνη η δομή που επιτρέπει στον εκπαιδευτικό μηχανισμό να αμβλύνει τις εκπαιδευτικές ανισότητες; Σήμερα ο νεοφιλελευθερισμός προπαγανδίζει μια μορφή αντι-κρατισμού στην εκπαίδευση. Προτείνει το περίφημο «laissez-faire, laissez-passer» να εφαρμοστεί στην εκπαιδευτική πραγματικότητα υποστηρίζοντας ότι η αγορά θα ρυθμίσει με τον καλύτερο τρόπο σε ποιους θα δοθούν εκπαιδευτικές ευκαιρίες και ποιες. Υπερασπίζεται τη δυνατότητα των ατόμων να «επιλέξουν» το σχολείο που επιθυμούν, ανάλογα με τις ανάγκες τους, δίνοντας έμφαση στη μετατροπή των σχολείων είτε σε μέρος της οικονομίας είτε σε καθαυτό εμπόρευμα.

Πρωθώντας την ιδέα διαφορετικών αυτόνομων σχολικών μονάδων, ταυτόχρονα με έναν ενιαίο, σε εθνικό επίπεδο, μηχανισμό σύγκρισής - π.χ. μέσω εθνικών εξετάσεων- προωθεί τη σύγκριση μεταξύ διαφορετικών σχολείων ώστε να γίνει εφικτός ο διαχωρισμός και η κατηγοριοποίησή τους σε «επιτυχημένα» και μη. Στην ουσία σε μία εποχή όπου το κοινωνικό κράτος συρρικνώνεται και η εκπαίδευση δεν θεωρείται πλέον η «καλύτερη επένδυση», το κράτος αρνούμενο να στηρίξει οικονομικά τις προσπάθειες για δημοκρατική σχολική μεταρρύθμιση, ώστε να αμβλυνθούν οι ταξικές αντιθέσεις, προωθεί την «αγοραιοποίηση» της εκπαίδευσης.



Αναθέτει στους μηχανισμούς της αγοράς να θέσουν εκτός εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος ένα σημαντικό αριθμό μαθητών, αυξάνοντας τη σχολική διαρροή και μειώνοντας το «κόστος» της εκπαιδευτικής διαδικασίας.

Ένα αποκεντρωμένο δίκτυο σχολείων που δημιουργεί πολλούς και διαφορετικούς κόμβους εκπαίδευσης σε περίοδο οικονομικής κρίσης, θα μπορούσε να αυξήσει τη σχολική διαρροή. Τα σχολεία αυτά ενδεχομένως, θα αναζητούν τα ίδια τους πόρους τους και θα έχουν ένα διαφοροποιημένο αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα το οποίο θα επηρεάζεται από την διαδικασία εξεύρεσης πόρων. Ένα τέτοιο αποκεντρωμένο δίκτυο θα μπορούσε να κατευθύνει μαθητές συγκεκριμένων κοινωνικών στρωμάτων προς την επαγγελματική μαθητεία, την πρακτική δηλαδή και επί τω έργω κατάρτιση, την ίδια ώρα που άλλοι θα έχουν την οικονομική άνεση να παραμείνουν περισσότερο στην εκπαίδευση και να κατευθυνθούν σε περισσότερο «θεωρητικά» επαγγέλματα. Οδηγούμαστε έτσι σε μια ανακατασκευή των παραδοσιακών ιεραρχικών μοντέλων της κοινωνικής διαίρεσης της εργασίας μέσω του σχολείου. Αποτελεί άλλωστε και ένα από τα αιτήματα του νεοφιλελευθερισμού. Επιφανειακές, εργαλειακές γνώσεις, χαμηλού κύρους για τους πολλούς που θα οδηγούν σε γρήγορη ένταξη τους στην αγορά εργασίας, και για μία ελίτ παραμονή για περισσότερο χρονικό διάστημα στο εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα και μελέτη σε βάθος της φιλοσοφίας και των επιστημών.

Η αυτονομία της σχολικής μονάδας από την κεντρική διοίκηση θα μπορούσε να ενισχύσει την ύπαρξη ανισοτήτων κατά περιοχή. Χωρίς αποτελεσματικό κεντρικό συντονισμό θα είναι δύσκολος ο σχεδιασμός και η ορθολογική οργάνωση του εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος. Κάτι τέτοιο θα μπορούσε να έχει ως αποτέλεσμα τη μη συστηματική, κατακερματισμένη και άνιση ανάπτυξη του.

Χωρίς την παρέμβαση του κράτους- πρόνοιας στο εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα ισχυρές ομάδες συμφερόντων, θα κατοχύρωναν γρήγορα ξεχωριστά προνόμια επηρεάζοντας το σύνολο του εκπαιδευτικού θεσμού προς όφελος τους και ενάντια στην επιδίωξη της ισότητας.

Στις ταξικές κοινωνίες, πολλοί πιστεύουν ότι όσο αυξάνει η ποικιλία των διαφορετικών οδών μέσα στο εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα, όσο περισσότερα είναι τα σημεία «διακλάδωσης», τόσο αυξάνονται οι επιλογές που έχουν οι μαθητές. Οι επιλογές τους όμως, όπως έχει υποστηρίξει ο Γάλλος κοινωνιολόγος Raymond Boudon, ακόμα και σε περίπτωση φαινομενικής ισότητας τους όσον αφορά την πρόσβαση στο εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα, επηρεάζονται ισχυρά από προσδοκίες ταξικά καθορισμένες με αποτέλεσμα, σε τέτοιου είδους συστήματα, οι πιθανότητες να ακολουθήσουν οι μαθητές τον τύπο της εκπαίδευσης που «αντιστοιχεί» στην ταξική θέση τους να είναι πολύ μεγάλες και οι εκπαιδευτικές ευκαιρίες που προσφέρονται τελικά στους νέους να δομούνται με βάση την τάξη, και το φύλο (Boudon, 1979: 189-201). Αντίθετα οι περισσότερο τυποποιημένες εκπαιδευτικές δομές προάγουν περισσότερο καθολικές προσδοκίες μεταξύ των μαθητών, υπηρετώντας καλύτερα το στόχο της ισότητας στην πρόσβαση στα εκπαιδευτικά αγαθά.



Υποστηρίζοντας ένα σχετικά συγκεντρωτικό μοντέλο στην εκπαίδευση, δεν ξεχνάμε τις αρνητικές, επιπτώσεις ενός μονολιθικά κρατικού σχολείου. Άλλωστε δεν είναι αυτό το εκπαιδευτικό μας πρότυπο.

Το ενιαίο σχολείο υπερασπίζεται την εκπαίδευση ως κοινωνικό αγαθό και ως προϋπόθεση για έξοδο από την κοινωνική χρεοκοπία που φέρνει η πολιτική κεφαλαίου-ΕΕ-ΔΝΤ φορτώνοντας τα βάρη της καπιταλιστικής κρίσης στην εργαζόμενη κοινωνική πλειοψηφία. Αυτό το σχολείο που δεν δέχεται το διπλό και πολλαπλό σχολικό δίκτυο, που αναπαράγει τον καταμερισμό εργασίας, ενώνει θεωρία και πράξη χωρίς εσωτερικούς διαχωρισμούς, με τη μέγιστη κινητικότητα, χωρίς πρώιμη και αναγκαστική εξειδίκευση και είναι η ελάχιστη κινηματική απάντηση στον κοινωνικό καταμερισμό και στις βαθιές ταξικές διαιρέσεις. Αρχίζει από τα τέσσερα έτη (δύο έτη προσχολική αγωγή) και φτάνει με ενιαία προγράμματα καθολικής μόρφωσης ως τα 18 χρόνια.

Το ενιαίο σχολείο λειτουργεί με βάση ενιαία αναλυτικά προγράμματα και στόχους, παρέχει ομοιογενή εκπαίδευση, τουλάχιστον σε ότι αφορά ένα βασικό σώμα γνώσεων, για όλα τα παιδιά σχολικής ηλικίας. Σε ένα τέτοιο σχολείο θα υπάρχει πολυμέρεια απέναντι στον κατακερματισμό και τις πολυδεξιότητες, που απαιτεί το κεφάλαιο για να καλύπτει τις συνεχώς νέες ανάγκες του με χαμηλό κόστος. Σύνδεση με τις επιστημονικές, παραγωγικές και τεχνολογικές εξελίξεις, όχι των θραυσμάτων που απαιτεί η αγορά εργασίας, αλλά όλων των στοιχείων της διαδικασίας τους. Σύνδεση με την κοινωνία και τα μαχόμενα, ζωντανά κομμάτια της κι όχι μέσω των κοινωνικών εταίρων, των πολιτικών και ιδεολογικών διαύλων της κυρίαρχης τάξης. Το αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα πρέπει να είναι ενιαίο για να μην υπάρχουν συνεχείς επικαλύψεις. Η λογική να διδασκόμαστε τα ίδια θέματα σε διαφορετικό επίπεδο δυσκολίας και εμβάθυνσης κρύβει την άρρητη παραδοχή ότι κάποια παιδιά θα εγκαταλείψουν το σχολείο, δεν θα συμπληρώσουν την εννιάχρονη υποχρεωτική εκπαίδευση, άρα πρέπει να αποκτήσουν ένα ελάχιστο, έστω, ποσό δεξιοτήτων γνώσεων και στάσεων αφ' ενός για να ικανοποιηθούν οι ανάγκες της αγοράς για μια στοιχειώδη κατάρτιση του εργατικού δυναμικού και αφ' ετέρου για να υιοθετήσουν, οι μελλοντικοί πολίτες τις αξίες εκείνες που ο εκπαιδευτικός θεσμός προβάλλει, μέσω της ιδεολογικής του λειτουργίας.

Εμείς υπερασπιζόμαστε δώδεκα χρόνια βασικών σπουδών για όλους με αναλυτικά προγράμματα που δεν θα επικαλύπτονται και θα καθορίζονται από τις μαθησιακές δυνατότητες των μαθητών σε κάθε ηλικία. Εντός αυτού του συστήματος θα πρέπει να ενισχυθεί η ελευθερία του διδάσκοντα και του συλλόγου διδασκόντων να προσαρμόζει την ύλη των αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων στις δυνατότητες και τις κλίσεις των μαθητών του στην κατεύθυνση πάντα των ενιαίων κεντρικών στόχων.

Το ενιαίο σχολείο προσαρμόζει τις διδακτικές μεθόδους και τα αναλυτικά του προγράμματα ανάλογα με τις ηλικίες των μαθητών. Γι' αυτό, στις μικρότερες ηλικίες (6-12 ετών), κυριαρχεί η ενιαία διδασκαλία από το/τη δάσκαλο/α, η οποία πλαισιώνεται με τις απαραίτητες ειδικότητες, ενώ στις μεγαλύτερες ηλικίες,





κυριαρχεί η διδασκαλία διακριτών γνωστικών αντικειμένων από τις αντίστοιχες ειδικότητες εκπαιδευτικών.

Σε κάθε περίπτωση τοποθετεί στο κέντρο του την «Παιδαγωγική σχέση» με στόχο την ανάδειξη εκείνης της παιδαγωγικής αλληλεπίδρασης που οδηγεί τους μαθητές να συλλαμβάνουν και να ερμηνεύουν τους νόμους και τις αντιφάσεις που συγκροτούν το κοινωνικό γίνεσθαι αλλά και να διαμορφώνουν τις δυνατότητες για την υπέρβασή του. Στο πλαίσιο μια τέτοιας παιδαγωγικής σχέσης ο δάσκαλος δεν αντιμετωπίζει τα προς γνώση αντικείμενα ως «καταθέσεις» που πρόκειται να παραδοθούν στους μαθητές, αλλά ως ιδέες για κριτικό στοχασμό στο πλαίσιο του οποίου τόσο οι μαθητές όσο και ο δάσκαλος συνεργάζονται. Η σχέση αυτή ανάμεσα στο εκπαιδευτικό και τους μαθητές του, συνιστά σχέση μεταξύ δρώντων υποκειμένων, με το δάσκαλο να καταθέτει την παιδαγωγική επιστημονική του επάρκεια και την πολιτική του διαύγεια και τους μαθητές την κοινωνική τους προέλευση και το μορφωτικό τους κεφάλαιο.

Η εκπαίδευση πρέπει να στοχεύει α) στην αύξηση της αυτονομίας των ανθρώπων μέσω της προσφοράς επαρκών γνώσεων και ερεθισμάτων ώστε να οδηγηθούν στην αυτοπραγμάτωση. β) στην πολύπλευρη ανάπτυξη και καλλιέργεια της προσωπικότητας του ατόμου (γνωστική, συναισθηματική, κοινωνική, αισθητική, πρακτική) γ) στην ανάπτυξη της ικανότητας των ατόμων να συμμετέχουν στο κοινωνικό και πολιτικό και πολιτιστικό γίνεσθαι δ) στην σύμμετρη ανάπτυξη της ατομικότητας και της κοινωνικότητας ε) στην ανάπτυξη της ανεκτικότητας απέναντι σε άτομα και ομάδες που έχουν διαφορετικές πολιτισμικές καταβολές και έχουν επιλέξει έναν άλλο τρόπο ζωής.

Σύμφωνα με την αντίληψή μας η εκπαίδευση τίθεται στο κέντρο της κοινωνίας ως ξεχωριστή και μοναδική ενέργεια του ανθρώπου πάνω στον άνθρωπο και το πρόβλημα της μεθόδου της αγωγής και της διδασκαλίας μας απασχολεί ιδιαίτερα. Υποστηρίζουμε ότι σε ένα ενιαίο σχολείο βασικής δωδεκάχρονης εκπαίδευσης, στο κέντρο του ενδιαφέροντος πρέπει να βρίσκεται το παιδί και οι ανάγκες του. Η αγωγή πρέπει να αρχίζει από τις δυνατότητες του παιδιού και να τις αναπτύσσει ανάλογα με τις ιδιαιτερότητές του. Η μάθηση νοείται ως αυτενεργός διαδικασία και η διδασκαλία πραγματοποιείται με την ενεργό συμμετοχή του μαθητή σύμφωνα με την αρχή της εποπτείας (Χριστιάς, 1998: 23-26; Κάστανος, 1931: 33-3; Dotts, 1927: 42).

Απαράβατο όρο για να επιτευχθούν οι στόχοι αυτοί αποτελεί η μελέτη της παιδικής φύσης και των ιδιαιτεροτήτων της, καθώς και η γνώση του «πώς ο άνθρωπος μαθαίνει». Η επιστημονική παιδαγωγική γνώση, η οποία έχει προέλθει από την παιδαγωγική έρευνα, είναι κατά τη γνώμη μας απαραίτητη στο διδάσκοντα στο ενιαίο δωδεκάχρονο σχολείο, όπου συντελείται το φαινόμενο της αγωγής. Υποστηρίζουμε την αναγκαιότητα των παιδαγωγικών σπουδών για κάθε εκπαιδευτικό ούτως ώστε να καταστεί ικανός να παρακολουθήσει τον σύγχρονο παιδαγωγικό προβληματισμό και να προσαρμόζει τη διδασκαλία του ανάλογα με



τα πορίσματα της παιδαγωγικής έρευνας, τα όποια ως επιστήμονας παιδαγωγός θα μπορεί να κρίνει.

Ο εκπαιδευτικός ο οποίος θα διαθέτει ένα σώμα γενικότερων γνώσεων που δεν θα είναι αυστηρά χρηστικές, απλά εργαλεία της διδασκαλίας, αλλά θα αποτελούν το απαραίτητο υπόβαθρο, για την σφαιρική κατανόηση της πράξης της αγωγής. Οι γνώσεις αυτές, επειδή ακριβώς είναι επιστημονικές, δεν προέρχονται ούτε αφορούν αποκλειστικά στην πράξη της εκπαίδευσης, ενισχύουν, ωστόσο, την εγκυρότητα και την αποτελεσματικότητα της.

Στις πραγματικές συνθήκες της σχολικής τάξης η δουλειά ενός εκπαιδευτικού, απηχεί συγκεκριμένες στάσεις και απόψεις για το ποια γνώση αξίζει περισσότερο, πότε αποκτά κανείς μια γνώση και τι σημαίνει αυτό, καθώς και πώς μπορούμε να κατασκευάσουμε αναπαραστάσεις του εαυτού μας και του φυσικού και κοινωνικού περιβάλλοντος μας. Υπ’ αυτή την έννοια οι διδακτικές πρακτικές υποστηρίζουν συγκεκριμένες πολιτισμικές οπτικές και πολιτικές πρακτικές και γι’ αυτό η πράξη της διδασκαλίας δεν είναι ιδεολογικά ουδέτερη. Γι’ αυτό επίσης η Παιδαγωγική, ως η επιστήμη που μελετά τον τρόπο που το περιεχόμενο των αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων συνδέεται με τις διδακτικές στρατηγικές και τις μεθόδους αξιολόγησης των μαθητών μέσα στις συγκεκριμένες, κάθε φορά, συνθήκες της σχολικής τάξης, δεν ταυτίζεται και δεν μπορεί να ταυτίζεται με τη διδακτική πράξη. Ωστόσο οι παιδαγωγικές γνώσεις είναι το απαραίτητο υπόβαθρο κάθε πολιτικά συνειδητοποιημένης και χειραφετητικής διδασκαλίας (Simon, 2010).

Οι γνώσεις αυτές πρέπει να αποκτώνται σε Παιδαγωγικές Σχολές. Το πρόγραμμα των σχολών αυτών θα περιλαμβάνει ένα βασικό σώμα παιδαγωγικών γνώσεων, κοινό για όλους τους φοιτητές κατά τα πρώτα έτη, ενώ στη συνέχεια θα διαφοροποιείται και θα παρέχει εξειδικευμένες γνώσεις ανάλογα με τις ανάγκες της διδασκαλίας των αντικειμένων σε κάθε ηλικία. Κατά τη γνώμη μας είναι διαφορετικές οι γνώσεις που πρέπει να έχει κάποιος για να διδάξει π.χ. μαθηματικά στην εκπαίδευση στις ηλικίες 13-17 από αυτόν που θα μελετήσει τα μαθηματικά για να ασχοληθεί με την αστρονομία.

Διαφωνούμε με την προσφορά των παιδαγωγικών μαθημάτων εντός κυρίως μεταπτυχιακών σπουδών ή σεμιναρίων χωρίς να έχουν προηγηθεί βασικές προπτυχιακές παιδαγωγικές σπουδές. Κατά τη γνώμη μας η πρακτική αυτή συντελεί στην υποβάθμιση της Παιδαγωγικής επιστήμης, στον κατακερματισμό της γνώσης και στην οικονομική εκμετάλλευση του κλάδου.

Υποστηρίζουμε ότι η μετάδοση γνώσεων δεν είναι και δεν μπορεί να είναι το κύριο ζητούμενο στο δωδεκάχρονο ενιαίο σχολείο, όπου συντελείται η πράξη της αγωγής. Δεν επιθυμούμε μία νοησιαρχική εκπαίδευση. Υποστηρίζουμε μία εκπαίδευση που θα μορφώνει ολόπλευρα τον άνθρωπο, γι’ αυτό και στην εκπαίδευση των εκπαιδευτικών ζητάμε να συνυπάρχουν η επιστημονική παιδαγωγική γνώση, και η ουσιαστική και σε βάθος γνώση των επιστημονικών αντικειμένων και της μεθοδολογίας τους ανάλογα με τις ανάγκες της κάθε ηλικίας. Προτάσσουμε την μετατόπιση του ενδιαφέροντος από το κάθε ξεχωριστό



αντικείμενο στο παιδί και στις ανάγκες του, από τον κατακερματισμό της γνώσης, στην προσπάθεια ενιαίας σύλληψης και ερμηνείας της φυσικής και κοινωνικοπολιτικής πραγματικότητας. Άλλωστε θεωρούμε ότι *το να μην προσπαθεί κανείς να ανακαλύψει την ολότητα είναι απλά ο κωδικός τρόπος για να μην παρατηρήσει τον καπιταλισμό* (Ιγκλετον, 2003: 39).

Υποστηρίζουμε την αναγκαιότητα της επιστημονικής διείσδυσης στην ουσία του κοινωνικού φαινομένου της αγωγής γιατί θεωρούμε ότι η εξιδανίκευση του εμπειρισμού στη διδακτική διαδικασία, αποτελεί μία ακόμα έκφραση της μετανεωτερικής άρνησης του λόγου, και οδηγεί στην προσαρμογή της συνείδησης διδασκόντων και διδασκομένων στις κυρίαρχες κοινωνικές σχέσεις ( Παυλίδης, 2017).

Σε μία εποχή που η γνώση μετατρέπεται όλο και περισσότερο σε εμπόρευμα και η αξία της κρίνεται με γνώμονα της ανταλλακτική της δύναμη στην αγορά εργασίας (Λυοτάρ,1993: 33), εμείς επιμένουμε να υπενθυμίζουμε ότι η απόκτηση γνώσης είναι αδιαχώριστη από τη μόρφωση του πνεύματος και τη δημιουργία προσωπικοτήτων και κανενός είδους αγωγή δεν μπορεί να θεωρηθεί ως δημοκρατική αν παραβλέπει την ανάγκη των ατόμων για αυτοπραγμάτωση.

*Η κριτική ριζοσπαστική παιδαγωγική, μέσα στο χώρο αντιθέσεων του παρόντος, επιδιώκει να συμβάλλει στη διαμόρφωση ενός ανθρώπου ο οποίος θα συνεργήσει στη δημιουργία μιας κοινωνίας χωρίς εσωτερικές αντιφάσεις, ώστε να απαλλαγεί και ο ίδιος από τις αντινομίες μέσα στις οποίες είναι τώρα υποχρεωμένος να ζει* (Φράγκος,1984: 61).

Αγωνιζόμαστε για ένα σχολείο που θα επιδιώκει τη διαμόρφωση ενός ανθρώπου με ισόρροπη σωματική, γνωστική, ηθική και καλλιτεχνική ανάπτυξη. Ενός ανθρώπου που θα καλλιεργεί τη σωματική του ευεξία, θα διακρίνεται για την ευρεία και ουσιαστική ανθρωπιστική μόρφωση του , θα διαθέτει τις επιστημονικές και τεχνικές γνώσεις και ικανότητες οι οποίες αναφέρονται στους βασικούς κλάδους της παραγωγής, δηλαδή θα έχει πολυτεχνική μόρφωση, θα εκτιμά και θα απολαμβάνει τις καλλιτεχνικές μορφές έκφρασης. Ενός ανθρώπου που θα προσπαθεί συστηματικά να προσεγγίσει ιδανικά όπως η αλληλεγγύη, η συντροφικότητα, η αυτοθυσία για το δημόσιο συμφέρον και η γενναιότητα της υπέρβασης του ατομικισμού.

Με αυτή την έννοια, η Κριτική Ριζοσπαστική Παιδαγωγική μπορεί να λειτουργήσει ως μια από τις κινητήριες δυνάμεις για την ανέλιξη της κοινωνίας όταν συνδέεται με ευρύτερα κινήματα κοινωνικής χειραφέτησης και όταν αποκτά έμπρακτο περιεχόμενο και δεν περιορίζεται σε θεωρητικά σχήματα.

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### ΠΙΝΑΚΑΣ 1

ΚΛΑΔΟΣ		2015-2016			2016-2017			ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ
		ΠΛΗΡΟΥΣ	ΑΜΩ	ΣΥΝΟΛΟ	ΠΛΗΡΟΥΣ	ΑΜΩ	ΣΥΝΟΛΟ	
ΓΑΛΛΙΚΩΝ	ΠΕ05	0	50	50	0	109	109	59
ΑΓΓΛΙΚΩΝ	ΠΕ06	740	20	760	451	92	543	-217
ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΩΝ	ΠΕ07	0	160	160	0	259	259	99
ΚΑΛΛΙΤΕΧΝΙΚΩΝ	ΠΕ08	769	6	775	927	49	976	201
ΦΥΣΙΚΗΣ ΑΓΩΓΗΣ	ΠΕ11	393	13	406	256	49	305	-101
ΜΟΥΣΙΚΗΣ	ΠΕ16.01	511	2	513	392	34	426	-87
ΔΡΑΜ. ΤΕΧΝΗΣ	ΠΕ18.41	43	0	43	35	0	35	-8
ΠΛΗΡΟΦΟΡΙΚΗΣ. ΑΕΙ	ΠΕ19	176	1	177	157	57	214	37
ΠΛΗΡΟΦΟΡΙΚΗΣ ΤΕΙ	ΠΕ20	116	2	118	130	18	148	30
ΘΕΑΤΡΟΛΟΓΩΝ	ΠΕ32	629	2	631	664	26	690	59
ΝΗΠΙΑΓΩΓΩΝ	ΠΕ60	1707	0	1707	1756		1756	49
ΝΗΠΙΑΓΩΓΩΝ ΕΑΕ	ΠΕ60.50	517	0	517	619		619	102
ΝΗΠΙΑΓΩΓΩΝ ΕΑΕ	ΠΕ61	34	0	34	48		48	14
ΔΑΣΚΑΛΩΝ	ΠΕ70	5258	0	5258	4310	112	4422	-836
ΔΑΣΚΑΛΩΝ ΕΑΕ	ΠΕ70.50	735	0	735	1181		1181	446
ΔΑΣΚΑΛΩΝ ΕΑΕ	ΠΕ71	1982	0	1982	2232		2232	250
ΓΥΜΝΑΣΤΕΣ ΕΑΕ	ΠΕ11.01				33	3	36	36
ΜΟΥΣΙΚΗΣ ΕΑΕ	16.01.50				10		10	10
ΜΟΥΣΙΚΗΣ ΕΑΕ	ΤΕ. 16.00.50				22	6	28	28
ΑΓΓΛΙΚΩΝ ΕΑΕ	06.50				1	1	2	2
ΠΛΗΡΟΦΟΡ. ΕΑΕ	19.50				1	1	2	2
ΠΛΗΡΟΦΟΡ. ΕΑΕ	20.50				1	1	2	2
<b>ΣΥΝΟΛΟ</b>		<b>13610</b>	<b>256</b>	<b>13866</b>	<b>13226</b>	<b>817</b>	<b>14043</b>	<b>177</b>

Συλλογή, επεξεργασία στοιχείων, Εκπαιδευτική Λέσχη, <http://www.e-lesxi.gr/tt9-epi-arth11-ekpaideytikh-lesxi>





## Μια προσπάθεια υπέρβασης της αντίθεσης γενικού-μερικού στη μετανεωτερική σκέψη από την οπτική της χειραφετητικής άποψης στην πολιτική φιλοσοφία και στην εκπαίδευση

Μονιάκη Χρυσή

Υποψήφια Διδάκτορας Φιλοσοφία, Εθνικό & Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών

### Περίληψη

Στο κείμενο παρουσιάζεται η προσπάθεια που γίνεται στη μετανεωτερικότητα να αποδομηθεί η έννοια του γενικού ως αναχρονιστική και να προωθηθεί η έννοια του μερικού/τοπικού ως πιο προοδευτική. Επίσης τίθεται το ερώτημα αν η πρόκριση του μερικού έναντι του γενικού και συνάμα η «αποκαθήλωση» της μεγάλης αφήγησης εν τέλει εξυπηρετεί τον ατομισμό και υποσκάπτει το στόχο της κοινωνικής απελευθέρωσης.

Ως προσπάθεια συμβολής στην απάντηση του παραπάνω ερωτήματος εξετάζεται η σχέση γενικού-μερικού στο πλαίσιο της Κριτικής Θεωρίας της Σχολής της Φρανκφούρτης. Πιο συγκεκριμένα η εργασία αναφέρεται στο έργο των T. B. Adorno & M. Horkheimer, «Η διαλεκτική του Διαφωτισμού», καθώς στο συγκεκριμένο έργο οι συγγραφείς εξετάζουν τον τρόπο με τον οποίο το ρεύμα του Διαφωτισμού οδήγησε στη μαζοποίηση της κοινωνίας και στην ιδεολογική και πολιτιστική επικράτηση της αστικής τάξης, της οποίας το ιδεολογικό όχημα αποτέλεσε ο Διαφωτισμός. Εν τέλει μέσα από τις θετικές επιστήμες που προώθησε το ρεύμα του Διαφωτισμού, το άτομο αντιμετωπίζεται ποσοτικά, ως αριθμός και μέσω του καταμερισμού εργασίας προσδένεται στο άρμα της αυτοσυντήρησης και εκχωρεί την υποκειμενικότητά του. Η ποσοτικοποίηση του ατόμου υπάρχει και στο σοσιαλισμό αφού ο άνθρωπος δεν απαλλάσσεται από την υποταγή στην αναγκαιότητα καθώς η σκέψη περιορίζεται από τον «κοινό νου» (common sense), πράγμα που είναι αντίθετο με την επαναστατική σκέψη η οποία δεν γνωρίζει όρια στη μάχη της με την ασυνειδησία.

Επίσης τίθεται το ερώτημα αν η Κριτική Θεωρία προκρίνει το άτομο έναντι του συνόλου και παρατίθεται η άποψη του Horkheimer για το εν δυνάμει υποκείμενο της κοινωνικής αλλαγής. Το υποκείμενο αυτό είναι το συνειδητά καθορισμένο άτομο όπως διαμορφώνεται από τις κοινωνικές του σχέσεις και την αλληλεπίδρασή του με άτομα ομάδες και τη φύση. Η αντίθεση που πρέπει να ξεπεραστεί στη συνείδηση αυτού του ατόμου για να επιτευχθεί ο στόχος της κοινωνικής χειραφέτησης είναι μεταξύ ατομικού και ταξικού συμφέροντος. Περισσότερο ολοκληρωμένα απαντά σ' αυτό το ερώτημα η μαρξική θεωρία, η οποία θέτει τη λύση στην επαναστατική διαδικασία που θα άρει την αντίφαση ατομικού- ταξικού.

### Εισαγωγή

Με την παρέμβασή μας στη συζήτηση του συνεδρίου για την «Κριτική Παιδαγωγική» θα επιχειρήσουμε να μελετήσουμε από την πλευρά της χειραφετητικής άποψης για την εκπαίδευση τον πληθυντισμό-πολλαπλότητα που υποστηρίζει η μεταμοντέρνα θεώρηση για τη γνώση. Στην άποψη ότι η μεγάλη αφήγηση απώλεσε την αξιοπιστία της και δεν μπορεί να εμπνεύσει τη γνωσιακή προσπάθεια θα επιχειρήσουμε να αντιτάξουμε όχι την στείρα προσκόλληση στην παράδοση των μεγάλων αφηγήσεων αλλά την υπέρβαση της αντίθεσης γενικού-



μερικού, (αντίθεση η οποία αποτελεί κεντρική κατηγορία στη μετανεωτερική σκέψη) σε μια νέα ανώτερη μορφή σχεδίου εκπαίδευσης που θα καθοδηγείται από τον στόχο της δημιουργίας ολοκληρωμένων, αυτόνομων, χειραφετημένων προσωπικοτήτων.

Στη σημερινή συγκυρία όπου επιχειρείται από τους κυρίαρχους κύκλους της εξουσίας να στηριχτούν οι μεταρρυθμίσεις στην εκπαίδευση στη μετανεωτερική αντίληψη της αντίθεσης του μερικού/τοπικού, επιθυμούμε να συμβάλουμε στο μέτρο των δυνατοτήτων μας στην περιγραφή της διαλεκτικής σχέσης μερικού-γενικού στην εκπαιδευτική διαδικασία αλλά και την κοινωνική ζωή έτσι ώστε να υπηρετείται ο βασικός στόχος της εκπαίδευσης που είναι η εκδίπλωση χειραφετημένων προσωπικοτήτων.

Στο πεδίο της Φιλοσοφίας, η Κριτική Θεωρία της Σχολής της Φρανκφούρτης ασχολήθηκε επισταμένως με τη σχέση μερικού -γενικού και γι' αυτό το λόγο την ερευνήσαμε στην προσπάθειά μας να μελετήσουμε το θέμα που μας απασχολεί. Επίσης αναφερόμαστε στη μαρξική θεωρία επειδή παρέχει το εργαλείο της διαλεκτικής προσέγγισης των αντιφάσεων και της ταξικής διάκρισης.

### Συζήτηση-ανάλυση

Στις μέρες μας γίνεται μια ιδιαίτερη προσπάθεια τόσο στην εκπαίδευση όσο και στην υπόλοιπη κοινωνική ζωή να αποδομηθεί η έννοια του γενικού ως ξεπερασμένη και οπισθοδρομική σε αντίθεση με το μερικό/τοπικό το οποίο θεωρείται πιο δημοκρατικό και προοδευτικό. Κατ' αντιστοιχία θεωρείται ξεπερασμένη, μονοδιάστατη και αναξιόπιστη η μεγάλη αφήγηση ενώ αντίθετα προκρίνονται οι μικρές αφηγήσεις ως περισσότερο ανταποκρινόμενες στις επιμέρους ανάγκες της κοινωνίας και στο ιδεώδες της ισότιμης θεώρησης των διαφορετικών έμφυλων και ταξικών ταυτοτήτων εντός της. Το ερώτημα είναι αν διαμέσου αυτής της σκέψης προκρίνεται το ατομικό έναντι του γενικού, αν στην προσπάθεια να μην καταπνιγεί το άτομο μέσα στη μαζοποίηση εν τέλει χάνεται ο γενικός στόχος και μαζί του καταβαρθώνεται και ο στόχος της κοινωνικής απελευθέρωσης.

Θα προσπαθήσουμε να εξετάσουμε τη σχέση γενικού/μερικού στο πλαίσιο της Κριτικής Θεωρίας της Σχολής της Φρανκφούρτης διότι θεωρούμε ότι η συγκεκριμένη φιλοσοφία έχει ασκήσει μεγάλη επίδραση στα φιλοσοφικά τεκταινόμενα της μετανεωτερικότητας και παρά την αναμφισβήτητη προσφορά της στη διαδικασία της κοινωνικής απελευθέρωσης χρειάζεται απαραίτητα συμπλήρωση από την πλευρά της μαρξικής θεωρίας για να υπηρετήσει τον παραπάνω στόχο.

Στο έργο «Η διαλεκτική του Διαφωτισμού» οι συγγραφείς του, ο T. B. Adorno και ο M. Horkheimer κάνουν μια βαθιά και οξυδερκή περιγραφή του τρόπου με τον οποίο το ρεύμα του διαφωτισμού, το οποίο, ως γνωστόν, υπήρξε το ιδεολογικό όχημα της αστικής τάξης στην πορεία της προς την ανάληψη της εξουσίας οδήγησε στην πολιτιστική μαζοποίηση της κοινωνίας, στην ιδεολογική και πολιτισμική επικράτηση της κυρίαρχης, πια, αστικής τάξης και των οικονομικών της



συμφερόντων πάνω στο σύνολο της κοινωνίας. Αντιτιθέμενος στη μεταφυσική παράδοση ο Διαφωτισμός χρησιμοποιώντας ως εργαλείο τον ορθό λόγο μετατρέπεται σε θετικισμό, κατά τους φιλοσόφους της Φρανκφούρτης, και συγκροτεί ένα συμπαγές σύστημα το οποίο είναι ολοκληρωτικό, όπως κάθε σύστημα. Με τα λόγια των συγγραφέων: «Ο Διαφωτισμός είναι ολοκληρωτικός. Οι ιδέες του για τα ανθρώπινα δικαιώματα δεν έχουν διαφορετική τύχη από τα παλιά *universalia*» (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1996: 34).

Ως είναι και ως συμβαίνει ο Διαφωτισμός αναγνωρίζει εκ των προτέρων μόνον ό, τι μπορεί να συλληφθεί μέσω της ενότητας: ιδανικό του είναι το σύστημα, από το οποίο έπονται τα πάντα και το καθετί χωριστά. Όλα ενοποιούνται κάτω από τον όρο «άνθρωπος» και μέσω της τυπικής λογικής. Ο αριθμός γίνεται το μέτρο και οι εξισώσεις καθοδηγούν τα πάντα από την αστική δικαιοσύνη ως την ανταλλαγή των εμπορευμάτων. Η θετική επιστήμη και κυρίως τα μαθηματικά χρησιμοποιούνται ως εργαλείο που «ολοκληρώνει» τον κόσμο. Ο Διαφωτισμός στην προσπάθειά του να αποφύγει το μυθικό στοιχείο, το οποίο κυριαρχούσε την προηγούμενη περίοδο ταυτίζει την αλήθεια με το τέλος του μαθηματικοποιημένου κόσμου, θέτει τη σκέψη ταυτόσημη με τα μαθηματικά (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1996: 61). Έτσι σχηματίζεται ένα λογικοποιημένο κλειστό σύστημα.

Περικλείοντας τα πάντα στο σύστημα του λόγου, ο Διαφωτισμός «αποκόπτει το ασύμμετρο» (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1996: 43). Ο λόγος γίνεται το βοηθητικό εργαλείο του οικονομικού μηχανισμού ο οποίος εν τέλει θέτει και τους σκοπούς της ανθρώπινης δραστηριότητας κατά ένα μονοσήμαντο τρόπο. Τα πάντα (η φύση, τα πράγματα) υποτάσσονται στον έλλογο άνθρωπο αλλά και ο ίδιος υποτάσσεται στην αγορά και στους νόμους της. Με τα λόγια των συγγραφέων : Ο άνθρωπος αφήνει τις δυνατότητες που του έχουν δοθεί από τη γέννηση του να τυποποιούνται από την παραγωγή των εμπορευμάτων που μπορεί κανείς να αγοράσει στην αγορά. Στους ανθρώπους χαρίσθηκε ο εαυτός ως μοναδικός για κάθε πρόσωπο, ως διαφορετικός από όλους τους άλλους, για να γίνει με ακόμη μεγαλύτερη βεβαιότητα όμοιος. Επειδή όμως αυτό ποτέ δεν επιτυχανόταν εντελώς, ο Διαφωτισμός ερωτοτροπούσε πάντοτε, ακόμη και ολόκληρη την περίοδο του φιλελευθερισμού, με τον κοινωνικό καταναγκασμό. Η ενότητα της χειραγωγούμενης συλλογικότητας συνίσταται στην άρνηση κάθε ατόμου, είναι χλευασμός του είδους της κοινωνίας που θα μπορούσε να κάνει τον καθένα άτομο» (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1996: 43). Οι συγγραφείς εδώ τονίζουν ότι η συλλογικότητα όπως διαμορφώνεται από τις αρχές του διαφωτισμού καταπιέζει το άτομο. Οι κανόνες της, όπως υποστηρίζουν οι Adorno & Horkheimer καθοδηγούν το άτομο «από τη σχολική τάξη ως το συνδικάτο».

Αναπτύσσονται ιδεολογικοί μηχανισμοί, οι οποίοι προωθούν τη μαζική παραγωγή και την κουλτούρα της και εγχαράσσουν στο μεμονωμένο άτομο τυποποιημένους τρόπους συμπεριφοράς, σαν να είναι οι μόνοι φυσικοί, λογικοί και κοινωνικά αποδεκτοί. Όποια συμπεριφορά ξεφεύγει από αυτά τα πρότυπα απορρίπτεται. Το άτομο αντιμετωπίζεται μόνον ως αντικείμενο πια, ως στατιστικό στοιχείο, ως *success or failure*. Ως επιτυχημένο άτομο ορίζεται αυτό που εκπληρώνει στόχους



όπως η αυτοσυντήρηση, η επιτυχημένη εξομοίωση προς την αντικειμενικοποιημένη λειτουργία του και προς τα πρότυπα που έχουν τεθεί σε αυτή. Ακόμη και η συλλογικότητα στην αστική κοινωνία του διαφωτισμού μετατρέπεται σε όργανο κυριαρχίας των λίγων στους πολλούς. Εργαλεία όπως ο καταμερισμός εργασίας, ο οποίος προβάλλεται από το σύστημα σαν τον μοναδικό τρόπο επίτευξης του στόχου της επιβίωσης αποδεικνύονται πολύ αποτελεσματικά σ' αυτή την κατεύθυνση αφού θεωρούνται άρρηκτα δεμένα με τον καταναγκαστικό σκοπό της αυτοσυντήρησης. Η κοινωνική εργασία του ατόμου διαμεσολαβείται από τον ατομισμό και οφείλει να αποδώσει στο κεφάλαιο το κέρδος και στους εργάτες τη δύναμη για υπερεργασία. Δεμένα τα άτομα με το στόχο της αυτοσυντήρησης αυτοαποξενώνονται εξομοιούμενα σωματικά και πνευματικά με τον τεχνικό εξοπλισμό, που υπηρετούν. Η υποκειμενικότητα καταργείται.

Ο στόχος της αυτοσυντήρησης υποτάσσει την κοινωνία στην αναγκαιότητα, από την οποία, κατά τους φιλοσόφους της Φρανκφούρτης δεν είναι απαλλαγμένος ούτε και ο σοσιαλισμός. Ο σοσιαλισμός παραχωρώντας έδαφος στον «κοινό νο» (common sense) αναγνωρίζει ως αιώνια αυτή την αναγκαιότητα κι έτσι η σχέση μεταξύ αναγκαιότητας και ελευθερίας παραμένει σε ένα ποσοτικό επίπεδο, γίνεται μηχανιστική και στο σοσιαλισμό. Η αποστέωση της σκέψης που συνεπάγεται η μαθηματικοποίησή της είναι σε αντίθετη κατεύθυνση από την επαναστατική πρακτική η οποία απαιτεί διαρκή μάχη της σκέψης με την ασυνειδησία (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1996: 86). Ασυνειδησία είναι η έλλειψη της γνώσης που δεν συνθηκολογεί ενώπιον του κυρίαρχου καταμερισμού εργασίας. Η φιλοσοφία σ' αυτήν την περίπτωση είναι υποχρεωμένη, κατά τους φιλοσόφους της Φρανκφούρτης, να αντισταθεί στην υποβολή που δέχεται η σκέψη από τους μηχανισμούς της κυριαρχίας με στόχο την ελευθερία της.

Το φλέγον για μας είναι να εξετάσουμε που οδηγεί η σκέψη των φιλοσόφων της Φρανκφούρτης. Οδηγεί σε απαξίωση του ορθολογικού; Σε απολυτοποίηση του μερικού; Στη προβολή του ατόμου έναντι του συνόλου;

Απέναντι στο τελευταίο ερώτημα, ο Horkheimer τοποθετείται υπογραμμίζοντας σε προγενέστερο της «Διαλεκτικής του Διαφωτισμού» έργου του ότι η Κριτική Θεωρία αντιτίθεται τόσο στη λειτουργία του απομονωμένου ατόμου όσο και του συνόλου ατόμων. Σαν υποκείμενό της η κριτική σκέψη θεωρεί ένα συνειδητά καθορισμένο άτομο στις πραγματικές του σχέσεις με άλλα άτομα και ομάδες, στις αντιπαραθέσεις του σε μια καθορισμένη κοινωνική τάξη και σε όλο το πλέγμα των σχέσεών του με την κοινωνική ολότητά και τη φύση (Horkheimer, 1984: 31).

Το υποκείμενο αυτό δεν υπάρχει, κατά το φιλόσοφο, στη σύγχρονη κοινωνία, λόγω της συγκεκριμένης αναχρονιστικής οργάνωσης και της κυριαρχίας των λίγων, όπως περιγράφηκε στη «Διαλεκτική του Διαφωτισμού». Θα μπορούσε να υπάρξει αν η κοινωνική οργάνωση προσανατολιζόταν στην κάλυψη των αναγκών του συνόλου. Αν υπήρχε η συνείδηση από τα άτομα του συνόλου ότι μέσω της εργασίας στοχεύουν σε ένα κοινό συμφέρον. Αυτή η συνείδηση, όμως δεν υπάρχει κατά τη γνώμη του, ούτε και στη μαρξική κοινωνική οργάνωση και συγκεκριμένα στο



προλεταριάτο, καθώς δεν διαθέτει την απαραίτητη κοινωνική συνοχή αφενός, και αφετέρου, η αντίθεση μεταξύ προσωπικού και ταξικού συμφέροντος (εκτός από κάποιες εξαιρετικές στιγμές) εμποδίζουν αυτή τη συνείδηση να μετατραπεί σε κοινωνική δύναμη. Κατά τη γνώμη του Horkheimer, ο διανοούμενος με τη δική του θεωρητική προσπάθεια και την κριτική του σκέψη μπορεί να αποτελέσει προωθητικό παράγοντα στην κατεύθυνση της συνειδητοποίησης. Η κριτική σκέψη μπορεί να βοηθήσει μέσω της πιο βαθιάς κατανόησης του παρόντος στην σύλληψη της επιθυμητής εικόνας του μέλλοντος και τον αντίστοιχο καθορισμό των πράξεων και των σκέψεων των ανθρώπων.

Στο ίδιο έργο, βέβαια, ο φιλόσοφος διευκρινίζει ότι: «Δεν υπάρχουν γενικά κριτήρια για την κριτική θεωρία ως σύνολο. Διότι τα δικά της κριτήρια βασίζονται πάντα στην επανάληψη γεγονότων και, συνεπώς, σε μια αυτοαναπαραγόμενη ολότητα. Ούτε υπάρχει κάποια κοινωνική τάξη, στη οποία θα μπορούσαμε να στηριχτούμε, επειδή αυτή συμφωνεί με τη θεωρία. Υπό τις παρούσες συνθήκες είναι δυνατό να αμβλυνθεί και να διαβρωθεί ιδεολογικά η συνείδηση οποιουδήποτε κοινωνικού στρώματος-έστω κι αν αυτό, από την ίδια του τη θέση, έχει μια τάση προς την αλήθεια» (Horkheimer, 1984: 60). Αυτή η διευκρίνιση, κατά τη γνώμη μας, αντιπαραθέτει την Κριτική Θεωρία στην μαρξική ανάλυση, καθώς η Κριτική Θεωρία προσπαθεί να κατανοήσει βαθύτερα την κοινωνική πραγματικότητα ενώ η μαρξική και να την ανατρέψει.

Αξιοσημείωτο είναι ότι το κεντρικό πρόβλημα που απασχολεί τον Horkheimer είναι το πρόβλημα της αδυναμίας εντοπισμού ενός φορέα της κοινωνικής αλλαγής, πράγμα που έχει ως συνέπεια τη δυσχέρεια συγκρότησης της ίδιας της κριτικής θεωρίας. Η θεωρία δεν μπορεί πλέον να εκκινήσει από την παραδοχή ότι το προλεταριάτο από την ίδια του τη θέση έχει ορθή γνώση των «πραγματικών» συμφερόντων του και ότι η δημιουργική του δύναμη θα είναι μονοσήμαντα χειραφετητική. Για το λόγο αυτό έχει ιδιαίτερη σημασία η αναζήτηση αξιών από τη θεωρία που να μπορούν να θεμελιωθούν ανεξάρτητα από τη συμπεριφορά των μαζών. Τέτοιες αξίες είναι για τον Horkheimer αφ' ενός οι αξίες του αστικού πολιτισμού (ελευθερία, ισότητα, δικαιοσύνη), αφ' ετέρου σοσιαλιστικές αξίες ανακατασκευάσιμες βάσει της μαρξικής κριτικής της πολιτικής οικονομίας. Η μαρξική κριτική κατενόησε την αστική κοινωνικοποίηση ως διαδικασία άρσης, ακύρωσης και αλλοίωσης του δυναμικού συνεργατικότητας και αλληλεγγύης των μελών της κοινωνίας.

Ο Horkheimer αναγνωρίζει την αξία της διαλεκτικής σχέσης μερικού-γενικού και αναλύει στο έργο του «Το πρόβλημα της αλήθειας» τη χεγκελιανή διαλεκτική. Δεν συμφωνεί με τη χεγκελιανή διαλεκτική σκέψη καθώς αυτή δημιουργεί σύστημα καθαρών εννοιών. Αναφέρεται στον όρο υλιστική διαλεκτική των «ανοικτών ορίων», η οποία δεν θεωρεί το «έλλογο» ως πλήρες σε κανένα σημείο μέσα στην ιστορία και δεν αναμένει να επιλύσει τις αντινομίες, που αναπτύσσονται σ' αυτό, μέσω της πλήρους ανάπτυξης καθαρών ιδεών και των απλών συνεπειών τους. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, σε μια ιστορική περίοδο σε μια ελεύθερη κοινωνία, στην οποία τα





άτομα αναπτύσσονται ελεύθερα, εμφανίζεται πλήθος αντινομιών. Η επίλυση των αντινομιών γίνεται «μέσω της έννοιας μιας διαφορισμένης ανώτερης μορφής ελευθερίας» (Horkheimer, 1989: 50). Η μορφή αυτή ελευθερίας βοηθά στο ξεπέρασμα των αντινομιών αλλά δεν συμπίπτει με αυτό. Ούτως ή άλλως ο Horkheimer και η σχολή της Φρανκφούρτης είναι αντίθετοι με την στατική θεώρηση των όρων της πραγματικότητας, με τον περιορισμό τους στα όρια του έλλογου στοιχείου. Η ελευθερία που προτείνουν ουσιαστικά είναι ελευθερία από το έλλογο στοιχείο. Το πρόβλημα είναι ότι η μελλοντική κατάσταση στο έργο τους εμφανίζει απροσδιοριστία, καθώς δεν προτείνεται ένα πιο συγκεκριμένο σχέδιο.

Η Κριτική θεωρία αναγνωρίζει και η ίδια τη μερικότητά της. Αναγνωρίζει επίσης την ανάγκη ενός σκοπού που θα ενισχύσει τη δράση των συνειδητών ατόμων στην κατεύθυνση της χειραφέτησης. Κατά τη γνώμη μας, η απάντηση βρίσκεται κάπου ανάμεσα στις γραμμές των έργων του Μαρξ-Έγκελς, οι οποίοι λαμβάνοντας υπόψη τη διαλεκτική σχέση μερικού-γενικού, ατόμου-κοινωνικού συνόλου θέτουν συγκεκριμένα το σκοπό της χειραφέτησης: την κομμουνιστική κοινωνία όπως αυτή σχηματίζεται με πραγματικούς όρους της κάθε ιστορικής εποχής.

Οι Μαρξ-Έγκελς στη «Γερμανική Ιδεολογία» αναφέρονται στο δρων υποκείμενο της ιστορίας που είναι οι πραγματικοί άνθρωποι, έτσι όπως καθορίζονται από μια ορισμένη ανάπτυξη των παραγωγικών τους δυνάμεων και της επικοινωνίας που αντιστοιχεί σ' αυτές μέχρι τις πιο πλατιές μορφές της. Η συνείδηση δεν μπορεί να είναι ποτέ οτιδήποτε άλλο από συνειδητή ύπαρξη και η ύπαρξη των ανθρώπων είναι η πραγματική διαδικασία της ζωής τους (Egels & Marx, 1997: 67). Πάνω σ' αυτή τη διαδικασία αναπτύσσονται ιδεολογικές αντανακλάσεις και απηχήσεις. Η ηθική, η θρησκεία, όλη η ιδεολογία και οι αντίστοιχες μορφές συνείδησης δεν διατηρούν, κατά τους συγγραφείς, την όψη της αυτονομίας. Η συνείδηση των συγκεκριμένων ατόμων καθορίζεται από τους όρους της ζωής τους. Έτσι και η απελευθέρωσή τους θα συμβεί με πραγματικούς όρους.

Οι πραγματικοί-ιστορικοί όροι ενώνουν τα πραγματικά άτομα σε τάξεις ανάλογα με τα συμφέροντά τους τα οικονομικά και όχι μόνο. Στην προκειμένη περίπτωση μας ενδιαφέρει η τάξη που έχει συμφέρον να χειραφετηθεί, δηλαδή, η εργατική τάξη. Επιθυμεί να καταργηθεί η παλιά μορφή κοινωνικής οργάνωσης που την καθιστά εξουσιαζόμενη και να αναλάβει την εξουσία προς το συμφέρον όλης της κοινωνίας. Αυτή η επιθυμία παραμένει μια ευχή διότι το ιδιωτικό συμφέρον πολλές φορές συγκρούεται με το ατομικό. Όσο παραμένουν οι άνθρωποι στην κατάσταση της φυσικής κοινωνίας, δηλαδή όσο υπάρχει το σχίσμα ανάμεσα στο ιδιωτικό και στο κοινό συμφέρον και ο καταμερισμός εργασίας δε γίνεται εθελοντικά τόσο η πράξη του ανθρώπου γίνεται μια ξένη δύναμη που εντέλει τον υποδουλώνει σ' αυτόν που ορίζει τον καταμερισμό. Άρα η ελευθερία, γίνεται ελευθερία αυτού που έχει τη διαχείριση της οργάνωσης της εργασίας.

Ο στόχος της απελευθέρωσης ολόκληρης της κοινωνίας ικανοποιεί και το στόχο της απελευθέρωσης κάθε ατόμου ξεχωριστά. Αφού κατά τους Marx & Egels, μπορεί να αποδειχτεί εμπειρικά ότι η παγκόσμια αγορά υποδουλώνει με τους μηχανισμούς



της όλους τους ανθρώπους της εκμεταλλεόμενης τάξης, τότε η επαναστατική διαδικασία της απελευθέρωσης θα απελευθερώσει όλα τα άτομα της τάξης και των εκμεταλλεόμενων στρωμάτων. Η επαναστατική διαδικασία προϋποθέτει την παραγωγή σε μαζική κλίμακα της κομμουνιστικής συνείδησης (συνείδηση, θα την έλεγαν οι της Φρανκφούρτης), δηλαδή η αλλαγή των ανθρώπων σε μαζική κλίμακα, μια αλλαγή που μπορεί να γίνει μονάχα με ένα πρακτικό κίνημα, με μια επανάσταση (Egels & Marx, 1997: 87). Η κοινωνική αλλαγή που θα θεμελιώσει εξ αρχής την κοινωνία ενοποιεί το μερικό με το γενικό, το άτομο με το σύνολο.

Εξ αυτού προκύπτει το πραγματικό ερώτημα της ανάλυσης των ιστορικών πραγματικών όρων υπό τους οποίους θα γίνει αυτό. Αυτό είναι το ιδεολογικό στοίχημα της εποχής μας, με το οποίο δεν πρέπει να ασχοληθεί μόνο ο θεωρητικός, όπως λένε οι της Φρανκφούρτης αλλά το σύνολο της τάξης που την αφορά.

### Συμπεράσματα

Η αντίθεση ανάμεσα στο γενικό και στο μερικό προβάλλει το ίδιο σημαντική και στο πεδίο της γνώσης. Η αντίθεση ανάμεσα στην καθολική γνώση και την σχετική-εμπειρική, ανάμεσα στην καθολική αλήθεια και τις επιμέρους αλήθειες υπάρχει στη σκέψη των φιλοσόφων από τον Kant ως τον Hegel και τον Marx. Οι φιλόσοφοι της Φρανκφούρτης θέτουν το ερώτημα χωρίς να το απαντούν ευθέως αν και φαίνεται ότι υιοθετούν το ξεπέραςμα του διλήμματος με τη βοήθεια της διαλεκτικής (Horkheimer, 1989: 50). Ιδιαίτερα αναφέρεται στην «υλιστική διαλεκτική των ανοικτών ορίων», η οποία δεν θεωρεί το «έλλογο» ως πλήρες και δεν προσδοκά να λύσει τις αντινομίες μέσω της πλήρους ανάπτυξης καθαρών ιδεών και των απλών συνεπειών τους.

Λύση στην αντίθεση βρίσκουμε στον Egels (Egels, 1963: 130-146) στην ανάλυσή του για τη διαλεκτική και συγκεκριμένα για «την άρνηση της άρνησης» (Egels, 1963: 193-213). Ο Egels αναφερόμενος σε όλα σχεδόν τα πεδία της ανθρώπινης γνώσης υποστηρίζει ότι καμία καθολική αλήθεια δεν μπορεί να σταθεί αποκομμένη από την ιστορική συγκυρία που την ορίζει. Σε κάθε νέα ιστορική στιγμή η αλήθεια αμφισβητείται από νέα δεδομένα και έτσι η ανθρώπινη γνώση προχωρεί διαρκώς. Όλη η πορεία των επιτευγμάτων της ανθρώπινης δραστηριότητας αποδεικνύει ότι κάθε νέο αρνείται το παλιό και αυτό με τη σειρά του ξεπερνιέται από το επόμενο.

Σύμφωνα με τα παραπάνω δεν υπάρχει καθολική αμετακίνητη γνώση ούτε αιώνιες αλήθειες αλλά η γνωσιακή διαδικασία διέπεται από τους νόμους της διαλεκτικής που αποδεικνύεται ότι την κινούν συνέχεια ως το διηνεκές. Ούτε η γνώση όπως προσλαμβάνεται από κάθε άτομο ξεχωριστά συνιστά απόλυτη αλήθεια αλλά όπως προσδιορίζεται από τις κοινωνικοοικονομικές συνθήκες της συγκεκριμένης ιστορικής στιγμής. Σταθεροί είναι οι μόνο νόμοι που διέπουν την εξέλιξη της γνώσης και αυτούς χρειάζεται πρωταρχικά να έχει υπόψη του κάθε άνθρωπος στην προσπάθειά του να μάθει δημιουργικά, διεισδύοντας στα πράγματα του κόσμου.



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## Η αντίφαση της παιδαγωγικής σχέσης και η ενίσχυση της χειραφετικής της πλευράς

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### Περίληψη

*Η παιδαγωγική σχέση αφενός προϋποθέτει την ανισότητα μεταξύ δασκάλου και μαθητή, αφετέρου στοχεύει στην επίτευξη της αυτονομίας του μαθητή, στην ανεξαρτητοποίησή του από τον δάσκαλο και την υπέρβαση του δεύτερου. Πρόκειται για την αντίφαση της παιδαγωγικής σχέσης, την οποία είναι σημαντικό ο δάσκαλος να λαμβάνει υπόψη σε κάθε ενέργειά. Όταν συμβαίνει αυτό και όταν καταβάλλει την απαραίτητη προσπάθεια, ώστε να ενισχύει το δεύτερο σκέλος της αντίφασης, δηλαδή την επίτευξη της αυτονομίας, τότε η παιδαγωγική σχέση μπορεί να έχει χειραφετικό χαρακτήρα, παρά την εξάρτηση που προϋποθέτει.*

*Μέσα από την εξέταση της παιδαγωγικής σχέσης ως τρόπου προσέγγισης της γνώσης και ως τρόπου επικοινωνίας - σε συνάρτηση με την αντίφαση που τη χαρακτηρίζει - θα προσπαθήσω να παρουσιάσω τα περιθώρια που δημιουργούνται στα πλαίσια της παιδαγωγικής σχέσης και του εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος και πώς μπορεί ο δάσκαλος, εκμεταλλευόμενος αυτά τα περιθώρια, να συμβάλει στη χειραφέτηση των μαθητών του.*

### Λέξεις κλειδιά

Παιδαγωγική σχέση, Αντίφαση, Χειραφέτηση, Μάθηση, Κοινωνική αλλαγή

### Εισαγωγή

Ήδη από την αρχαιότητα, η σχέση δασκάλου μαθητή αποτέλεσε αντικείμενο συζήτησης. Η παιδαγωγική σχέση, όπως συνηθίζουμε να την αποκαλούμε, θεωρείται αναπόσπαστο κομμάτι της παιδαγωγικής διαδικασίας, διότι αν δεν υπάρχει αυτή, τότε δεν υπάρχει παιδαγωγική διαδικασία. Η παιδαγωγική σχέση συνίσταται σε αυτό ακριβώς το στοιχείο: στην αλληλεπίδραση δασκάλου-μαθητή προς επίτευξη ορισμένων στόχων.

Θεωρώ ότι ενασχόληση με το ζήτημα της παιδαγωγικής σχέσης εξακολουθεί να αποτελεί επιτακτική ανάγκη. Κάθε υποκείμενο, οι ανάγκες του οποίου δεν μπορούν να ικανοποιηθούν εντός των πλαισίων των κυρίαρχων κοινωνικών σχέσεων, χρειάζεται την κατάλληλη συνειδητοποίηση, ώστε να ανιχνεύει τρόπους για να συμβάλει στην αλλαγή τους. Όσον αφορά τους εκπαιδευτικούς θεωρώ αναγκαίο να αποφεύγουν δυο ακραίες και άγονες καταστάσεις. Αφενός, να μην εφησυχάζουν, σκεπτόμενοι ότι η εκπαίδευση δεν μπορεί να συμβάλει στην αλλαγή της κοινωνίας και έτσι να υιοθετούν μια τάση δήθεν ουδετερότητας, προσδίδοντας τεχνοκρατικό χαρακτήρα στην παιδαγωγική πράξη· αφετέρου, να μη διακατέχονται από την ψευδαισθηση ότι μέσα από τη θέση τους μπορούν να αλλάξουν τον κόσμο, κάτι που επίσης είναι επιζήμιο, καθώς δε λαμβάνουν υπόψη τη σχέση του εκπαιδευτικού



συστήματος με την κοινωνική δομή εντός της οποίας υπάρχει. Είναι σημαντικό να είναι συνειδητοποιημένοι τόσο σχετικά με τη σημασία της θέσης τους – δεδομένου ότι συναναστρέφονται με παιδιά και νέους –, όσο και με τα περιθώρια δράσης που διαθέτουν στο χώρο εργασίας τους στην κατεύθυνση της κριτικής θεώρησης του κόσμου.

Η παρούσα εργασία θα επιχειρήσει να σκιαγραφήσει τους τρόπους με τους οποίους, οι δάσκαλοι και οι δασκάλες μπορούν να διαμορφώσουν με τέτοιο τρόπο τη σχέση με τους μαθητές και τις μαθήτριές τους, προκειμένου να συμβάλουν μέσα από αυτήν, στην κοινωνική αλλαγή. Βαθύτερη αφετηρία της εργασίας αποτελεί η πεποίθηση ότι η ανάγκη και η επιδίωξη αλλαγής της κοινωνικής πραγματικότητας συνάπτεται με την επίμονη διερεύνηση των δυνατοτήτων και των τρόπων με τους οποίους μπορούμε να αλλάξουμε την κοινωνία στην κατεύθυνση ενός κόσμου συντροφικών και αλληλέγγυων σχέσεων.

### **Η αντίφαση της παιδαγωγικής σχέσης**

Εξετάζοντας τα ζητήματα που αφορούν την παιδαγωγική σχέση δεν μπορούμε παρά να εντοπίσουμε την αντίφαση που αυτή εμπεριέχει. Αφενός, συνειδητοποιούμε ότι ως σχέση χαρακτηρίζεται, σε ένα αρχικό στάδιο, από ανισότητα ανάμεσα στα μέλη της. Από τη μια πλευρά δηλαδή έχουμε μια προσωπικότητα ώριμη, με γνώσεις γενικές αλλά και ειδικές που αφορούν το αντικείμενο της παιδαγωγικής – τον δάσκαλο – και από την άλλη προσωπικότητες ανώριμες και ασταθείς που βρίσκονται στα αρχικά στάδια της ανάπτυξής τους, δηλαδή τους μαθητές και τις μαθήτριες. Αφετέρου, πρόκειται για μια σχέση η οποία στοχεύει στην αυτονομία της δεύτερης πλευράς, στο να καταστήσει δηλαδή το μαθητή και τη μαθήτρια ανεξάρτητους από το δάσκαλο ή τη δασκάλα τους. Με άλλα λόγια παρ’ όλο που ο δάσκαλος παρουσιάζεται στα πλαίσια αυτής της σχέσης ως αυθεντία, παράλληλα τίθεται ως πρώτιστος στόχος η αυτονομία του μαθητή. Παρακάτω θα εξεταστεί, με σύντομο τρόπο, το περιεχόμενο της έννοιας της αυθεντίας και πώς μπορεί να συνδεθεί αυτή η έννοια με την ανεξαρτητοποίηση του ατόμου, εν προκειμένω του μαθητή.

### **Το ζήτημα της αυθεντίας**

Συχνά στο παρελθόν αλλά ακόμα και στις μέρες μας, η παιδαγωγική σχέση εκδηλώνεται ως σχέσης καταπίεσης (Φρέιρε, 1977: 54· Μοντεσσόρι, 1986: 22· Κοσμόπουλος, Μουλαλούδης, 2003: 104-7). Η δασκάλα ως εκπρόσωπος της κοινωνίας και μέσα από τη θέση της αυθεντίας που της δίνεται ενσαρκώνει τις κυρίαρχες αξίες που είναι απαραίτητες για τη διαίωνιση της υπάρχουσας κοινωνικής δομής. Μπορούμε να πούμε ότι διαθέτει, κατά κάποιον τρόπο, το ρόλο ρυθμιστή του κοινωνικού ελέγχου στο χώρο του σχολείου (Postic, 1998: 49, 107). Ο Αραβανής τονίζει ότι στην περίπτωση του δασκάλου η αυθεντία παρουσιάζεται με δύο μορφές· η μια σχετίζεται με τις γενικές γνώσεις που κατέχει και τις γνώσεις





αναφορικά με το αντικείμενό του και η δεύτερη με την εξουσία, με την έννοια της «νόμιμης άσκησης δύναμης», όπου δύναμη σημαίνει «ικανότητα αποτελεσματικού καθορισμού της συμπεριφοράς των άλλων» (Αραβανής, 1999: 9).

Μπροστά στην παραπάνω συνθήκη, η οποία αποτελούσε εμπόδιο στην ανάπτυξη των μαθητών ως υπεύθυνα υποκείμενα, αναδύθηκαν ιδέες που αμφισβήτησαν εξ' ολοκλήρου την αναγκαιότητα ύπαρξης του δασκάλου και της δασκάλας στην παιδαγωγική διαδικασία. Θεωρητικοί όπως ο Rousseau, η Montessori, ο Rogers κ.ά. θεώρησαν τουλάχιστον επιβλαβή για το παιδί την παρουσία του δασκάλου στην παιδαγωγική διαδικασία και πρότειναν την αυθόρμητη και απρόσκοπτη ανάπτυξη του σύμφωνα με τις φυσικές του τάσεις (βλ. Montessori, 1986· Rousseau, 2001· Κοσμόπουλος, Μουλαλούδης, 2003).

Ο Αραβανής υποστηρίζει ότι γενικότερα μετά την κίνηση της αντιαυταρχικής αγωγής μέχρι και τις μέρες μας συνεχίζεται μια γενικευμένη κρίση και αμφισβήτηση της αυθεντίας των δασκάλων. Ουσιαστικά, αυτό που απορρίπτουν οι μαθητές δεν είναι η δασκάλα καθεαυτή, αλλά οι αυταρχικές συμπεριφορές εκ μέρους της δασκάλας. Αντιδρούν σε κάθε μορφή αυθεντίας που δεν είναι δυνατό να εξεταστεί με ορθολογικό τρόπο και να γίνει αποδεκτή συνειδητά από αυτούς (Αραβανής, 1999: 55). Αντιδρούν, δηλαδή, σε οτιδήποτε έρχεται να επιβληθεί σε αυτούς. Ο Αραβανής θεωρεί ότι η κρίση της αυθεντίας αποτελεί απόρροια της αδυναμίας του σχολείου να αναλάβει τις ευθύνες του και να εκπληρώσει την αποστολή του (Αραβανής, 1999: 58). Ωστόσο, το σχολείο ως θεσμός δε λειτουργεί αυτόβουλα και αυτόνομα. Διαμορφώνεται και χρησιμοποιείται σε συνάρτηση με τις ευρύτερες κοινωνικοοικονομικές πολιτικές, καθώς αποτελεί μέρος ενός κοινωνικοοικονομικού συστήματος. Οπότε κάνοντας λόγο για «αδυναμία του σχολείου», κατά κάποιο τρόπο οι ευθύνες αποδίδονται στο κενό. Η κρίση της αυθεντίας οφείλεται σε ποικίλους παράγοντες.

Η θέση που δίνεται στο δάσκαλο και τη δασκάλα και ο τρόπος δόμησης της εκπαίδευσης τους καθιστά υπαλλήλους με περιορισμένη ελευθερία κινήσεων. Η πίεση που τους ασκείται προς επίτευξη συγκεκριμένων και εξωγενώς προκαθορισμένων στόχων είναι ιδιαίτερα έντονη και επιζήμια τόσο για τους ίδιους ως υποκείμενα, όσο και για τη σχέση τους με τους μαθητές και τις μαθήτριές τους. Στα σημερινά εκπαιδευτικά πλαίσια, ο δάσκαλος και η δασκάλα δεν έχουν το χώρο και το χρόνο να προσεγγίσουν τις μαθήτριές τους, να τις γνωρίσουν, να αναπτύξουν σχέσεις εμπιστοσύνης μαζί τους και να ξεδιπλώσουν την προσωπικότητά τους. Εφόσον, δεν μπορούν να ενεργήσουν ως προσωπικότητες, είναι αδύνατο να λάβουν ειλικρινή σεβασμό εκ μέρους των μαθητών και των μαθητριών τους. Ένας σεβασμός που μπορεί να προκύψει μόνο αν γίνουν φανερές οι γνώσεις και οι ικανότητες που διαθέτουν. Επιπλέον, ο ίδιος ο δάσκαλος συχνά δεν αντιλαμβάνεται τη σπουδαιότητα του έργου του και το πόσο καλά προετοιμασμένος οφείλει να είναι για να αντεπεξέλθει σε αυτό. Οπότε, θεωρεί ότι οι σπουδές που έχει ολοκληρώσει επαρκούν και αμελεί την καλλιέργεια της προσωπικότητάς του. Επομένως, γίνεται φανερό ότι οι συνθήκες – εντατικοποίηση, τυποποίηση, κ.ά. - που επικρατούν στα



πλαίσια του καπιταλιστικού συστήματος, δεν επιτρέπουν στο δάσκαλο και τη δασκάλα να υπάρξουν ως ανεπτυγμένες προσωπικότητες στη σχέση τους με τους μαθητές και τις μαθήτριες. Μπορούμε να πούμε ότι η αμφισβήτηση της αυθεντίας του δασκάλου και της δασκάλας οφείλεται στο γεγονός ότι πλέον ούτε μπορούν να επιβληθούν στους μαθητές και τις μαθήτριες – κάτι τέτοιο θα ήταν απαράδεκτο – ούτε να αναγνωριστούν ελεύθερα από αυτούς και αυτές.

Για να υπάρξει η δασκάλα ως αυθεντία πρέπει να την αναγνωρίσει η άλλη πλευρά της παιδαγωγικής σχέσης ως τέτοια. Η αυθεντία δεν είναι κάτι που υπάρχει a priori, αλλά αναγνωρίζεται από τους ανθρώπους με ποικίλους τρόπους. Μπορεί είτε να επιβληθεί με τη βία, είτε να επιβληθεί με έμμεσους τρόπους, είτε να αναγνωριστεί με πραγματικά ελεύθερο τρόπο. Αυτό το τελευταίο βέβαια μπορεί να επιτευχθεί σε βάθος χρόνου, με προϋποθέσεις όπως την ανάπτυξη ικανοτήτων εκ μέρους των μαθητών όπως η λογική και η κριτική σκέψη και τη στάση ταπεινοφροσύνης εκ μέρους του δασκάλου. Ο δάσκαλος οφείλει να δέχεται την αμφισβήτηση από τους μαθητές του (Freire, 2006: 188) και να είναι πρόθυμος να επαναπραγματευτεί τις σκέψεις του μέσα από τις σκέψεις των μαθητών του (Φρέιρε, 1977: 89). Παρ' όλο δηλαδή που αναγνωρίζεται ως αυθεντία δεν μπορεί να καταχράται αυτή την ιδιότητά του, καθώς δεν είναι μόνιμη και σταθερή, αλλά πρόσκαιρη και πάντα υπό διαπραγμάτευση. Ανά πάσα στιγμή, εφόσον ξεπερνά τα όρια, μπορεί να τεθεί υπό αμφισβήτηση και να προκύψει ρήξη στη σχέση του με τους μαθητές του. Για το συγκεκριμένο ζήτημα καθίσταται κομβική η έννοια της ταπεινοφροσύνης, όπως τη χρησιμοποίησε ο Freire στο έργο του (Φρέιρε, 1977). Όταν ο δάσκαλος επιδεικνύει ταπεινοφροσύνη καλλιεργείται σταδιακά μια σχέση αμοιβαιότητας μεταξύ αυτού και των μαθητών του (Φρέιρε, 1977: 106), καθώς ο δάσκαλος αναγνωρίζεται ως αυθεντία – ως άτομο δηλαδή που διαθέτει κάποιες ιδιαίτερες γνώσεις και ικανότητες – αλλά δεν τίθεται στο «απυρόβλητο», δεν προκαλεί φόβο ή την αίσθηση ότι είναι ένα πρόσωπο ιερό και απρόσιτο. Ο σεβασμός που εκφράζεται εκ μέρους των μαθητών προέρχεται από την προσωπικότητά του (Αραβανής, 1999: 50) και όχι από την εξουσία που του παραχωρεί ο κρατικός οργανισμός. Αυτό που κάνουν οι δάσκαλοι είναι να θέτουν την «ηθική και πνευματική τους εξουσία» στην υπηρεσία των μαθητών και των μαθητριών τους (Postic, 1998: 108).

Συνεπώς, δεν απορρίπτω την ύπαρξη του δασκάλου ως αυθεντία, αρκεί να πληρούνται ορισμένες προϋποθέσεις. Πρώτον, αυτός δεν μπορεί να επιβάλλεται στους μαθητές και τις μαθήτριες, ούτε με έμμεσους ούτε με άμεσους τρόπους. Δεύτερον, οφείλει να έχει μια καλλιεργημένη, από όλες τις απόψεις, προσωπικότητα και άριστη γνώση του αντικειμένου του. Από αυτό προκύπτει και η τρίτη προϋπόθεση, το να είναι δηλαδή συνειδητή, εκ μέρους των μαθητών και των μαθητριών, η αναγνώρισή του ως αυθεντίας και να στηρίζεται στο σεβασμό που εμπνέει ως προσωπικότητα. Τέλος, ακόμα και όταν πρόκειται για μια ώριμη και καλλιεργημένη προσωπικότητα, τα περιθώρια αμφισβήτησής του θα πρέπει να είναι πάντα ανοιχτά. Επομένως, είναι απαραίτητη η επαναανοηματοδότηση αυτής



της έννοιας ή ενδεχομένως η εισήγηση μιας άλλης έννοιας που να ανταποκρίνεται καλύτερα στο νέο περιεχόμενο που δίνεται.

### Το ζήτημα της αυτονομίας των μαθητριών/μαθητών

Ο περιορισμός στην αναγνώριση και αποδοχή του δασκάλου ως αυθεντίας, χωρίς παράλληλα να τίθεται ως στόχος η αυτονομία του μαθητή και της μαθήτριας, θα οδηγούσε στην ανάπτυξη εξαρτημένων και άβουλων ατόμων. Παρ' όλο που η αρχική ανισότητα ανάμεσα στο μαθητή και το δάσκαλο και η εξάρτηση του πρώτου από τον δεύτερο είναι δεδομένη, η παιδαγωγική σχέση δεν μπορεί παρά να στοχεύει στο να δημιουργήσει χειραφετημένα και υπεύθυνα υποκείμενα. Σίγουρα όμως θα πρέπει να διασαφηνίσουμε το περιεχόμενο που δίνεται στην έννοια της ελευθερίας και της αυτονομίας του μαθητή, καθώς αυτό ποικίλει ανάμεσα στους θεωρητικούς.

Συχνά, η έννοια της ελευθερίας συνδέεται με την ανάληψη της ευθύνης της ανάπτυξης και της μάθησης από το ίδιο το υποκείμενο, κάτι που μπορεί να συμβεί αν του προσφέρουμε βοήθεια να ανακαλύψει και να καλλιεργήσει τις δυνάμεις που έχει (Ντιούι, 1926: 64-5·Μυλωνάκου-Κεκέ, 2003: 329). Ο Παπανούτσος υποστηρίζει ότι το παιδί πρέπει να περάσει από μια «αναγκαία αγωγή» σε μια «υπεύθυνη αγωγή» (Παπανούτσος, 1977: 80), όπου δε θα χρειάζεται να του επιβάλλεται και να του υποδεικνύεται τίποτα, επειδή το ίδιο θα έχει την ευθύνη αυτής. Ωστόσο, είναι αρκετοί εκείνοι οι θεωρητικοί που ταυτίζουν την ελευθερία με την παράδοση στις φυσικές τάσεις και δυνάμεις του παιδιού. Για παράδειγμα, ο Rousseau υποστηρίζει ότι τα παιδιά πρέπει να χρησιμοποιούν τις δυνάμεις που διαθέτουν από τη φύση τους και να περιορίζουν τις επιθυμίες τους ανάλογα με αυτές τις δυνάμεις, ενώ ταυτόχρονα καλλιεργούν τη δική τους λογική μέσα από την εμπειρική μάθηση (Rousseau, 2001: 51, 74, 81, 275). Για το ίδιο ζήτημα, ο L. Tolstoy υποστηρίζει ότι αν τα παιδιά αφεθούν ελεύθερα θα επιλέξουν τον καλύτερο και ικανοποιητικότερο τρόπο ζωής για αυτά (Σπρινγκ, 1987: 47). Η Montessori, αν και αναφέρεται στον έλεγχο που πρέπει να αποκτήσουν τα παιδιά στον εσωτερικό τους κόσμο, κάτι που επιτυγχάνεται μέσω της εκπαίδευσης (Μοντεσσόρι, 1986: 47-8), κυρίως τονίζει την επίγνωση και την υπακοή που πρέπει να αποκτήσει το παιδί στους νόμους των δυνάμεων που διαθέτει από τη φύση του (Μοντεσσόρι, 1986: 23, 35-6, 52, 54, 107). Κάτι που επισημαίνει και ο Stirner, υποστηρίζοντας ότι πρέπει να αφήνουμε τα παιδιά να υποτάσσονται στις ανάγκες και τις επιθυμίες τους (Σπρινγκ, 1987: 36). Τέλος, ο C. Rogers, από υπαρξιστική σκοπιά, θεωρεί ότι η ανάπτυξη του παιδιού τείνει προς την πλήρωση του έμφυτου δυναμικού του, αρκεί να υπάρχουν συνθήκες που ευνοούν κάτι τέτοιο. Θεωρεί ότι η ελευθερία συνεπάγεται την επιλογή της στάσης του καθενός σε οποιαδήποτε περίπτωση και ότι το παιδί ξέρει από μόνο του τι πρέπει να μάθει (Κοσμόπουλος, Μουλαλούδης, 2003: 34-6, 102).

Το ερώτημα που προκύπτει στο σημείο αυτό, είναι αν είναι πραγματικά ελεύθερη όποια κατευθύνεται αποκλειστικά και μόνο από τις ανάγκες και τις επιθυμίες της. Έτσι όπως τίθεται εδώ το ζήτημα, φαίνεται ότι οι ανάγκες και οι επιθυμίες είναι



αποκλειστικά ατομική υπόθεση. Δεν γίνεται λόγος για συλλογικές ανάγκες, καθώς αυτές θεωρούνται εξωτερικά επιβαλλόμενες. Είναι, επομένως, πραγματικά ελεύθερη όποια καθίσταται έρμαιο της φύσης της, όποια ζει σαν ζώο; Στην πραγματικότητα δεν είναι και τόσο ελεύθερη, καθώς δεν αποφασίζει η ίδια για τη δράση της με βάση την κρίση της, αλλά οι φυσικές της ανάγκες. Η ελευθερία δεν είναι κάτι που θεμελιώνεται μόνο σε ατομικό επίπεδο, αλλά προϋποθέτει και την ελευθερία των υπολοίπων. Ένα «αυτόνομο» άτομο που δρα με κύριο κριτήριο την ικανοποίηση των αναγκών και των επιθυμιών του μπορεί να συσχετιστεί με τους υπόλοιπους γύρω του μόνο με ωφελμιστικούς όρους, αδυνατώντας να αναπτύξει δεσμούς αλληλεγγύης. Όταν ο καθένας ενδιαφέρεται για τη δική του ωφέλεια, μπορεί εύκολα να καταπατήσει την ελευθερία των γύρω του για να ωφεληθεί ο ίδιος. Σε μια κοινωνία αποτελούμενη από άτομα που λειτουργούν με το συγκεκριμένο τρόπο, αργά ή γρήγορα, το κάθε άτομο θα στερηθεί την ελευθερία του.

Όταν ένα παιδί αφήνεται εντελώς ελεύθερο, στην κυριολεξία έρμαιο των φυσικών του αναγκών και των ατομικών του επιθυμιών, δεν μπορούμε να κάνουμε λόγο για διαπαιδαγώγηση (Αραβανής, 1999: 44). Στόχος της διαπαιδαγώγησης πρέπει να είναι η βοήθεια προς τα παιδιά όχι να απαλλαγούν, αλλά να γίνουν ικανά να ελέγξουν τις εσωτερικές ανάγκες και επιθυμίες τους (Παυλίδης, 2007: 59). Να αναπτύξουν, δηλαδή, βούληση με βάση την οποία θα επιλέγουν σε ποιες από αυτές θα ανταποκριθούν με κριτήρια που δεν είναι στενά ωφελμιστικά και ατομικά, αλλά διαθέτουν και συλλογική διάσταση. Έτσι, καλλιεργούν την αυτορρύθμιση, η οποία προέρχεται από το ίδιο το άτομο και τη συλλογική συνείδηση που διαθέτει και δεν είναι ετερόνομη όπως η εξωτερική πειθαρχία (Αραβανής, 1999: 44, 52). Είναι σημαντικό, επομένως, να μη συγχέουμε την αυτονομία με την πλήρη υποταγή της μαθήτριας στις φυσικές της ανάγκες και τις προσωπικές της επιθυμίες. Η αυτονομία αποκτά πληρέστερο νόημα, όταν συνεπάγεται το συνειδητό έλεγχο του υποκειμένου τόσο πάνω στην ανάπτυξή του όσο και πάνω σε αυτές τις δυνάμεις.

Επιπλέον, η αυτονομία του μαθητή, εκτός από τον έλεγχο των φυσικών αναγκών και επιθυμιών του και την ανάληψη της ευθύνης της μάθησης και της ανάπτυξής του, συνδέεται με την επίτευξη της κριτικής συνειδητοποίησης του, με το περιεχόμενο που έδωσε ο Freire σε αυτή την έννοια. Ο μαθητής καθίσταται ικανός να ελέγξει και να απορρίψει οτιδήποτε τον εξουσιάζει, είτε αυτό λέγεται θρησκεία, είτε λέγεται κράτος, είτε κυρίαρχη ιδεολογία. Η αυτονομία λαμβάνει την έννοια μιας κατάστασης, η οποία δεν είναι στατική, αλλά απαιτεί συνεχή κριτική εξέταση της πραγματικότητας και συνδέεται άμεσα με αυτή. Είναι μάλιστα μια κατάσταση, η οποία για να γίνει πράξη πρέπει να συνδυαστεί με αγώνα για αλλαγή των κοινωνικών συνθηκών που εμποδίζουν την ανάπτυξή της (βλ. Φρέιρε, 1977).

Για την επίτευξη του στόχου της αυτονομίας είναι σημαντικό να απουσιάζουν ορισμένα στοιχεία κατά την παιδαγωγική διαδικασία, τα οποία σχετίζονται με την κυρίαρχη μορφή της εκπαίδευσης. Για παράδειγμα, σύμφωνα με τον Tolstoy, όσο διατηρείται η παραδοσιακή σχέση ανάμεσα στο δάσκαλο και το μαθητή – δηλαδή



μια σχέση με έντονα εξουσιαστικά χαρακτηριστικά και ένα πρόγραμμα προσχεδιασμένο, τυποποιημένο και μη ανταποκρινόμενο στην εκάστοτε παιδαγωγική περίπτωση – δεν είναι δυνατό να αναλάβουν οι μαθητές τον έλεγχο της ανάπτυξης και της δράσης τους (Σπρινγκ, 1987: 47). Όταν έρχονται συνεχώς αντιμέτωποι με αποφάσεις που έχουν ήδη παρθεί από άλλους για εκείνους, δεν μπορούν να ξεφύγουν από την αρχική κατάσταση εξάρτησης στην οποία βρίσκονται. Η Montessori υποστηρίζει ότι η εκπαίδευση στην επικρατούσα μορφή της είναι «τυραννική και απολυταρχική» και προσανατολίζεται κυρίως στη μετάδοση πληροφοριών. Πρόκειται για ένα εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα που υποχρεώνει το παιδί να συμμορφωθεί, χωρίς να λαμβάνει υπόψη τις ανάγκες και τις ιδιαιτερότητές του. Έτσι, δημιουργείται μια μη-ολοκληρωμένη προσωπικότητα, που χαρακτηρίζεται από μιζέρια και δουλικότητα (Μοντεσσόρι, 1986: 22, 25-6, 125). Και ο Dewey ασκεί κριτική στην παραδοσιακή εκπαίδευση υποστηρίζοντας ότι καλλιεργεί παθητική στάση στους μαθητές και τις μαθήτριες, προκαλεί μηχανιστική μαζικοποίησή τους και παρουσιάζει μονολιθικότητα στην ύλη και τις μεθόδους (Ντιούι, 1982: 36).

### **Αυθεντία και αυτονομία**

Στο σημείο αυτό θα εξετάσουμε πώς μπορεί η ύπαρξη του δασκάλου ως αυθεντία στην παιδαγωγική σχέση να οδηγήσει στην αυτονομία του μαθητή. Η αυθεντία του δασκάλου σχετίζεται πρώτα απ’ όλα με την ειδικευση που διαθέτει και τη μεθοδικότητα που μπορεί να επιδείξει σχετικά με το παιδαγωγικό έργο (Αραβανής, 1999: 21). Είναι αυτός που γνωρίζει πώς να οργανώσει με κατάλληλο τρόπο την παιδαγωγική διαδικασία. Δεδομένης της ανωριμότητας των μαθητών δε θα μπορούσαν να αναλάβουν οι ίδιοι εξ ολοκλήρου το έργο της οργάνωσης της παιδαγωγικής διαδικασίας (Παπανούτσος, 1977: 177· Αραβανής, 1999: 52, 64). Ιδιαίτερα στα αρχικά στάδια χρειάζονται κάποιον να τους στηρίξει και να τους βοηθήσει, γι’ αυτό και η αυθεντία του δασκάλου ή της δασκάλας πρέπει να λειτουργεί ως μέσο στήριξης και καθοδήγησης των μαθητών, όπου δυσκολεύονται (Αραβανής, 1999: 52). Μπορεί να δείχνει έναν τρόπο και έπειτα να αφήνει ελεύθερους τους μαθητές να πειραματιστούν (Μοντεσσόρι, 1986: 90), ώστε να μπορούν σταδιακά να αναλαμβάνουν οι ίδιοι την ευθύνη της μαθησιακής διαδικασίας.

Παράλληλα, θεωρείται ότι ο δάσκαλος και η δασκάλα διαπαιδαγωγούν σε μεγάλο βαθμό μέσω του περιβάλλοντος και όχι απευθείας (Ντιούι, 1926: 115-6· Ντιούι, 1982: 39· Μοντεσσόρι, 1986· Αραβανής, 1999: 12· Μυλωνάκου-Κεκέ, 2003: 333). Επομένως, ένα ακόμα στοιχείο που στηρίζει την αναγκαιότητα ύπαρξής τους ως αυθεντίες είναι ότι εκείνοι γνωρίζουν τον τρόπο να επικοινωνήσουν με τους μαθητές και τις μαθήτριές τους, να συμβάλουν στην νοητική και ηθική τους καλλιέργεια μέσα από τη διαμόρφωση του περιβάλλοντος.

Επιπλέον, η δασκάλα είναι αυτή που μπορεί να καλλιεργήσει ένα κλίμα στο οποίο τα παιδιά θα νιώθουν ελεύθερα, έχοντας την ευκαιρία να εκφραστούν, να





δημιουργήσουν, να συνεργαστούν (Αραβανής, 1999: 29). Εάν χρησιμοποιεί με κατάλληλο τρόπο την αυθεντία της, τότε μπορεί να δημιουργηθεί ένα τέτοιο κλίμα. Σε αυτά τα πλαίσια, η αυθεντία της γίνεται μέσο ψυχολογικής υποστήριξης των μαθητών και των μαθητριών και μπορεί να έχει την ευεργετική επίδραση που υποστηρίζεται ότι έχει στην ανάπτυξη της παιδικής προσωπικότητας (Αραβανής, 1999: 24, 52).

Τα παραπάνω που αναλαμβάνουν οι εκπαιδευτικοί - η οργάνωση, η παρουσίαση μεθόδου εργασίας, η διαμόρφωση κατάλληλου κλίματος, η επικοινωνία - στοχεύουν στην αυτονομία των μαθητών και των μαθητριών. Αποτελούν στοιχεία απαραίτητα, που βοηθούν τους μαθητές και τις μαθήτριες να αναλάβουν την ευθύνη της μαθησιακής τους διαδικασίας στο μέλλον. Μπορούμε να εξετάσουμε ακόμα πιο συγκεκριμένα τα στοιχεία που καθιστούν απαραίτητη την ύπαρξη του δασκάλου και τα οποία σχετίζονται με τη γνωστική ανάπτυξη των μαθητών.

### Η διαδικασία της κοινωνικοποίησης

Ο άνθρωπος έρχεται στον κόσμο ουσιαστικά χωρίς κάποιο «εξοπλισμό» για να αντιμετωπίσει τους κινδύνους του περιβάλλοντος, δηλαδή χωρίς φυσικά μέσα που θα τον ενισχύσουν στον αγώνα για επιβίωση. Επιπλέον, τα ένστικτά του, τα οποία θα μπορούσαν να του «υπαγορεύσουν» ένα πρόγραμμα για τη ζωή του, έχουν εξασθενήσει κατά την πορεία της ανθρωπογένεσης. Η υποχώρησή τους γίνεται φανερή καθώς αφενός υπάρχουν φυσικές ανάγκες, οι οποίες εκδηλώνονται στον ψυχισμό του ανθρώπου, αφετέρου εκλείπουν τα έμφυτα προγράμματα ικανοποίησής τους. Οπότε τα μικρά του ανθρώπου γεννιούνται κατά κάποιο τρόπο αβοήθητα σε σχέση με τα μικρά των υπολοίπων ζώων και επιπλέον σε ένα ιδιαίτερα σύνθετο και συνεχώς μεταβαλλόμενο περιβάλλον. Ο ατελής χαρακτήρας του ανθρώπου σε συνδυασμό με το μεταβλητό και πολυσύνθετο χαρακτήρα της πραγματικότητας, είναι ένας από τους λόγους που καθιστούν αναγκαία την παιδεία. Η παιδαγωγική διάθεση, με την έννοια της τάσης των ενηλίκων να διαπαιδαγωγούν τους μικρότερους, παρατηρείται και στα ζώα, τουλάχιστον στα ανώτερα θηλαστικά (Παπανούτσος, 1977: 105-6). Τα ζώα που διαθέτουν αναπτυγμένη ικανότητα μνήμης - κάτι που καθιστά δυνατή τη μετάδοση εμπειρίας - παρουσιάζουν στις αλληλεπιδράσεις τους στοιχεία αγωγής. Έτσι, τα μικρά κατακτούν ορισμένες δεξιότητες με τη βοήθεια των γονιών τους και ιδιαίτερα της μητέρας τους. Ωστόσο, αυτό δε σημαίνει ότι αν αφεθούν μόνα τους, δε θα καταφέρουν να αναπτύξουν τις γενικές ιδιότητες του είδους τους. Στον άνθρωπο δεν συμβαίνει το ίδιο. Εάν δεχθούμε ότι ο άνθρωπος είναι κοινωνικό ον, οι δεξιότητες που χαρακτηρίζουμε «κοινωνικές» και είναι χαρακτηριστικές του είδους του, δε θα μπορούσαν να αναπτυχθούν εάν αφηνόταν μακριά από τα κοινωνικά πλαίσια και χωρίς τη βοήθεια άλλων ανθρώπων, διότι αποτελούν αποτέλεσμα της κοινωνικής συνύπαρξης μεταξύ των ανθρώπων. Το γεγονός αυτό σηματοδοτεί ότι εάν θέλουμε ένα ανθρώπινο ον να είναι ικανό να ζήσει ως άνθρωπος εντός της κοινωνίας, συμβιώνοντας με άλλους ανθρώπους, η παιδαγωγία γίνεται απαραίτητη προϋπόθεση. Πολύ περισσότερο



όταν αυτό το περιβάλλον μεταβάλλεται συνεχώς, οπότε δεν αρκεί η μετάδοση ορισμένων γνώσεων, αλλά είναι απαραίτητη η καλλιέργεια ανώτερων διανοητικών ικανοτήτων, ώστε να καταστεί το διαπαιδαγωγούμενο υποκείμενο ικανό να προσαρμόζεται, αλλά πολύ περισσότερο να επεμβαίνει και να διαμορφώνει το περιβάλλον στο οποίο ζει. Μπορούμε να πούμε ότι η εκπαίδευση καθιστά το άτομο ικανό να ξεπεράσει τα φυσικά του όρια (Μοντεσσόρι, 1986: 116).

Η έννοια που εμπερικλείει τις διαδικασίες κατά τις οποίες ο άνθρωπος αναπτύσσει τα κοινωνικά του χαρακτηριστικά και εντάσσεται στην κοινωνία, είναι αυτή της κοινωνικοποίησης. Οι διαδικασίες κοινωνικοποίησης άλλες φορές είναι οργανωμένες, ενώ άλλες φορές αυθόρμητες. Η παιδαγωγία συνιστά κοινωνικοποιητική διαδικασία πρώτιστα με συνειδητό και οργανωμένο τρόπο, χωρίς ωστόσο αυτό να σημαίνει ότι αποκλείεται και η αυθόρμητη κοινωνικοποιητική της διάσταση. Θεωρείται, λοιπόν, ότι η παιδαγωγική σχέση είναι απαραίτητη, διότι μέσω αυτής μεταβιβάζονται από την παλαιά στη νέα γενιά, όχι μόνο γνώσεις, αλλά και αξίες, τρόποι συμπεριφοράς, ιδέες (Αραβανής, 1999: 64· Μυλωνάκου-Κεκέ, 2003: 325-6)· με τα λόγια του Dewey, το σχολείο μέσα από την παιδαγωγική διαδικασία «θέτει στη διάθεση των νέων όσα πέτυχε η κοινωνία» (Ντιούι, 1982: 12).

Προκειμένου να αποφύγουμε μια μονόδρομη αντίληψη της κοινωνικοποιητικής διάστασης της παιδαγωγικής σχέσης, όπως για παράδειγμα έχει περιγραφεί στα πλαίσια της δομολειτουργιστικής προσέγγισης (βλ. Blackledge, Hunt, 1995), είναι σημαντικό να λάβουμε υπόψη ότι στα πλαίσια της συναντούνται οι γενιές και εκτυλίσσεται μια διαδικασία ανταλλαγής (Postic, 1998: 87). Ορισμένες από τις αξίες της παλαιάς γενιάς επιλέγονται για να μεταβιβαστούν στην επόμενη. Μπορούμε να ονομάσουμε αυτές τις αξίες «κυρίαρχες», καθώς είναι αυτές που επικρατούν έναντι άλλων αξιών. Από την άλλη, η νέα γενιά έρχεται σε επαφή με αυτές τις αξίες σε κάθε πτυχή της καθημερινότητάς της. Η νέα γενιά αναπτύσσει τη δική της κουλτούρα, η οποία κάπου συνδέεται και κάπου αντιτίθεται με εκείνη της παλαιάς. Όπως η παλαιά έτσι και η νέα γενιά δεν χαρακτηρίζεται από ομοιομορφία· άλλα από τα μέρη της εμφανίζονται συμβιβασμένα με αυτό που τους δίνεται, άλλα του ασκούν κριτική, αλλά δεν το απορρίπτουν στην πράξη, ενώ άλλα είναι τόσο δυσαρεστημένα με το υπάρχον που αφιερώνουν τη ζωή τους στον αγώνα για την αλλαγή του.

Μπορούμε εύκολα να καταλάβουμε ότι κατά τη διαδικασία της κοινωνικοποίησης, ενδέχεται η παλαιά γενιά να επιδεικνύει τάσεις επιβολής προς τη νέα. Ωστόσο, αυτό δεν μπορεί να οδηγήσει απλά στην απόρριψη της αναγκαιότητας αυτής της συνάντησης.

Η αναγκαιότητα της παιδαγωγικής σχέσης ως οργανωμένης κοινωνικοποιητικής διαδικασίας ενισχύεται και από την παράμετρο της εξοικονόμησης δυνάμεων και χρόνου (Παπανούτσος, 1977:178· Παναγιώτου, 1982: 173). Αν τα παιδιά αφεθούν εντελώς ελεύθερα και μόνα κατά τη γνωστική και την ευρύτερα διανοητική τους ανάπτυξη, καλούνται να διανύσουν μια πορεία που κάλυψε η ανθρωπότητα σε



διάρκεια χιλιάδων χρόνων. Σε μία υποθετική κατάσταση όπου θα αφήνονταν ελεύθερα και θα τους δινόταν απεριόριστος χρόνος να ανακαλύψουν και να μάθουν οτιδήποτε επιθυμούν, τότε είναι πολύ πιθανόν να μη σημειωνόταν παρά ελάχιστη πνευματική πρόοδος. Αντίθετα, αν τα παιδιά διδαχθούν με συστηματικό τρόπο όσα μας είναι ήδη γνωστά - σίγουρα όχι το σύνολό τους, αλλά ένα μέρος αυτών - και τον τρόπο ώστε να αποκτήσουν σταδιακά έλεγχο της μαθησιακής τους διαδικασίας, τότε θα είναι σε θέση να πάνε ένα βήμα παραπάνω, να τα εξελίσουν, να τα εμπλουτίσουν ή να τα απορρίψουν.

Είναι απαραίτητη η συμβολή των ενηλίκων σε αυτή τη διαδικασία, αν θέλουμε να σώσουμε χρόνο και δυνάμεις για την περαιτέρω πνευματική πρόοδο της ανθρωπότητας. Η γνώση που έχει αποκτήσει η ανθρωπότητα όποια μορφή και αν έχει, είναι η βάση την οποία χρειάζονται οι μαθητές και οι μαθήτριες για να εξελιχθούν γρηγορότερα ως προσωπικότητες. Αδιαμφισβήτητα, είναι απαραίτητα τα περιθώρια για εκδήλωση της αυθόρμητης περιέργειας και της δημιουργικότητας των παιδιών. Ωστόσο, την ίδια στιγμή είναι απαραίτητη η ύπαρξη κάποιου που θα συστηματοποιήσει τη διαδικασία της μάθησης και θα την οργανώσει κατάλληλα. Είναι εύλογο ότι αυτός δεν μπορεί να είναι συνομήλικος των παιδιών, αλλά ούτε οποιοσδήποτε ενήλικος. Θα πρέπει να είναι μια καλλιεργημένη προσωπικότητα που έχει γνώσεις του αντικειμένου της παιδαγωγικής. Είναι ο δάσκαλος και η δασκάλα που θα βοηθήσουν τα παιδιά να κάνουν στο τώρα αυτό που θα μπορούσαν σε βάθος χρόνου να κάνουν μόνα τους, με απώτερο σκοπό να φτάσουν πιο σύντομα στο στάδιο της αυτονομίας.

### Εμπειρία και μάθηση

Σύμφωνα με την αντίληψη ορισμένων θεωρητικών (Μοντεσσόρι, 1986· Rousseau, 2001· Rogers, 1994, κ.ά.), το παιδί πρέπει να αφεθεί ελεύθερο και μακριά από περιττές παρεμβάσεις των ενηλίκων, για να προσεγγίσει τη γνώση αυθόρμητα μέσα από τις εμπειρίες και την πρακτική δραστηριότητά του. Θεωρούν ότι κατά τη μαθησιακή διαδικασία δεν πρέπει να υπάρχει κανένα όριο και κανένας περιορισμός (Μοντεσσόρι, 1986: 29), ούτε κάποιου είδους συστηματοποίηση (Rousseau, 2001: 74, 114). Ο δάσκαλος αντιμετωπίζεται με έντονο σκεπτικισμό, σαν κάποιος που θέλει να επιβάλει στο μαθητή και τη μαθήτριά ιδέες και αξίες. Οι υποστηρικτές της συγκεκριμένης αντίληψης απορρίπτουν οποιαδήποτε μορφή μεσολάβησης μεταξύ του παιδιού και του αντικειμένου της γνώσης του (Postic, 1998: 82, 87-8), υποστηρίζοντας ότι η εκπαίδευση είναι αυθεντική όταν το αντικείμενο προσεγγίζεται ελεύθερα από το παιδί.

Ωστόσο, απορρίπτοντας τη διδασκαλία παράλληλα απορρίπτεται η θεωρητική σκέψη και η σύνδεση των εμπειριών των μαθητών με καθολικές έννοιες, προκειμένου να τις εξετάσουν περισσότερο κριτικά και να αποκτήσουν μια σφαιρικότερη αντίληψη για αυτές. Οι μαθητές και οι μαθήτριες εγκλωβίζονται στον εμπειρισμό και τον ατομικισμό που επιφέρει αυτή η απόρριψη, κάτι που υπονομεύει την επικοινωνία τους με τους άλλους ανθρώπους, δεδομένου ότι αυτή



καθίσταται εφικτή όταν η εμπειρία και οι σκέψεις μας συνδέονται με καθολικές έννοιες (Pavlidis, 2015: 10-11). Ένα πολύ σημαντικό λάθος των παραπάνω θεωρητικών είναι ότι ταυτίζουν τη διδασκαλία με τη μετάδοση γνώσεων, ενώ αυτή είναι πολύ ευρύτερη και ουσιαστικότερη διαδικασία. Εάν υιοθετούσαμε αυτή τη σκεπτικιστική θεώρηση, τότε η παιδεία και οποιαδήποτε παιδαγωγική διαδικασία θα έχανε το νόημά της. Κατά την γνώμη μου, στόχος της παιδαγωγίας είναι να παρέχει μια μέθοδο εργασίας που θα επιτρέψει αργότερα στις μαθήτριες και τους μαθητές να αποκτήσουν αυτονομία στη μάθηση, να μη τους είναι απαραίτητες οι «αυθεντίες» και να μη μένουν προσκολλημένοι σε έτοιμες γνώσεις.

Γίνεται κατανοητό ότι οι παραπάνω σκέψεις και η επακόλουθη απόρριψη της εκπαίδευσης και της παιδαγωγικής σχέσης προέκυψαν σε συγκεκριμένα ιστορικά πλαίσια κατά τα οποία η χειραγώγηση των ανθρώπων και η προπαγάνδα, είτε από την πλευρά της εκκλησίας είτε από την πλευρά του κράτους, ήταν πολύ έντονο φαινόμενο και έδινε εξουσιαστικό χαρακτήρα στην παιδαγωγική πράξη.

Στη σύγχρονη εποχή, δεδομένου ότι γνωρίζουμε ποια είναι η λειτουργία της εκπαίδευσης στα πλαίσια του καπιταλισμού (βλ. Κάτσικας, Θεριανός, 2008), θα πρέπει να λαμβάνουμε υπόψη την κριτική που ασκήθηκε εκ μέρος αυτών των θεωρητικών στην εκπαίδευση, όχι όμως με την ακραία της μορφή, δηλαδή την καθ' ολοκλήρου απόρριψη της παιδαγωγικής σχέσης, αλλά όσον αφορά το σκεπτικισμό που εμπεριέχει σχετικά με τις εξουσιαστικές τάσεις της κοινωνίας, που εκφράζονται μέσω του εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος και της ίδιας της δασκάλας απέναντι στο υποκείμενο της μαθήτριας και όσον αφορά την περιθωριοποίηση της προσωπικής πρωτοβουλίας αυτής και της προσωπικότητάς της- ακόμα και αν αυτή βρίσκεται στα αρχικά στάδια της ανάπτυξής της.

Επιπλέον, οι παραπάνω αντιλήψεις αναδεικνύουν τη σημασία της προσωπικής εμπειρίας για τη μάθηση. Για να επιτευχθεί η επαφή των μαθητών και των μαθητριών με τα μορφωτικά αγαθά και την πολιτισμική κληρονομιά είναι απαραίτητη μια βάση. Θα πρέπει δηλαδή κάπου να στηριχτεί η προσέγγιση γνώσεων και η απόκτηση δεξιοτήτων, δεν μπορεί να είναι μετέωρη. Είναι πολύ σημαντικό να θεμελιωθεί στις εμπειρίες και τις γνώσεις που ήδη διαθέτει το παιδί και να έχει ως αφετηρία την πραγματικότητά του. Σε αυτή τη σύνδεση δίνει ιδιαίτερη έμφαση ο Dewey, ο οποίος θεωρεί ότι μέσω της εκπαίδευσης πρέπει, πρώτα απ' όλα, να γίνεται απλούστευση της κοινωνικής ζωής, προκειμένου αυτή να γίνεται πιο κατανοητή στα παιδιά (Μυλωνάκου-Κεκέ, 2003: 331). Το σχολείο για τον Dewey πρέπει να αποτελεί μικρογραφία της κοινωνίας, όπου τα παιδιά θα έρχονται σε επαφή με δραστηριότητες και υλικά που γνωρίζουν ήδη από την καθημερινότητά τους (Ντιούι, 1982: 17, 21). Με αυτή την ιδέα συμφωνεί και η Montessori, η οποία θεωρεί ότι μέσω της εκπαίδευσης πρέπει να προσφέρονται ευκαιρίες για συμμετοχή στην «αληθινή κοινωνική ζωή», μέσω πειραματικών επαφών με τον κόσμο (Μοντεσσόρι, 1986: 23).

Έμφαση στη σημασία της εμπειρίας των παιδιών δίνει και ο Freire, ο οποίος ωστόσο θέτει διαφορετικούς κοινωνικούς σκοπούς. Υποστηρίζει ότι η παιδαγωγική



προσπάθεια πρέπει να ξεκινά από την πραγματικότητα των παιδιών και από το πώς αυτά την αντιλαμβάνονται (Φρέιρε, 1977: 112, 113). Για εκείνον, για να φτάσουμε στο στόχο της παιδαγωγικής σχέσης που είναι η επίτευξη της κριτικής συνειδητοποίησης, πρέπει να εκκινήσουμε από την καθημερινότητα του παιδιού. Έτσι, το περιεχόμενο της παιδαγωγικής διαδικασίας διαμορφώνεται από όσα ήδη γνωρίζουν τα παιδιά και θέλουν να μάθουν καλύτερα, παρουσιάζοντάς τα με ένα περισσότερο συστηματοποιημένο τρόπο (Φρέιρε, 1977: 109).

Κατά την παιδαγωγική σχέση, λοιπόν, παρουσιάζεται η πολιτισμική κληρονομιά με ένα ειδικό, θα λέγαμε, τρόπο, από τη άποψη ότι αυτές οι γνώσεις οργανώνονται και συστηματοποιούνται, βασιζόμενες στις ήδη υπάρχουσες γνώσεις των παιδιών, έτσι ώστε να μπορούν να γίνουν αντιληπτές και επιπλέον με τρόπο που να ταιριάζει στην ιδιαίτερη φυσιογνωμία του καθενός. Ο δάσκαλος και η δασκάλα, πέρα από τη γνώση των διδακτικών μεθόδων και γενικότερα της ψυχολογικής ιδιαιτερότητας του παιδιού, οφείλουν να έχουν γνώση της καθημερινότητας του παιδιού, των συνθηκών που το διαμορφώνουν, του πώς το ίδιο το παιδί σκέφτεται πάνω σε αυτή την καθημερινότητα. Μόνο έτσι θα μπορέσουν να χτίσουν γέφυρες ανάμεσα σε αυτό που γνωρίζουν και αυτό που δε γνωρίζουν και έτσι αποκτούν νόημα όσα γνώριζαν και όσα πρόκειται να μάθουν. Νοηματοδοτείται δηλαδή η προϋπάρχουσα εμπειρία και συνιστά βάση για νέα γνώση.

### **Η διδασκαλία ως υπέρβαση της εμπειρικής γνώσης**

Η διδασκαλία δε φέρνει απλά τους μαθητές σε επαφή με τα πολιτισμικά επιτεύγματα, αλλά τους βοηθάει να βρουν τον τρόπο για να προσεγγίσουν το εκάστοτε γνωστικό αντικείμενο. Μπορούμε, δηλαδή, να πούμε ότι στα πλαίσια της διδασκαλίας τα παιδιά μαθαίνουν πώς να μαθαίνουν. Όταν μάλιστα θέλουμε, πέρα από τη μετάδοση γνώσεων, να υπάρξουν νέες γνώσεις ή ανανέωση αυτών που μεταδίδονται, είναι σημαντικό να συνδυάσουμε την έννοια της διδασκαλίας με εκείνη της μάθησης (Freire, 1988: 30-1· Freire, 2006: 253). Έτσι, δίνεται περισσότερη έμφαση όχι στη μετάδοση γνώσεων μέσω της διδασκαλίας, αλλά στη βοήθεια που παρέχει ο δάσκαλος ή η δασκάλα στις μαθήτριες για την ανακάλυψη και την κατάκτησή τους (Αραβανής, 1999: 35). Η εμπειρική πρόσκτηση ορισμένων γνώσεων ενδεχομένως να αποτελούσε ένα σχετικά βατό στόχο για τους μαθητές και τις μαθήτριες. Ωστόσο, ο δάσκαλος στα πλαίσια της παιδαγωγικής σχέσης, βοηθά τους μαθητές και τις μαθήτριες σε κάτι πολύ πιο σύνθετο και ουσιώδες. Δεδομένης της διανοητικής ανωριμότητας των παιδιών και της αδυναμίας για διανοητική πειθαρχία που αυτή συνεπάγεται, η διδασκαλία καθίσταται απαραίτητη, καθώς ο δάσκαλος βοηθά τις μαθήτριες να καλλιεργήσουν τη διανοητική τους πειθαρχία, προκειμένου να γίνουν ικανές να κρίνουν και να παράγουν γνώσεις, προσφέροντας σε αυτές όχι μόνο περιεχόμενα, αλλά πολύ περισσότερο τη μέθοδο που θα τους οδηγήσει στην επίτευξη αυτού του στόχου. Για να γίνουν οι μαθητές και οι μαθήτριες υπεύθυνα υποκείμενα που αναλαμβάνουν τα ίδια τη μάθησή τους, πρέπει να ασκηθούν στη συστηματική διανοητική εργασία (Παπανούτσος, 1977:





177-8· Αραβανής, 1999: 21· Freire, 2006: 247). Ουσιαστικά, αυτό που πρέπει οι δάσκαλοι να δείξουν είναι κάποια μεθοδολογία, η οποία θα επιτρέψει στους μαθητές και τις μαθήτριες να προσεγγίζουν με διανοητική σοβαρότητα τα αντικείμενα με τα οποία καταπιάνονται και να μην πάρει η γνωστική διαδικασία τα χαρακτηριστικά αυτού που ο Rogers ονομάζει «προσωπική οικειοποίηση της γνώσης», με την έννοια της αποκλειστικά εμπειρικής μάθησης (Postic, 1998: 87).

Όταν ο δάσκαλος δίνει έμφαση στη διαδικασία προσέγγισης των μορφωτικών αγαθών παρά στη μετάδοσή τους, ο μαθητής μπορεί να καταστεί ικανός να επεξεργάζεται σε θεωρητικό επίπεδο τις γνώσεις. Στο έργο του L. Vygotsky, γίνεται εκτενέστατη αναφορά στη διαδικασία πρόσκτησης των θεωρητικών εννοιών από τα παιδιά και στη συμβολή της παιδαγωγίας σε αυτή τη διαδικασία. Για τον Vygotsky, η διδασκαλία δεν έρχεται να διδάξει στα παιδιά όσα μπορούν να προσεγγίσουν και να μάθουν από μόνα τους με τρόπο εμπειρικό (Βυγκότσκι, 2008: 234). Έρχεται να βοηθήσει να προσεγγίσουν τις επιστημονικές έννοιες - οι οποίες ούτως ή άλλως αποτελούν ένα σύστημα σχέσεων - και μέσα από αυτή την προσέγγιση να μπορέσουν να συστηματοποιήσουν και επομένως να «συνειδητοποιήσουν» τις ήδη κεκτημένες αυθόρμητες έννοιες (Βυγκότσκι, 2008: 318). Η συμβολή της παιδαγωγικής διαδικασίας είναι πολύ πιο ουσιαστική «στον τομέα των ανώτερων διαδικασιών, που γεννιούνται στην πορεία της πολιτιστικής ανάπτυξης του παιδιού παρά στον τομέα των στοιχειωδών διαδικασιών» (Βυγκότσκι, 2008: 273).

Έχω τονίσει ότι η εμπειρική γνώση των παιδιών και όσα γενικά μπορούν να ανακαλύψουν μέσω της πρακτικής τους δραστηριότητας είναι πολύ σημαντικά. Ωστόσο, αυτά μπορούν να αρχίσουν να τα κατανοούν στην ουσία τους, αφού πρώτα αρχίσουν να κατανοούν τις επιστημονικές έννοιες. Η δημιουργική και αυθόρμητη περιέργεια του παιδιού αποτελεί αφετηρία για τη μαθησιακή διαδικασία και τη διδασκαλία, ωστόσο δεν είναι αρκετή. Αυτή η «δημιουργική περιέργεια» πρέπει να καταστεί, με τη βοήθεια του δασκάλου και της δασκάλας και την κριτική εξάσκηση της μαθησιακής ικανότητας στην οποία οδηγούν τους μαθητές τους, «επιστημολογική περιέργεια» (Freire, 2006: 32, 37), προκειμένου να αποτελέσει εργαλείο προσέγγισης της πραγματικότητας για την επίτευξη της εμβάθυνσης. Όταν η περιέργειά τους αποκτά επιστημολογικό χαρακτήρα, οι μαθητές είναι σε θέση να μην περιορίζονται στο επίπεδο της «δόξας», αλλά να προσδίδουν στις γνώσεις τους χαρακτηριστικά «λόγου» (Φρέιρε, 1977: 99), από τις οποίες η πρώτη συνδέεται με τη φαινομενικότητα ενός θέματος, ενώ η δεύτερη με τη διεισδυτική εξέτασή του. Η δόξα μας παρουσιάζει τις έννοιες στατικές, ενώ ο λόγος - για τον οποίο κάνει λόγο ο Freire - αναπτυσσόμενες και μεταβαλλόμενες.

Ο Freire αναφέρει ότι η αυθόρμητη προσέγγιση του κόσμου δεν εμπεριέχει μια κριτική γνωσιολογική στάση απέναντί του. Η εμπειρία του κόσμου βέβαια συνιστά μια σύλληψη που εμπεριέχει κάποιο είδος γνώσης της πραγματικότητας (δόξα). Τονίζει όμως ότι εάν η γνώση παραμείνει σε αυτό το επίπεδο και δεν φτάνει στο επίπεδο του έργου, τότε δεν καθίσταται πλήρης γνώση, δηλαδή λόγος (Freire, 1985: 94-5). Ο σκοπός, άλλωστε, της γνώσης για τον Freire δεν είναι άλλος παρά η δράση



(Matthews, 1985: 43). Η πλήρης βύθιση στην πραγματικότητα δεν εξασφαλίζει την κριτική αποστασιοποίηση που είναι απαραίτητη για τη γνώση. Επομένως, αυτό που είναι αναγκαίο είναι η απόσταση από το γνωστικό αντικείμενο, που αποτελεί τη στοχαστική πλευρά της πρακτικής, δεδομένου ότι μας επιτρέπει να επιστρέψουμε στη δράση έχοντας προηγουμένως επεξεργαστεί νοητικά τις έννοιες (Matthews, 1985: 38-9). Σε αντίθεση με την αποσπασματική αντίληψη του αντικειμένου που μας προσφέρει η εμπειρία, η γνώση απαιτεί συνολική αντίληψη, που σημαίνει τη θεώρησή του με τις αιτιώδεις και περιστασιακές αλληλοσυσχετίσεις του (Matthews, 1985: 40-1).

Με αυτές τις σκέψεις μπορούμε να κατανοήσουμε καλύτερα το λόγο που ο Freire προέβαλε για την αναγκαιότητα της παιδαγωγικής σχέσης. Ο βραζιλιάνος παιδαγωγός υποστηρίζει ότι οι καταπιεζόμενοι αυτού του κόσμου βιώνουν μια διαρχία. Αυτό σημαίνει ότι έχουν εσωτερικεύσει στη συνείδησή τους τον καταπιεστή και την εξουσία που αυτός τους ασκεί. Για να απαλλαγούν από αυτό και να επιτύχουν την εξανθρώπισή τους, πρέπει να φτάσουν στη συνειδητοποίηση και αυτό δε μπορεί να γίνει παρά μόνο με τη βοήθεια εκείνων των παιδαγωγών που έχουν απαλλαγεί συνειδησιακά από το δυνάστη. Εξανθρώπιση για το Freire είναι η απαλλαγή των ανθρώπων από την αλλοτριωμένη συνείδηση, την οποία διαθέτουν και τους καθιστά αντικείμενα και η σταδιακή μετατροπή τους σε χειραφετημένα υποκείμενα. Οι παιδαγωγοί είναι αυτοί που μπορούν να θέσουν τις σημαντικές έννοιες στη ζωή των καταπιεζόμενων ως πρόβλημα που επιζητεί επίλυση (Φρέιρε, 1977: 45-6, 96, 131). Οι καταπιεζόμενοι, στη θολή ατμόσφαιρα της καθημερινής εμπειρίας, βλέπουν τον κόσμο τους αιώνιο και αμετάβλητο. Οι δάσκαλοι και οι δασκάλες μπορούν να θέσουν την καθημερινότητα ως πρόβλημα και να βοηθήσουν τους μαθητές να επιτύχουν επίγνωση των εννοιών που την απαρτίζουν (Βυγκότσκι, 2008: 260).

Η αυτόνομη μαθησιακή διαδικασία, η μέθοδος για την διανοητική εργασία, η προσέγγιση αφηρημένων εννοιών, η συνειδητοποίηση το κόσμου τους, όπως και της δυνατότητας αλλαγής του, ενδεχομένως να μην είναι ικανότητες των μαθητών, λόγω της ανωριμότητάς τους. Ωστόσο, συγκαταλέγονται στις δυνατότητές τους. Ακριβώς σε αυτό το σημείο διαφαίνεται η αναγκαιότητα της παιδαγωγικής σχέσης, το γιατί δηλαδή είναι απαραίτητη η με τους παραπάνω όρους παρουσία του ενηλίκου κατά την ανάπτυξη των παιδιών.

### **Για την επικοινωνία δασκάλων-μαθητών**

Η δημιουργία του επιθυμητού κλίματος στα πλαίσια της παιδαγωγικής διαδικασίας, όπως και η επίτευξη των γνωστικών στόχων επηρεάζονται σε μεγάλο βαθμό από την επικοινωνία μεταξύ δασκάλου και μαθητή. Είναι κατά κύριο λόγο υπόθεση του δασκάλου η ποιότητα της σχέσης - ως επικοινωνία - που θα αναπτύξει με τους μαθητές του.

Πολύ βασικό ζήτημα είναι αυτό της αμοιβαιότητας. Παρ' όλο που οι εκπαιδευτικοί βρίσκονται σε ένα ανώτερο επίπεδο ανάπτυξης ως προσωπικότητες, μέσα από αυτή



τη σχέση – ή αλλιώς την «ένωση» – με τις μαθήτριες και τους μαθητές τους διαμορφώνονται με τρόπο που δε θα συνέβαινε εκτός αυτής. Είναι μια διαδικασία όπου το γνωστικό αντικείμενο μεσολαβεί ανάμεσα στις δύο πλευρές και αποτελεί μια βάση αναστοχασμού (Φρέιρε, 1977: 88, 105). Καμιά από τις δύο πλευρές δε θεωρείται ότι έχει φτάσει σε κάποιο τέλος, ότι είναι μια απόλυτα ολοκληρωμένη προσωπικότητα. Έτσι, γίνεται μια από κοινού προσπάθεια να μάθουν αμφοτέρως περισσότερα απ' όσα ήδη γνωρίζουν, μέσα από διαδικασίες, οι οποίες οδηγούν στην περαιτέρω ανάπτυξη τους (Φρέιρε, 1977: 89, 105). Η εκπαίδευση θα έπρεπε να συνιστά μια διαδικασία όπου το παιδί αναπτύσσεται αρμονικά δίπλα σε έναν ενήλικο που βελτιώνει τον εαυτό του. Να είναι δηλαδή μια διαδικασία εκπαίδευσης και ταυτόχρονης επανεκπαίδευσης του ενήλικου (Μοντεσσόρι, 1986: 63, 82) ή καλύτερα μια διαδικασία «αλληλοδιείσδυσης προσωπικοτήτων». Αντίθετα, ο εξουσιαστικός τρόπος διαπαιδαγώγησης δεν αφήνει περιθώρια για λογική σκέψη και νοητική επεξεργασία της παιδαγωγικής διαδικασίας. Η μια τέτοια παιδαγωγική σχέση θυμίζει περισσότερο «κατήχηση», καθώς δεν οδηγεί ποτέ στην αυτονόμηση των μαθητριών και στην ανάληψη ευθύνης της μαθησιακής τους δραστηριότητας (Αραβανής, 1999: 37, 49).

Είναι σημαντικό η παιδαγωγική σχέση να έχει δημοκρατικό χαρακτήρα (Freire, 1998: 89· Αραβανής, 1999: 38· Freire, 2006: 183, 192). Αυτό σημαίνει ότι πρώτα απ' όλα οι εκπαιδευτικοί, που έχουν και μεγαλύτερη ευθύνη στην αρχή της παιδαγωγικής σχέσης, πρέπει να μείνουν μακριά από αλαζονικές και δεσποτικές συμπεριφορές. Ο σεβασμός απέναντι στους μαθητές και τις μαθήτριες είναι ουσιαστική προϋπόθεση για μια δημοκρατική παιδαγωγική σχέση. Το στοιχείο της δημοκρατικότητας, βασίζεται σε ένα κλίμα συνεργασίας και αμοιβαιότητας ανάμεσα στους συμμετέχοντες και τις συμμετέχουσες (Postic, 1998: 36· Αραβανής, 1999: 38, 52, 66· Freire, 2006: 192,· Pavlidis, 2015: 17), ένα κλίμα ανοιχτό και ελεύθερο που αφήνει περιθώρια για «συν-κατεύθυνση» της διαδικασίας (Φρέιρε, 1977: 108· Freire, 2006: 199-200). Σίγουρα η συν-κατεύθυνση δεν είναι δυνατή από την πρώτη στιγμή. Ο βαθμός στον οποίο μπορούν οι μαθητές να συμμετέχουν σε αυτή, αρχικά, είναι πολύ περιορισμένος. Καθώς, όμως, η δασκάλα τους παραχωρεί συνεχώς περιθώρια για συμμετοχή και τους ενθαρρύνει προς αυτή την κατεύθυνση, καλλιεργείται σταδιακά αυτή η ικανότητα και η συμμετοχή τους γίνεται πιο ουσιαστική. Ακόμα και αν ο μαθητής στην αρχή δεν είναι μια καλλιεργημένη προσωπικότητα, ούτε είναι υποκείμενο με όλη τη σημασία της λέξης – από την άποψη ότι δε διαθέτει συνείδηση του εαυτού του και της σχέσης του με τους άλλους και με τον κόσμο που τον περιβάλλει – είναι αδιαμφισβήτητο μια «υπό διαμόρφωση προσωπικότητα» και ένα «εν δυνάμει υποκείμενο» και έτσι οφείλει να τον αντιμετωπίζει ο δάσκαλος ή η δασκάλα. Σε αυτές τις συνθήκες μπορεί να γίνει πράξη το «μαζί με» και όχι «για» τις μαθήτριες και τους μαθητές, για το οποίο έκανε λόγο ο Freire (Φρέιρε, 1977: 46).

Είναι σημαντικό, ο στόχος της αυτονομίας του μαθητή να μην οδηγεί στο να «φιμώνουμε» το δάσκαλο μπροστά στο φόβο μήπως επιβληθεί στα παιδιά. Αυτό



που πρέπει να γίνει είναι να προετοιμαστεί κατάλληλα και να έχει πάντα κατά νου ότι απέναντί του βρίσκονται προσωπικότητες στα πολύ αρχικά στάδια της ανάπτυξής τους. Θα ήταν απαράδεκτο να εκμεταλλευτεί αυτό το δεδομένο για να αναπαράγει δικές τους ιδέες. Η θέση του είναι πολύ λεπτή, γι' αυτό και πρέπει να είναι ιδιαίτερα ικανός και συνειδητοποιημένος σχετικά με αυτή. Πρέπει να καταβάλει ιδιαίτερη προσπάθεια προκειμένου η παιδαγωγική σχέση να ανταποκρίνεται στο χαρακτήρα που θεωρεί ο Freire ότι θα έπρεπε να έχει – δηλαδή με το μη-εξουσιαστικό της χαρακτήρα να αποτελεί το αρχέτυπο κάθε ανθρώπινης σχέσης (Postic, 1998: 93).

Προϋπόθεση και συνέπεια όλων των παραπάνω αποτελεί δασκάλα και μαθητές να έχουν τη θέση υποκειμένου στην παιδαγωγική διαδικασία (Freire, 1998: 30), με αυτό να σημαίνει ότι αναλαμβάνουν την ευθύνη αυτής της διαδικασίας, κρίνουν, παίρνουν αποφάσεις, αναστοχάζονται (Φρέιρε, 1977: 89· Αραβανής, 1999: 47· Freire, 2006: 132, 152). Μάλιστα για να είναι αυθεντικά υποκείμενα, πρέπει να υπολογίζουν και τους άλλους με τους οποίους σχετίζονται ως υποκείμενα ή ως υπό διαμόρφωση υποκείμενα· στην προκειμένη περίπτωση, η δασκάλα τους μαθητές και οι μαθητές τους συμμαθητές τους και τη δασκάλα τους (Pavlidis, 2015: 26). Δεν μπορεί να θεωρηθεί υποκείμενο όποιος καθιστά ή αντιμετωπίζει τους γύρω του ως αντικείμενα. Οι δάσκαλοι δεν μπορούν να είναι «ουδέτεροι αγωγοί» της γνώσης, υπάλληλοι που εφαρμόζουν απλά διαταγές. Αντίθετα, πρέπει να έχουν αναστοχαστική σκέψη και δράση, ως διανοούμενοι (Παπανούτσος, 1977: 117· Γούναρη, Γρόλλιος, 2010: 163, 171· Pavlidis, 2015: 28). Από την άλλη, οι μαθητές δεν μπορούν να είναι παθητικοί δέκτες της γνώσης, αλλά πρέπει να έχουν τη θέση «κριτικών συν-ερευνητών» και να είναι «κριτικοί φορείς δράσης» (Φρέιρε, 1977: 89· Γούναρη, Γρόλλιος, 2010: 180).

Η συμμετοχή δασκάλων και μαθητών-μαθητριών στην παιδαγωγική σχέση με τους παραπάνω όρους, διαμορφώνει ανάλογα και τη μορφή της επικοινωνίας τους. Η παιδαγωγική σχέση συνιστά επικοινωνία, από την άποψη ότι οι δύο πλευρές συνδέονται με τέτοιο τρόπο που η μια παίρνει αναπόφευκτα κάτι από την άλλη. Εξωτερικεύονται σκέψεις, αξίες, ιδέες, οπτικές, οι οποίες αναμφισβήτητα επηρεάζουν και τις δύο πλευρές. Δηλαδή σε αυτή τη συνάντηση, η κάθε πλευρά έρχεται με όλο το κοινωνικο-πολιτισμικό της υπόβαθρο, ως προσωπικότητα που αφενός έχει διαμορφωθεί από αυτό και αφετέρου διαθέτει μια δική της ερμηνεία επί αυτού. Φεύγοντας από αυτή τη συνάντηση, οι δύο πλευρές δεν μπορούν να παραμείνουν ίδιες με πριν. Έχουν πάρει μέσα τους κάτι από την άλλη πλευρά, πότε θετικό πότε αρνητικό. Επομένως, η παιδαγωγική σχέση είναι επικοινωνία από την άποψη ότι τη βλέπουμε ως αλληλοδιείσδυση μεταξύ προσωπικοτήτων. Και όταν τη βλέπουμε ως τέτοια, ο μόνος αποδεκτός τρόπος επικοινωνίας είναι ο διάλογος, διότι δύο προσωπικότητες δεν μπορούν να επικοινωνούν με διαταγές. Ο διάλογος επιτρέπει σε όλους τους συμμετέχοντες και όλες τις συμμετέχουσες να επικοινωνήσουν ως προσωπικότητες και ταυτόχρονα αποτελεί μέσο για να διαμορφωθούν ως τέτοιες.



Όσον αφορά τις προϋποθέσεις που πρέπει να πληροί η επικοινωνία δασκάλων-μαθητών, ώστε να είναι αλληλοδιείσδυση προσωπικοτήτων, πρώτα απ' όλα – σύμφωνα με τον Κοσμόπουλο (1983) – η δασκάλα και ο δάσκαλος θα πρέπει να διαθέτουν την «ψυχολογική, ηθική, πολιτισμική και ιδεολογική ωριμότητα» μιας προσωπικότητας, η οποία θα είναι έτοιμη και ικανή να κάνει διάλογο (Postic, 1998: 173). Αυτοί είναι άλλωστε που βρίσκονται σε θέση να πάρουν την απόφαση να προσδώσουν τέτοιο χαρακτήρα στην επικοινωνία τους με τις μαθήτριες και τους μαθητές. Έπειτα, είναι απαραίτητα κάποια ηθικά όρια κατά την έκφραση λόγου, τόσο εκ μέρους των δασκάλων όσο και εκ μέρους των μαθητών και των μαθητριών (Freire, 2006: 201). Όταν ερχόμαστε σε επικοινωνία με άλλους δεν μπορούμε να εκφραζόμαστε με έναν εντελώς αυθαίρετο τρόπο. Είναι πολύ βασικό να λαμβάνουμε υπόψη τον άλλον ή την άλλη ως προσωπικότητα, που οφείλουμε να σεβαστούμε. Διαφορετικά, όταν δεν υπάρχει κανένα απολύτως όριο και μέτρο, η επικοινωνία μπορεί πολύ εύκολα να καταλήξει σε παραλογισμό, σύμφωνα με το Freire (Freire, 2006: 201), αλλά και σε μια πράξη επιβολής και έμμεσης βίας. Ένα στοιχείο που μπορεί να καταστήσει αποτελεσματική την επικοινωνία είναι το κατά πόσο αυτή προσαρμόζεται κάθε φορά ανάλογα με τα πρόσωπα και τις συνθήκες. Ο Freire υποστηρίζει ότι μπορούμε να μιλήσουμε για τα πάντα στους μαθητές και τις μαθήτριές μας, αρκεί να προσαρμόσουμε κατάλληλα τον τρόπο επικοινωνίας (Freire, 2006: 184). Η επικοινωνία πρέπει να είναι απλή και χωρίς επιτήδευση, για να αφήνει ένα θετικό αίσθημα στη μαθήτρια (Freire, 2006: 199-200) και να φέρνει πιο κοντά δασκάλους και μαθήτριες, δημιουργώντας ένα ενθαρρυντικό και οικείο κλίμα. Για να γίνουν βέβαια οι απαραίτητες προσαρμογές, ο δάσκαλος οφείλει πρώτα να εξετάσει και να κατανοήσει τις δομικές συνθήκες στα πλαίσια των οποίων έχουν διαμορφωθεί οι μαθητές και οι μαθήτριες: ο τρόπος δηλαδή που σκέφτονται, ο τρόπος που ομιλούν και εκφράζονται, ο τρόπος που δρουν (Φρέιρε, 1977: 113). Μπορούμε στο σημείο αυτό να εξετάσουμε πιο συγκεκριμένα πώς σχετίζεται η μία πλευρά με την άλλη όταν έχουν τέτοιου είδους επικοινωνία. Όταν οι δύο πλευρές επικοινωνούν με διαλογικό τρόπο, αναπτύσσουν δηλαδή μια διαλογική σχέση, αίρεται οποιαδήποτε ιεραρχία και εξουσία. Κατά τον διάλογο οι συμμετέχοντες και οι συμμετέχουσες εισέρχονται από κοινού σε μια προσπάθεια ενασχόλησης με τη γνώση και κατασκευής της (Freire, 1998: 50). Η αντίθεση και η απόσταση που υπάρχει ανάμεσα στη δασκάλα και τη μαθήτρια μειώνεται. Έτσι, στη διαλογική σχέση δεν έχουμε από τη μια πλευρά τη δασκάλα και από την άλλη, οριζόμενες αντιθετικά με αυτήν, τις μαθήτριες, αλλά από τη μια πλευρά υπάρχει η «δασκάλα-μαθήτρια» και από την άλλη οι «μαθήτριες-δασκάλες» (Φρέιρε, 1977: 89). Και οι δύο συμμετέχουν στην παιδαγωγική διαδικασία, είναι «συν-ερευνητήριες» (Φρέιρε, 1977: 89), έχουν δηλαδή εξίσου ενεργό και σημαντικό ρόλο, ανάλογα με τις δυνατότητές της η καθεμία. Δηλαδή μπορεί ο διάλογος, αν τον περιορίσουμε στο θέμα της γνώσης – ο μορφωτικός διάλογος –, να είναι ασύμμετρος, σύμφωνα με τον Postic (Postic, 1998: 178), ωστόσο αυτό δεν σημαίνει ότι δεν μπορούν και οι δύο πλευρές να συμμετέχουν με ενεργητικό τρόπο σε αυτόν. Όταν υπάρχει





αμοιβαιότητα και αλληλοσεβασμός (Φρέιρε, 1977: 158· Freire, 1998: 36· Αραβανής, 1999: 52), στοιχεία απαραίτητα κατά τον διάλογο, οτιδήποτε και αν μπορεί να προσφέρει κάποιος είναι σημαντικό και υπολογίσιμο. Σε τέτοια πλαίσια, μιας «δημοκρατικομαθητοκεντρικής» τάξης, όπως την ονομάζει ο Αραβανής, η επικοινωνία είναι πιο ελεύθερη και η εξουσία των δασκάλων διαχέεται σε μεγαλύτερο βαθμό ανάμεσα στα μέλη της τάξης (Αραβανής, 1999: 39). Αυτή η ελεύθερη επικοινωνία είναι που ενισχύει την αλληλοκατανόηση και το σεβασμό ανάμεσα στα μέλη της (Αραβανής, 1999: 52).

Σίγουρα κατά τη διάρκεια του διαλόγου δεν μπορούν να είναι όλα ομαλά και «ειρηνικά». Κατά την επικοινωνιακή σύνδεση των συμμετεχόντων με διαλογικό τρόπο δεν είναι δυνατό να πλησιάζουν πάντα ο ένας τον άλλον. Άλλες φορές αλληλοπλησιάζονται, άλλες αλληλοπαράτιθενται και άλλες πάλι αλληλοαπομακρύνονται (Postic, 1998: 36). Στόχος όμως του παιδαγωγικού διαλόγου δεν μπορεί να είναι η σύγκρουση του δασκάλου ή της δασκάλας με τους μαθητές και τις μαθήτριες. Αντίθετα, αυτό που επιδιώκεται, σύμφωνα με τον Κοσμόπουλο (1983), είναι οι δάσκαλοι να πλησιάσουν τους μαθητές τους, προκειμένου να γίνουν ικανοί να αναλάβουν τη μάθησή τους (Postic, 1998: 173). Όταν βλέπουμε τους άλλους ως υποκείμενα, και άρα βλέπουμε και τους εαυτούς μας ως τέτοια, δεν μπορούμε παρά να ερχόμαστε σε επαφή μαζί τους με ένα διαλογικό τρόπο και να επιδιώκουμε τη χειραφέτησή τους.

Ο Postic περιγράφει με κατανοητό τρόπο πώς μεταβαίνουμε από την εξάρτηση στην αυτονομία. Αρχικά, ο μαθητής χρειάζεται να ταυτιστεί με κάποιον, κάποιος να αποτελέσει παράδειγμα για εκείνον ή να του δείξει ένα παραδειγματικό τρόπο δράσης. Όπως είναι αναμενόμενο, ο μαθητής προσκολλάται σε αυτό το υποκείμενο ή τον τρόπο και τον χρησιμοποιεί προκειμένου να βρίσκει το δρόμο του και να μη χάνεται. Έπειτα, όμως, το υποκείμενο-μαθητής είτε αποστασιοποιείται από το παράδειγμα, είτε το διορθώνει, είτε το εγκαταλείπει. Μέσα από τη συνείδηση της σχετικότητας των κανόνων και της ελεύθερης επιλογής των αξιών που του προσφέρει αυτή η διαδικασία έρχεται σε συνειδητή ρήξη με αυτό το παράδειγμα και το υπερβαίνει για να οδηγηθεί εν τέλει στην αυτονομία του (Postic, 1998: 163). Αντιλαμβάνεται δηλαδή ότι δεν πρόκειται για «θέσφατο», αλλά για έναν ενδεικτικό τρόπο, τον οποίο μπορεί να χρησιμοποιήσει για να βοηθηθεί, να τον προσαρμόσει στις ιδιαίτερες ανάγκες του, να τον αμφισβητήσει.

Προς επίτευξη των παραπάνω, οι δάσκαλοι πρέπει να χειριστούν διάφορα θέματα με κατάλληλο τρόπο. Η ανάγκη για την αναγνώριση και την ύπαρξη τους ως αυθεντίες είναι απαραίτητη για να γίνουν όλα τα παραπάνω, ωστόσο αυτή μπορεί να αποβεί επιζήμια για την ανάπτυξη της προσωπικότητας των μαθητών και των μαθητριών τους και να εμποδίσει την ύπαρξή τους ως ελεύθερα υποκείμενα. Όταν, όμως, η δασκάλα και ο δάσκαλος χρησιμοποιούν τις γνώσεις και τις ικανότητές τους προς όφελος των μαθητριών τους και της επίτευξης της χειραφέτησής τους και παράλληλα διατηρούν μια στάση ταπεινοφροσύνης, τότε η αυθεντία τους μπορεί να λειτουργήσει με ευεργετικό τρόπο και να συμβάλει στο στόχο που θέτουμε. Είναι



επομένως αναγκαίο η αυθεντία να απαλλαγεί από το στοιχείο της ιεροσύνης που κατείχε παλαιότερα και να αναδειχθεί η ανθρώπινη πλευρά της, αυτή που μπορεί να τεθεί υπό εξέταση, να κατανοηθεί, να αμφισβητηθεί. Η δασκάλα και ο δάσκαλος οφείλουν να είναι προσωπικότητες συγκροτημένες, ανοιχτές προς τις μαθήτριες, που επιδιώκουν την καλλιέργεια σχέσεων αμοιβαιότητας μεταξύ τους, από τις οποίες προκύπτει και ο σεβασμός.

### Συμπεράσματα

Εάν θεωρήσουμε δεδομένο ότι η παιδαγωγική σχέση στοχεύει στη γνωστική χειραφέτηση των μαθητών και των μαθητριών, τότε για να επιτευχθεί αυτός ο στόχος, η πρέπει να παρέχει τα κατάλληλα γνωστικά μέσα στους μαθητές και τις μαθήτριες και να διακρίνεται από συγκεκριμένα χαρακτηριστικά ως ιδιότυπη μορφή επικοινωνίας.

Τα μέσα που χρειάζονται οι μαθητές και οι μαθήτριες σχετίζονται κυρίως με τη μαθησιακή διαδικασία και το πώς αυτή θα χρησιμοποιηθεί, όπως και με τη γνωστική τους ανάπτυξη. Στα πλαίσια της παιδαγωγικής διαδικασίας, ο δάσκαλος πρέπει να ενθαρρύνει τους μαθητές του να αναλαμβάνουν σταδιακά όλο και πιο ενεργητική θέση. Η ενθάρρυνση είναι σημαντικό να συνοδεύεται από έμφαση εκ μέρους του δασκάλου προς τη μορφή της διδασκαλίας - στη μέθοδο σκέψης δηλαδή που παρουσιάζουν στους μαθητές - και την καλλιέργεια εκείνων των ικανοτήτων που θα τους δώσουν τη δυνατότητα να αναλάβουν τη μάθησή τους και θα τους βοηθήσουν να καλλιεργήσουν δυνάμεις και να αποκτήσουν εφόδια που θα τους είναι απαραίτητα στην πορεία της ζωής τους.

Εφόσον, λοιπόν, αναλαμβάνουν σταδιακά τη μάθησή τους, είναι σημαντικό να αντιληφθούν πώς μπορεί αυτή να χρησιμοποιηθεί ως χειραφετικό εργαλείο. Για το λόγο αυτό, είναι σημαντικό να γίνεται παράλληλα προσπάθεια για την επίτευξη της κριτικής συνειδητοποίησής τους. Πρώτα απ' όλα χρειάζεται ο ίδιος ο δάσκαλος να αντιλαμβάνεται ότι οι μαθητές και οι μαθήτριες έχουν εσωτερικεύσει, σε μεγάλο ή μικρό βαθμό, την κυρίαρχη ιδεολογία. Ως εκ τούτου, θα πρέπει να τους βοηθήσει να συνειδητοποιήσουν αυτή την κατάσταση. Ο δάσκαλος και η δασκάλα μπορούν να βοηθήσουν τις μαθήτριες να αποκτήσουν τα μέσα για βαθύτερη κατανόηση της πραγματικότητας και του εαυτού τους, δείχνοντας τη μέθοδο, κάνοντας δηλαδή κριτική ανάλυση και επισημαίνοντας τις αντιφάσεις των υπό εξέταση ζητημάτων, προωθώντας μια διαλεκτική και διερευνητική μέθοδο εξέτασης της πραγματικότητας. Αυτός είναι ο τρόπος για να εξετάσουν και να αναστοχαστούν οι μαθήτριες πάνω στα διάφορα κοινωνικά ζητήματα και να αντιληφθούν πώς οι ίδιες διαμορφώνονται από τις κοινωνικές σχέσεις. Αντιλαμβανόμενες τις αντιφάσεις αυτών των σχέσεων, συνειδητοποιούν συνάμα τη δυνατότητα αλλαγής που εμπεριέχουν.

Όσον αφορά τα χαρακτηριστικά που πρέπει να έχει η παιδαγωγική σχέση ως ιδιότυπη μορφή επικοινωνίας, αυτά αποτελούν ιδιαιτέρως σημαντικό ζήτημα για την επίτευξη της γνωστικής χειραφέτησης των μαθητών και των μαθητριών. Ένα



πολύ βασικό χαρακτηριστικό είναι να μην υποβαθμίζεται και καταστέλλεται η προσωπικότητα του μαθητή και της μαθήτριας κατά την παιδαγωγική πράξη. Η ιδιαιτερότητα που ήδη έχει ως πρόσωπο, οι ανάγκες, τα ενδιαφέροντα, οι επιθυμίες, είναι πολύ σημαντικό να λαμβάνονται υπόψη, καθώς σε κάθε αυθεντική μορφωτική διαδικασία ο καθένας και η καθεμία συμμετέχει ως προσωπικότητα. Είναι απαραίτητο η δασκάλα να γνωρίζει με ουσιαστικό τρόπο το μαθητή και τη μαθήτριά της.

Σε κάθε περίπτωση, είναι σημαντικό ο δάσκαλος και η δασκάλα να απαλλαγούν από τον παραδοσιακό τρόπο διδασκαλίας και να δώσουν περισσότερο προσωπικό τόνο στην παιδαγωγική διαδικασία, κάνοντας τις απαραίτητες προσαρμογές κάθε φορά. Το κλίμα που καλλιεργείται με αυτόν τον τρόπο είναι ελεύθερο και δημιουργικό, ενώ παράλληλα ο μαθητής και η μαθήτρια νιώθουν υποστήριξη. Έχω αναφερθεί στην δημοκρατικο-μαθητοκεντρική τάξη, όπου σε μια προσπάθεια ανάλυσης του όρου αντιλαμβανόμαστε ότι σίγουρα δίνεται έμφαση στην ατομικότητα του κάθε μαθητή ξεχωριστά, ενώ παράλληλα ακολουθούνται δημοκρατικές διαδικασίες στη λήψη αποφάσεων, όπου ο καθένας και η καθεμία έχει λόγο. Θεωρώ ότι πρόκειται για μια μορφή τάξης ιδιαίτερος υποστηρικτική για την επίτευξη της γνωστικής χειραφέτησης των παιδιών. Ωστόσο θα ήθελα να θέσω ως προϋπόθεση, ότι δε θα χάνεται καμία «φωνή» υπό το βάρος της πλειοψηφίας. Για να νιώσει η κάθε μαθήτρια ότι ο λόγος της έχει δύναμη και ότι συνιστά ισότιμο μέλος της ομάδας της τάξης, πρέπει να ακολουθούνται διαδικασίες συνδιαμόρφωσης, κατά τις οποίες ένα θέμα θα τίθεται υπό επεξεργασία και η απόφαση που θα λαμβάνεται δε θα προκύπτει από αυτό που πιστεύουν ή επιθυμούν οι περισσότεροι, αλλά θα διαμορφώνεται με συλλογικό τρόπο, ώστε να ικανοποιεί έστω και σε ελάχιστο βαθμό το σύνολο.

Όσον αφορά την ελευθερία και την πειθαρχία στις σχέσεις, αυτές δε θα έπρεπε να θεωρούνται αλληλοαποκλειόμενες έννοιες, αλλά αλληλοεξαρτώμενες. Διαφορετικά, εάν παραδεχτούμε ότι όταν έχουμε το ένα δεν έχουμε το άλλο, οδηγούμαστε σε ακραίες καταστάσεις, που μάλλον δε θα είναι ωφέλιμες για τους μαθητές και τις μαθήτριες. Σε μια κατάσταση απόλυτης ελευθερίας, χωρίς να υπάρχουν κάποια όρια, κάποιο σχέδιο να ακολουθήσουν, θα νιώθουν σύγχυση και επιπλέον θα οδηγούνται στην αποξένωση, ενώ σε μια κατάσταση απόλυτης πειθαρχίας σίγουρα χάνουν την ιδιότητα του υποκειμένου. Κατά την παιδαγωγική δραστηριότητα είναι απαραίτητα και τα δύο σε μια διαλεκτική σύνθεση. Ο δάσκαλος και η δασκάλα θα έπρεπε να εξασφαλίζουν μέσα από τη θέση τους ότι το περιβάλλον της τάξης ενισχύει την καλλιέργεια της αυτοπειθαρχίας και όχι την εξωτερικά επιβαλλόμενη πειθαρχία. Η αυτοπειθαρχία λειτουργεί ως στήριγμα των μαθητών και των μαθητριών για να αποκτήσουν το ζητούμενο, που είναι η ελευθερία. Μάλιστα, είναι σημαντικό να προκύπτει με έμμεσο τρόπο, λόγω της ιδιαίτερης οργάνωσης του περιβάλλοντος, όπου δίνεται ευκαιρία στα παιδιά να ασχοληθούν με δραστηριότητες που τα ενδιαφέρουν και έχουν νόημα για εκείνα.



Τέλος, το κυριότερο στοιχείο αναφορικά με το είδος των σχέσεων που αναπτύσσονται στα πλαίσια της παιδαγωγικής διαδικασίας είναι ο διαλογικός χαρακτήρας. Για να επιτευχθεί ο στόχος της γνωστικής χειραφέτησης, ο μόνος δόκιμος τρόπος επικοινωνίας είναι ο ειλικρινής και κριτικός παιδαγωγικός διάλογος, ο οποίος φέρνει κοντά τα δύο μέρη και αποτελεί συνάντηση μεταξύ προσωπικοτήτων, καθώς ο καθένας από τους δύο συμμετέχει με όλο του το είναι σε αυτή την επικοινωνία. Τότε η σχέση-επικοινωνία χάνει σταδιακά τον ιεραρχικό της χαρακτήρα και γίνεται σχέση αμοιβαιότητας, μετατρέποντας την εξουσία των δασκάλων σε αμοιβαιότητα. Οι δύο πλευρές αλληλοεπηρεάζονται και αναπτύσσονται μέσα από αυτή την ανταλλαγή. Ποτέ δε θεωρείται ότι κάποια έχει φτάσει στο ζενίθ της ανάπτυξής της ως προσωπικότητα. Όσο έρχεται σε επαφή με άλλους ανθρώπους και συνδιαλέγεται μαζί τους, έχει περιθώρια για περαιτέρω ανάπτυξη. Επιπλέον, όταν παρουσιάζεται συνέπεια λόγων και πράξεων, ιδιαίτερα από την πλευρά των ενηλίκων, τότε καλλιεργείται ο σεβασμός και η αναγνώριση ανάμεσα στους συμμετέχοντες. Με αυτό τον τρόπο επιτυγχάνεται η αλληλοδιείσδυση των υποκειμένων της παιδαγωγικής διαδικασίας.

Η επίτευξη της γνωστικής χειραφέτησης συνδέεται άμεσα και προϋποθέτει την άρση της αντίφασης της παιδαγωγικής σχέσης. Αφενός, πρόκειται για μια σχέση που προϋποθέτει την ανισότητα ανάμεσα στις δύο πλευρές και, ως εκ τούτου, την εξάρτηση της μιας πλευράς από την άλλη και αφετέρου στοχεύει στην αυτονομία αυτής της «εξαρτημένης» πλευράς της. Ωστόσο, έδειξα ότι το ένα δεν αποκλείει το άλλο. Επιπλέον, με τη συγκεκριμένη αντίφαση συνδέεται και η αντίφαση που χαρακτηρίζει το εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα, το οποίο αφενός εμφανίζεται ως ένας θεσμός που συμβάλλει στην αναπαραγωγή του υπάρχοντος κοινωνικοοικονομικού συστήματος και επομένως στην διαιώνιση της κοινωνικής ανισότητας. Αφετέρου, στα πλαίσιά του δημιουργούνται τα περιθώρια για απελευθερωτική δράση των υποκειμένων, δεδομένου ότι μπορούν να δημιουργήσουν σχέσεις που αντιμάχονται και αμφισβητούν την κυρίαρχη μορφή σχέσεων και παρέχονται ευκαιρίες μόρφωσης.

Στην πραγματικότητα, η παιδαγωγική σχέση μπορεί να θεωρηθεί επιτυχημένη όταν καταλήγει σε άρση της πρώτης αντίφασης, η οποία με τη σειρά της ενισχύει την πλευρά της αντίστασης στη δεύτερη αντίφαση. Όταν, δηλαδή, η αυθεντία των δασκάλων χρησιμοποιείται προς επίτευξη της αυτονομίας του μαθητή και της μαθήτριας και όχι προς διαιώνιση της αρχικής ανισότητας δασκάλου-μαθητή, τότε ενισχύεται το χειραφετικό στοιχείο που εμπεριέχει το εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα, από την άποψη ότι αποτελεί ένα χώρο που μπορεί να προσφέρει αυθεντική μόρφωση και έτσι να επιτρέψει, ως ένα βαθμό, τη δημιουργία θυλάκων αντίστασης και απελευθέρωσης εντός αυτού.

Με αυτό το γνωστικό στόχο της παιδαγωγικής σχέσης συνδέεται και ο γενικότερος στόχος που αυτή έχει, που είναι η εξανθρώπιση. Υιοθετώντας την έννοια του Freire, θεωρώ ότι αυτός θα πρέπει να είναι ο βαθύτερος στόχος σε κάθε παιδαγωγική διαδικασία, η οποία θέλει να είναι επαναστατική, να συμβάλλει δηλαδή στην



κοινωνική αλλαγή: Οι μαθητές και οι μαθήτριες να αρχίσουν να αναπτύσσονται ως υποκείμενα, τα οποία κατανοούν τον κόσμο γύρω τους και τον εαυτό τους και δρουν για να αλλάξουν ό,τι δεν ικανοποιεί τις ανάγκες που έχουν ως άνθρωποι, όπως είναι για παράδειγμα οι σχέσεις καταπίεσης και εκμετάλλευσης, η έλλειψη ουσιαστικής επικοινωνίας με τους άλλους ανθρώπους, η αποξένωση, η εξαθλίωση και η εξάντληση και οι κακής ποιότητας βιοτικές συνθήκες.

Ο Freire από μια ανθρωπιστική οπτική, η οποία βλέπει τον άνθρωπο καλό από τη φύση του και να τείνει προς κάτι καλό, θεωρεί ότι αυτός είναι ο προορισμός του ανθρώπου, να ξαναγίνει «άρτιος άνθρωπος». Ωστόσο, θεωρώ ότι ο άνθρωπος δεν είναι από τη φύση του ούτε καλός ούτε κακός, αλλά «εν δυνάμει καλός» και «εν δυνάμει κακός» και διαμορφώνεται ανάλογα με τις συνθήκες υπό τις οποίες αναπτύσσεται. Αυτό, βέβαια, δεν σημαίνει ότι υιοθετώ κάποια ντετερμινιστική στάση από την αντίθετη πλευρά, ότι δηλαδή ο άνθρωπος είναι έρμαιο των κοινωνικών συνθηκών. Αυτό που υποστηρίζω μέσα από τη συγκεκριμένη παραδοχή είναι ότι το σκοπό προς τον οποίο τείνει η ανάπτυξη του νέου ανθρώπου, τον θέτουμε εμείς, ανάλογα με το είδος της κοινωνίας που θέλουμε να κάνουμε πράξη. Εάν, λοιπόν, υποστηρίζουμε ότι σκοπός είναι ο άνθρωπος να αναπτυχθεί σύμφωνα με τα ουσιαστικά κοινωνικά και ειδιοποιήσιμα χαρακτηριστικά του, αυτό το κάνουμε όχι γιατί προς τα εκεί τείνει από τη φύση του, αλλά γιατί η κοινωνία που θέλουμε μπορεί να γίνει εφικτή μόνο με τη διαμόρφωση τέτοιων ανθρώπων υποκειμένων που σκέφτονται κριτικά, δεν παύουν ποτέ να κάνουν την ελευθερία πράξη και δεν εγκλωβίζονται σε δογματισμούς.

Μπορούμε, λοιπόν, να πούμε ότι επιτυχημένη παιδαγωγική σχέση θεωρείται όχι απλά αυτή που καθιστά τους μαθητές υποκείμενα ίσα προς το δάσκαλο και τη δασκάλα, αλλά εκείνη που τους κάνει ικανούς να τους ξεπεράσουν, να κάνουν ένα βήμα παραπέρα. Ο στόχος της παιδαγωγικής σχέσης δεν μπορεί να είναι άλλος από αυτόν. Τότε ο δάσκαλος αισθάνεται ολοκληρωμένος και ότι εκπλήρωσε με επιτυχία το έργο του όταν βλέπει τους μαθητές και τις μαθήτριές του να φτάνουν πιο μακριά από εκείνον, να κάνουν κάτι παραπάνω τόσο σε προσωπικό όσο και σε συλλογικό επίπεδο – μέσα από την εξανθρώπισή τους να συμβάλλουν στην κοινωνική αλλαγή. Τα παιδιά διανύουν την πιο ευαίσθητη περίοδο της ζωής τους, καθώς παρουσιάζουν ιδιαίτερη ευαισθησία απέναντι στα ερεθίσματα που λαμβάνουν από το περιβάλλον τους. Είναι πολύ σημαντικό, οι συνειδητοποιημένοι δάσκαλοι να δείξουν σε αυτά ότι δεν υπάρχουν μόνο σχέσεις εξουσίας και εκμετάλλευσης, αλλά και σχέσεις αμοιβαιότητας και αλληλεγγύης, τις οποίες μπορούν να βιώσουν στην πράξη. Μέσα από αυτό το διαφορετικό παράδειγμα σχέσεων, η τάξη μετατρέπεται σε «εστία αντίστασης» και μπορεί να συμβάλει – όσο είναι δυνατό – στην πολιτική αφύπνιση και κινητοποίηση των υποκειμένων.

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## Το ζήτημα της επιμόρφωσης των δασκάλων: Μία ερευνητική προσέγγιση

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Εκπαιδευτικός Πρωτοβάθμιας Εκπαίδευσης

### Περίληψη

Η εργασία μας επικεντρώνεται στο πρόβλημα της (επι)μόρφωσης των εκπαιδευτικών και ειδικότερα των εκπαιδευτικών της πρώτης βαθμίδας, των δασκάλων. Η επιλογή αυτή αποκτά ιδιαίτερη σημασία εξαιτίας της απουσίας ενός θεσμοθετημένου πλαισίου επιμόρφωσης και με δεδομένη την κατάργηση του θεσμού της μετεκπαίδευσης που υπήρχε στην πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση.

Έχοντας κατά νου τις παραπάνω επισημάνσεις, θέτουμε ως βασικό σκοπό της εργασίας μας τη δυνατότητα να φωτιστεί το πρόβλημα της επιστημονικής ενίσχυσης του εκπαιδευτικού επαγγέλματος με φόντο τη σημερινή συγκυρία -εκπαιδευτική και κοινωνική- ανιχνεύοντας τις σκέψεις των ίδιων των δασκάλων για το πρόβλημα της επιμόρφωσής τους. Γι' αυτό το λόγο θέτουμε το εξής κεντρικό ερώτημα: Ποια είναι η αντίληψη των δασκάλων για την επιμόρφωσή τους;

Τα υποκείμενα της έρευνας στα οποία επικεντρωθήκαμε είναι οι δάσκαλοι των δημοτικών σχολείων μιας περιοχής αρκετά απομακρυσμένης από την πρωτεύουσα του νομού. Η τεχνική της ημιδομημένης συνέντευξης κρίθηκε ως πιο κατάλληλος τρόπος συλλογής δεδομένων σχετικών με το αντικείμενο της εργασίας μας, όπως αυτό προσδιορίστηκε από το αρχικό ερώτημα που θέσαμε. Η ανάλυση των κειμένων των συνεντεύξεων βασίστηκε στη θεματική ανάλυση περιεχομένου με έμφαση στη σημασία και στην τακτοποίηση των συλλεγμένων στοιχείων. Η ανάλυση συνοδεύτηκε από την ερμηνεία και τη σύνδεση των συμπερασμάτων με τα αρχικά ερωτήματα που τέθηκαν.

Τα ευρήματά μας αναδεικνύουν την απουσία ενός οργανωμένου και συστηματικού σχεδίου από την πλευρά της Πολιτείας για την επιμόρφωση των δασκάλων. Έτσι, το κενό αυτό επιχειρείται να καλυφθεί με περιστασιακές επιλογές από τους ίδιους τους εκπαιδευτικούς ατομικά ή σε επίπεδο σχολικής μονάδας.

### Λέξεις κλειδιά

επιμόρφωση, δάσκαλοι, ανάγκες, προοπτικές, κριτικός γραμματισμός.

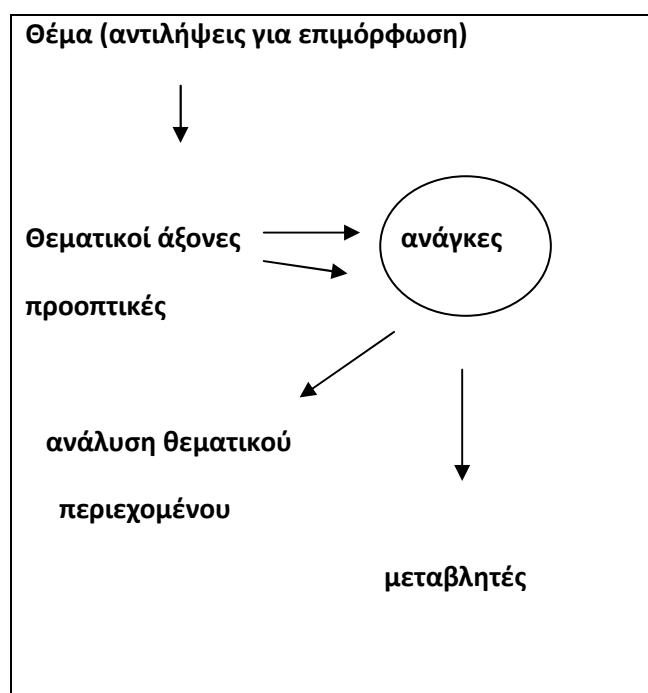
### Εισαγωγή

Κατανοώντας τη σημασία της γνώσης και της επιστημονικής σκέψης στη ζωή των ανθρώπων αλλά και τη συμβολή της τυπικής εκπαίδευσης στην οικοδόμηση μιας κοινωνικής, πολιτισμικής και οικονομικής πραγματικότητας επικεντρώνουμε το ενδιαφέρον μας στο θεμελιακό πρόβλημα της (επι)μόρφωσης των εκπαιδευτικών και ειδικότερα των εκπαιδευτικών της πρώτης βαθμίδας, των δασκάλων. Η επιλογή αυτή αποκτά ιδιαίτερη σημασία εξαιτίας της απουσίας ενός θεσμοθετημένου πλαισίου επιμόρφωσης και με δεδομένη την κατάργηση του θεσμού της μετεκπαίδευσης που υπήρχε στην πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση. Ας μην παραλείψουμε να επισημάνουμε ότι στο διάστημα της προηγούμενης πενταετίας εφαρμόστηκαν πολιτικές οι οποίες οδήγησαν σε πρωτόγνωρη κοινωνική εξαθλίωση και σε



αποδόμηση δημοκρατικών κατακτήσεων παλαιότερων δεκαετιών, επιβάλλοντας ένα ασφυκτικό πλαίσιο «εσωτερικής υποτίμησης» για τον Έλληνα εργαζόμενο γενικά, αλλά και πιο συγκεκριμένα για τους εκπαιδευτικούς του δημόσιου σχολείου στη χώρα μας.

Έχοντας κατά νου τις παραπάνω επισημάνσεις, θέτουμε ως βασικό σκοπό της εργασίας μας τη δυνατότητα να φωτιστεί το πρόβλημα της επιστημονικής ενίσχυσης του εκπαιδευτικού επαγγέλματος με φόντο τη σημερινή συγκυρία - εκπαιδευτική και κοινωνική- ανιχνεύοντας τις σκέψεις των ίδιων των δασκάλων για το πρόβλημα της επιμόρφωσής τους<sup>1</sup>. Γι' αυτό το λόγο θέτουμε το εξής κεντρικό ερώτημα: Ποια είναι η αντίληψη των δασκάλων για την επιμόρφωσή τους; Η πραγμάτευση του συγκεκριμένου ερωτήματος εξυπηρετείται καλύτερα από την αναζήτηση απαντήσεων σε δύο επιμέρους ερωτήματα που εξειδικεύουν το αρχικό και ορίζονται ως θεματικοί άξονες: α) Ποιες είναι οι επιμορφωτικές ανάγκες των δασκάλων; β) Με ποιον τρόπο αντιμετωπίζουν οι ίδιοι την απουσία συστηματικής επιμόρφωσης; Σχηματικά το πλαίσιο αυτό μπορεί να αποδοθεί ως εξής:



Η έρευνά μας θέτει ως σημείο εκκίνησης τη συγκεκριμένη εμπειρία των ανθρώπων και κατατάσσεται στην κατηγορία των ποιοτικών ερευνών<sup>2</sup> συνθέτοντας, ωστόσο, το ποιοτικό στοιχείο με το ποσοτικό. Το συγκεκριμένο εγχείρημα δεν φιλοδοξεί να

1 Ως επιμόρφωση ορίζουμε τη θεωρητική και εμπειρική παρακολούθηση της εξέλιξης του επιστημονικού αντικειμένου των δασκάλων κατά τη διάρκεια της επαγγελματικής τους ζωής.

2 Ο όρος ποιότητα αναφέρεται στο είδος, στα ιδιαίτερα χαρακτηριστικά ενός προβλήματος ή αλλιώς στα στοιχεία μιας «ουσίας» (Kvale, 1996: 67).



οδηγηθεί σε γενικεύσιμα συμπεράσματα, ενδιαφέρεται όμως να προσανατολίσει τη συζήτηση προς μία κατεύθυνση που αξίζει να διερευνηθεί.

### Μεθοδολογικές προϋποθέσεις

Τα υποκείμενα της έρευνας στα οποία επικεντρωθήκαμε είναι οι δάσκαλοι των δημοτικών σχολείων μιας περιοχής αρκετά απομακρυσμένης από την πρωτεύουσα του νομού. Για λόγους ερευνητικής δεοντολογίας η περιοχή δεν ονομάζεται και τα στοιχεία που προέκυψαν κωδικοποιήθηκαν ώστε να διαφυλάξουν το κριτήριο του προσωπικού απόρρητου στην έρευνα. Η τεχνική της ημι-δομημένης συνέντευξης κρίθηκε ως πιο κατάλληλος τρόπος συλλογής δεδομένων σχετικών με το αντικείμενο της εργασίας μας, όπως αυτό προσδιορίστηκε από το αρχικό ερώτημα που θέσαμε. Στη συνέντευξη συμμετείχε το σύνολο σχεδόν των εκπαιδευτικών των συγκεκριμένων σχολείων, αριθμός ικανός για την εξαγωγή ασφαλών συμπερασμάτων για το συγκεκριμένο πλαίσιο αλλά όχι γενικά. Άλλωστε, σύμφωνα με τον Kvale, ο αριθμός των συνεντεύξεων που μπορεί να στηρίξει την επιχειρηματολογία μιας μελέτης (χωρίς ωστόσο να διεκδικεί τη γενικευσιμότητα των συμπερασμάτων θα προσθέταμε εμείς) κυμαίνεται περίπου στις 15 ( $\pm 10$ ) (Kvale, 1996: 102). Στην περίπτωση μας η συνέντευξη επικεντρώνεται στην εμπειρία του ερωτώμενου αναφορικά με ένα θέμα. Το θέμα εισάγεται με την μορφή προεπιλεγμένης ερώτησης, αλλά το υποκείμενο επιλέγει τον τρόπο που θα απαντήσει βασισμένο στην καθημερινή του εμπειρία (στο ίδιο, 29). Ο ερωτώμενος είχε την πρωτοβουλία της ανάπτυξης της σκέψης του σε κλίμα οικειότητας, ενώ οι διευκρινήσεις (όσες φορές ζητήθηκαν) απέφευγαν να επικαθορίζουν, και επομένως να αλλοιώνουν, τον πυρήνα του σκεπτικού του. Επιπλέον, οι ερωτώμενοι ενημερώθηκαν από πριν για το θέμα ώστε να μην αιφνιδιαστούν αλλά και να ωριμάσει στη σκέψη τους η απάντηση (Φίλιας, 2000: 135).

Τα κείμενα των συνεντεύξεων δημιούργησαν και τις κατηγορίες των θεματικών αξόνων. Οι απαντήσεις πήραν τη μορφή γραπτού κειμένου και κωδικοποιήθηκαν ώστε να διευκολύνουν την οργάνωση και την ερμηνεία του υλικού. Ασφαλώς και δεν πρέπει να παραβλέψουμε το γεγονός ότι η ερμηνεία των δεδομένων δεν αφορά μόνο όσα διατυπώνονται σε μια συνέντευξη αλλά και αυτά που αποσιωπούνται. Υπό αυτή την έννοια αποφύγαμε ένα είδος «θετικιστικής» προσέγγισης της συνέντευξης, στην οποία τα δεδομένα παίρνουν το χαρακτήρα αυστηρού πρωτοκόλλου με σκοπό η διαδικασία να μείνει μακριά από κάθε μορφή ευελιξίας, η οποία υποτίθεται ότι πλήττει την αξιοπιστία και την αντικειμενικότητα της ανάλυσης (Silverman, 1985:157).

Ένα άλλο μεθοδολογικό πρόβλημα των ποιοτικών ερευνών που απασχόλησε την περίπτωση μας είναι ο ρόλος των καθοδηγητικών ερωτημάτων. Ένα τέτοιο πρόβλημα θα μπορούσε να προκύψει στο δεύτερο ερώτημα που θέσαμε σχετικά με τους τρόπους αντιμετώπισης του επιμορφωτικού κενού. Οι ερωτήσεις αυτού του τύπου, κατά κάποιον τρόπο, «ελέγχουν» το αποτέλεσμα, όμως ταυτόχρονα πρέπει να θεωρούνται και απαραίτητες για την κατεύθυνση που μπορεί να πάρει ο



ερευνητικός προσανατολισμός. Για να το πούμε αλλιώς, το στοιχείο της καθοδήγησης αξιοποιείται ως μοχλός για την παραγωγή νέας και αξιόπιστης γνώσης και για την αποφυγή ενός είδους αφελούς εμπειρισμού. Η συνέντευξη, κατ' αυτόν τον τρόπο, λειτουργεί ως πλαίσιο αλληλεπίδρασης ανάμεσα στους δύο βασικούς πόλους επικοινωνίας: τον συνεντευκτή και τον ερωτώμενο (Kvale, 1996: 159). Ωστόσο, και ο αναγνώστης των ερευνητικών δεδομένων δεν είναι ανεξάρτητος από τις επιλογές του ερευνητή, αφού δεν έχει πλήρη εικόνα των κοινωνικών συμφραζομένων της διαδικασίας της συνέντευξης. Στην περίπτωσή μας, για να περιορίσουμε το αντικειμενικό πρόβλημα της «αυθαιρεσίας» του ερευνητή περιγράφουμε λεπτομερώς τα βήματα και τις διαδικασίες της ανάλυσης. Αν και αυτό δεν εξαντλεί το πρόβλημα του: «διαφορετικοί ερευνητές – διαφορετικά ερωτήματα και δεδομένα», προτείνει όμως τρόπους ελέγχου. Σε τελική ανάλυση, το ζήτημα δεν είναι αν υπάρχει ή όχι καθοδήγηση, αλλά αν η επιλογή των σχετικών ερωτημάτων οδηγεί σε γόνιμη κατεύθυνση, δηλαδή αν συμβάλλει στην κατάκτηση σημαντικής γνώσης. Έτσι, στο εύλογο ερώτημα γιατί αυτές οι ερωτήσεις και όχι κάποιες άλλες, απαντάμε: Πρώτον, επειδή στην εκπαίδευση το ζήτημα της επιμόρφωσης πρέπει να θεωρείται κομβικό και καθόλου λυμένο. Δεύτερον, επειδή το υπάρχον θεσμικό πλαίσιο αποφεύγει να καταπιαστεί με το πρόβλημα της επιμόρφωσης σε μια εποχή που η δουλειά του δασκάλου γίνεται περισσότερο σύνθετη και απαιτητική. Τρίτον, επειδή το ζήτημα της επιμόρφωσης οφείλει να γίνει άξονας μιας ευρύτερης στρατηγικής και όχι ατομικός περιστασιακός χειρισμός.

Η ανάλυσή μας βασίστηκε στη θεωρητική προϋπόθεση – οπτική του κριτικού γραμματισμού, σύμφωνα με την οποία ο εκπαιδευτικός προσλαμβάνεται ως «διανοούμενος» με την έννοια ότι συμμετέχει σε όλες της φάσεις της εκπαιδευτικής διαδικασίας (σχεδιάζει- εφαρμόζει) και ενδιαφέρεται για τη σύζευξη των εσωτερικών/παιδαγωγικών και των εξωτερικών/κοινωνικο-οικονομικών χαρακτηριστικών της εκπαίδευσης. Η θεωρητική αυτή βάση μάς βοηθάει να προσλάβουμε τη δουλειά του δασκάλου, σε αντίθεση με αυτά που δέχονται τα δόγματα της συμπεριφοριστικής παιδαγωγικής, όχι ως μία τεχνική διαχείριση ελέγχου της σχολικής ζωής, αλλά ως ένα πολιτικό εγχείρημα προσωπικής και συλλογικής χειραφέτησης του ίδιου και των μαθητών του (Giroux, 1988: 127). Από αυτή την άποψη, η παραπάνω θεωρητική αφετηρία βρίσκεται σε αντίθεση με προηγούμενα εγχειρήματα και με, πιο χαρακτηριστικό από αυτά, το «Μείζον Πρόγραμμα Επιμόρφωσης Εκπαιδευτικών» το οποίο δίνει έμφαση στην σχολική καθημερινότητα και πρακτική, σε θέματα διδασκαλίας, μεθόδων και τεχνικών για την αποτελεσματική προώθηση των επικείμενων αλλαγών και την αποτελεσματικότητα της εκπαιδευτικής πράξης (Αναστασιάδης, 2013). Η θεωρητική παραδοχή πάνω στην οποία αναδύεται η συλλογιστική μας αξιοποιεί την έννοια της «πράξης» όπως αυτή έχει αναπτυχθεί από τον Βραζιλιάνο παιδαγωγό Paulo Freire. Σύμφωνα με τη συγκεκριμένη οπτική, οι άνθρωποι σκέφτονται και δρουν για να μετασχηματίσουν τον κόσμο κατά τρόπο ριζοσπαστικό και απελευθερωτικό. Στην προκειμένη περίπτωση, ως σκέψη λογίζεται η θεωρητική σύλληψη ενός





προβλήματος και ως δράση η πρακτική υλοποίηση αυτού του σχεδίου (Φρέιρε, 1974: 153). Ο καθορισμός ενός γενικού πλαισίου στην περίπτωσή μας κρίνεται αναγκαίος στο βαθμό που εξασφαλίζει το συνεχή προσανατολισμό του ερευνητή σε σχέση με το υλικό του και με τον ορίζοντα των προτάσεών του.

Επίσης, η ανάλυση των κειμένων των συνεντεύξεων βασίστηκε στη θεματική ανάλυση περιεχομένου<sup>3</sup> με έμφαση στη σημασία και στην τακτοποίηση των συλλεγμένων στοιχείων. Η ανάλυση συνοδεύτηκε από την ερμηνεία και τη σύνδεση των συμπερασμάτων με τα αρχικά ερωτήματα που τέθηκαν. Δεν ισχυριζόμαστε ότι η διαδικασία αυτή διέπεται από ουδετερότητα, αφού στην κοινωνική – εκπαιδευτική έρευνα θεωρείται αδύνατον να αποφευχθούν οι διαμεσολαβήσεις μεταξύ παραδείγματος και κοινωνικής πραγματικότητας. Έχοντας υπόψη το τελικό υλικό, διατυπώνουμε και τη δική μας πρόταση συμβάλλοντας έτσι στον εμπλουτισμό της σχετικής συζήτησης.

### **Αποτελέσματα (παρουσίαση – ανάλυση)**

Στην έρευνα συμμετείχαν είκοσι δύο εκπαιδευτικοί. Οι έντεκα είναι γυναίκες και υπόλοιποι έντεκα άνδρες. Από τους είκοσι δύο εκπαιδευτικούς οι δέκα επτά είναι σαράντα έως πενήντα ετών και οι πέντε είναι πάνω από πενήντα ετών. Δώδεκα εκπαιδευτικοί έχουν υπηρεσία από δέκα έως είκοσι έτη και δέκα πάνω από είκοσι φτάνοντας ακόμη και τα τριάντα τρία έτη σε μια περίπτωση. Σε ό,τι αφορά τις σπουδές τους ζητήσαμε να καταγραφεί το ανώτερο επίπεδο. Σύμφωνα με τις απαντήσεις που λάβαμε οι επτά εκπαιδευτικοί είναι απόφοιτοι Παιδαγωγικής Ακαδημίας (διετούς φοίτησης) και οι δέκα τέσσερις Παιδαγωγικού Τμήματος Δημοτικής Εκπαίδευσης (τεταρτοετούς φοίτησης συμπεριλαμβανομένης και της Εξομοίωσης). Από τους ερωτηθέντες μόνο ένας παρακολουθεί μεταπτυχιακές σπουδές χωρίς όμως να τις έχει ολοκληρώσει στο διάστημα διεξαγωγής της έρευνας, ενώ ένας ακόμη παρακολουθεί πρόγραμμα εξ αποστάσεως σε ιδιωτικό κολλέγιο επιπέδου μεταπτυχιακού. Εδώ πρέπει να σημειώσουμε ότι στη συνέντευξη συμμετείχαν μόνο δάσκαλοι (όχι νηπιαγωγοί ή ειδικότητες) για να διασφαλιστεί η μεγαλύτερη ομοιογένεια του πληθυσμού της έρευνας. Επίσης, δεν υπήρξε διαδικασία εξαγωγής δείγματος αφού το πλήθος των δασκάλων της συγκεκριμένης περιοχής ήταν περιορισμένο αριθμητικά και η ανταπόκριση για συμμετοχή ικανοποιητική. Όλοι/ες οι δάσκαλοι/δασκάλες είναι μόνιμοι κάτοικοι της περιοχής στην οποία εργάζονται. Τέλος, να αναφέρουμε ότι η έρευνα διεξήχθη το διάστημα Ιανουαρίου – Φεβρουαρίου 2016 σε χώρο που επέλεξαν οι ίδιοι οι ερωτώμενοι. Μία συνολική εικόνα της ταυτότητας της έρευνας σχετικά με τα υποκείμενα που συμμετείχαν σε αυτή μας δίνει ο παρακάτω πίνακας.

<sup>3</sup> Ως ανάλυση περιεχομένου προσλαμβάνουμε το «σύνολο μεθοδολογικών διεργασιών για την αξιοποίηση ερευνητικών δεδομένων» (Πάλλα, 1992: 45). Η θεματική ανάλυση συνιστά μία ουσιαστική επιλογή για να φωτιστεί αυτό που έχει ειπωθεί. Διεισδύει στην ουσία των αναφορών και αξιοποιεί τη δυναμική των απαντήσεων.



Πίνακας 1

	Ηλικία		Χρόνια υπηρεσίας		Σπουδές		
	≥40	≥50	≥10	≥20	Π.Α.	ΠΤΔΕ/ΕΞ	ΜΕΤΑ
Γυναίκα	9	2	6	5	3	7	1
Άνδρας	8	3	6	5	4	7	
<b>Σύνολο</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>1</b>

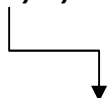
Όπως αναφέρθηκε στο εισαγωγικό μέρος του κειμένου, οι θεματικοί άξονες που εξειδίκευσαν με τη μορφή ερωτημάτων το κεντρικό ερώτημά μας ήταν δύο: α) *ανάγκες επιμόρφωσης*, β) *τρόποι αντιμετώπισης*. Η ανάλυση θεματικού περιεχομένου ανέδειξε τις παρακάτω σημαντικότερες, από άποψη συχνότητας εμφάνισης, κατηγορίες (μεταβλητές):

#### Θεματικός άξονας 1



- Μεταβλητές:
1. Μαθησιακές δυσκολίες
  2. Παιδαγωγική θεωρία/πρακτική
  3. Α.Π./βιβλία
  4. Τεχνολογίες
  5. Σχολική βία

#### Θεματικός άξονας 2



- Μεταβλητές:
1. Συμμετοχή σε σεμινάρια.
  2. Αναζήτηση βιβλιογραφίας.
  3. Ανταλλαγή εμπειριών με συναδέλφους ή με άλλες επαγγελματικές κατηγορίες. Ενδοσχολική επιμόρφωση.
  4. Επαφή με σχολικό σύμβουλο.
  5. Χρήση διαδικτύου.
  6. Απεύθυνση σε ιδιωτικό φορέα – πιστοποίηση.
  7. Προσωπική εμπειρία, πρακτικές δοκιμές.
  8. Μεταπτυχιακές σπουδές.
  9. Δεν κάνω κάτι.



Το υλικό των συνεντεύξεων διευθετήθηκε ανά άξονα, δηλαδή με βάση το κάθε ερώτημα που διατυπώθηκε παίρνοντας την εξής μορφή:

**Σχήμα 2: συγκέντρωση του υλικού ανά ερώτημα**

Σ.1.1

Σ.2.1

Σ.3.1

...

Σ.1.2

Σ.2.2

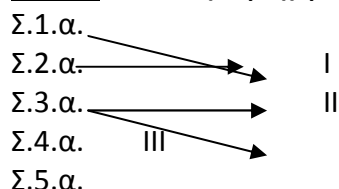
Σ.3.2

...

Όπου Σ = Συνέντευξη και 1.1 = αριθμός συνέντευξης και ερωτήματος. Για παράδειγμα, το Σ1.1 δηλώνει την πρώτη κατά σειρά συνέντευξη στο πρώτο ερώτημα, ενώ το Σ3.2 δηλώνει την τρίτη συνέντευξη του δεύτερου ερωτήματος.

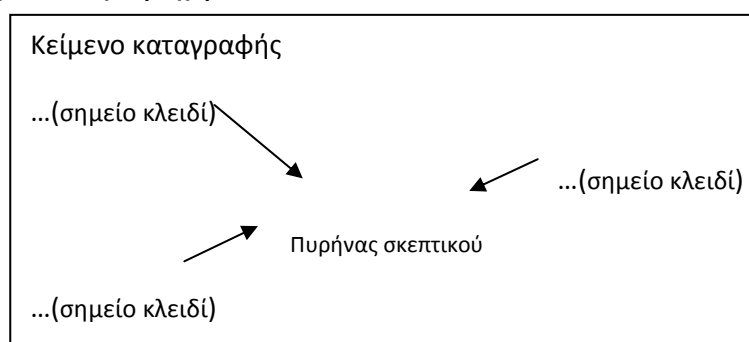
Οι κατηγορίες (μεταβλητές) που προέκυψαν από τα κείμενα οργανώθηκαν και αναλύθηκαν αντίστοιχα με τον τρόπο που απεικονίζουν τα δύο παρακάτω σχήματα. Το Σχήμα 3 παρουσιάζει ενδεικτικά τη συχνότητα εμφάνισης ενός θέματος ενώ το Σχήμα 4 παρουσιάζει το ποιοτικό κριτήριο που αναλύει το λόγο του ερωτώμενου και εξάγει τον πυρήνα του σκεπτικού του.

**Σχήμα 3: ανάλυση περιεχομένου (ερώτημα-κατηγορίες)**



Έτσι, η τρίτη συνέντευξη προσφέρει δύο θέματα (για παράδειγμα: *παιδαγωγική θεωρία, σχολική βία*), ενώ η πρώτη και η δεύτερη συνέντευξη μπορεί να συγκλίνουν σε ένα κοινό θέμα, για παράδειγμα: *ειδικές μαθησιακές δυσκολίες*.

**Σχήμα 4: θεματική ανάλυση περιεχομένου**





Ας προσεγγίσουμε όμως το υλικό μας πιο αναλυτικά.

Στο ερώτημα (*Ποιες κατά τη γνώμη σου είναι οι επιμορφωτικές σου ανάγκες;*) οι δώδεκα από τους είκοσι δύο ερωτώμενους αναφέρθηκαν στις ειδικές μαθησιακές δυσκολίες των μαθητών και στα πορίσματα της ειδικής αγωγής τα οποία θα μπορούσαν να αξιοποιηθούν στο πεδίο της καθημερινής πρακτικής. Παραθέτουμε ενδεικτικά μερικά μόνο αποσπάσματα για την καλύτερη τεκμηρίωση των ισχυρισμών μας:

«Πάνω στην συνεκπαίδευση των παιδιών (ένταξη παιδιών με μαθησιακά προβλήματα στην κανονική τάξη)» [Σ1.1].

«Σε θέματα ειδικής αγωγής. Έχω περιπτώσεις μέσα στην τάξη μου που χρήζουν διαφορετικής αντιμετώπισης» [Σ5.1].

«Παιδιά με ιδιαίτερες μαθησιακές δυσκολίες. Τα τελευταία χρόνια βλέπουμε στην τάξη μας διάφορες διαβαθμίσεις. Καλούμαστε να τα αντιμετωπίσουμε μόνοι μας» [Σ11.1].

«(...) Κάθε δάσκαλος πρέπει να επιμορφωθεί και στην ειδική αγωγή» [Σ22.1].

Το επόμενο θέμα με τη μεγαλύτερη συχνότητα εμφάνισης αφορά στο θέμα της *διδασκτικής πρακτικής και της παιδαγωγικής θεωρίας*. Οι δάσκαλοι θεωρούν πως τα θέματα παιδαγωγικής και διδασκτικής φύσης συνδέονται με το σύνολο της δουλειάς τους και πως σε αυτά τα θέματα πρέπει να υπάρχει επικαιροποιημένη κάλυψη των αναγκών που έχουν προκύψει από τις νέες εκπαιδευτικές συνθήκες. Εδώ υπερισχύει το αίτημα να προκριθούν πρακτικές λύσεις οι οποίες θα έχουν άμεση χρησιμότητα στη διδασκτική πράξη:

«Παιδαγωγική επιμόρφωση και διδασκτική μεθοδολογία» [Σ2.1].

«Στην εξέλιξη της παιδαγωγικής επιστήμης και στην πρακτική εφαρμογή της» [Σ10.1].

«Στο σύνολο της δουλειάς μας. Η ανάγκη για επιμόρφωση είναι διαρκής» [Σ13. 1].

«Όχι μόνο θεωρητικά αλλά και πρακτικά» [Σ11.1].

«Να έρθουν να μας δείξουν πράγματα στην τάξη» [Σ18.1].

Το τρίτο πεδίο στο οποίο συγκλίνουν οι απαντήσεις είναι τα *αναλυτικά προγράμματα και τα βιβλία*. Αν και τα αναλυτικά προγράμματα δεν έχουν αλλάξει τα τελευταία δέκα χρόνια, εντούτοις οι δάσκαλοι θεωρούν ότι η εφαρμογή των σχολικών εγχειριδίων παρουσιάζει δυσκολίες οι οποίες δεν ξεπερνιούνται στην καθημερινή πρακτική. Ειδικότερα το πρόβλημα της διαθεματικότητας δεν έχει επιλυθεί:

«Αφορούν (εννοεί τις επιμορφωτικές ανάγκες) τα νέα βιβλία από το 2007 και μετά. Στο θέμα της διαθεματικότητας (...). Τα βιβλία επικεντρώνονται στα παιδιά των αστικών κέντρων (...). Υπαρκτή η ανισότητα μεταξύ εκπαιδευτικών. Η επιμόρφωση σε αυτά τα θέματα είναι επιβεβλημένη» [Σ7.1].

«Σε σχέση με τα νέα βιβλία. Είναι απaráδεκτα. Πώς θα διδάξω αυτό που περιέχουν;» [Σ15.1].



Σημαντική επίσης θέση στις απαντήσεις των δασκάλων έχουν οι νέες τεχνολογίες και οι δυνατότητες που ανοίγουν στην εκπαίδευση. Δε γίνεται εκτεταμένη αναφορά στους τρόπους παρέμβασης των νέων τεχνολογιών στη μαθησιακή διαδικασία. Ωστόσο, οι νέες τεχνολογίες συγκαταλέγονται, έστω και διαισθητικά, στους σημαντικούς παράγοντες της εκπαιδευτικής πράξης σε έναν κόσμο ταχύτατων μεταβολών. Εδώ δεν πρέπει να παραλείψουμε ότι σε μία τουλάχιστον περίπτωση εκφράστηκε διαφωνία για την έκταση που έχει πάρει το συγκεκριμένο θέμα στην εκπαίδευση και για τις μορφωτικές δυνατότητες που ανοίγει.

«Εκμάθηση νέων τεχνολογιών (εννοείται από τους εκπαιδευτικούς )» [Σ4.1].

«Ανάγκες σε ζητήματα τεχνολογιών στην εκπαίδευση» [Σ6.1].

«(...) Δεν θεωρώ ότι οι νέες τεχνολογίες θα έπρεπε να εισχωρούν στη διδακτική πράξη με το βαθμό που το απαιτούν» [Σ10.1].

Σε μικρότερο, τέλος, βαθμό γίνεται αναφορά στη *σχολική βία*, αν και μένει αδιευκρίνιστο ποια είναι τα επίπεδα που την οριοθετούν:

«(...) Πάνω σε θέματα σχολικής βίας και αντιμετώπισης τέτοιων συμπεριφορών μέσα στην τάξη ή στο διάλειμμα» [Σ3.1].

Στην περίπτωση μας και στο πλαίσιο της ποιοτικής ανάλυσης, αποκτά αξία ερευνητικού δεδομένου ακόμη και η απλή παρουσία μίας και μοναδικής αναφοράς. Στην κατηγορία αυτή ανήκουν θέματα που έχουν να κάνουν με το πρόβλημα των κοινωνικών σχέσεων στην τάξη, το προβληματικό οικογενειακό περιβάλλον, τις «προβληματικές» συμπεριφορές των μαθητών γενικά και τα καινοτόμα προγράμματα στην Ευέλικτη Ζώνη, καθώς και με την Παιδαγωγική Ψυχολογία ως επιμορφωτικό πεδίο.

Στο δεύτερο ερώτημα που τέθηκε (*Με ποιους τρόπους αντιμετωπίζετε τις επιμορφωτικές σας ανάγκες;*) τα ευρήματα της συνέντευξης ανέδειξαν μια σειρά από επιλογές που συνδέονται με την ατομική στάση του κάθε δασκάλου και τοποθετούνται στην κατηγορία της ταχύρρυθμης επιμόρφωσης. Πρόκειται για σεμινάρια περιορισμένης χρονικής διάρκειας και αποσπασματικού χαρακτήρα από άποψη πραγμάτευσης του αντικειμένου. Σε συνδυασμό με τα προηγούμενα, οι δάσκαλοι έχουν αναπτύξει ένα εκτεταμένο άτυπο δίκτυο επικοινωνίας μέσα στο οποίο ανταλλάσσουν εμπειρίες, ιδέες, πρακτικές οι οποίες απορρέουν από την καθημερινή επαγγελματική τους δράση. Σημαντικές πηγές εκπαιδευτικής και παιδαγωγικής ενημέρωσης θεωρούνται ακόμη το διαδίκτυο και η εκπαιδευτική βιβλιογραφία. Αρκετοί συμπεριέλαβαν στους τρόπους αντιμετώπισης των επιμορφωτικών αναγκών τους και την επαφή με τη σχολική σύμβουλο, ενώ κάποιοι άλλοι ανέφεραν την αναγκαστική επιλογή να απευθυνθούν σε ιδιωτικούς φορείς αναλαμβάνοντας οι ίδιοι το οικονομικό κόστος. Σε μία μόνο περίπτωση αναφέρθηκε πως το επιμορφωτικό κενό επιχειρείται να καλυφθεί από την προσωπική εμπειρία και τον αναστοχασμό που η ίδια παράγει, ενώ σε μία - δύο περιπτώσεις αναφέρθηκε πως δεν επιδιώκεται καμία (επι)μορφωτική πρωτοβουλία. Τέλος δύο συνάδελφοι απάντησαν ότι παρακολουθούν μεταπτυχιακές σπουδές (την μία περίπτωση δεν την συμπεριλάβαμε στο σχετικό πίνακα γιατί δεν έχει διευκρινιστεί





η αναγνώρισή του σχετικού τίτλου) σε ιδιωτικό και δημόσιο φορέα καταβάλλοντας και στις δυο περιπτώσεις σημαντικό ποσό διδάκτρων. Παραθέτουμε μερικά αποσπάσματα από τις απαντήσεις που δόθηκαν:

«Πληρώνω από την τσέπη μου. Δεν επαρκούν τα διήμερα σεμινάρια γι' αυτό αναγκαστικά πληρώνω και πηγαίνω σε ετήσια ή διετή, επιπέδου μεταπτυχιακού σε ιδιωτικό φορέα, αφού και το δημόσιο πανεπιστήμιο έχει δίδακτρα» [Σ1.2].

«Μόνος μου, μελέτη βιβλίων σχετικών και αναζήτηση θεμάτων στο διαδίκτυο. Επαφή με σεμινάρια σχολικής συμβούλου αν είναι δυνατόν εξαιτίας της απόστασης της μόνιμης κατοικίας μου» [Σ5.2].

«Τίποτα. Μέσα από τη συναισθηματική επαφή με τα παιδιά, χωρίς κάποια ιδιαίτερη παιδαγωγική αναζήτηση» [Σ7.2].

«Δεν γίνεται κάτι στην περιοχή μου σχετικά με τα θέματα. Προσωπική αναζήτηση στο διαδίκτυο. Θα επιθυμούσα κάποια επιμόρφωση στην περιοχή μου» [Σ9.2].

«Με σεμινάρια που κατά καιρούς γίνονται και με δικές μου πρωτοβουλίες μελέτης βιβλίων» [Σ10.2].

«Με διάβασμα δικό μου γύρω από τα αντικείμενα που περιέχονται στα βιβλία. Δεν καλύπτομαι από τα σεμινάρια. Αυτά που παρουσιάζονται εκεί δεν καλύπτουν το σύνολο των διδακτικών αναγκών. Αφορούν την ιδεατή τάξη τα σεμινάρια» [Σ15.2].

«Εμπειρικά. Δεν καλύπτομαι από τη στιγμή που δεν υλοποιούνται» [Σ18.2].

«Επιμόρφωση πάνω στις τεχνολογίες και με προσωπική μου προσπάθεια. Σε πρακτική στήριξη δεν έχω κάποια συστηματική βοήθεια» [Σ19.2]

«Τα σεμινάρια πρέπει να είναι βιωματικά και με σπουδές. Αλληλεπίδραση με συναδέλφους. Ενδοσχολική επιμόρφωση» [Σ22.2].

Με βάση τα παραπάνω μπορούμε να κάνουμε ορισμένες πρώτες επισημάνσεις. Πρώτον, τα ευρήματα των συνεντεύξεων τεκμηριώνουν την απουσία ενός οργανωμένου και συστηματικού σχεδίου από την πλευρά της Πολιτείας για την επιμόρφωση των δασκάλων. Ενός προγράμματος φοίτησης, για παράδειγμα, που θα οργανώνονταν από το δημόσιο πανεπιστήμιο και θα αφορούσε το σύνολο των εκπαιδευτικών, πρόταση στην οποία θα επανέλθουμε διεξοδικότερα παρακάτω. Δεύτερον, το παραπάνω κενό επιχειρείται να καλυφθεί με περιστασιακές επιλογές από τους ίδιους τους εκπαιδευτικούς ατομικά ή σε επίπεδο σχολικής μονάδας. Τρίτον, στο λόγο των δασκάλων διαφαίνεται ένα είδος διχοτόμησης ανάμεσα στη θεωρία και την πρακτική με εμφανή υπέρσχυση του πρακτικού έναντι του θεωρητικού: θέλουμε πρακτικά πράγματα και όχι άλλες θεωρίες (αυτό αναφέρεται στις περισσότερες απαντήσεις του πρώτου ερωτήματος και σε αρκετές του δεύτερου). Τέταρτον, οι εκπαιδευτικοί δεν αναφέρθηκαν σε συγκεκριμένα διδακτικά πεδία (όπως Γλώσσα, Ιστορία ή Φυσικές Επιστήμες) επειδή ενδεχομένως να θεωρούν ότι το πρόβλημα των διαφορετικών οπτικών (άρα και των διαφορετικών εφαρμογών της γνώσης) εντός του ίδιου πεδίου δε συνιστά πρόβλημα προς διερεύνηση. Σε αυτό θα συμπεριλάβουμε και το ζήτημα της αξιολόγησης των μαθητών. Δεν επισημαίνεται κάποιος ορισμένος προβληματισμός για τις πρακτικές που εφαρμόζονται ή για κάποιες άλλες εναλλακτικές μορφές που



ενδεχομένως να απαιτούνται. Δεν έγινε, επίσης, καμία αναφορά σε επιστημονικά πεδία, όπως για παράδειγμα στην Κοινωνιολογία της Εκπαίδευσης ή στη Κοινωνιογλωσσολογία, η οποία θα μπορούσε να συνδέσει τη σχολική γνώση με τις ευρύτερες κοινωνικοπολιτικές προϋποθέσεις ύπαρξής της, ώστε να αποκαλυφθούν οι κοινωνικές λειτουργίες του σχολείου και να διερευνηθούν τα ιδιαίτερα χαρακτηριστικά της σύζευξης του μικροεπιπέδου της σχολικής τάξης με τους κεντρικούς μηχανισμούς ανάπτυξης των κοινωνιών.

Προχωρώντας σε ένα δεύτερο επίπεδο ανάλυσης και προεκτείνοντας τα κείμενα των συνεντεύξεων σε νέες διαστάσεις, θεωρούμε ότι ο λόγος των ερωτώμενων αλλά και η ερμηνεία του ερευνητή αποτελούν πλευρές της κοινωνικοπολιτικής συγκυρίας. Δεν παραβλέπουμε το γεγονός ότι η έκφραση του υποκειμενικού πρέπει να θεωρείται προϊόν των ιστορικών εξελίξεων και κατά συνέπεια το ατομικό δεν μπορεί να προσεγγίζεται ως ένα είδος υπερϊστορικής μορφής έκφρασης. Αναφερόμαστε στην θεωρητικοποίηση της εμπειρικής ματιάς όπως αυτή διαμορφώνεται καθημερινά. Η εμπειρική αυτή σύλληψη στη συνέχεια διατυπώνεται με τη μορφή θέσης απέναντι στο ζήτημα των αναγκών για επιμόρφωση. Ουσιαστικά, η εμπειρία παρεισφρέει στο φαντασιακό και στη συνέχεια το φαντασιακό αποτυπώνεται στο πρακτικό (Glandinin, 1985: 363). Υπό αυτή την έννοια, το αίτημα των δασκάλων για ενίσχυση της πρακτικής πλευράς της διδασκαλίας αποκτά αξία κοινωνικού δεδομένου και προσφέρεται ως πεδίο διερεύνησης. Ουσιαστικά, η μελέτη της εμπειρίας ενός υποκειμένου ή, σε μεγαλύτερη κλίμακα, μιας επαγγελματικής κατηγορίας με ιδιαίτερα χαρακτηριστικά, η ανίχνευση των πρακτικών που θεμελιώνουν αυτή την εμπειρία αλλά και η εστίαση της ανάλυσης στην αφήγηση αυτών των πρακτικών, συνιστούν κρίσιμες πλευρές του εκπαιδευτικού σχεδιασμού. Με άλλα λόγια, για να ερμηνεύσουμε τα δεδομένα των συνεντεύξεων πρέπει να φωτίσουμε το υπόβαθρο που τροφοδοτεί τις αντιλήψεις των ερωτώμενων. Το υπόβαθρο αυτό συγκροτείται από την πρακτική προσωπική γνώση της καθημερινότητας και έχει τα χαρακτηριστικά της δοκιμαστικής εφαρμογής, της φορτισμένης αξιακά αίσθησης της πραγματικότητας αλλά και της στοχοκεντρικής, προσανατολισμένης στην πρακτική γνώσης. Γι' αυτό το λόγο, το πρακτικό κερδίζει έδαφος έναντι του θεωρητικού. Η διχοτόμηση θεωρίας – πρακτικής αφαιρεί όμως τη δυνατότητα μιας συνολικής κατόπτευσης του κοινωνικού ρόλου του σχολείου και των εκπαιδευτικών. Σε αυτό το σημείο διαμεσολαβεί η διαδικασία ερμηνείας της εμπειρίας, ένα είδος κριτικού στοχασμού, ο οποίος μπορεί να βοηθήσει τον ερωτώμενο να αποκτήσει αίσθηση των πρακτικών του αλλά και των σκέψεών του. Όπως υπαινιχτήκαμε και παραπάνω, τόσο ο λόγος των ερωτώμενων όσο και η ερμηνεία που επιδέχεται αυτός ο λόγος είναι αδύνατο να ιδωθούν αφενός εκτός πλαισίου άσκησης της δεδομένης πολιτικής και αφετέρου εκτός πλαισίου διαμάχης και συσχετισμού δύναμης, ως απόρροια της παραπάνω πολιτικής, των παιδαγωγικών ιδεών στη χώρα μας και αλλού. Η θέση αυτή δε θεμελιώνεται μόνο στην επίκληση της εμπειρίας των μνημονιακών πολιτικών των τελευταίων χρόνων, η



οποία είχε δραματικές επιπτώσεις στο δημόσιο σχολείο και στους όρους εργασίας των εκπαιδευτικών, αλλά και στη βαθύτερη διεργασία διεμβόλησης της εκπαιδευτικής σκέψης στην χώρα μας από εκπαιδευτικά ρεύματα τα οποία καθιερώνουν μία σχέση του σχολείου με τον κόσμο της αγοράς. Τα συγκεκριμένα νεοφιλελεύθερου τύπου εγχειρήματα επιχειρούν επιπλέον να καθιερώσουν μορφές ελέγχου της εκπαιδευτικής διαδικασίας στη βάση των αρχών της μετρησιμότητας και της αποτελεσματικής διαχείρισης, ιδέες που δοκιμάζονται στη χώρα μας στο πεδίο των κοινωνικο-εκπαιδευτικών αντιπαραθέσεων εδώ και μερικές δεκαετίες. Πρόκειται για πολιτικές που εισάγονται στο σχολείο από τον χώρο του επιστημονικού μάνατζμεντ, επιχειρούν να διαχωρίσουν αυστηρά την εκτέλεση από τη σύλληψη και ωθούν τη μόρφωση προς ένα είδος «αγοραίου ορθολογισμού». Ο St. Ball υποστηρίζει ότι η εν λόγω στρατηγική επιφέρει την «προλεταριοποίηση» του εκπαιδευτικού, δηλαδή την ουσιαστική απώλεια του ελέγχου της δουλειάς του (Ball, 1987: 138). Το συγκεκριμένο θέμα δε θα το αναπτύξουμε περαιτέρω γιατί θα υπερβούμε τα όρια της ανάλυσής μας. Αξίζει, ωστόσο, να το θίξουμε ακροθιγώς για να τοποθετήσουμε τις επιλογές και τις ιδέες των υποκειμένων (εν προκειμένω των δασκάλων) στο πλαίσιο των ιστορικών προϋποθέσεων ύπαρξής τους. Προφανώς, αυτό που ισχύει για τις απαντήσεις των δασκάλων στα δύο ερωτήματα ισχύει και για τη δική μας πρόταση ερμηνείας. Θεωρούμε ότι η πρόταση αυτή δεν είναι ουδέτερη, αφού η αφήγηση ενός επιστημονικού προβλήματος δεν καταγράφεται ως ένα αυτόνομο συμβάν εκτός κοινωνικοπολιτικών προϋποθέσεων γέννησης και δράσης του υποκειμενικού.

### Θεωρητικές και πρακτικές προεκτάσεις

Το θεωρητικό πλαίσιο που υποστήριξε τις μεθοδολογικές μας επιλογές και μεγέθυνε τις επισημάνσεις της εργασίας μας αντλεί, όπως αναφέραμε αρχικά, το περιεχόμενό του από το ρεύμα της κριτικής παιδαγωγικής και του κριτικού γραμματισμού. Η μόρφωση εδώ αντιμετωπίζεται ως πολιτικό εγχείρημα κατανόησης του κοινωνικού γίνεσθαι για τη συνειδητή δράση που μετασχηματίζει τον κόσμο. Στο πλαίσιο αυτό ο γραμματισμός (η ίδια η συγκρότηση της γνώσης και η πράξη της μόρφωσης) προσλαμβάνεται ως κριτική ανάλυση ενός κοινωνικού προβλήματος και ανάπτυξη δυνατοτήτων μετασχηματισμού μιας κατάστασης. Έτσι, η πράξη της μελέτης και της γραφής συνιστά διαδικασία επαναδόμησης της πραγματικότητας. Βασιζόμαστε επίσης στη θέση πως η αντικειμενική πραγματικότητα αντανάκλα στην ανθρώπινη αντίληψη για ένα θέμα. Ωστόσο, η διαδικασία αυτή δεν πρέπει να θεωρείται μηχανιστική αλλά ιδιαίτερη και σύνθετη. Οι αντιλήψεις επομένως των ερωτώμενων απεικονίζουν ευρύτερες δομικές σχέσεις. Σύμφωνα με τον Silverman, τα δεδομένα της συνέντευξης αντανάκλουν το ρεαλισμό της κοινωνικής ζωής. Υπό αυτή την έννοια δεν είναι ούτε προϊόντα προκατάληψης ούτε «καθαρή» σύλληψη των γεγονότων (Silverman, 1985: 157). Με βάση τα δύο παραπάνω στοιχεία (παιδαγωγική-γραμματισμός), θεωρούμε ότι η επιμόρφωση των δασκάλων πρέπει να είναι συνεχής και ουσιαστική. Οφείλει να



συνδυάζει την περιοδική αποδέσμευση από τα διδακτικά καθήκοντα με την παράλληλη στήριξη από επιστημονικές επιτροπές στο ίδιο το πεδίο των εφαρμογών. Αναφερόμαστε στη συγκρότηση ενός δικτύου συνεργασίας των σχολείων με τα τοπικά πανεπιστημιακά τμήματα το οποίο θα αντλεί τους οικονομικούς του πόρους από τον κρατικό προϋπολογισμό, όμως ταυτόχρονα θα έχει τη δυνατότητα να λειτουργεί σχετικά αυτόνομα και να συγκροτεί τους σκοπούς του. Τα θέματα που θα εμπλουτίζουν τα επιμορφωτικά περιεχόμενα κρίνεται αναγκαίο να οδηγούν σε γνώση όχι απλώς των πρακτικών αλλά και των ευρύτερων προϋποθέσεων της μάθησης. Να αποσαφηνίζουν τον κρίσιμο ρόλο της εκπαίδευσης στην οργάνωση της κοινωνικής ζωής. Να προκρίνουν τελικά το μοντέλο του εκπαιδευτικού διανοούμενου που θα είναι σε θέση να γνωρίζει κάτω από ποιες επιστημονικές και ιδεολογικές συνθήκες παράγεται το υλικό του και ποιες εκπαιδευτικές/κοινωνικές επιπτώσεις συνεπάγεται η εφαρμογή του. Ο δάσκαλος είναι αυτός που εξοικειώνει τους μαθητές του με διαδικασίες, επικεντρώνεται στους τρόπους μάθησης αλλά και στις συνθήκες (άμεσες και γενικότερες) που επιτρέπουν τη μάθηση.

Η έννοια της *πράξης*, στην οποία αναφερθήκαμε αρχικά, συγκροτείται αφενός από το στοιχείο της σκέψης (δηλαδή τη θεωρητική σύλληψη ενός προβλήματος) και αφετέρου από το στοιχείο της δράσης (δηλαδή από την πρακτική εφαρμογή ενός σχεδίου). Κρατώντας αυτό το στοιχείο, θα λέγαμε πως η σημασία της παιδαγωγικής και του παιδαγωγικού στοχασμού έγκειται στη διαμόρφωση της σχέσης ατομικού κοινωνικού, καθώς και στη συγκρότηση μιας οπτικής για τον κόσμο και τις σχέσεις που διαγράφονται στο εσωτερικό του. Η σύνθεση όλων αυτών των παραγόντων μάς βοηθάει να δώσουμε έμφαση στο γεγονός ότι η (επι)μορφωτική ενδυνάμωση των εκπαιδευτικών δεν πρέπει να εγκλείεται αποκλειστικά στα ασφυκτικά όρια του τρίπτυχου: δάσκαλος - γνώση - μαθητής, αλλά (χωρίς να το αγνοεί) να οικοδομεί ένα συνολικό πεδίο κατανόησης της συνθετότητας των εκπαιδευτικών διαδικασιών. Κατά συνέπεια, αφού η σημασία της μόρφωσης, της συγκρότησης της συνείδησης του υποκειμένου και των νοητικών σχημάτων με βάση τα οποία ερμηνεύει το κοινωνικό είναι και γίνεσθαι (δηλαδή την επίδραση των υλικών πρακτικών κουλτούρας στην ταυτότητα του σύγχρονου ανθρώπου) αναδιατάσσεται από τις βαθιές τομές των καιρών μας (αφού η διανοητική εργασία γίνεται η ατμομηχανή της κοινωνικής ζωής), καθίσταται ιδιαίτερα γόνιμη η επαφή των δασκάλων με χειραφετητικές προοπτικές υπέρβασης μορφών διδακτικού πρακτικισμού. Κατ' αυτόν τον τρόπο, θεωρείται κρίσιμη η ανάπτυξη συλλογικών διαδικασιών μορφωτικής δράσης που αναδεικνύουν τις ευρύτερες προϋποθέσεις παραγωγής και μετάδοσης της γνώσης, καθώς και τις εκπαιδευτικές-κοινωνικές συνέπειες που έχει η σχολική χρήση συγκεκριμένων μορφών γνώσης και περιεχομένων. Αν επομένως η παιδαγωγική επιστήμη, υπό μία ριζοσπαστική πρόσληψη του όρου, έχει ως αντικείμενά της: το πλαίσιο μόρφωσης του ανθρώπου, τη σχέση μορφής (πώς) και περιεχομένου (τι) της γνώσης, αλλά και τις κοινωνικές πρακτικές που διαπερνούν την παραπάνω σχέση, αν ακόμη δεχθούμε ότι η παιδαγωγική αποτελεί εκείνη τη



μορφωτική δύναμη για την ανάπτυξη μιας κριτικής οπτικής για τον κόσμο, τότε αντίστοιχη πρέπει να είναι και η θεωρητική/πρακτική συγκρότηση του δασκάλου γι' αυτά τα ζητήματα. Το συμπέρασμα αυτό σχηματοποιεί με ευκρίνεια την πρότασή μας, την βοηθάει να εξειδικευθεί. Κατά τη γνώμη μας, η υλοποίηση του μορφωτικού εγχειρήματος που ασπάζεται το παραπάνω πλαίσιο αρχών εξυπηρετείται καλύτερα με την επικέντρωση του επιμορφωτικού σχεδιασμού και με τον προσανατολισμό της παιδαγωγικής κριτικής σε **θέματα** και **αντικείμενα** (ή και σε συνδυασμούς τους) όπως: Οπτικές γραμματισμού, ρεύματα σκέψης και δράσης στο σύγχρονο σχολείο, κοινωνιολογία και σχολική γνώση, πολιτισμικές σπουδές και δημόσια παιδαγωγική, φιλοσοφικές - επιστημονικές προσεγγίσεις και μεθοδολογικές επιδράσεις στην εκπαίδευση, φύση της γλώσσας και παιδαγωγικές εφαρμογές, αξιολόγηση του εκπαιδευτικού έργου, αναλυτικά προγράμματα και εκπαιδευτική πολιτική, πολιτική οικονομία και εκπαίδευση, τοπικές και ευρύτερες μορφωτικές ανάγκες. Η παραπάνω λίστα (η οποία ασφαλώς είναι ενδεικτική και δεν εξαντλεί το ζήτημα) μπορεί να εμπλουτιστεί με την κριτική διερεύνηση της παιδαγωγικής-πολιτικής πρότασης του Paulo Freire, με τη συζήτηση για την Κριτική Παιδαγωγική στην Ελλάδα και την επιστημονική αντιπαράθεση για το σύγχρονο σχολείο διεθνώς, καθώς και με τις αντανάκλασεις αυτής της αντιπαράθεσης στη χώρα μας. Μπορεί τέλος να ιδωθεί μέσα από τους φακούς της φιλοσοφίας της πράξης και της διαλεκτικής σκέψης η οποία αντιλαμβάνεται τις αντιφάσεις της κοινωνικής ζωής και δημιουργεί τους όρους επίλυσής τους.

Ολοκληρώνοντας το σκεπτικό μας στο σημείο αυτό, θεωρούμε πως η εργασία μας έχει δύο πρακτικές/θεωρητικές συνέπειες. Η πρώτη καταδεικνύει ότι η αντίληψή μου για ένα θέμα οφείλεται στην προσωπική μου εμπειρία (η οποία αποτελεί μία κοινωνική περιοχή) αλλά και ιδιαίτερα στον θεωρητικό μου στοχασμό. Αυτό έχει συναισθηματικές και ηθικές διαστάσεις και όχι μόνο γνωστικές. Η δεύτερη σηματοδοτεί την ανάγκη κάθε μεταρρυθμιστικό εγχείρημα να οικοδομείται ενσωματώνοντας στο σκεπτικό του αυτή την εμπειρία και τους τρόπους έκφρασής της. Η οργανωμένη επιμόρφωση οφείλει να γνωρίζει πώς σκέφτονται τα άτομα στα οποία απευθύνεται. Ο κόσμος του δασκάλου είναι ο κόσμος των πρακτικών εφαρμογών (Glandinin, 1985: 383). Όμως, κάθε πρόταση για επιμόρφωση των εκπαιδευτικών είναι αναγκαίο, για να μην είναι ατελέσφορη, να γνωρίζει ποιο είναι το πλαίσιο, όχι για να καθλωθεί σε αυτό αλλά για να το υπερβεί δημιουργικά. Η εκπαιδευτική έρευνα μπορεί να συμβάλλει στη σύλληψη αξιόπιστων λύσεων σε κοινωνικά προβλήματα μέσω της οργανωμένης συλλογής και ανάλυσης δεδομένων σχετικών ζητημάτων. Σε τελική ανάλυση, η ανάπτυξη γνωστικής βάσης είναι που παράγει και τους όρους άσκησης πολιτικής (Cohen&Manion: 1994, 68). Προς αυτή την κατεύθυνση προσβλέπει η ερευνητική μας εργασία καταδεικνύοντας την ανάγκη να υπάρξουν συστηματικότερα και μεγαλύτερης εμβέλειας εγχειρήματα.





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## Υποστηρίζοντας πολιτισμικές μειονότητες με χορηγό την ανθρωπιά: Η περίπτωση της μουσουλμανικής μειονότητας στο Γκάζι

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### Περίληψη

Το συγκεκριμένο πόνημα προέκυψε στα πλαίσια της μελέτης της συμβολής της πρωτοβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης στη διαμόρφωση της πολιτιστικής φυσιογνωμίας της τουρκόφωνης μουσουλμανικής κοινότητας που κατοικεί στο Γκάζι και τις όμορες περιοχές του Βοτανικού και του Ρουφ. Η μελέτη των φυσικών και ανθρωπογενών στοιχείων έγινε με επιτόπια έρευνα, βιβλιογραφική ανασκόπηση, ερωτηματολόγιο και συνεντεύξεις κυρίως από εκπροσώπους οργανώσεων και συλλόγων που δραστηριοποιούνται στην περιοχή. Οι αντιλήψεις των παιδιών διερευνήθηκαν με τη χρήση ερωτηματολογίου και των ενηλίκων με ημιδομημένες συνεντεύξεις. Στην έρευνα συμμετείχαν συνολικά 19 παιδιά, 9 κηδεμόνες και 4 εκπαιδευτικοί. Προέκυψε ότι σε θέματα πολιτιστικής ενημέρωσης και συμμετοχής των παιδιών, το σχολείο και η οικογένεια λειτουργούν συμπληρωματικά. Σημαντικό ποσοστό παιδιών δεν συμμετέχει σε δραστηριότητες και εκδηλώσεις πολιτιστικών φορέων. Βέβαια, υπάρχει πολιτιστική δραστηριότητα στην περιοχή όμως σε αυτή δε συμμετέχει το μεγάλο κομμάτι του μουσουλμανικού πληθυσμού. Οι πρωτοβουλίες του δήμου δεν φαίνεται να συμπεριλαμβάνουν ως ομάδα στόχου τη μουσουλμανική κοινότητα στο σχεδιασμό τους όπως διαφάνηκε τόσο από τις απαντήσεις των παιδιών όσο και από τις απαντήσεις των κηδεμόνων. Μεταξύ των άλλων, προέκυψε πως και στη συγκεκριμένη περιοχή παρατηρείται όλο και εντονότερη η δράση συλλόγων και εξωσχολικών φορέων. Προκειμένου να σκιαγραφηθεί ο ρόλος των διάφορων φορέων στη διαμόρφωση της πολιτιστικής φυσιογνωμίας της υπό μελέτη κοινότητας ακολούθησε δεύτερη φάση συνεντεύξεων με ενήλικες, τους ίδιους ή νέους, ώστε να διερευνηθεί η γνώμη των άμεσα επωφελομένων κηδεμόνων και των εκπαιδευτικών σχετικά.

### Λέξεις κλειδιά

Μουσουλμάνοι, Γκάζι, Θράκη, Διαπολιτισμική εκπαίδευση, Αποκλεισμός, Εξωσχολικοί φορείς

### Εισαγωγή

Τα τελευταία χρόνια η βιβλιογραφική παραγωγή σχετικά με την κοινωνική θεωρία και έρευνα αναφορικά με τις προσεγγίσεις της ετερότητας είναι ιδιαίτερα αυξημένη, όμως δε μπορούμε να πούμε πως οι γνώσεις μας για τις μειονότητες που θα οδηγούσαν στην καλύτερη κατανόηση των κοινωνικών φαινομένων που συνδέονται με την παρουσία τους είναι ακόμη ικανοποιητικές.

Οι συνθήκες διαβίωσης της μουσουλμανικής κοινότητας που έχει μεταναστεύσει από την Θράκη στην Αθήνα και συγκεκριμένα στην γειτονιά του Κεραμεικού και των τριγύρω περιοχών ακόμη είναι απογοητευτικές (Αβραμοπούλου & Καρακατσάνης, 2001: 7-8). Η συγκεκριμένη κοινότητα φαίνεται πως αντιμετωπίζει προβλήματα στέγασης, εγκατάστασης, υγείας, εργασίας, φτώχειας, περιθωριοποίησης. Οι



γλωσσικές δυσκολίες είναι ένας επιπρόσθετος παράγοντας που δυσχεραίνει την εκπαιδευτική τους πορεία και την κοινωνική τους ένταξη (Γκότοβος, 2002: 66. Άγνωστος συντάκτης, 2007: 31).

Αφορμή για την εκπόνηση της παρούσας μελέτης στάθηκε ο προβληματισμός της ερευνήτριας σχετικά με την αδυναμία των παιδιών που ανήκουν στη μουσουλμανική τουρκόφωνη μειονότητα του Κεραμεικού να κατακτήσουν την ελληνική γλώσσα (Βουρνά κ.ά., 2012: 6. Σωτηρίου, 2006: 4) και ως σκοπός της αναδείχθηκε η περεταίρω διερεύνηση του ρόλου που διαδραματίζουν διάφοροι φορείς στην υποστήριξη της συγκεκριμένης μειονότητας. Όσον αφορά στη δημιουργία των κοινοτήτων και των πολιτισμικών ομάδων, ο A. Cohen (1985: 142) διερευνά την κατασκευή της κοινότητας ως συστήματος αξιών, κανόνων και κωδικών ηθικής, που αποδίδει την αίσθηση της ταυτότητας σε όσους περικλείει στα σύνορά της. Ο ίδιος ορίζει την κοινότητα ως την οντότητα στην οποία κανείς ανήκει, και η οποία είναι μεγαλύτερη από τη συγγένεια, πιο άμεση από τη γενικότητα που ονομάζουμε κοινωνία και έξω από τα όρια του σπιτιού τους. Δεν χρειάζεται απαραίτητα να κατασκευάζουμε την έννοια της κοινότητας με όρους τοπικότητας και γειτνίασης, αλλά είναι απαραίτητο να κατανοήσουμε την κοινότητα στα πλαίσια του ανήκειν (Cohen, 1985: 98, 168. Thijs & Verkuyten, 2014: 2) . Του ανήκειν ανεξαρτήτως τόπου σε μια ομάδα και ότι δεν ανήκει σε άλλη. Πρόκειται, λοιπόν, για μία διαδικασία που εντάσσεται στην νοερή-φαντασιακή κατασκευή μίας ταυτότητας που αποτελείται από ένα σύνολο κοινών χαρακτηριστικών τα οποία επιλέγονται μέσω του μηχανισμού του αποκλεισμού του διαφορετικού (Κρητικός, 2007: 242).

Η δημιουργία της μουσουλμανικής μειονότητας της Θράκης προκύπτει θεσμικά από τη συνθήκη της Λωζάννης η οποία υπογράφηκε το 1923 (Κρητικός, 2010: 154). Υπό το καθεστώς προστασίας που όρισε η συνθήκη της Λωζάννης εξαιρέθηκαν από την ανταλλαγή πληθυσμών η πολυπληθής μουσουλμανική της Δυτικής Θράκης και οι μη μουσουλμανικοί ιθαγενείς πληθυσμοί της Ίμβρου, της Τενέδου και της Κωνσταντινούπολης.

Έκτοτε, ο σχεδιασμός της πολιτικής στάσης της ελληνικής κυβέρνησης απέναντι στη μειονότητα έχει βασιστεί στην ικανοποίηση των εκάστοτε πολιτικών συμφερόντων και όχι στην ανάγκη ένταξης του συγκεκριμένου πληθυσμού (Ζεγκίνης, 2001: 50-51. Τσιούμης, 2011: 94-97. Αβραμοπούλου & Καρακατσάνης, 2001: 3-5). Πιο συγκεκριμένα, η ίδια η ελληνική κυβέρνηση έχει κατά καιρούς προωθήσει την τουρκοποίηση της μειονότητας παρά τα διαφορετικά χαρακτηριστικά της αναγνωρίζοντας την τουρκική ως μητρική και προωθώντας μέχρι το 2000 την διδασκαλία της ανεξαιρέτως σε όλα τα μέλη της μουσουλμανικής μειονότητας και υιοθετώντας ακόμη και σε επίσημα κείμενα τον χαρακτηρισμό της μειονότητας ως “τουρκικής” και όχι ως “μουσουλμανικής” (Ασκούνη, 2006: 57. Μπεζάτη & Θεοδοσοπούλου, 2006. Ζεγκίνης. 2001). Ένα ακόμα στοιχείο που σκιαγραφεί τη στάση της ελληνικής κυβέρνησης έναντι της μουσουλμανικής μειονότητας είναι η περιθωριοποίησή της και η τάση τουρκοποίησής της για την αντιμετώπιση της



κομμουνιστικής απειλής που ενείχε η συνοριακή γειτνίαση με την κομμουνιστική Βουλγαρία και η πολιτισμική συγγένεια της πομακικής μουσουλμανικής μειονότητας με το βουλγαρικό πληθυσμό. Είναι χαρακτηριστικό πως μόλις το 1995 καταργήθηκε ο στρατιωτικός έλεγχος των μετακινήσεων από και προς την επιτηρούμενη ζώνη του Εχίνου που ίσχυε από το 1953 λόγω του Ψυχρού Πολέμου (Ασκούνη, 2006: 37). Αυτές οι συνθήκες κοινωνικής περιθωριοποίησης δημιουργούν διαχρονικά πρόσφορο έδαφος για να ευοδωθούν οι προσπάθειες της τουρκικής πλευράς για ανάπτυξη της τουρκικής συνείδησης (Νικολακόπουλος στην Ασκούνη, 2006: 55).

Εξαιτίας των προβλημάτων ένταξης που αντιμετώπιζε η μουσουλμανική μειονότητα της Θράκης όπως τα σκιαγραφήσαμε παραπάνω προέκυψε τη δεκαετία του 60' ένα κύμα μετανάστευσης στο εξωτερικό, στη Γερμανία (Ζεγκίνης, 2001: 59) αλλά και στο εσωτερικό, σε αστικά κέντρα όπου θα μπορούσαν να αναζητήσουν εργασία ως ανειδίκευτοι εργάτες (Τρουμπέτα, 2001. Αβραμοπούλου & Καρακατσάνης, 2001: 3-6). Στην περιοχή της Αττικής οι μουσουλμάνοι εγκαταστάθηκαν σε περιοχές με βιομηχανική δραστηριότητα όπως το Λαύριο, η Ελευσίνα, το Πέραμα και το Γκαζοχώρι. Η ακριβής περιοχή όπου εγκαταστάθηκαν αρχικά μέλη της μειονότητας στην Αθήνα οριοθετούνταν από τους δρόμους της Ιεράς οδού, της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, της Πειραιώς και του Μεγάλου Βασιλείου (Τρίμη, 1989). Οι συγκεκριμένοι δρόμοι μπορούμε να πούμε πως οριοθετούν και την περιοχή του Γκαζοχωρίου (Ρωπαϊτου-Τσαπαρέλλη, 2004. Σκιαδάς, 2001). Η γειτονιά του Γκαζοχωρίου δημιουργήθηκε για τη στέγαση των εργαζόμενων στο εργοστάσιο φωταερίου. Πρόκειται για μία γειτονιά που από τη δημιουργία της απαρτίστηκε από μειονότητες καθώς υπήρχε και συνοικισμός προσφύγων μεταξύ των οδών Ερμού-Πειραιώς-Θεσσαλονίκης ενώ ζούσαν και ζουν ακόμη και σήμερα μερικές οικογένειες Εβραίων (Ρωπαϊτου-Τσαπαρέλλη, 2004:24). Στη συνέχεια η μειονότητα επεκτάθηκε και στις γύρω περιοχές του Κεραμεικού όπως μετονομάστηκε το 1908 η συνοικία του Γκαζοχωρίου (Ρωπαϊτου-Τσαπαρέλλη, 2004: 16), του Βοτανικού, του Ρουφ και λιγότερο των Πετραλώνων και του Μεταξουργείου (Αβραμοπούλου & Καρακατσάνης, 2001: 4). Η επιλογή της περιοχής γύρω από το εργοστάσιο φωταερίου προς οίκηση αφενός στη δυνατότητα για εργασία στο εργοστάσιο όπου πράγματι απορροφήθηκε σημαντικός αριθμός μουσουλμάνων ως ανειδίκευτοι εργάτες και στα φθηνά ενοίκια που είχαν διαμορφωθεί εξαιτίας της λειτουργίας του εργοστασίου στη συγκεκριμένη περιοχή η οποία υποβάθμιζε την περιοχή (Ρωπαϊτου-Τσαπαρέλλη, 2004). Σε δεύτερο επίπεδο η επιλογή της συγκεκριμένης περιοχής αποδίδεται στην ανάγκη για δημιουργία μέσω της γειτνίασης μίας νέας κοινότητας με τα ίδια πολιτιστικά, θρησκευτικά, γλωσσικά χαρακτηριστικά στο νέο τόπο εγκατάστασης (Cohen, 1985: 98 ).

Ένα δεύτερο κύμα εσωτερικής αυτή τη φορά μετανάστευσης προκύπτει τη δεκαετία του 80'. Από την εξέταση του πολιτικού πλαισίου της συγκεκριμένης περιόδου αναδεικνύονται οι αιτίες της μετανάστευσης. Παρατηρείται παράλληλα με την προσπάθεια για ανάπτυξη και διατήρηση του γηγενή χριστιανικού πληθυσμού μία



επιχείρηση για μεταδημότευση του γηγενή μουσουλμανικού πληθυσμού με την παροχή προνομίων στο νέο τόπο κατοικίας όπως θέσεων εργασίας στο δημόσιο, ασφάλισης, στεγαστικών δανείων (Αβραμοπούλου & Καρακατσάνης, 2001: 4).

Για να ολοκληρωθεί η σκιαγράφηση του πολιτικού πλαισίου της εσωτερικής αυτής μετανάστευσης να προσθέσουμε πως η τάση μεταδημότευσης των μειονοτικών ψηφοφόρων συμπίπτει με την πρώτη αυτόνομη μειονοτική υποψηφιότητα με το συνδυασμό “Ειρήνη”, το 1985 στην Ξάνθη (Αβραμοπούλου & Καρακατσάνης, 2001: 4).

Με μια πιο προσεκτική ματιά στα στοιχεία των πληθυσμών που μετακινήθηκαν είναι εύκολο να καταλάβουμε πως πρόκειται για μουσουλμάνους της Θράκης που ανήκαν στις ασθενέστερες οικονομικά τάξεις, τοιγγάνικης ή πομακικής καταγωγής (Ρωπαϊτού-Τσαπαρέλη, 2004. Τρίμη, 1989. Αργυράκης, 1961). Το σύνολο του πληθυσμού ανήκει ως σήμερα σε χαμηλά οικονομικοκοινωνικά στρώματα με χαμηλές ευκαιρίες κοινωνικής ανέλιξης. Πιο ευνοημένοι βέβαια οικονομικά φαίνεται πως είναι όσοι προσλήφθηκαν σε θέσεις δημοσίου κατά τη δεκαετία του 80' οπότε απολαμβάνουν οι ίδιοι και οι οικογένειές του ως σήμερα τα προνόμια εκείνης της πρόσληψης, κοινωνική ασφάλιση, σύνταξη, αξιοπρεπής στέγη. Ο υπόλοιπος πληθυσμός σύμφωνα με τα δεδομένα της εμπειρικής έρευνας απασχολείται σε μεγάλο ποσοστό σε εργοστάσια της γύρω περιοχής ως ανειδίκευτοι εργάτες ενώ η συντριπτική πλειοψηφία των γυναικών ασχολείται με τις οικιακές εργασίες. Ακόμη και σήμερα είναι μικρός ο αριθμός των γυναικών που ασκούν κάποιο επάγγελμα εκτός σπιτιού, συνήθως ως καθαρίστριες, πωλήτριες ή υπάλληλοι σε καταστήματα εστίασης (Ρωπαϊτού-Τσαπαρέλη, 2004).

Σε αυτό το σημείο θα πρέπει να αναφερθούμε ιδιαίτερα στην απασχόληση πολλών μελών της κοινότητας ως ρακοσυλλεκτών οι οποίοι όλη την εβδομάδα συλλέγουν μεταχειρισμένα και παλιά αντικείμενα κάθε είδους για να τα πουλήσουν στο δημοφιλές παζάρι που γίνεται κάθε Κυριακή στην περιοχή του Ελαιώνα, δίπλα στον Κεραμεικό. Μάλιστα, αξιόλογη είναι η προσπάθεια οργάνωσης των ρακοσυλλεκτών σε σωματεία όπως “Ο Ερμής” και “Η Αλληλεγγύη” διεκδικώντας αξιοπρεπέστερες συνθήκες εργασίας όπως η παραχώρηση από τις δημοτικές αρχές ενός σταθερού χώρου διεξαγωγής του κυριακάτικου παζαριού όπως ο χώρος επί της οδού Αγίου Πολυκάρπου 95 (Κλειδωνόπουλος, 2014). Το Κυριακάτικο Παζάρι αποτελεί εκτός από βασική βιοποριστική ασχολία των μουσουλμάνων της περιοχής και σημαντικό λόγο προσέλκυσης επισκεπτών καθώς προσδίδει έναν ιδιαίτερο χαρακτήρα στην εμπορική δραστηριότητα της περιοχής (Παπαντωνίου, 2014).

Ο μουσουλμανικός αυτός πληθυσμός χωρίζεται σύμφωνα με τα πολιτισμικά του χαρακτηριστικά σε τρεις ομάδες. Η μία ομάδα έχει το μικρότερο βαθμό ένταξης σε σχέση με την άλλη και διατηρεί ακόμη στοιχεία της ρόμικης καταγωγής της και μία άλλη ομάδα παρουσιάζει μεγαλύτερο βαθμό ένταξης και φαίνεται πως διατηρεί την τουρκική ως μητρική από το 1923, πολύ πριν τη μετακίνηση του πληθυσμού (Ρωπαϊτού-Τσαπαρέλη, 2004. Αβραμοπούλου & Καρακατσάνης, 2001: 4, 7). Επίσης, μικρότερη αλλά ολοένα αυξανόμενη είναι στην περιοχή η παρουσία μίας τρίτης





ομάδας, μουσουλμάνων, αλλοδαπών, Αλβανών, Αιγύπτιων, Σύριων, Μπαγκλαντεσιανών, Πακιστανών, Αφγανών και άλλων (Άγνωστος συντάκτης, 2011). Η αύξηση της παρουσίας της συγκεκριμένης ομάδας πιθανώς οφείλεται στις αυξημένες προσφυγικές ροές που καταλήγουν στη συγκεκριμένη υποβαθμισμένη περιοχή λόγω των χαμηλών ενοικίων σε συνδυασμό με την ταυτόχρονη μετανάστευση μέρους της μουσουλμανικής μειονότητας προς τη Γερμανία ή προς τη θρακιώτικη ύπαιθρο προς αναζήτηση αγροτικής εργασίας.

Το 1982-3 σύμφωνα με εμπειρικά δεδομένα ζούσαν στην περιοχή του Κεραμεικού 95 οικογένειες δηλαδή περίπου 400 μουσουλμάνοι (Τσελώνη, 1984). Κατά προσέγγιση υπολογίζεται πως δύο έως δυόμισι χιλιάδες από τους περίπου πέντε χιλιάδες μουσουλμάνους που κατοικούν στην Αττική ζουν στις περιοχές γύρω από το Γκαζοχώρι (Αβραμοπούλου & Καρακατσάνης, 2001: 4). Η ακριβής καταγραφή του μουσουλμανικού πληθυσμού που κατοικεί σήμερα πια στην Αθήνα είναι αδύνατη λόγω της απουσίας επίσημων καταγραφών με βάση πολιτιστικά στοιχεία όπως η γλώσσα και το θρήσκευμα έτσι η προσέγγιση του πληθυσμού βασίζεται σε προσωπική εμπειρική έρευνα και σε στοιχεία άλλων επίσης εμπειρικών ερευνών (Ασκούνη, 2006: 42. Τρουμπέτα, 2001). Τη δυσκολία ακόμη και της εμπειρικής έρευνας επιτείνει ο νομαδικός τρόπος ζωής των πληθυσμών αυτών οι οποίοι φαίνεται πως για διοικητικές, οικογενειακές και επαγγελματικές υποθέσεις πηγαινοέρχονται στη Θράκη. Επιπλέον, λόγω της κρίσης φαίνεται πως οι τουρκόφωνοι μουσουλμάνοι που ζουν στο Γκάζι μεταναστεύουν κατά μεγάλο ποσοστό στη Γερμανία ή να επιστρέφουν στην επαρχία και τους μουσουλμανικούς συνοικισμούς της Θράκης από όπου προέρχονται (Ζεγκίνης, 2001: 59). Ενδεικτικά, ο Κηδεμόνας 9 (Κ9) και μέλος του συλλόγου “Απανταχού Θρακιωτών” αναφέρει σχετικά με τον πληθυσμό των τουρκόφωνων μουσουλμάνων που προέρχονται από τη Θράκη “Εγώ έχω γραμμένους πάνω από 1000 με 1100 από περιοχές εδώ γύρω, Γκάζι, Κολωνό, Μεταξουργείο, Βοτανικό, Πετράλωνα. Στο Γκάζι ε αφού στο σύλλογο εγώ έχω από 40 οικογένειες περίπου ε είναι το πολύ πολύ 100 οικογένειες... Πλέον γιατί όλοι σχεδόν, το 80 τοις εκατό έχουν φύγει στην Γερμανία, εξωτερικό. Γερμανία, λίγοι Ολλανδία, εκεί. Και πάλι όπως κατάλαβες επειδή είχαμε γνωστούς στην Γερμανία, ο γνωστός του γνωστού, πήγαν στην Γερμανία”.

Προς κατανόηση του μεγέθους του πληθυσμού των τουρκόφωνων μουσουλμάνων αναλογικά προς τον συνολικό πληθυσμό της περιοχής, στην τρίτη δημοτική κοινότητα που περιλαμβάνει τις δυτικές συνοικίες (συμπεριλαμβανομένου του Βοτανικού) με απογραφή του 2011 (ΦΕΚ Β 255 – 07.02.2014) ο μόνιμος πληθυσμός του 3<sup>ου</sup> Δημοτικού Διαμερίσματος Αθηνών σύμφωνα με την τελευταία Απογραφής Πληθυσμού-Κατοικιών το 2011 (ΦΕΚ Β 255/ 07.02.2014) ανερχόταν στους 46.508 μόνιμους κατοίκους και για το Δήμο Αθηναίων αναφέρουν 664.046 κατοίκους (Άγνωστος συντάκτης, 2014α. Γεωργίου, 2014).

Δείγμα της συγκεκριμένης έρευνας αποτέλεσαν τουρκόφωνοι μουσουλμάνοι μαθητές που φοιτούν σε σχολεία της περιοχής έρευνας. Η πρόσβαση στα στοιχεία παιδιών και των κηδεμόνων τους έγινε από τα αρχεία της Μη Κυβερνητικής



Οργάνωσης “Δρόμοι Ζωής” και στη συνέχεια τα ίδια τα ερευνητικά υποκείμενα, παιδιά και γονείς πρότειναν και άλλους συμμετέχοντες με τα ίδια χαρακτηριστικά. Πρόκειται για τη λεγόμενη δειγματοληψία χιονοστιβάδα η οποία όπως αναφέρει ο Handcock εξασφαλίζει στον ερευνητή μία χροιά ευκολίας σε δείγματα τα οποία παρουσιάζουν δυσκολία καταγραφής και προσέγγισης (Handcock & Gile, 2011. Cohen κ.α., 2007). Οι μαθητές Ε' και Στ' δημοτικού επιλέχθηκαν καθώς φαίνεται πως οι μαθητές αποκτούν εντονότερη πολιτιστική συνείδηση μετά την ηλικία των 9-10 ετών (Δραγώνα, 2001:166-170. Ψάνης, 2014). Η επιλογή της συγκεκριμένης μεθόδου πράγματι έγινε λόγω της αδυναμίας εξασφάλισης άδειας από το Παιδαγωγικό Ινστιτούτο για πρόσβαση στα σχολικά αρχεία με έγκυρα στοιχεία των μαθητών από τα οποία θα μπορούσε να προκύψει η καταγραφή του αριθμού των μουσουλμανοπαίδων με βάση το όνομά τους ή κάποιο άλλο επίσημο δεδομένο. Έτσι, τελικά το δείγμα προέκυψε από τις απαντήσεις 19 μαθητών, 9 κηδεμόνων (Κ1, Κ2... Κ9) και 4 εκπαιδευτικών-εργαζόμενων(Ε1, Ε2, Ε3, Ε4) στα δύο δημοτικά σχολεία της περιοχής. Σύμφωνα με τις πληροφορίες που συλλέχθηκαν από τους συμμετέχοντες ο αριθμός των τουρκόφωνων μουσουλμάνων μαθητών και μαθητριών άνω των 10 ετών που ανήκουν στη μειονότητα της Θράκης που ζουν και φοιτούν στην περιοχή του Κεραμεικού-Ρουφ-Βοτανικού, υπολογίζεται περί τους 20-25 συνεπώς όσον αφορά τα παιδιά μιλούμε για ένα δείγμα της τάξεως του  $19/20 \times 100 = 95\%$  είτε για  $19/25$  ( $19/25 \times 100$ )=76%.

### Συμπεράσματα

*Παράγοντες που ενισχύουν το αίσθημα κατωτερότητας του μειονοτικού ατόμου*

#### *Μητρική γλώσσα*

Η γλώσσα αποτελεί για το συγκεκριμένο πληθυσμό το βασικό στοιχείο της διαφοροποίησής του από τον πλειονοτικό πληθυσμό (Βεϊκου στο Μαρβάκης κ.α., 2001:308. Cohen, 1985: 100). Στις σύγχρονες ακαδημαϊκές μελέτες οι ιδέες περί πολιτισμικής ανωτερότητας ή κατωτερότητας δεν έχουν σχεδόν καμία θέση (Smith, 2006: 29) όμως είναι σύνηθες η ανωτερότητα που αποδίδεται στα μεσαία και ανώτερα στρώματα των μεγάλων αστικών κέντρων, στην κουλτούρα, στην αισθητική, στους κανόνες κοινωνικής συμπεριφοράς τους να αποδίδεται και στη γλώσσα τους (Bernstein στο Δραγώνα (επιμ.), 2001: 118). Έτσι, η κυρίαρχη, σχολική γλώσσα δεν είναι αυθεντική (Τσιρώνης, 2003: 168), δεν θεωρείται νόμιμη από τους μη κυρίαρχους πληθυσμούς, δεν διαθέτει ηθική εξουσία και δεν συνάδει με τα δημοκρατικά ιδεώδη (Banks, 1997: 28-29. Κωστούλη, χ.χ.: 8). Φυσικά, διαχρονικά φαίνεται πως η στρατηγική αντιμετώπισης της μειονοτικής γλώσσας εξυπηρετεί ενίοτε και πολιτικά συμφέροντα όπως στην περίπτωση των τουρκόφωνων πληθυσμών της Θράκης των οποίων τη διατήρηση της μητρικής τουρκικής γλώσσας τους στηρίζει η τουρκική κυβέρνηση διαχρονικά με πιθανό στόχο τον προσεταιρισμό τους (Ζεγκίνης, 2001: 50-51, 59). Χαρακτηριστικό παράδειγμα των παραπάνω, η απαξίωση ακόμη λιγότερο δημοφιλών γλωσσών όπως η πομακική,



στις ελληνοτουρκικές συμφωνίες του 1951 και 1968, όταν εισήχθη μόνο η τουρκική γλώσσα ως διδακτέα στα μειονοτικά σχολεία. Μόλις το 1980 θεσπίστηκε η δημιουργία τάξεων υποδοχής (Τ.Υ.) και φροντιστηριακών τμημάτων (Φ.Τ.) (Υπουργική απόφαση Φ.818.2/Ζ/4139/1980, Ν. 1404/83, αρ. 45, ΦΕΚ 173/2411/1983, Υπουργική απόφαση Φ.818.2/Ζ/3175/7.9.82) ενώ από το 1996 (Ν. 2413/1996) προβλέπεται η δημιουργία διαπολιτισμικών σχολείων για την εκπαίδευση ατόμων με ιδιαίτερες εκπαιδευτικές, κοινωνικές, πολιτιστικές ή μορφωτικές ανάγκες (Παπαδόπουλος, 2017). Οι νόμοι είναι αρκετά ασαφείς ως προς τους στόχους αυτών των σχολείων και των Τ.Υ. και Φ.Τ., όμως προβλέπεται η αξιοποίηση της μητρικής γλώσσας των αλλόγλωσσων (Υπουργική απόφαση Γ1/453/958/6.10.92, Φ2/378/Γ1/1124/8.12.94, Φ.10/20 / Γ 1 / 7.9.99, ΦΕΚ 1789 Β/28.9.99, ΦΕΚ 930, τ.β’/14.12.94) (Παπαδόπουλος, 2017). Σήμερα, υπάρχουν στην Ελλάδα 26 διαπολιτισμικά σχολεία: 13 δημοτικά, 9 γυμνάσια και 4 λύκεια επί συνόλου 15.174 σχολικών μονάδων (από τη βαθμίδα του νηπιαγωγείου ως τα λύκεια και ΤΕΕ). Σύμφωνα με σχετικές μελέτες, τα σχολεία αυτά έχουν σταδιακά μετατραπεί σε σχολεία αλλοδαπών γιατί οι Έλληνες γονείς τα εγκατέλειψαν φοβούμενοι ότι η πολιτιστική διαφορετικότητα και η γλωσσική ιδιαιτερότητα των μαθητών επηρεάζει αρνητικά το επίπεδο μάθησης (Ζωγράφου, 2003: 225. Άγνωστος συντάκτης, 2011).

Στην περίοδο 1997-2000 και 2001-2004 λειτούργησαν επίσης δύο προγράμματα μεγάλης κλίμακας, τα Επιχειρησιακά Προγράμματα Εκπαίδευσης και Αρχικής Κατάρτισης (ΕΠΕΑΚ) που αφορούν στην εκμάθηση της ελληνικής γλώσσας και την βελτίωση των επιδόσεων των Τσιγγανοπαίδων, των Αλλοδαπών και Παλιννοστούντων Μαθητών και των Μουσουλμανοπαίδων (ΠΕΜ) που απειλούνται από εκπαιδευτική ανισότητα και περιθωριοποίηση (Σκούρτου κ.ά., 2004: 23-26). Πράγματι από το 2000 τα σχολικά εγχειρίδια που χρησιμοποιούνται στα μειονοτικά σχολεία της Θράκης στα πλαίσια του Προγράμματος Εκπαίδευσης Μουσουλμανοπαίδων (ΠΕΜ) είναι δίγλωσσα ενώ η αξιοποίηση της μητρικής γλώσσας των αλλόγλωσσων μαθητών προωθείται και μέσω των δράσεων που προτείνονται στα πλαίσια των άλλων δύο προγραμμάτων που αφορούν τα Τσιγγανόπαιδα και τους Αλλοδαπούς και Παλιννοστούντες Μαθητές. Στις δράσεις του ΠΕΜ συμπεριλήφθηκε και ένα εκ των σχολείων της περιοχής, το χαρακτηρισθέν ως διαπολιτισμικό, με τους εκπαιδευτικούς να εκφράζουν στο σύνολό τους θετικά σχόλια για την αποτελεσματικότητα των δράσεων παρά την απουσία ερευνητικών δεδομένων.

Βέβαια, οι ίδιοι οι εκπρόσωποι των μειονοτικών κοινοτήτων δηλώνουν πως η ελίτ της μειονότητας, με επαρκές πολιτικό βάρος, παρόλο που μιλά την ίδια γλώσσα με εκπροσώπους των κατώτερων κοινωνικών στρωμάτων τυγχάνει μεγαλύτερης κοινωνικής ένταξης (Ασκούνη, 2006). Επιπλέον, σε αντίθεση με το σύνολο των 4 εκπαιδευτικών, όλοι οι κηδεμόνες που συμμετείχαν εκτός από έναν (Κ9) ήταν επιφυλακτικοί για το αν η διδασκαλία της τουρκικής θα ήταν καλό να ενταχθεί στο εκπαιδευτικό πρόγραμμα, στάση αντιφατική αν αναλογιστεί κανείς πως γονείς και



παιδιά δηλώνουν πως στο οικογενειακό πλαίσιο χρησιμοποιούν κατά κύριο λόγο την τούρκικη γλώσσα και όχι την ελληνική.

### **Ο ρόλος του σχολείου για τα παιδιά, τους γονείς και τους εκπαιδευτικούς**

Οι μεμονωμένες δράσεις και η μη συστηματική και ολοκληρωμένη εκπαιδευτική στρατηγική τελικά μάλλον καθιστούν εκ των προτέρων αναποτελεσματικά τα αντισταθμιστικά προγράμματα σπουδών και διαιωνίζουν τα κακώς κείμενα. Μέσα από την απαξίωση της μητρικής γλώσσας και την παράβλεψη του κοινωνικού πλαισίου μετατίθεται η ευθύνη για τη σχολική αποτυχία στα θύματα της κρίσης και επανέρχονται στο προσκήνιο αντιλήψεις του κοινωνικού δαρβινισμού (Δραγώνα (επιμ.), 2001: 13). Η μετάθεση της ευθύνης παρεμποδίζει την αποκάλυψη των πραγματικών αιτίων που μεγαλώνουν το χάσμα μεταξύ πλουσίων και φτωχών και εντείνουν τον ανταγωνισμό, τάσσουν την εκπαίδευση δέσμια στις δυνάμεις της αγοράς και επιβάλλουν τις εκάστοτε μεταρρυθμίσεις του εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος. Χρειάζεται μελέτη των κοινωνικών λειτουργιών της εκπαίδευσης, κάτω από την επίδραση της κρίσης, συνολική επανεξέταση των στόχων της εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής, αφού ληφθούν υπόψη οι κοινωνικές εξελίξεις και αποσαφηνιστούν οι σχέσεις εκπαίδευσης και οικονομίας, οι τάσεις στην αγορά εργασίας. Οι τάσεις αυτές στην αγορά εργασίας μεταβάλλονται λόγω της επίταξης του διεθνούς ανταγωνισμού, της πίεσης για την αύξηση της παραγωγικότητας, της μείωσης του κόστους εργασίας και του περιορισμού των θέσεων στην αγορά εργασίας (Levitas στο Πετμεζίδου, Μ. & Παπαθεοδώρου, Χ. (επιμ.), 2004: 206).

Σε ένα ευρύτερο επίπεδο, είναι αναγκαία η σε βάθος μελέτη της επίδρασης που ασκεί η πολιτική οικονομία στην αγορά εργασίας και την εκπαίδευση, από την οποία μπορεί να γίνει εμφανής η ανάγκη μιας νέας δημοκρατικής ρύθμισης για τη συνολική ανασυγκρότησή της. Για να επιτευχθεί όμως αυτή χρειάζεται να εντοπισθούν και να αποτελέσουν αντικείμενο επιστημονικού διαλόγου οι κοινωνικές προεκτάσεις της σχολικής αποτυχίας και της εγκατάλειψης των σπουδών, αλλά και των ευρύτερων μορφών κοινωνικών ανισοτήτων και διακρίσεων που προκαλούν τον κοινωνικό αποκλεισμό (Άγνωστος συντάκτης, 2007: 31). Να τεθούν, επίσης, σε αμφισβήτηση δύο μύθοι που συνδέονται με τις κοινωνικές λειτουργίες της εκπαίδευσης και τη σχέση της με την αγορά εργασίας. Πρώτον, πως η ισότητα στην επίδοση και την επιτυχία στην εκπαίδευση εξασφαλίζει ίσες επαγγελματικές ευκαιρίες, παρόμοιες δηλαδή δυνατότητες ένταξης στην αγορά εργασίας. Δεύτερον, πως ένα τυπικά πιο ανοικτό, ως προς την πρόσβαση εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα συνεπάγεται αυτόματα μείωση των διακρίσεων και άμβλυνση των ανισοτήτων. Αντίθετα, έτσι διαμορφώνεται ένα σύστημα αναμονής, το οποίο διασφαλίζει τις προνομιούχες θέσεις στην αγορά εργασίας για τους κοινωνικά ευνοημένους (Τρουμπέτα, 2001:17). Είναι, λοιπόν, η διαμόρφωση της σχολικής επίδοσης και ζήτημα ταυτότητας που επηρεάζεται και από εσωτερικούς παράγοντες όπως τα επίπεδα της αυτοεκτίμησης, τα ιδιαίτερα χαρακτηριστικά της προσωπικότητας και η διαχείριση των προκαταλήψεων (Thijs & Verkuyten, 2014:2).



Πρακτικά, όλα τα παραπάνω έχουν ως αποτέλεσμα για τα τουρκόφωνα μουσουλμανόπαιδα μια διπλή ημιγλωσσία με κοινωνικά αίτια (Βουρνά κ.ά., 2012: 6. Σωτηρίου, 2006: 4. (Δραγώνα (επιμ.), 2001: 173). Η σχολική αποτυχία πράγματι αναδείχθηκε και από τους ερωτώμενους ως ένα από τα πολύ σημαντικά προβλήματα που αντιμετωπίζουν οι τουρκόφωνοι μουσουλμάνοι κηδεμόνες και οι εκπαιδευτικοί που εργάζονται με τουρκόφωνα μουσουλμανόπαιδα τόσο σύμφωνα με τις απαντήσεις των κηδεμόνων όσο και των εκπαιδευτικών, στο σύνολό τους.

Βέβαια, οι κηδεμόνες στο σύνολό τους έχουν θετική στάση απέναντι στο θεσμό του σχολείου και προσδοκούν πως μέσα από την εκπαίδευση θα αλλάξει έστω και λίγο η ποιότητα της ζωής των παιδιών τους. Ενδεικτικά, μία κηδεμόνας (Κ5) δηλώνει πως πιστεύει πως το σχολείο θα βοηθήσει το παιδί της στην ανεύρεση εργασίας γιατί «εγώ τώρα πριν ένα μήνα έκανα μια αίτηση και η μόνη αιτία που δεν με πήραν είναι ότι δεν έχω βγάλει γυμνάσιο». Η στροφή του ενδιαφέροντος στην εκπαίδευση είναι δικαιολογημένη εφόσον αποτελεί καθοριστικό παράγοντα για την ένταξη ή μη στην αγορά εργασίας, τη μετάπτωση στην κατάσταση της φτώχειας και του κοινωνικού αποκλεισμού. Πράγματι, φαίνεται πως φτωχοί μετανάστες και μειονοτικοί γονείς έχουν συχνά μεγάλες προσδοκίες ότι το σχολικό σύστημα θα βοηθήσει τα παιδιά τους να ξεπεράσουν τις οικονομικές δυσκολίες και την κοινωνική απομόνωση που αντιμετώπισαν οι ίδιοι (Κάτσικας & Θέριανος, 2008: 122. Δραγώνα (επιμ.), 2001: 106. Κοζοί στο Δραγώνα (επιμ.), 2001. Άγνωστος συντάκτης, 2007: 31).

Και στην παρούσα μελέτη αναδείχθηκε το πρόβλημα του βιοπορισμού για τις οικογένειες των μαθητών και των μαθητριών. Τα ίδια τα παιδιά αναδεικνύουν τη φτώχεια και την ανεργία ως τα βασικότερα προβλήματα στην περιοχή εκτός από τα σκουπίδια και τους χώρους παιχνιδιού. Το πρόβλημα του βιοπορισμού αναδείχθηκαν ως μείζον και από τις συνεντεύξεις των κηδεμόνων καθώς 3 εξ' αυτών εργάζονται ως ρακοσυλλέκτες, 2 δηλώνουν πως είναι άνεργοι και αναζητούν εργασία, 1 κηδεμόνας ασχολείται με τα οικιακά, 1 είναι συνταξιούχος χαμηλόμισθος ενώ οι υπόλοιποι δηλώνουν χασάπης και μάστορας.

Οι εκπαιδευτικοί στην ερώτηση σχετικά με τη σημαντικότητα του ρόλου του σχολείου, της παρέας, της τηλεόρασης και των διάφορων φορέων στο γραμματισμό των παιδιών (Karinkoski, 2012: 25) ανέφεραν πως «σίγουρα ο καθένας παίζει το ρόλο του αλλά εδώ που τα λέμε τη μεγαλύτερη βοήθεια μπορεί να την προσφέρει το σχολείο. Το σχολείο είναι αρμόδιο για αυτή τη δουλειά» (E3), «Το καθένα παίζει το ρόλο του. Πάντως το σχολείο δεν αρκεί» (E1), «Μάλλον οικογενειακό και φιλικό περιβάλλον, σχολείο, εξωσχολικές δραστηριότητες και μαθήματα, τηλεόραση (με σειρά προτεραιότητας)» (E2).

### **Με χορηγό την ανθρωπιά ή την φιλανθρωπία;**

Εκτός από τους ιδιώτες, μέλη της εκπαιδευτικής κοινότητας και λοιπούς επαγγελματίες που καλούνται να υποστηρίξουν τους μαθητές και τις μαθήτριες





επίσης με το συγκεκριμένο ζήτημα με τον έναν ή τον άλλον τρόπο ασχολούνται και εξωσχολικοί φορείς, μη κερδοσκοπικοί οργανισμοί, σύλλογοι και σωματεία.

Οι Μη Κερδοσκοπικοί Οργανισμοί θα πρέπει να ανταποκρίνονται στην κοινωνική, προστατευτική και καλλιτεχνική αποστολή, προκειμένου να τους δίνεται επιχορήγηση από το κράτος. Με άλλα λόγια ένας από τους πιο ουσιαστικούς τρόπους με τους οποίους μπορεί να παρέμβει το κράτος στην άσκηση της πολιτιστικής διαχείρισης τους πολιτιστικούς οργανισμούς, είναι μέσα από τις επιχορηγήσεις. Οι κρατικές επιχορηγήσεις δίνονται συνήθως σε πολιτιστικούς οργανισμούς μη- κερδοσκοπικού χαρακτήρα, με στόχο να εκπληρώνονται τρεις συγκεκριμένοι στόχοι. Υπάρχουν, βέβαια οργανισμοί που διατηρούν τη λειτουργία τους καθαρά εθελοντική και δεν χρηματοδοτούνται με κανενός είδους τρόπο (Μπιανκί, 1994).

Συγκεκριμένα, στο Γκάζι εδράζονται ο Μη Κερδοσκοπικός Οργανισμός “Κλίμακα” και “Δρόμοι Ζωής” που ασχολούνται αμφότεροι με την υποστήριξη των παιδιών που κατοικούν στο Γκάζι και τις γύρω περιοχές και των οικογενειών τους. Λειτουργούν και οι δύο φορείς κέντρο ημέρας όπου λαμβάνουν χώρα μαθήματα και δραστηριότητες για τα παιδιά και τις οικογένειές τους και συγκεντρώνεται ανθρωπιστικό υλικό το οποίο διανέμεται στις οικογένειες σε τακτική βάση. Επίσης, οι ενδιαφερόμενοι μπορούν να ζητήσουν υποστήριξη σε διοικητικές και ιατρικές τους υποθέσεις μέσω συνοδείας, διαμεσολάβησης ή παραπομπής σε δημόσιες υπηρεσίες. Ο “σύλλογος Απανταχού Θρακιωτών” αποτελεί ένα σύλλογο με στόχο την ανάδειξη των αιτημάτων των μουσουλμάνων της Θράκης και την διεκδίκησή τους. Ίδια ήταν και τα αιτήματα που οδήγησαν στη δημιουργία του σωματείου ρακοσυλλεκτών Ο “Ερμής” και “Η Αλληλεγγύη” των οποίων τα ελληνικά ονόματα καταδεικνύουν την ανάγκη των μελών για ένταξη και αποδοχή της δράσης τους (Τσιτσελίκης, 2008). Άλλος, ιστορικός μάλιστα, σύλλογος που εδράζεται στην περιοχή είναι ο ποδοσφαιρικός αθλητικός όμιλος “ΠΑΟ-ΡΟΥΦ” που ιδρύθηκε στην περιοχή το 1946 (Ρωπαϊτού-Τσαπαρέλλη, 2004) με τον οποίο όμως εκπαιδευτικοί και κηδεμόνες δεν έχουν καμία επικοινωνία και μόνο ένας μαθητής γνωρίζει. Τα παιδιά, ούτε οι γονείς, ούτε οι εκπαιδευτικοί έχουν επικοινωνία με τον εξωραϊστικό-φυσιολατρικό-πολιτιστικό σύλλογο κατοίκων Κεραμεικού-Βοτανικού-Ρουφ “Μέγας Αλέξανδρος” και “Αθηνά” (Ρωπαϊτού-Τσαπαρέλλη, 2004).

Βέβαια, παρατηρούμε πως υπάρχουν και κερδοσκοπικοί φορείς που κάνουν διάφορες δράσεις στα σχολεία, κατά κύριο λόγο δωρεές αν και σε μικρή κλίμακα (Σπυροπούλου κ.ά., 2008: 453-454). Κατά πόσο όμως οι δωρεές αυτές είναι αποτέλεσμα ανθρωπιστικών αισθημάτων παρά ενδείξεις φιλανθρωπίας ή/και θεμελίωσης της ανωτερότητας από τη στιγμή που οι διατάξεις του Ν.4172/2013 και του αρ.31 του Ν.2238/1994 ορίζουν πως οι δωρεές προς το Δημόσιο, τα κοινωφελή ιδρύματα και τα ημεδαπά νομικά πρόσωπα ιδιωτικού δικαίου που επιδιώκουν κοινωφελείς σκοπούς τα οποία εκπίπτουν ως επιχειρηματικές δαπάνες από τα ακαθάριστα έσοδα των επιχειρήσεων και μειώνουν το φορολογητέο τους εισόδημα; Κατά πόσο οι εταιρικές αυτές πρακτικές που ακολουθούνται στο πλαίσιο της



Εταιρικής Κοινωνικής Ευθύνης (ΕΚΕ) δεν είναι αναπόφευκτα συνυφασμένες δεδομένης της επωνυμίας τους με την αυτοπροβολή της εταιρείας; Η ΕΚΕ μπορεί να κατηγοριοποιηθεί σε έξι (6) κατηγορίες ανάλογα με τη φύση της δράσης: Προώθηση Σκοπού, Μάρκετινγκ Σκοπού, Κοινωνικό Μάρκετινγκ, Εταιρική Φιλανθρωπία, Εταιρικός Εθελοντισμός, Κοινωνικά Υπεύθυνες Πρακτικές.

Βέβαια, η υπερπροβολή, ιδιαίτερα τα τελευταία δύο χρόνια, φιλανθρωπιών και εκδηλώσεων/ συνεδρίων ΕΚΕ από τις ελληνικές επιχειρήσεις, σε αρκετές περιπτώσεις, έχει φέρει ακόμα μεγαλύτερη δυσπιστία στους πολίτες/καταναλωτές (Αυλωνάς, 2006. Άγνωστος συντάκτης, 2014β. Άγνωστος συντάκτης, 2015β. Ματσιάκα, 2017). Με την ίδια καχυποψία βέβαια αντιμετωπίζονται οι πρωτοβουλίες χρηματοδότησης και από τους/τις εκπαιδευτικούς (Σπυροπούλου κ.ά., 2008: 453-454) και όχι αδικώς μιας και έρευνες έχουν δείξει η χρηματοδότηση εκπαιδευτικών ιδρυμάτων από εταιρείες συχνά ισοδυναμεί με αξιώσεις των εταιρειών από τα εκπαιδευτικά ιδρύματα (Payne, 2001: 132-133) και πιθανά σε εμπορευματοποίηση (Bartlett et al, 2002: 1. Lundahl et al, 2013) με όλα τα αμφιλεγόμενα αποτελέσματα που έχει η διαφήμιση (Molnar et al, 2013 : 11-15. McWilliams & Siegel, 2000). Επιπλέον όφελος που μπορεί να αποκομίζουν οι εταιρείες που προσφέρουν αγαθά είναι η διάθεση προϊόντων στα πρόθυρα λήξης.

Στην ερώτηση σχετικά τη συνεργασία του σχολείου με εξωσχολικούς κερδοσκοπικούς φορείς οι συμμετέχοντες/ουσες εκπαιδευτικοί δηλώνουν πως διαφωνούν ή συμφωνούν λίγο (Σπυροπούλου κ.ά., 2008: 453-454). Πάντως, σχετικά με τη θετική πλευρά της χρηματοδότησης από κερδοσκοπικούς και μη κερδοσκοπικούς εξωσχολικούς φορείς, δημοσίευση σχολείου της περιοχής στη σελίδα του σε μέσο κοινωνικής δικτύωσης ευχαριστεί τα Κοινωφελή Ιδρύματα “Ιωάννης Σ. Λάτσης” και “Ωνάσης” και τις εταιρείες “ΟΤΕ”, “Unify” και το “Σωματείο εργαζομένων Unify” «για τις ευγενείς χειρονομίες τους και τις δωρεές που αναβάθμισαν σημαντικά την υλικοτεχνική υποδομή του σχολείου κατά τη διάρκεια σχολικού έτους 2016-2017».

Σύμφωνα με πληροφορίες που αντλήθηκαν από την ιστοσελίδα σχολείου της περιοχής (87ο Δημοτικό Σχολείο Αθηνών Διαπολιτισμικής Εκπαίδευσης, χ.χ.) τα τελευταία χρόνια έλαβαν χώρα στο σχολείο δράσεις της Μη Κερδοσκοπικής-Μη Κυβερνητικής Οργάνωσης Εθελοντών “Χαρούμενα παιδιά-Χαρούμενα Νιάτα” και “Δρόμοι Ζωής”, του Ινστιτούτου “Prolepsis” και του Κοινωφελούς Ιδρύματος “Ιωάννης Σ. Λάτσης”. Κάποιες από τις δράσεις αυτές διεξήχθησαν κατά τη διάρκεια του σχολικού προγράμματος ενώ άλλες δράσεις εκτός σχολικού προγράμματος, τις απογευματινές ώρες.

Θετικά αναφέρονται οι εκπαιδευτικοί στο σύνολό τους και στη συνεργασία τους με το Δημοτικό Βρεφοκομείο το οποίο είναι υπεύθυνο για τη σίτιση των παιδιών αλλά και με το Μη Κερδοσκοπικό Οργανισμό “σύλλογος Λαϊκή Αλληλεγγύη” και “Solidarity Now” που φαίνεται πως υποστηρίζουν ποικιλοτρόπως όλο τα παιδιά του σχολείου όσο και με τους “Δρόμους Ζωής” και την “Κλίμακα” που υποστηρίζουν εκπαιδευτικά και τη “ΒΑΒΕΛ” και την “Αυτόνομη Δομή Υγείας Εξαρχείων” που



εμπλέκονται στην ψυχοκοινωνική τους υποστήριξη. Η συχνότητα της επικοινωνίας των εκπαιδευτικών με τους φορείς ποικίλει ανάλογα με το είδος τους φορέα με όλους να επικοινωνούν με τους προαναφερθέντες φορείς περισσότερες από 1 φορές το χρόνο. Με το Δήμο Αθηναίων επικοινωνεί μόνο ένας εκπαιδευτικός, 1-2 φορές το χρόνο. Παρόλα αυτά μία εκπαιδευτικός εμφανίζεται επιφυλακτική στην ερώτηση σχετικά με τη συνεργασία του σχολείου με εξωσχολικούς μη κερδοσκοπικούς φορείς.

Πιο συγκεκριμένα και αναφορικά με τη συνεργασία των σχολείων με εξωσχολικούς φορείς για την διοργάνωση δράσεων βλέπουμε πως υπάρχει μία ευελιξία και νομοθετική πλέον ως προς τη διεξαγωγή εκπαιδευτικών προγραμμάτων και εντός της σχολικής μονάδας από διάφορους εξωσχολικούς φορείς (Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 79/2017, ΦΕΚ 109/Α/1-8-2017). Το Ινστιτούτο “Prolepsis”, Αστική Μη Κερδοσκοπική Εταιρεία, υλοποιεί επί αρκετά έτη το Πρόγραμμα Σίτισης και Προώθησης Υγιεινής Διατροφής – ΔΙΑΤΡΟΦΗ με Μέγα Δωρητή το “Ίδρυμα Σταύρος Νιάρχος”. Το Πρόγραμμα ΔΙΑΤΡΟΦΗ στηρίζει από το 2012 μαθητές δημοσίων σχολείων Πρωτοβάθμιας και Δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης, κοινωνικο-οικονομικά ευπαθών περιοχών όλης της χώρας. Με αυτόν τον τρόπο, το Πρόγραμμα συμβάλλει στην αντιμετώπιση των εντεινόμενων προβλημάτων σίτισης που αντιμετωπίζουν οι μαθητές πολλών σχολείων και ενισχύει τις σωστές διατροφικές επιλογές εισάγοντας στα σχολεία νέα διατροφικά πρότυπα και συνήθειες που προάγουν την υγιεινή ζωή και, μέσω των μαθητών, τα πρότυπα αυτά μεταφέρονται και στην οικογένεια. Το πρόγραμμα “Το Σχολείο που θέλεις” χρηματοδοτούμενο από την εταιρεία “Coca Cola- Τρία Έψιλον” προβλέπει την επιχορήγηση επισκευαστικών και βελτιωτικών εργασιών σε σχολικά κτίρια και υλοποιείται από το 2012, στη Θεσσαλονίκη και την Αθήνα, σε συνεργασία με τις τοπικές αρχές. Τα επωφελούμενα σχολεία επιλέγονται κατόπιν συμμετοχής τους σε διαγωνισμό στον οποίο κερδίζει το σχολείο που καταφέρνει να συγκεντρώσει τις περισσότερες ψήφους (Σοβιτολή, 2017).

Ένα ακόμη πρόγραμμα, το πρόγραμμα “Ανοιχτά Σχολεία” είχε στόχο εκτός του σχολικού προγράμματος να γίνουν «δράσεις που απευθύνονται σε όλες τις ηλικίες από διάφορους φορείς, συλλόγους, σωματεία αλλά και άτυπες μορφές συλλογικότητας που επιθυμούν να προσφέρουν στη γειτονιά τη γνώση τους, τις ιδέες τους, αυτό που αισθάνονται ότι χρειάζονται οι συνάνθρωποί τους ή κάτι στο οποίο ήδη δραστηριοποιούνται με επιτυχία και αρμόζει να παρουσιαστεί και στον οικείο χώρο του σχολείου» (Άγνωστος συντάκτης, 2016). Το πρόγραμμα “Ανοιχτά Σχολεία” υλοποιήθηκε με πρωτοβουλία του Δήμου Αθηναίων και την αποκλειστική δωρεά του “Ίδρύματος Σταύρος Νιάρχος” ενώ στα πλαίσιά του συμμετείχαν ιδιώτες όπως ομάδες χορού και εκπαίδευσης και ΜΚΟ και Αστικές Μη Κερδοσκοπικές Εταιρείες όπως η “ΕΛΙΞ”, το “Παραμύθι από Μακριά” και το “Δίκτυο για τα Δικαιώματα του Παιδιού” (Άγνωστος συντάκτης, 2016).



### Εμπλοκή φορέων στην αντιμετώπιση της σχολικής διαρροής

Οι απαντήσεις τόσο των παιδιών όσο και των ενηλίκων υποδεικνύουν πως οι ΜΚΟ συμβάλουν καθοριστικά στην αντιμετώπιση της σχολικής διαρροής μέσω της προσφοράς ενισχυτικής διδασκαλίας στα παιδιά. Η ενισχυτική διδασκαλία ελληνικών φαίνεται πως αυτή γίνεται κατά κύριο λόγο από τη ΜΚΟ “Δρόμοι Ζωής” με εξαίρεση ένα παιδί που δηλώνει πως παρακολουθεί μαθήματα στην ΜΚΟ “Κλίμακα”. Πράγματι, οι έρευνες δείχνουν πως οι ΜΚΟ μπορούν να αποφέρουν θετικά αποτελέσματα όσον αφορά τη συγκράτηση ή επιστροφή των απειλούμενων μαθητών (Άγνωστος συντάκτης, 2007: 128). Μάλιστα, σχετικά με την πολιτισμική επάρκεια των μελών των ΜΚΟ αναφέρεται πως είναι σημαντική η εξοικείωσή τους με ειδικές ομάδες πληθυσμού που απειλούνται με πρόωρη σχολική εγκατάλειψη κα. Προκύπτει ότι όλοι οι φορείς που συμμετείχαν στην έρευνα έχουν κατανοήσει σε βάθος το φαινόμενο της σχολικής διαρροής, τα αίτια που το προκαλούν, τους παράγοντες που συμβάλλουν στην ανάπτυξη τους και τους καταλληλότερους τρόπους αντιμετώπισής του. Εξίσου απόλυτη είναι η εξοικείωση τους με τις ειδικές ομάδες πληθυσμού που κατεξοχήν απειλούνται με σχολική διαρροή ανεξάρτητα με την επιμέρους ομάδα-στόχο στην οποία επικεντρώνεται η δράση τους.

Βέβαια, οι εκπαιδευτικοί φαίνεται πως συντάσσονται με την άποψη πως «Πρέπει το Υπουργείο Παιδείας το ίδιο να καλύψει τέτοιες ανάγκες» (Ε4) αλλά αναγνωρίζουν οι 3 εκ των 4 πως «Ο εθελοντισμός υπάρχει και προσφέρει πράγματα» (Ε4) και τα εξωσχολικά μαθήματα συμπληρώνουν το σχολικό έργο (Ε2, Ε1) .

### Συμμετοχή σε πολιτιστικές δραστηριότητες

Η πολιτισμική ταυτότητα είναι στάση ζωής που καθορίζει τις επιλογές και τη συμπεριφορά του ατόμου ως προς την ταύτιση με συγκεκριμένους άλλους που διαθέτουν παρόμοια πολιτισμικά χαρακτηριστικά και την απόρριψη συγκεκριμένων άλλων με διαφορετικά πολιτισμικά χαρακτηριστικά (Thijs & Verkuyten, 2014: 2, Cohen, 1985: 142). Συνεπώς οι πολιτιστικές δραστηριότητες στις οποίες συμμετέχουν τα άτομα είναι καθοριστικής σημασίας για την διαμόρφωση των έξεων που τελικά συνιστούν αυτή την ταυτότητα (Βερνίκος, 2002: 92-94. Βερνίκος, 2005: 21-23). Ως προς αυτή την κατεύθυνση και ο τόπος της κοινωνικής ή και πολιτιστικής δράσης συνιστά ένα από τα συμφραζόμενα συγκρότησης της ταυτότητας και η πολιτική του τόπου θα πρέπει να καταλάβει κεντρική θέση στη συζήτηση περί ταυτότητας (Ζαρκιά, 1992: 75-82. Γκέφου-Μανδιανού, 2003: 227).

Όσον αφορά την πολιτιστική ζωή της περιοχής αυτή χαρακτηρίζεται από μεγάλη εξέλιξη κατά τα τελευταία χρόνια με τη λειτουργία πληθώρας πολιτιστικών χώρων όπως θέατρα. Χαρακτηριστικό παράδειγμα αποτελεί το τρένο στο Ρουφ που είναι συνδεδεμένο και με την φυσιογνωμία της περιοχής και μάλιστα στεγάζεται σε παλαιό αληθινό βαγόνι. Πολλά είναι και τα μαγαζιά διασκέδασης εκ των οποίων μάλιστα πολλά, όπως το Υποβρύχιο, διαθέτουν μακρά προϊστορία (Ρωπαϊτού-Τσαπαρέλη, 2004). Βέβαια, ο πιο δημοφιλής χώρος πολιτισμού είναι η Τεχνόπολη



του Δήμου Αθηναίων που ιδρύθηκε το 2001 στο βιομηχανικό χώρο που εδραζόταν ως το 1984 το εργοστάσιο φωταερίου που τροφοδοτούσε όλη την πόλη της Αθήνας με ηλεκτρικό ρεύμα. Από το 2013 στις εγκαταστάσεις της Τεχνόπολης λειτουργεί και το Βιομηχανικό Μουσείο Φωταερίου, άμεσα συνδεδεμένο με την τοπική ιστορία της γειτονιάς. Στο χώρο της Τεχνόπολης λαμβάνουν χώρα πολλές πολιτιστικές εκδηλώσεις από συναυλίες και εκθέσεις ως φεστιβάλ. Ο χώρος αποτελεί αγαπημένο προορισμό διασκέδασης που προσελκύει επισκέπτες από όλη την επικράτεια της Αττικής.

Αναφορικά με τα φεστιβάλ αξίζει τον κόπο να αναφέρουμε την αύξηση των φεστιβαλικών εκδηλώσεων την τελευταία δεκαετία (Μπιανκινι, 1994: 30-31). Θα λέγαμε ότι τα σημερινά φεστιβάλ των πόλεων ήρθαν για να αντικαταστήσουν τρόπο τινά τα παλαιότερα λαϊκά πανηγύρια της υπαίθρου και να καλύψουν ανάγκες κοινωνικές και πολιτισμικές. Η πολιτισμική τους διάσταση έγκειται στο γεγονός ότι μπορεί να σηματοδοτήσουν ταυτότητες, αξίες, αντιλήψεις, συμβολικά πρότυπα σε συλλογικό ή ατομικό επίπεδο (Coehlo, 2007: 275, 495). Η κοινωνική διάσταση διαφαίνεται μέσα από την δημιουργία κοινωνικών αναφορών και αναγκών κοινωνικοποίησης του κοινού, που συμμετέχει στην εκάστοτε εκδήλωση. Γι' αυτό αναδεικνύεται ως εξαιρετικά σημαντική η εξασφάλιση της συμμετοχής όλων των πολιτών στο πολιτιστικό αγαθό, ανεξαρτήτως κοινωνικών, φυλετικών, οικονομικών, μορφωτικών ή άλλων κριτηρίων. η διοργάνωση πολιτιστικών φεστιβάλ συνέβαλε στην εδραίωση της αντίληψης για την συμμετοχή όλων των πολιτών, κάθε κοινωνικής τάξης, στα πολιτιστικά τεκταινόμενα. Στα επόμενα χρόνια η φεστιβαλική δραστηριότητα συνδυάστηκε με την άσκηση πολιτιστικής πολιτικής των πόλεων, μιας και βοήθησε στην ανάπτυξη της πόλης (Μπιανκίνι, 1994:31).

Παρόλα αυτά παρατηρείται απουσία του μουσουλμανικού στοιχείου από όλες τις προαναφερθείσες πολιτιστικές δραστηριότητες και ως θεατές και ως συμμετέχοντες καλλιτέχνες. Ενδεικτικά, στην πληθώρα των εκδηλώσεων που διοργανώνονται στην Τεχνόπολη η συμμετοχή των τουρκόφωνων μουσουλμάνων κηδεμόνων της περιοχής είναι περιορισμένη, αποκλειστικά σύμφωνα με τα λεγόμενα των συμμετεχόντων στην έρευνα ως πλανόδιοι μικροπωλητές ποτών και φαγώσιμων. Βέβαια, αξίζει να σημειωθεί πως στο Μουσείο Φωταερίου στις προφορικές μαρτυρίες που αποτελούν τη συλλογή υπάρχουν αναφορές στους τουρκόφωνους μουσουλμάνους του Γκαζοχωρίου. Προσπάθεια για ανάδειξη της φωνής της ίδιας της μειονότητας αποτελεί το φεστιβάλ του συλλόγου ρακοσυλλεκτών “Ο Ερμής” που διοργανώθηκε το 2012 και το 2013 και οι ανοιχτές εκδηλώσεις του μη κερδοσκοπικού οργανισμού “Δρόμοι Ζωής”. Ένα ακόμη project το οποίο συμπεριέλαβε και τη συγκεκριμένη ομάδα των τουρκόφωνων μουσουλμανόπαιδων που κατοικεί στο Γκάζι, ένα project που βασίστηκε στην έρευνα για τη γειτονιά και τις προσωπικές ιστορίες των κατοίκων της, το παρελθόν της, και κυρίως, μέσα από τα στοιχεία εκείνα που διαμορφώνουν το σημερινό της πρόσωπο είναι το project με το όνομα “kaos” που υλοποιήθηκε χάρη στην υποστήριξη των φορέων: Clermont-Communauté, Γαλλικό Ινστιτούτο Ελλάδος, Friche la Belle de Mai (Marseille),





Institute National de l’Audiovisuel (INA), ΣυνΑθηνά, Booze Cooperativa και του διαδικτυακού περιοδικού τέχνης [www.mikrocosmos.gr](http://www.mikrocosmos.gr) (Άγνωστος συντάκτης, 2015α).

Κατά τα άλλα σημαντικό ποσοστό μαθητών δεν συμμετέχει σε δραστηριότητες και εκδηλώσεις πολιτιστικών φορέων (Ψάνης, 2014). Από την επεξεργασία των απαντήσεων προέκυψε ότι σε θέματα πολιτιστικής ενημέρωσης και συμμετοχής των παιδιών, το σχολείο και η οικογένεια λειτουργούν συμπληρωματικά (Ψάνης, 2014). Σημαντικό ποσοστό μαθητών δεν συμμετέχει σε δραστηριότητες και εκδηλώσεις πολιτιστικών φορέων (Ψάνης, 2014). Βέβαια, υπάρχει έντονη πολιτιστική δραστηριότητα στην περιοχή, όμως σε αυτή δε συμμετέχει το μεγάλο κομμάτι του τουρκόφωνου μουσουλμανικού πληθυσμού όπως προκύπτει από το σύνολο των συνεντεύξεων των κηδεμόνων και των ερωτηματολογίων προς τα παιδιά. Οι πολιτιστικές δραστηριότητες φαίνεται πως έχουν σημείο αναφοράς κυρίως πρωτοβουλίες συλλόγων, ειδικά της εθελοντικής ομάδας “Δρόμοι Ζωής”. Οι πρωτοβουλίες του δήμου δε φαίνεται να συμπεριλαμβάνουν τη μουσουλμανική κοινότητα στο σχεδιασμό τους όπως διαφάνηκε τόσο από τις απαντήσεις των παιδιών όσο και από τις απαντήσεις των κηδεμόνων οι οποίοι αναφέρθηκαν έντονα (7 στους 9) στην ανησυχία τους για την αδιαφορία προς τη διαχείριση του ζητήματος της προσφοράς χώρου για το παζάρι από το δήμο. Επιπλέον, όσον αφορά την Τεχνόπολη ως φορέα πολιτισμού μόνο 4 παιδιά δηλώνουν πως δεν ξέρουν την Τεχνόπολη, όμως τα 3 από τα ίδια παιδιά δηλώνουν πως η περιοχή έχει φτωχή πολιτιστική ζωή και δηλώνουν και διαφορετικά πολιτιστικά σύμβολα εκτός της Τεχνόπολης.

Αν κρίνουμε από τις απαντήσεις των παιδιών σχετικά με τη συμμετοχή τους σε δραστηριότητες με το σχολείο τότε ενισχύεται η άποψη για την απουσία καινοτόμων δράσεων στα πλαίσια του πολιτιστικού ρόλου της εκπαίδευσης καθώς οι μαθητές φαίνεται πως δε συμμετέχουν μέσω του σχολείου τους παρά σε παραδοσιακά δημοφιλείς σχολικές δράσεις όπως το θέατρο και οι επισκέψεις σε μουσεία (Ψάνης, 2012). Χωρίς να υποβαθμίζεται ο ρόλος των παραδοσιακών πολιτιστικών σχολικών δραστηριοτήτων θα πρέπει να δίδεται βαρύτητα και σε εναλλακτικές δραστηριότητες πολιτισμού όπως τα φεστιβάλ και τα πανηγύρια που είναι εξαιρετικά σημαντικά για τη σύνδεση του ατόμου με την τοπική κοινωνία (Coelho, 2007. Μπιανκίνι, 1994).

Γιατί όμως αξίζει να ασχοληθούμε με τις πολιτιστικές δραστηριότητες που συμμετέχουν οι άνθρωποι; Οι δραστηριότητες στις οποίες συμμετέχουν (ή δε συμμετέχουν) τα άτομα είναι καθοριστικής σημασίας για την ανακατασκευή των έξεών τους και εφόσον πρόκειται για πολιτισμικές μειονότητες για την όσμωση των πολιτιστικών στοιχείων (Βερνίκος, 2002: 92-94. Τσιρώνης, 2003:137-138. Βερνίκος, 2005: 21-23. Coelho, 2007:134).

Ενδεικτικά, σε νησιά όπως η Ρόδος και η Κως εμφανίζονται όλο και περισσότεροι μικτοί γάμοι, μεταξύ χριστιανών και μουσουλμάνων (Kaurinkoski, 2012:75). Βέβαια, τα ερευνητικά δεδομένα στη συγκεκριμένη περίπτωση φανερώνουν πως οι



μουσουλμάνοι κάτοικοι των νησιών είναι σε μεγάλο βαθμό ενσωματωμένοι στην τοπική κοινωνία είτε επειδή απολαμβάνουν ένα ικανοποιητικό βιοτικό επίπεδο που τους φέρνει σε παρόμοιο στάτους με τους χριστιανούς είτε χάρη στην αλληλεπίδραση που δημιουργείται μέσω ενός μικτού γάμου αυτή καθεαυτή καθώς όταν κάποιο μέλος της ενδοομάδας σχετίζεται με κάποιο μέλος της εξωομάδας σε πραγματικές και όχι φαντασιακές συνθήκες καταρρίπτονται πιο εύκολα οι στερεοτυπικές κοινωνικές κατασκευές (Kaurinkoski, 2012).

Οι ερωτώμενοι κηδεμόνες που κατοικούν στο Γκάζι, παρότι δηλώνουν στο σύνολό τους πως δεν έχουν αντιμετωπίσει προβλήματα ρατσισμού στη γειτονιά και τα πάνε καλά με όλους αντιφάσκουν όταν ρωτούνται αν θα ήταν σύμφωνοι και με το γάμο του παιδιού τους με κάποιο εκτός της μουσουλμανικής κοινότητας. Στο σύνολό τους οι κηδεμόνες είναι αρνητικοί στην έγκριση ενός γάμου με Ρομά ή αλλοδαπούς μουσουλμάνους ενώ παράλληλα παρουσιάζονται λιγότερο κατηγορηματικοί (5 στους 9) σχετικά με έναν χριστιανομουσουλμανικό ελληνικό γάμο. Βέβαια, δε θα πρέπει να ξεχνάμε να ερμηνεύουμε την εσωστρέφεια αυτή υπό το πρίσμα του αποκλεισμού από την κυρίαρχη εθνική ομάδα. Οι προερχόμενοι εκ Θράκης μουσουλμάνοι είναι πιθανό να φέρουν διαχρονικά το βάρος της περιθωριοποίησης που βίωσαν τις προηγούμενες δεκαετίες (Ασκούνη, 2006:53). Σε κάθε περίπτωση οι έρευνες διεθνώς επιβεβαιώνουν πως οι μικτοί γάμοι έχουν πολλαπλά οφέλη για τον ομαλό επιπολιτισμό των ατόμων δια μέσου μιας οσμωτικής διαδικασίας κατά την οποία σταδιακά οι έξεις ανακατασκευάζονται (Βερνίκος, 2002: 92-94. Βερνίκος, 2005: 21-23). Μάλιστα οι Cartledge & Scott επισημαίνουν κάποιους στατιστικά σημαντικούς παράγοντες που συντελούν στην ομαλή επιτέλεση της συγκεκριμένης διαδικασίας στο πλαίσιο ενός μικτού γάμου (Cartledge & Scott, 2009: 63-82). Πρώτα από όλα, οι γλωσσικές δυνατότητες σε μία μικτή διαπροσωπική σχέση εξελίσσονται συνέχεια μέσα από τη διαπροσωπική επαφή και το διάλογο (Μαγκλάρα, 2008: 605-608). Στο συγκεκριμένο συμπέρασμα καταλήξαμε και εμείς καθώς φαίνεται πως οι κηδεμόνες και τα παιδιά που χρησιμοποιούν συχνότερα τα ελληνικά στις διαπροσωπικές τους σχέσεις είτε στο πλαίσιο της εργασίας είτε των προσωπικών, συγγενικών σχέσεων πιστεύουν πως μιλούν και γράφουν καλύτερα ελληνικά (Κωστούλη, χ.χ.: 5).

Το πιο σημαντικό, όμως, είναι πως ο συγκεκριμένος τρόπος επιπολιτισμού επιτελείται με την θέληση του ίδιου του ατόμου που συμμετέχει στη διαδικασία και δεν είναι μία διαδικασία εξωτερικά επιβαλλόμενη όπως ο επιπολιτισμός στα πλαίσια της σχολικής φοίτησης. Βέβαια, το μέγιστο επίπεδο του επιπολιτισμού επιτυγχάνεται με την κριτική αποβολή αρνητικών στερεοτυπικών συμπεριφορών που αντιπροσωπεύει κάθε πολιτισμός όπως ο φαλλοκρατισμός, η πατριαρχία κ.ά. (Cartledge & Scott, 2009: 63-82). Τα σχολεία ως σημαντικοί κοινωνικοί θεσμοί καθώς και χώροι μάθησης (Coelho, 2007: 337. Τσιρώνης, 2003) μπορούν να επιτύχουν αυτό το στόχο προσφέροντας ένα σχολικό περιβάλλον όπου οι μαθητές και οι μαθήτριες πολλών διαφορετικών υπόβαθρων νιώθουν ότι εκτιμούνται και μαθαίνουν να εκτιμούν τη γλωσσική και πολιτισμική ποικιλία (Ζωγράφου, 2003:



260-261). Επιπροσθέτως, είναι σημαντικό να βρεθούν αποτελεσματικοί τρόποι εμπλοκής των γονέων όλων των γλωσσικών και πολιτισμικών υπόβαθρων στην εκπαίδευση των παιδιών τους (Coehlo, 2007).

Παραδοσιακά, βέβαια, τα σχολεία καλούν τους γονείς στο σχολείο ως ακροατήριο, είτε για να δουν τα παιδιά τους σε κάποια παράσταση ή να δουν τη δουλειά τους, ή για να μιλήσουν για την πρόοδο των παιδιών τους. Αυτή είναι ουσιαστικά μια μονόδρομη σχέση, μια σχέση στην οποία πολλοί γονείς μπορεί να είναι σωματικά παρόντες, αλλά έχουν πολύ μικρή εμπλοκή στο τι συμβαίνει στο σχολείο. Η συγκεκριμένη σχέση επιβεβαιώθηκε και μέσα από τις απαντήσεις που έδωσαν οι εκπαιδευτικοί και οι κηδεμόνες στην ερώτηση σχετικά με τη συχνότητα της μεταξύ τους επικοινωνίας. Το σχολείο μπορεί να είναι μια σημαντική πηγή βοήθειας και συμβουλών για τους γονείς που θέλουν να βοηθήσουν τα παιδιά τους στο σπίτι, δεν είναι εξάλλου τυχαίος ο χρόνος που αφιερώνουν οι γονείς για την επικοινωνία τους με τους/τις εκπαιδευτικούς (Σπυροπούλου κ.ά., 2008: 498. Davies στην Coehlo, 2007: 334. Τσιρώνης, 2003: 137-138). Η αναγκαιότητα για συνεργασία εκπαιδευτικών και γονέων είναι μεγάλη και λόγω της σύγκρουσης προτύπων που λαμβάνει το παιδί από την οικογένεια και από το κοινωνικό πλαίσιο είτε αυτό αποτελεί το σχολείο είτε τη γειτονιά είτε από τα μέσα μαζικής ενημέρωσης (Phinney et al, 2001: 501. Ζωγράφου, 2003: 225. Μαγκλάρα, 2008: 605-608). Η αλλαγή του ρόλου των διδασκόντων δεν είναι πρωτοφανές αίτημα, την διαπραγματεύονται πολλοί συγγραφείς υποστηρίζοντας την προσαρμογή της στις σύγχρονες εκπαιδευτικές ανάγκες και στις κοινωνικές συγκυρίες (Ασκούνη, 2006: 327. Ευαγγέλου και Παλαιολόγου, 2007. Ανδρούσου κ.α., 2001: 129-135. Aluffi-Pentini, 2005: 93-99. Ζωγράφου, 2003: 228-229).

### **Ο αποκλεισμός ως διαγενεακό ψυχικό τραύμα**

Φαίνεται πως μπορεί ο μακροχρόνιος κοινωνικός αποκλεισμός και κάθε άλλη κακή εκδοχή του επιπολιτισμού να αποδειχθεί ιδιαιτέρως τραυματική εμπειρία η οποία μπορεί να κληροδοτηθεί στο συλλογικό ασυνείδητο των επόμενων γενεών που μπορεί να αναβιώνουν συλλογικές τραυματικές εμπειρίες καθώς βοηθούν στη διατήρηση της συνοχής μίας ομάδας ανθρώπων (Κόκκινος κ.ά., 2010: 18-20). Έχει βρεθεί στατιστικά σημαντική σχέση μεταξύ ψυχοπαθολογίας και στρατηγικών επιπολιτισμού όπως η αποποίηση της πολιτισμικής ταυτότητας τόσο του τόπου προέλευσης όσο του τόπου άφιξης, ο κοινωνικός αποκλεισμός που μπορεί να συμβεί με την αποποίηση των χαρακτηριστικών της κυρίαρχης πολιτισμικής κουλτούρας (Berry, 2006. Saldana, 2010:14. Cartledge & Scott, 2009:63. Βερνίκος, 2005: 21-23. Oberg, 1960: 180).

Πράγματι, στις συνεντεύξεις των ενήλικων μουσουλμάνων εμφανίστηκε συχνά το ζήτημα του αποκλεισμού της μουσουλμανικής ελληνικής κοινότητας στη Θράκη κατά τις προηγούμενες δεκαετίες αν και όλοι δηλώνουν πως πλέον δεν βιώνουν κάποιου είδους αποκλεισμό ούτε έχουν προβλήματα με ρατσιστικές πολιτικές ομάδες ούτε βίωσαν στο παρελθόν. Τραυματική φαίνεται πως είναι και η



διαχρονική τάση για θυματοποίηση της μουσουλμανικής κοινότητας μέσα από την παροχή προνομίων που τους δόθηκαν εν είδει κοινωνικής πρόνοιας ανά καιρούς με αποκορύφωμα τη δεκαετία του 80' (Σαντζίλιο, 2016. Ασκούνη, 2006: 40-42. Αβραμοπούλου & Καρακατσάνης, 2001) μα εξυπηρετούσαν κατά τη γνώμη τους πολιτικές σκοπιμότητες (Κ7, Κ8, Κ9). Η θυματοποίηση της μειονοτικής αυτής ομάδας έγκειται στον αποκλεισμό τους όσον αφορά την απόλαυση κοινωνικών προνομίων (δομική θυματοποίηση) (Χαλκιά, 2014). Ο αποκλεισμός αυτός καθ' αυτός αποτελεί εκτός από δυσάρεστη κοινωνική πραγματικότητα και ένα βαθιά αρνητικό συναίσθημα ξενότητας δεδομένης της βασικής ανάγκης του ατόμου να εντάσσεται σε ομάδες και να γίνεται αποδεκτό με αποτέλεσμα δυσλειτουργίες στη ζωή του ατόμου όπως φοβίες ή σύνδρομα χαμηλής αυτοεκτίμησης, κατάθλιψης κλπ. (Κόκκινος κ.ά., 2010. Cohen, 1985).

### **Η πολιτισμική επάρκεια των εκπαιδευτικών**

Τα προσόντα ενός πολιτισμικά επαρκούς επαγγελματία προσδιορίζονται από τη Saldana (2010:14) ως ένα σύνολο συναφών συμπεριφορών, στάσεων και στρατηγικών που χρησιμοποιούνται σ' ένα σύστημα, μια υπηρεσία ή μεταξύ επαγγελματιών, προκειμένου να τους διευκολύνουν να εργαστούν αποτελεσματικά σε πολυπολιτισμικά πλαίσια. Πολιτισμική επάρκεια είναι, ακόμη, η αποδοχή και ο σεβασμός του διαφορετικού, η συνεχής αυτοαξιολόγηση σε σχέση με την στάση απέναντι σε ένα συγκεκριμένο πολιτισμικό πλαίσιο, η έμφαση στα δυναμικά της ετερότητας, η συνεχής απόκτηση πολιτισμικής γνώσης και, τέλος, οι πόροι και η ευελιξία που διαθέτουν τα μοντέλα παροχής υπηρεσιών ώστε να ικανοποιήσουν τα αιτήματα των πληθυσμιακών μειονοτήτων (Saldana, 2010. Φίστα, χ.χ.: 2-3).

Οι τρεις εκπαιδευτικοί δηλώνουν ότι δεν είναι αρκετά εξοικειωμένοι με τη μουσουλμανική κουλτούρα, δεδομένο που συνάδει με τα ερευνητικά δεδομένα πως οι εκπαιδευτικοί νιώθουν απροετοίμαστοι για τις προκλήσεις διαχείρισης μίας τάξης (Σκούρτου κ.ά., 2004: 32-34). «Νιώθουμε ότι η καθημερινότητα», δηλώνει χαρακτηριστικά ο Εκπαιδευτικός 2 (Ε2), «μας ξεπερνά» ενώ ο Ε3 δηλώνει πως νιώθει πως προσπαθεί να ανταπεξέλθει σε έναν καθημερινό απαιτητικό αγώνα δρόμου. Όμως, χαρακτηριστική είναι η αναφορά του Εκπαιδευτικού 4 στον θετικό αντίκτυπο του καινοτόμου προγράμματος που υλοποιήθηκε από το Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο στα πλαίσια του ΕΠΕΑΚ πως «Φτιάχτηκε υλικό πολύ καλύτερο και το ένα έφερε το άλλο. Έτσι οδήγησε στην αλλαγή». Από το σύνολο των εκπαιδευτικών αναδεικνύεται η ανάγκη για καινοτόμες δράσεις κι επιμορφώσεις που θα αφορούν και τη διαπολιτισμική εκπαίδευση. Η απουσία κατάρτισης σε διαπολιτισμικά ζητήματα με την ταυτόχρονη εκδήλωση ενδιαφέροντος για συμμετοχή σε σχετικές επιμορφώσεις που θα τους βοηθήσουν στην προσωπική τους εξέλιξη και στην επαγγελματική τους αποτελεσματικότητα σε συνδυασμό με τη θετική απάντηση όλων στις ερωτήσεις που αφορούν την ανάγκη για ανανέωση του Αναλυτικού Προγράμματος και των μέσων διδασκαλίας υπογραμμίζουν την αναγκαιότητα



εκπαιδευτικών μεταρρυθμίσεων (Λιοναράκη-Χρηστίδου στο Ανδρούσου (επιμ.), 2001: 50).

Παρόμοιες εκπαιδευτικές συνθήκες σκιαγραφούνται και από το Phinney σχετικά με την ολλανδική εκπαιδευτική διαπολιτισμική πραγματικότητα (2001: 506). Εξαιρετικής σημασίας, βέβαια, για την πολιτισμική επάρκεια των εκπαιδευτικών φαίνεται πως είναι και το περιεχόμενο των προπτυχιακών τους σπουδών που μπορεί να τους προετοιμάσει για την μετέπειτα διαχείριση της διαπολιτισμικής τάξης (Χαρίτος, 2011: 222-223).

Πιστεύουμε, λοιπόν, πως είναι αναγκαία σε βάθος χρόνου η εκπαιδευτική μεταρρύθμιση με στόχο την δυνατότητα ανάληψης περισσότερων πρωτοβουλιών εκ μέρους των εκπαιδευτικών. Βέβαια, σε αυτό το σημείο να τονίσουμε τον κίνδυνο που ελλοχεύει η ανεξέλεγκτη ανάληψη πρωτοβουλιών. Θα πρέπει, λοιπόν, να γίνεται ελεγχόμενα, ίσως με την παράλληλη λειτουργία ενός συστήματος μεντόρων οι οποίοι θα βοηθούν τους εκπαιδευτικούς στην συνδιαμόρφωση καινοτόμων εκπαιδευτικών δράσεων (Μάγος & Σιμόπουλος, 2010: 232-235. Σκούρτου κ.ά., 2004: 32-34. Βασιλειάδης, 2012: 75-81. Σιμόπουλος, χ.χ.). Επιπλέον βοηθητικό για την αποτελεσματικότητα και την εφαρμοσιμότητα της εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής φαίνεται πως είναι όσοι ασχολούνται με το σχεδιασμό καινοτόμων δράσεων που αφορούν τη διαπολιτισμική εκπαίδευση να περάσουν από τη θέση του ενεργού εκπαιδευτικού στο πεδίο (Παπακωνσταντίνου στο Μαυροσκούφη, 2008:238).

Καθοριστικός, βέβαια, είναι ο ρόλος που μπορεί να διαδραματίσει ο διευθυντής αλλά και ο σχολικός σύμβουλος στην ανάληψη πρωτοβουλιών και στην υλοποίηση καινοτόμων εκπαιδευτικών δράσεων (Παπακωνσταντίνου στο Μαυροσκούφη, 2008:237).

Η πολιτισμική επάρκεια, βέβαια, συμβαδίζει και με τις επιταγές της κυρίαρχης εκπαιδευτικής στρατηγικής και του πολιτισμικού μάρκετινγκ των εμπλεκόμενων, σχολικών και εξωσχολικών φορέων τα οποία όμως θα πρέπει να συναντούν την κουλτούρα του ατόμου και να στοχεύουν στην ποιότητα και την καταλληλότητα των εκάστοτε παροχών. Παρόλα αυτά θα ήταν λάθος αν η ικανοποίηση των συμφερόντων του ατόμου και η διαμόρφωση των παρεχόμενων υπηρεσιών ώστε να είναι συναφείς με τις ανάγκες του ατόμου κατέληγε να γίνεται στα πλαίσια της φιλανθρωπίας προς αδύναμους εξυπηρετούμενους και όχι στα πλαίσια της ισότιμης αλληλεπίδρασης και της ενδυνάμωσης της μειονοτικής φωνής (Aluffi-Pentini, 2005: 85-92. Λυγούρας, 1989).

## Επίλογος

### *Τελικές προτάσεις*

Η χρησιμότητα της παρούσας μελέτης έγκειται στην ανάδειξη των προσωπικών απόψεων των συμμετεχόντων μέσα από την καταγραφή τους. Τα ευρήματα θα μπορούσαν να χρησιμοποιηθούν για να βοηθήσουν και άλλους εκπαιδευτικούς που εισέρχονται στον εκπαιδευτικό στίβο και οι οποίοι πιθανόν να προβληματίζονται σχετικά με την υποστήριξη των παιδιών που αντιμετωπίζουν γλωσσικές δυσκολίες





που έχουν κοινωνικές διαστάσεις. Σε πρώτο επίπεδο, θα μπορούσε να τους/τις βοηθήσει να κατανοήσουν καλύτερα τα κοινωνικά αίτια της “προβληματικής” συμπεριφοράς των παιδιών και να επιδιώξουν να καταρτιστούν περαιτέρω στον τομέα αυτό. Σε δεύτερο επίπεδο, η παρούσα μελέτη θα μπορούσε να παρακινήσει τους ενδιαφερόμενους να δημιουργήσουν δίκτυα, ώστε να εντοπίζουν λύσεις από κοινού και να δημιουργούν συνεργασίες είτε με άλλους εκπαιδευτικούς είτε με άλλους φορείς, ακόμη και εξωσχολικούς. Η αλληλεπίδραση του σχολείου με την τοπική κοινωνία και εξωσχολικούς φορείς μπορεί να έχει θετικά αποτελέσματα (CoeHo, 2007) μα αν γίνεται εν είδει φιλανθρωπίας ή εξυπηρέτησης κερδοσκοπικών συμφερόντων διαιωνίζει τις κοινωνικές διαστάσεις των προβλημάτων που επιχειρούμε να αντιμετωπίσουμε.

Μακροπρόθεσμα η ενίσχυση του προβληματισμού της εκπαιδευτικής κοινότητας, εν γένει, θα μπορούσε να οδηγήσει σε μεγαλύτερες πιέσεις για την ενίσχυση της υποστήριξης από το κράτος, κάτι το οποίο σήμερα απουσιάζει. Η επιμόρφωση αποτελεί πρωταρχικά ευθύνη του ίδιου του εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος το οποίο πρέπει να μεριμνήσει για την λήψη των απαραίτητων μέτρων προς την κατεύθυνση της συνεχούς κατάρτισης και επιμόρφωσης των εκπαιδευτικών σχετικά με τη διαχείριση της τάξης (σεμινάρια, συνέδρια, ημερίδες) και της δημιουργίας σχετικών υποστηρικτικών δομών ανά σχολική μονάδα (εξειδικευμένοι ψυχολόγοι, κοινωνικοί λειτουργοί, σχολικοί σύμβουλοι κ.ο.κ.). Η παρουσία καταρτισμένων επαγγελματιών είναι εξαιρετικά βοηθητική και ως προς την εποπτεία και τη συμβουλευτική των ίδιων των εκπαιδευτικών που συχνά δε γνωρίζουν που να απευθυνθούν για τη δική τους ψυχολογική και επαγγελματική υποστήριξη και που να κάνουν παραπομπή κάποιο παιδί ή γονέα που χρειάζεται βοήθεια με στόχο μία πιο ολιστική προσέγγιση των αναγκών του ατόμου. Η διεπαγγελματική συνεργασία έχει εφαρμοστεί με πολύ θετικά αποτελέσματα και στους επωφελούμενους αλλά και στους εργαζόμενους σε ιδρύματα υγείας (Αλτάνης, 1991).

Ακόμη, στην Ελλάδα δεν υπάρχει κρατική κοινωνική πρόνοια για τη δωρεάν ψυχολογική υποστήριξη παιδιών και κηδεμόνων μέσα σε κοινωνικές δομές όπως το σχολείο, το οποίο θα μπορούσε να αποτελέσει έναν χώρο όπου θα επιτελείται κάποιου είδους ψυχοθεραπευτική στήριξη (Τομπέα, 2016. Κόκκινος κ.ά., 2010). Οι τρόποι που θα μπορούσε να ενδυναμωθεί το άτομο στα πλαίσια της εκπαιδευτικής διαδικασίας είναι ποικίλοι (Τσιρώνης, 2003: 137-138). Συλλογική θεραπεία θα μπορούσε να επιτελεσθεί και μέσω των πρωτοβουλιών Μη Κυβερνητικών Οργανώσεων και Ομάδων Εθελοντών οι οποίες παρουσιάζουν έντονη σχετική δραστηριότητα στο εξωτερικό, μάλιστα με θετικά αποτελέσματα (Τομπέα, 2016) ενώ φαίνεται πως αξιόλογη είναι και η συμβουλευτική και ψυχολογική δράση των φορέων που δραστηριοποιούνται στην Ελλάδα (Άγνωστος συντάκτης, 2007: 110-114, 131). Μία συγκεκριμένη δραστηριότητα που φαίνεται πως έχει ψυχοθεραπευτική λειτουργία και θα μπορούσε να αξιοποιηθεί στα πλαίσια της εκπαίδευσης λόγω του γραμματιστικού της χαρακτήρα είναι η επεξεργασία των τραυματικών εμπειριών μέσα από τη λογοτεχνία, ανάγνωση και δημιουργική γραφή



(Πατούλη, 2012). Σε κάθε περίπτωση, είναι σημαντικό η υποστήριξη των μειονοτήτων να γίνεται με στόχο την προσωπική ενδυνάμωση των ατόμων που ανήκουν στη μειονότητα (Φρέιρε, 1977) και όχι εν είδει φιλανθρωπίας η οποία διαιωνίζει την ανωτερότητα της κυρίαρχης κουλτούρας σε βάρος των ασθενέστερων (Aluffi-Pentini, 2005: 85-92. Λυγούρας, 1989).

Μία τελευταία επισήμανση που αφορά το περιεχόμενο των ερευνητικών αποτελεσμάτων που προέκυψαν από τη συγκεκριμένη έρευνα ως προς την αξιοπιστία τους είναι η ανάγκη για τριγωνοποίηση (triangulation) της έρευνας με μεγαλύτερο ερευνητικό δείγμα παιδιών αλλά και ενηλίκων, κηδεμόνων και εκπαιδευτικών (Ισαρη και Πουρκός, 2015: 123).

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## Η Παιχνιδοποίηση στην εκπαίδευση μέσα από το πρίσμα της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής

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### Περίληψη

Η παρούσα εργασία αποτελεί μια θεωρητική σύνθεση που αποσκοπεί στη σύνδεση δυο εννοιών της εκπαίδευσης, την Παιχνιδοποίηση και τη Κριτική Παιδαγωγική. Η Παιχνιδοποίηση αποτελεί μια σχετικά νέα έννοια, η οποία αφορά στο πώς οι καθημερινές διαδικασίες μπορούν να αποκτήσουν περισσότερο ενδιαφέρον, με την εισαγωγή στοιχείων παιχνιδιού σε αυτές. Οι βασικές αρχές της Παιχνιδοποίησης είναι βασισμένες στις αρχές του συμπεριφορισμού και γι αυτό το λόγο στηρίζονται στην επιβράβευση και την θετική ενίσχυση. Οι περισσότερες από τις πρακτικές εφαρμογές της Παιχνιδοποίησης, στηρίζονται σε διάφορες διαδικτυακές πλατφόρμες, διαμορφωμένες ειδικά για το σκοπό και το πλαίσιο στο οποίο απευθύνονται. Συγκεκριμένα στο πλαίσιο της εκπαίδευσης, υπάρχουν πλατφόρμες με ψηφιακές τάξεις, όπου μπορούν να χρησιμοποιηθούν από τον/την εκπαιδευτικό και τους/τις μαθητές/τριες. Από την άλλη πλευρά η Κριτική Παιδαγωγική, έχει ως στόχο να καλλιεργήσει την κριτική σκέψη και την χειραφέτηση των μαθητών/τριών. Επιπλέον απώτερος σκοπός είναι να διαμορφωθούν ανεξάρτητα άτομα με συλλογική συνείδηση και κοινωνικές ευαισθησίες, ώστε να οδηγηθούν στην κοινωνική και πολιτική δράση. Έτσι παρακάτω γίνεται μια προσπάθεια να συνδυαστούν τα εργαλεία της Παιχνιδοποίησης και οι κοινωνικοπολιτικές προεκτάσεις της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής. Με αυτό τον τρόπο εντοπίζονται τα κοινά μεταξύ των δύο θεωρητικών προσεγγίσεων και δίνεται μία πολιτική και εκπαιδευτική πλαισίωση της Παιχνιδοποίησης δημιουργώντας μία νέα έννοια, αυτήν της Κριτικής Παιχνιδοποίησης. Τέλος, προτείνεται η δημιουργία μιας ανοιχτής διαδικτυακής πλατφόρμας, όπου θα εφαρμόζεται η Κριτική Παιχνιδοποίηση και η πλατφόρμα αυτή θα πλαισιώνεται από μια κοινότητα ανθρώπων που θα την συντηρούν και εξελίσσουν στο χρόνο.

### Λέξεις κλειδιά:

Παιχνιδοποίηση, Εκπαίδευση, Κριτική Παιδαγωγική, Χειραγώγηση-Χειραφέτηση, Κριτική Παιχνιδοποίηση

### 1. Εισαγωγή

Σκοπός της εργασίας αυτής είναι να παρουσιαστούν βασικές έννοιες σχετικά με την Παιχνιδοποίηση στην εκπαίδευση και την Κριτική Παιδαγωγική. Τα τελευταία χρόνια η έννοια της Παιχνιδοποίησης χρησιμοποιείται σε διάφορους τομείς, όπως στην υγεία, στην εργασία, στην εκπαίδευση. Στον τομέα της υγείας η Παιχνιδοποίηση μπορεί να χρησιμοποιηθεί ώστε να απαλύνει τον πόνο των ασθενών, στην εργασιακή ρουτίνα αξιοποιείται με σκοπό να αυξήσει τα κίνητρα των εμπλεκόμενων και να τους κάνει πιο αποτελεσματικούς/-ές και παραγωγικούς/-ές. Στην εκπαίδευση έχει ως σκοπό να μετατρέψει τη μάθηση σε μία ευχάριστη διαδικασία. Γενικότερα, το ζήτημα είναι να δοθούν και εφαρμοστούν όλα εκείνα τα ελκυστικά στοιχεία των παιχνιδιών στην εκπαίδευση, ώστε να μετατραπεί η σχολική



πραγματικότητα σε έναν τόπο όπου οι εκπαιδευόμενοι/-ες μαθαίνουν μέσω της ευχαρίστησης.

Παρόλα αυτά, έχει ασκηθεί αρκετή κριτική γύρω από αυτές τις πρακτικές. Έτσι έρχονται στο προσκήνιο οι κίνδυνοι που ελλοχεύουν στην εργασία και την εκπαίδευση, όπως η χειραγώγηση των υποκειμένων (Bogost, 2014 Fuchs, 2014β· Koroc & Pacewicz, 2015· Woodcock & Johnson, 2017), οι συμπεριφοριστικές πρακτικές (Bogost, 2014· Ζεϊμπεκκης & Θεοφανέλλης, 2015), η χρήση της Παιχνιδοποίησης ως πανάκεια (Fuchs, 2014α; Fuchs, 2014β).

Ειδικότερα, η έννοια της χειραγώγησης, αποτελεί έναυσμα για την παρούσα εργασία. Το περιτύλιγμα που βάζει η Παιχνιδοποίηση είναι τόσο ισχυρό που μπορεί να προκαλέσει τα υποκείμενα να προβούν σε αδιανόητες πράξεις. Εξάλλου, «το παιχνίδι και η δουλειά είναι δύο αντίθετα πράγματα και το παιχνίδι λειτουργεί ως πηγή χαράς για να ξεφύγουν οι εργαζόμενοι από την σκλαβιά του κεφαλαίου και των εργασιακών σχέσεων» (Fuchs, 2014β, σελ. 7). Βέβαια, το γεγονός της χειραγώγησης ήδη ενυπάρχει στην εκπαίδευση, η οποία είναι ένας χώρος ιδεολογικά προσανατολισμένος. Εξυπηρετεί τα συμφέροντα της εξουσίας, νομιμοποιεί τι είναι έγκυρο ως γνώση και μεταβιβάζει τις αξίες της κυρίαρχης κουλτούρας (Giroux, 2010), όπως κυρίαρχες πολιτικές, οικονομικές, κοινωνικές και πολιτισμικές τάσεις (Apple, 2004).

Σκοπός της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής είναι να προετοιμάσει τους εκπαιδευόμενους/-ες να σταθούν κριτικά απέναντι στην κανονικότητα της κυρίαρχης κουλτούρας και του νεοφιλελεύθερου συστήματος για να τους φέρει αντιμέτωπους με την ιδεολογία και τα στερεότυπα τους. Μέσα από αυτό θα συνειδητοποιήσουν την υπαρξιακή τους κατάσταση και θα ενδυναμωθούν μέσα από την ανατροφοδότηση της θεωρίας με την πράξη (Freire, 2006).

Η πρόταση της παρούσας εργασίας είναι να συνδυάσει κάποια στοιχεία της Παιχνιδοποίησης με τις αρχές της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής, ώστε να δημιουργηθεί η τομή των δυο, με σκοπό την χειραφέτηση αντί της χειραγώγησης των εκπαιδευόμενων. Πιο συγκεκριμένα στόχος είναι η πολιτική ενδυνάμωση, η κριτική συνειδητοποίηση και η ανάδειξη των μηχανισμών εξουσίας μέσω της Παιχνιδοποίησης. Η Παιχνιδοποίηση μπορεί να βάλει το στοιχείο της διασκέδασης σε «βαρετά» πλαίσια έτσι ώστε αυτά να αποκτήσουν νόημα, να κινητοποιήσουν τους/τις συμμετέχοντες/-ουσες και να δημιουργήσουν κίνητρο. Επειδή λοιπόν είναι απαραίτητη η εκπαίδευση με νόημα, η Παιχνιδοποίηση σε συνδυασμό με τις αρχές της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής μπορεί να αποτελέσει το εργαλείο για να δοθεί το νόημα.

Το ερώτημα που τίθεται είναι: με ποιον τρόπο μπορεί να γίνει η χρήση της Παιχνιδοποίησης στην εκπαίδευση ώστε να συντελέσει στη δημιουργία χειραφετημένων υποκειμένων; Με έμφαση στο να τους δοθεί η δυνατότητα να αναπτύξουν την επίγνωση για την υπαρξιακή τους κατάσταση και να αγωνιστούν για τα ατομικά και συλλογικά δικαιώματά τους και για άλλα παγκόσμια ζητήματα.





Παρακάτω, αναφέρεται ο τρόπος που το παιχνίδι έχει αξιοποιηθεί ώστε να εφαρμοστεί η Κριτική Παιδαγωγική, το οποίο λειτούργησε ως μία αφόρμηση για την υλοποίηση της εργασίας αυτής. Αρχικά παρουσιάζεται η Παιχνιδοποίηση, ο ορισμός και οι εφαρμογές της. Στη συνέχεια παρουσιάζεται η κριτική που έχει ασκηθεί στην Παιχνιδοποίηση, καθώς και ο τρόπος που αυτή μπορεί να αποκτήσει νόημα μέσω της κινητοποίησης σε δράση με απώτερο σκοπό την κοινωνική αλλαγή. Μετέπειτα, παρουσιάζεται η έννοια της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής και οι κοινωνικο-πολιτικές επιρροές της στην εκπαίδευση. Προχωρώντας στη σύνθεση των δύο προσεγγίσεων, αναδεικνύονται τα εργαλεία και οι κοινωνικο-πολιτικές προεκτάσεις της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής και ο τρόπος που ο συνδυασμός τους με εκείνες της Παιχνιδοποίησης, δημιουργεί την έννοια της Κριτικής Παιχνιδοποίησης, η οποία μπορεί τελικά να αξιοποιηθεί με σκοπό την κοινωνική αλλαγή. Τέλος, προτείνεται ο τρόπος με τον οποίο η Κριτική Παιχνιδοποίηση θα μπορούσε να εφαρμοστεί στην πράξη.

## 2. Παιχνίδι, μάθηση και Κριτική Παιδαγωγική

Τα παιχνίδια είναι το μέσο για τη διασκέδαση και την απορρόφηση σε μία δραστηριότητα. Τα παιχνίδια είναι ένα μέρος της πραγματικότητας και των καθημερινών διεργασιών. Έτσι, δεν πρόκειται πια για μια διαφυγή από την πραγματικότητα μέσω του παιχνιδιού, αλλά για εισαγωγή του παιχνιδιού στην πραγματικότητα (Walz&Deterding, 2014). Τα παιχνίδια αρχίζουν να γίνονται κομμάτι της μάθησης και εργαλείο επίτευξής της, όχι τόσο επειδή οι μαθητές μαθαίνουν αποτελεσματικότερα μέσω των παιχνιδιών, αλλά επειδή μαθαίνουν διασκεδάζοντας (Walz&Deterding, 2014). Σκοπός λοιπόν των σοβαρών παιχνιδιών (seriousgames) είναι κατ' αρχάς να βάλουν τα παιδιά σε διαδικασία μάθησης και προβληματισμού μέσα από το παιχνίδι. Στη συνέχεια, έρχεται η ιδέα της Παιχνιδοποίησης της μάθησης, όπου οι βασικές αρχές του σχεδιασμού των παιχνιδιών, όπως οι δοκιμασίες, η επιβράβευση και η συλλογή πόντων, υιοθετούνται κατά τη διαδικασία της διδασκαλίας και μάθησης για να κινητοποιήσουν τους/τις εμπλεκόμενους/-ες. Χαρακτηριστικό παράδειγμα αυτού είναι τα MOOCs - ανοιχτά διαδικτυακά μαθήματα - που έχουν στηθεί με βάση τις αρχές της Παιχνιδοποίησης, ώστε να διευκολύνουν τις διαδικασίες της κινητοποίησης και της δέσμευσης των συμμετεχόντων/-ουσών στην παρακολούθηση.

Ο Crocco (2011) υποστηρίζει ότι μέσω ενός παιχνιδιού μεταφέρεται ένας τρόπος σκέψης και εντέλει αντί ο/η παίκτης/-ρια να χειρίζεται το παιχνίδι, είναι τελικά το παιχνίδι εκείνο που χειρίζεται τον/την παίκτη/-ρια. Μέσα από το παιχνίδι δηλαδή, ο/η παίκτης/-ρια «μαθαίνει» να σκέφτεται και να λειτουργεί με συγκεκριμένους τρόπους. Αν όμως το παιχνίδι μαθαίνει στον/στην παίκτη/-ρια να σκέφτεται κριτικά, να αμφισβητεί, να αξιολογεί και να πράττει ανάλογα, τότε η διαδικασία του παιχνιδιού αποκτά μία άλλη έννοια, εκείνη της απελευθερωτικής σκέψης. Ο Crocco (2011) δίνει και τον ορισμό της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής μέσω του παιχνιδιού (CriticalGamingPedagogy), ο οποίος αφορά στο πώς τα παιχνίδια ενσαρκώνουν



αρχές μάθησης οι οποίες χρησιμοποιούνται για να ενδυναμώσουν την κριτική σκέψη και δρουν αντίθετα με την χειραγώγηση. Η παγίδα που ο ίδιος θεωρεί ότι υπάρχει στην μάθηση μέσω των παιχνιδιών είναι να αναπαραχθεί ο κλασικός τρόπος διδασκαλίας και μάθησης, να συνεχίσουν να αναπαράγονται οι ανισότητες και τα στερεότυπα, αλλά με έναν τρόπο πιο έμμεσο που θα υποστηρίζεται ότι είναι διαφορετικός γιατί ενσωματώνει το παιχνίδι. Αν όμως αυτός ο κίνδυνος ξεπεραστεί, τότε μπορούν να ενισχυθούν οι μαθητές/-ριες να αναλάβουν δράση. Επιπλέον, να αποκτήσουν κριτική στάση, ενεργητικό ρόλο ως παίκτες/-ριες, άρα να δρουν, και να μην λαμβάνονται πια ως παθητικοί δέκτες της μάθησης.

Ο Crocco (2011) παρουσιάζει δυο πολύ ενδιαφέροντα παραδείγματα Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής μέσω του παιχνιδιού, τα οποία εφάρμοσε με την τάξη του. Το ένα παιχνίδι που χρησιμοποιήθηκε ήταν το *Sims*, όπου οι μαθητές/-ριες κλήθηκαν να το παίξουν και στη συνέχεια να προσπαθήσουν να εντοπίσουν και να μιλήσουν για τις ιδεολογικές εικασίες. Επιπλέον, να εξάγουν συμπεράσματα για όσα εμπεριέχονται στο παιχνίδι σε σχέση με την κοινωνική κινητικότητα και το «αμερικανικό όνειρο».

Το δεύτερο παράδειγμα εφαρμογής της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής είναι μια παραλλαγή του παιχνιδιού «*Monopoly*» που έφτιαξε για την τάξη του. Θέλοντας να δείξει στους/στις μαθητές/-ριες ποια είναι η παρούσα κοινωνική και οικονομική πραγματικότητα, άλλαξε τους κανόνες του παιχνιδιού, βάζοντας τους/τις μαθητές/-ριες σε διαδικασία συζήτησης για την εξέλιξη του παιχνιδιού. Ο νέος τρόπος για να παίξουν *Monopoly* ήταν ο εξής: οι μαθητές/-ριες χωρίζονταν σε τέσσερις ομάδες και η κάθε ομάδα έπαιζε ως ένας από τους τέσσερις χαρακτήρες που δίνονταν από τον εκπαιδευτικό, τον Harold, τον Bob, την Cheryl και τη Maria. Ο καθένας τους ανήκε σε διαφορετική κοινωνική τάξη και ξεκινούσε με διαφορετικά “κεκτημένα”. Ο Harold ήταν ένας λευκός άντρας υψηλής κοινωνικής τάξης, που κατείχε όλους τους σιδηροδρομικούς σταθμούς, τον χώρο στάθμευσης, κι έναν ακόμα σταθμό, καθώς και \$4000. Ο Bob ήταν ένας μεσοαστός εργάτης που ξεκινούσε με \$1500 και έναν σταθμό. Η Cheryl ήταν μια μαύρη γυναίκα εργάτρια χαμηλής κοινωνικής τάξης που ξεκινούσε με \$1000. Και, τέλος, η Maria ήταν γυναίκα μετανάστρια, ισπανικής καταγωγής, και εργάτρια, που ξεκινούσε με \$500. Επιπλέον κατά την διάρκεια του παιχνιδιού ανταμείβονταν σε σχέση με το πόσο καλά τα είχαν πάει οικονομικά αλλά και ανάλογα με την κοινωνική τους τάξη. Το παιχνίδι παιζόταν για τρεις γύρους και πριν, μετά αλλά και κατά την διάρκεια γινόταν συζήτηση για την κατάσταση του/της καθενός/-μιας, τι θα μπορούσε να κάνει και πώς καταλήγει στο τέλος. Σκοπός του παιχνιδιού ήταν να μπουν οι μαθητές/-ριες στη διαδικασία να σκεφτούν πώς είναι η οικονομική και κοινωνική διαστρωμάτωση και αν τελικά υπάρχουν ίσες ευκαιρίες για όλους. Το ενδιαφέρον ήταν ότι τα παιδιά παίζοντας, ενώ έδιναν εξηγήσεις για το γιατί πιστεύουν ότι κάποιος/-α μπορεί να κέρδιζε ή να έχανε, δεν προσπάθησαν να κάνουν κάτι για να αλλάξουν τους κανόνες του παιχνιδιού ή να βρουν τρόπους να αντιδράσουν στο «προδιαγεγραμμένο», κατά την γνώμη τους, αποτέλεσμα. Συνήθως, επίσης, οι παίκτες/-ριες οικειοποιούνταν πλήρως τον ρόλο τους και υιοθετούσαν συμπεριφορές ανάλογες με το κοινώς αναμενόμενο για τον



χαρακτήρα τους (π.χ. ανταγωνισμό για τον Harold, αποφυγή της δύσκολης πραγματικότητας για την Cheryl και τη Maria που επιδίωκαν την παραμονή τους στη φυλακή κ.ά.) (Crocco, 2011). Η παραπάνω εφαρμογή αποτελεί μια πρωτότυπη ιδέα, που συνδυάζει την διαδικασία του παιχνιδιού με τις αρχές της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής και λειτούργησε ως αφόρμηση για την παρούσα εργασία.

### 3. Παιχνιδοποίηση

Μεταξύ των θεωρητικών υπάρχει σύγχυση για το πώς ορίζεται η έννοια της Παιχνιδοποίησης. Πολλές φορές είναι λεπτά τα όρια μεταξύ της Παιχνιδοποίησης (Gamification), των σοβαρών παιχνιδιών (Serious Games) και της παιγνιώδους αλληλεπίδρασης (Game full Design).

Κορυφαίοι ερευνητές στο χώρο έχουν αναπτύξει και οριοθετήσει τι θεωρείται Παιχνιδοποίηση, προσπαθώντας να δώσουν έναν ορισμό (Chou, 2015· Deterdingetal., 2011· Kapp, 2012· Werbach, 2014· Zichermann & Cunningham, 2011). Ο πιο κοινά αποδεκτός ορισμός είναι αυτός που διατυπώνει ο Werbach (2014): «η Παιχνιδοποίηση είναι η χρήση στοιχείων και τεχνικών σχεδιασμού των παιχνιδιών σε μη-παιγνιώδη πλαίσια» (σελ. 267).

Συνήθως, όταν γίνεται αναφορά στην Παιχνιδοποίηση, γίνεται άμεσα και η σύνδεση με την τεχνολογία στην καθημερινή ζωή των ανθρώπων. Δηλαδή, η Παιχνιδοποίηση επιτυγχάνεται μέσα από διάφορα τεχνολογικά μέσα (pc, tablets, smartphones, και άλλα gadgets) με τα οποία γίνονται οι κατάλληλες μετρήσεις της συμπεριφοράς και παρέχονται διάφορα κίνητρα, όπως ανταμοιβές. Παρόλα αυτά υπάρχουν θεωρητικοί στη βιβλιογραφία που υποστηρίζουν ότι για την εφαρμογή της Παιχνιδοποίησης δεν είναι απαραίτητα τα τεχνολογικά μέσα (Ζεϊμπέκης & Θεοφανέλλης, 2015).

Στην πιο απλή μορφή της μπορεί να είναι μια μικρή ανταμοιβή για την ολοκλήρωση ενός στόχου. Σε αυτή τη μορφή η Παιχνιδοποίηση χωρίς τη χρήση του κατάλληλου «περιτυλίγματος» (στοιχεία παιχνιδιού) δεν μπορεί παρά να χαρακτηριστεί ως μία απλή συμπεριφοριστική πρακτική (Ζεϊμπέκης & Θεοφανέλλης, 2015).

Η Παιχνιδοποίηση μπορεί να εντείνει την εμπειρία του χρήστη διότι εισάγει την διαδραστικότητα και την δραστηριοποίηση. Εντούτοις το πρόβλημα που εμφανίζεται αφορά στην παρατεταμένη προσκόλληση λόγω της έμφασης στα εξωτερικά κίνητρα (McGonigal, 2011). Σε αυτή την περίπτωση ο κίνδυνος που κρύβεται είναι, εάν η εφαρμογή της Παιχνιδοποίησης επιμένει στα εξωτερικά κίνητρα και όχι στην επιθυμία των εκπαιδευόμενων για μάθηση, οι εκπαιδευόμενοι/-ες να τείνουν να μαθαίνουν σχετικά με το παιχνίδι και όχι το μάθημα.

Γενικότερα, ένα παιχνιδοποιημένο πλαίσιο αποτελεί ένα ισχυρό εργαλείο εκμάθησης και διαμόρφωσης συμπεριφοράς. Τα πλαίσια αυτά δεν έχουν σκοπό την ψυχαγωγία για την ψυχαγωγία αλλά τη μάθηση, την αύξηση της συμμετοχής, την ομαδική εργασία, την αύξηση της παραγωγικότητας, την επίτευξη επαγγελματικών στόχων και πολλά άλλα (Werbach, 2014).



Για να διαμορφωθεί μια διαδικασία που να εμπίπτει στην κατηγορία της Παιχνιδοποίησης είναι απαραίτητο να αξιοποιηθούν κάποιες τεχνικές (Gamification techniques), όπως η χρήση πόντων και ευσήμων. Συγκεκριμένα, οι τεχνικές αυτές είναι: οι στόχοι, ο ανταγωνισμός, οι ανταμοιβές, η ομαδικότητα, οι πόντοι/σκορ, τα βραβεία, τα επίπεδα και η βαθμολογία, οι πίνακες με βαθμολογίες και η δημιουργία κοινότητας (Chou, 2015).

Η Παιχνιδοποίηση είναι μία προσέγγιση που παράγει ένα περιβάλλον με ανατροφοδότηση σε πραγματικό χρόνο (real-time feedback), οφέλη και ανταμοιβές στις οποίες οι ψηφιακές γενιές έχουν συνηθίσει. Η Παιχνιδοποίηση στην εκπαίδευση παρέχει κίνητρα στους εκπαιδευόμενους, καθώς εκπληρώνει τη φυσική επιθυμία τους για μάθηση, επίτευξη, συναγωνισμό, κοινωνική υπόσταση, αυτοέκφραση, αλτρουισμό και ολοκλήρωση. Παράλληλα, μέσω των προτύπων (patterns) και των βιωμάτων, οι εκπαιδευόμενοι αποτυπώνουν ευκολότερα νέες γνώσεις και δεξιότητες (Ζεϊμπεκής & Θεοφανέλλης, 2015).

Βέβαια, για να πραγματοποιηθεί «σωστά» η εφαρμογή της Παιχνιδοποίησης δεν χρειάζονται μόνο πόντοι και κονκάρδες, αλλά ο σχεδιασμός μιας «εκστρατείας» που παρέχει στους χρήστες την αναγνώριση, τις ανταμοιβές, την κατάλληλη κατάσταση και την επίτευξη της επιθυμίας να επιστρέψει στο παιχνίδι.

### 3.1 Πλατφόρμες Παιχνιδοποίησης

Η Παιχνιδοποίηση της εκπαίδευσης έχει σκοπό να αξιοποιήσει τα στοιχεία των ηλεκτρονικών παιχνιδιών ώστε να αυξήσει το ενδιαφέρον των μαθητών/-ριων για συμμετοχή στις εκπαιδευτικές διαδικασίες. Έτσι οι μαθητές/-ριες μαθαίνουν διασκεδάζοντας, όπως αν έπαιζαν ένα παιχνίδι (Simões, Redondo & Vilas, 2012). Οι διαδικτυακές πλατφόρμες Παιχνιδοποίησης έχουν στόχο να παρέχουν τέτοιου είδους παιγνιώδη περιβάλλοντα μάθησης, ειδικά διαμορφωμένα να εξυπηρετήσουν τον εκπαιδευτικό και τη σχέση του με την τάξη του. Παρακάτω παρουσιάζονται τρεις από αυτές τις πλατφόρμες.

*Edmodo*: Πρόκειται για πλατφόρμα τύπου κοινωνικής δικτύωσης, με στήσιμο πολύ παρόμοιο με εκείνο του Facebook, για μαθητές και εκπαιδευτικούς. Η πλατφόρμα είναι δωρεάν για να γίνει κανείς μέλος και προσφέρει πολλές δυνατότητες για τους χρήστες της. Ο εκπαιδευτικός μπορεί να αναθέτει εργασίες, να δημιουργεί κουίζ και ψηφοφορίες, να ανεβάζει ανακοινώσεις, βίντεο και παρουσιάσεις και να ξεκινάει συζητήσεις με τις ομάδες του. Ενώ οι μαθητές μπορούν να στέλνουν τις εργασίες τους, να ξεκινούν κι εκείνοι συζητήσεις και να δημιουργούν ομάδες, για παράδειγμα ομάδες μελέτης. Τέλος, μέσω του Edmodo, μπορούν και οι γονείς να φτιάξουν προφίλ και να συμμετέχουν στις διαδικασίες και τις συζητήσεις.

*Classcraft*: Οι μαθητές μπορούν να επιλέξουν τον ήρωα τους (ένα avatar πολεμιστή ή θεραπευτή ή μάγο), να δημιουργήσουν ομάδες συνεργαζόμενοι σε εργασίες και να υιοθετούν θετικές συμπεριφορές. Οι μαθητές κερδίζουν πόντους, ανεβαίνουν επίπεδο (level) και αποκτούν «δυνάμεις», που έχουν ισχύ και στον πραγματικό κόσμο (π.χ. η «δύναμη» να μπορείς να επιλέξεις το θέμα στην ώρα των



καλλιτεχνικών ή το άθλημα στο μάθημα της γυμναστικής κ.ά.). Οι δυνάμεις αυτές μπορούν να τροποποιηθούν από τον εκπαιδευτικό ώστε να ταιριάζουν στην ιδιοσυγκρασία των μαθητών και τους κανόνες της τάξης. Στον αντίποδα, όταν οι μαθητές κάνουν κάτι αρνητικό τότε χάνουν πόντους και μακροπρόθεσμα μπορεί να 'πέσουν στη μάχη' και να έρθουν αντιμέτωποι με μια τιμωρία που θα έχει ορίσει ο εκπαιδευτικός. Επίσης, στα τεστ οι εκπαιδευόμενοι κινητοποιούνται να έχουν υψηλές επιδόσεις να για αντιμετωπίσουν μία αποστολή, π.χ. ένα τέρας, και να πάρουν επιπλέον πόντους. Το παιχνίδι αυτό διατίθεται ελεύθερα αλλά πολλές επιλογές του είναι επί πληρωμή, δηλαδή η ουσία του παιχνιδιού είναι κλειδωμένη. *Classdojo*: Το παιχνίδι βασίζεται σε avatar-τερατάκια, τα οποία ανήκουν σε κάθε έναν από τους εκπαιδευόμενους. Ο κάθε εκπαιδευόμενος έχει κωδικό που μπορεί να μπαίνει και να ενημερώνεται για την επίδοσή του και να κάνει αλλαγές στο avatar του. Κάθε φορά που ξεκινά η εφαρμογή, αφού ο εκπαιδευτικός επιλέξει την τάξη που έχει δημιουργήσει, εμφανίζονται τα avatar των μαθητών κι έτσι ο εκπαιδευτικός μπορεί να παρακολουθήσει την εξέλιξη και τις συνήθειες των μαθητών του. Ένα πλεονέκτημα της εφαρμογής είναι η προσαρμοστικότητά της, καθώς ο εκπαιδευτικός διαμορφώνει τους κανόνες, τις επιβραβεύσεις και τις τιμωρίες της εφαρμογής βάσει των προτεραιοτήτων του και των στόχων που έχει θέσει για τους μαθητές του. Επίσης, σημαντικό είναι ότι δίνει τη δυνατότητα ενημέρωσης των γονέων μέσα από τις ενημερώσεων του ηλεκτρονικού ταχυδρομείου.

### 3.2 Κριτική στην Παιχνιδοποίηση

Παρά την πλευρά, η οποία αποδίδεται από ερευνητές οι οποίοι της έχουν ασκήσει κριτική (Fuchs, 2014β· Korzec & Racewicz, 2015). Η κριτική αυτή επιχειρεί να αναδείξει ότι η Παιχνιδοποίηση προσεγγίζεται με έναν επιφανειακό τρόπο χωρίς να απασχολείται με τις αρνητικές επιπτώσεις της.

Ειδικότερα, ο Fuchs (2014β) παρομοιάζει την Παιχνιδοποίηση ως πανάκεια, όπως αυτή της θρησκευτικής σωτηρίας. Η πανάκεια αυτή φαίνεται να έχει απεριόριστο εύρος των πιθανών τομέων εφαρμογής, την απεριόριστη εμπιστοσύνη και την αφοσίωση των καταναλωτών της. Επιπλέον, ο ίδιος προσθέτει ότι η Παιχνιδοποίηση λειτουργεί καταπιεστικά ως “dispositif”, δηλαδή, βάσει του ορισμού του Φουκώ, ως ένας από τους “θεσμικούς, φυσικούς και διοικητικούς μηχανισμούς και δομές γνώσης που ενισχύουν και διατηρούν την άσκηση της εξουσίας μέσα στο κοινωνικό σώμα” (Fuchs, 2014β, σελ. 2).

Ο Korzec (2015) θεωρεί ότι η Παιχνιδοποίηση λύνει τα χέρια των εκπαιδευτικών/εργοδοτών/-ριων διότι λειτουργεί σαν ένα μαγικό ραβδί που αυξάνει την δέσμευση των συμμετεχόντων/-ουσών. Ο λόγος που συνήθως η Παιχνιδοποίηση εγκωμιάζεται είναι ο παράγοντας της διασκέδασης. Ωστόσο, ο λόγος αυτός από μόνος του δεν εξηγεί τίποτα. Στην πραγματικότητα πίσω από αυτόν κρύβονται οι κοινωνικές, πολιτικές και πολιτισμικές συνέπειες της





Παιχνιδοποίησης σε όλες τις πτυχές της καθημερινότητας. Έτσι, μοιάζει σημαντική η εξερεύνηση της σκοτεινής πλευράς της Παιχνιδοποίησης (Koroc & Pacewicz, 2015). Αρχικά, η ιδεολογία που προωθεί η Παιχνιδοποίηση μοιάζει να αποτυπώνεται σε ατάκες, όπως «work is play», «work can be play», ή «work harder, play harder», προσπαθώντας να εξιδανικεύσει την εργασία μετατρέποντάς την σε παιχνίδι (Fuchs, 2014β). Ο Bogost (2014) επικρίνει αυστηρά την Παιχνιδοποίηση στο κεφάλαιο του με τίτλο «Why gamification is bullshit» και προτείνει αντί για Παιχνιδοποίηση να ονομάζεται «εκμεταλλευσιοποίηση». Αυτό το στηρίζει στην ιδέα ότι οι εργαζόμενοι/-ες προσομοιώνοντας τη δουλειά τους με το παιχνίδι, καθίστανται πιο παραγωγικοί/-ες και αφοσιωμένοι/-ες σε αυτό που ζητά ο/η εργοδότης/-ρια.

Παρόλα αυτά, ο Bogost (2014) αναφέρει την Παιχνιδοποίηση και ως ένα χρήσιμο εκπαιδευτικό εργαλείο, εφόσον χρησιμοποιείται με σκοπό να παροτρύνονται οι εκπαιδευόμενοι/-ες μέσω της πειθούς, της καθοδήγησης και του ακτιβισμού. Ευρύτερα, στην εκπαίδευση, η Παιχνιδοποίηση αντιμετωπίζεται ως ένα συμπεριφοριστικό παιχνίδι, όπως αυτό του καρότου με το καλάμι, καθώς ο/η εκπαιδευτικός μπορεί να κατευθύνει τιμωρώντας ή ανταμείβοντας τους/τις εκπαιδευόμενους/-ες.

Άλλοι ερευνητές της Παιχνιδοποίησης (π.χ. Deterding, et al., 2011; McGonigal, 2011) ασκούν κριτική στις εφαρμογές της «κυρίαρχης τάσης», διότι θεωρούν ότι αυτές χειραγωγούν τα υποκείμενα και χρησιμοποιούνται χωρίς νοηματοδότηση. Η McGonigal (2011) επισημαίνει ότι, εάν δεν υπάρξει εσωτερικό κίνητρο δεν μπορεί να κινητοποιηθεί ένα άτομο να κάνει κάτι που δεν επιθυμεί.

Ο Deterding και η ομάδα του (2011) έχουν χαρακτηρίσει τις δημοφιλείς στρατηγικές της Παιχνιδοποίησης ως μη διασκεδαστικές και υποστηρίζουν ότι δημιουργούν μια τεχνητή αίσθηση του επιτεύγματος. Επιπλέον, προσθέτουν ότι η εφαρμογή ενός «κακού σχεδιασμού» Παιχνιδοποίησης μπορεί να ενθαρρύνει ανεπιθύμητες συμπεριφορές. Γι' αυτό ο σχεδιασμός της Παιχνιδοποίησης πρέπει να είναι αυστηρός και προσεγμένος, ώστε να αποκλειστεί η πιθανότητα ενίσχυσης αυτών των συμπεριφορών.

Στην ιστοσελίδα του «Classcraft», μιας πλατφόρμας που διευκολύνει τον σχεδιασμό εκπαιδευτικών δραστηριοτήτων μέσω της Παιχνιδοποίησης, υποστηρίζεται ότι πολλές απόπειρες Παιχνιδοποίησης μπορούν να είναι ανεπιτυχείς και αυτό οφείλεται στον «κακό» σχεδιασμό της πλατφόρμας, ή του/της εκπαιδευτικού, και όχι γιατί η Παιχνιδοποίηση είναι ένα «κακό» εργαλείο. Ωστόσο, ένας τρόπος να υποστηριχθεί ο λόγος για τον οποίο θα ήταν χρήσιμη η αξιοποίηση της Παιχνιδοποίησης, θα ήταν: Ακριβώς επειδή «δουλεύει» (Fuchs, 2014α) και μπορεί, εφόσον υπάρξει η συναίνεση των εμπλεκομένων, να επιτευχθεί αλλαγή της συμπεριφοράς (Hamari, Koivisto & Harri, 2014). Σημαντικό για τους Devers και Gurung (2015) δεν είναι να τεθούν ερωτήματα σχετικά με το εάν η Παιχνιδοποίηση μπορεί να επιφέρει αποτελέσματα ή να αλλάξει συμπεριφορές των συμμετεχόντων/-ουσών αλλά τον τρόπο που μπορεί να επιφέρει αποτελέσματα και να αξιοποιηθεί ώστε να αναδειχθούν οι κριτικές διαστάσεις του.



### 3.3 Παιχνιδοποίηση, νόημα και δράση για την κοινωνική αλλαγή

Η McGonigal (2011) θεωρεί ότι μέσα από την Παιχνιδοποίηση μπορεί να διαμορφωθεί ένα νέο κοινωνικό σύστημα. Στο βιβλίο της, «Reality is broken. Why games make us better and how they can change the world» επισημαίνει ότι τα θετικά συναισθήματα και οι πρακτικές από τα βιντεοπαιχνίδια πρέπει να μεταφερθούν και στον πραγματικό κόσμο. Ως εκ τούτου αναδιατυπώνει τον όρο της Παιχνιδοποίησης σε «εναλλακτικά παιχνίδια πραγματικότητας», δηλαδή τα παιχνίδια που παίζει ένα άτομο στο πλαίσιο της πραγματικής του ζωής.

Παρομοίως, ο Schell (2010) και ο Raessens (2006), υποστηρίζουν ότι τα παιχνίδια είναι αυτά το οποία οδηγούν σε δράση και δημιουργούν νόημα. Ο πρώτος αναφέρει τον όρο *παιχνιδοαποκάλυψη* (game apocalypse), δηλαδή ότι όλη η ζωή είναι ένα παιχνίδι. Ο δεύτερος στέκεται στο γεγονός πως με την Παιχνιδοποίηση μπορεί να επιτευχθεί μια παιγνιώδης αλλαγή του πολιτισμού και της κοινωνίας.

Η McGonigal (2011) περιγράφει την Παιχνιδοποίηση ως μια νέα εποχή, όπου οι παίκτες μπορούν συλλογικά να χρησιμοποιήσουν τις δεξιότητές τους στην επίλυση προβλημάτων, όχι μόνο για να λύνουν γρίφους μέσα σε ένα ψηφιακό παιχνίδι, αλλά και να προσεγγίζουν κοινωνικά και πολιτικά ζητήματα στον πραγματικό κόσμο. Το παίξιμο παιχνιδιών, σύμφωνα με το όραμά της, θα μπορούσε και θα έπρεπε να διαδραματίσει λυτρωτικό ρόλο, οι σχεδιαστές/-ριες του παιχνιδιού θα μπορούσαν να γίνουν οι νέοι/-ες κοινωνικοί επιχειρηματίες και οι πολίτες να γίνουν παίκτες/-ριες. Από αυτή την άποψη, η Παιχνιδοποίηση γίνεται έτσι μια τεχνική που επιτρέπει σε μεγάλο βαθμό φιλόδοξη κοινωνική αλλαγή (Fuchs, 2014α). Ένα φιλόδοξο project είναι αυτό των Simões, Redondo και Vilas (2012), οι οποίοι εισήγαγαν τον όρο «κοινωνική Παιχνιδοποίηση» φτιάχνοντας μία πλατφόρμα με σκοπό την ενσωμάτωση της τεχνολογίας στην καθημερινότητα των σχολείων, που πήραν μέρος σε αυτό.

Ο Schrape (2014) υποστηρίζει πως η Παιχνιδοποίηση θα μπορούσε να λειτουργήσει ως μια μέθοδος για να ρυθμίσει τα άτομα και την κοινωνική τους ζωή. Σημαντικό είναι ότι λειτουργεί ως ένας ρυθμιστής της συμπεριφοράς, διότι προσφέρει κυρίως θετική ανατροφοδότηση (ανταμοιβές, πίνακες, κλπ.) και όχι αρνητικές κυρώσεις (πρόστιμα, φυλάκιση, κλπ) (Fuchs, 2014α).

Στηριζόμενοι στην ιδέα ότι σημασία έχει ο τρόπος αξιοποίησης της Παιχνιδοποίησης ως εργαλείο, προκύπτουν δυο έννοιες, αυτή της «Αντι-παιχνιδοποίησης» (counterGamification) και της Παιχνιδοποίησης η οποία λειτουργεί από τα κάτω (Woodcock & Johnson, 2017). Αυτές οι έννοιες αναδεικνύουν την ανάγκη να αξιοποιηθεί η Παιχνιδοποίηση αντισυμβατικά, δηλαδή να μην είναι ένα μέσο χειραγώγησης, αλλά να ωθήσει στη δράση των υποκειμένων και να αξιοποιηθεί για να διευκολύνει σοβαρές κοινωνικές και πολιτικές διαδικασίες. Με αυτό τον τρόπο οι μηχανισμοί του παιχνιδιού χρησιμοποιούνται με σκοπό την αντίσταση και αντίδραση προς τις συστημικές ιδέες και πρακτικές και όχι με σκοπό να



χειραγωγήσουν και να εκμεταλλευτούν τα υποκείμενα να εξυπηρετήσουν τις κυρίαρχες ιδέες και πρακτικές (Dragona, 2014· Woodcock & Johnson, 2017).

Ο Nicholson (2015) στο κεφάλαιο του «Η Συνταγή για Παιχνιδοποίηση με νόημα» περιγράφει τρία βασικά συστατικά για την ανατροφοδότηση στην Παιχνιδοποίηση τα οποία είναι: η περιγραφή (πριν και μετά την εμπλοκή), η ανάλυση (κριτική συμμετοχή των παικτών/-τριών και σύνδεση με την καθημερινότητά τους) και η εφαρμογή (διήγηση των όσων εξερεύνησαν - μακροπρόθεσμη αλλαγή). Αναλυτικότερα, οι συμμετέχοντες/-ουσες στοχάζονται καθ' όλη την διάρκεια του παιχνιδιού.

Στην *περιγραφή* της δράσης οι συμμετέχοντες/-ουσες μοιράζονται αυτά τα οποία έμαθαν κατά την εμπλοκή τους στην δραστηριότητα. Αυτό τους βοηθά να σκεφτούν την διαδικασία, δηλαδή να στοχαστούν πάνω στο πώς σκέφτονταν πριν και πώς σκέφτονται μετά την εμπειρία τους. Η *ανάλυση* αφορά στο τι σκέφτονταν και τι έκαναν την ώρα του παιχνιδιού. Έτσι είναι ενήμεροι σχετικά με το τι συμβαίνει έξω από το παιχνίδι και κάνουν συνδέσεις σε σχέση τη δράση στο παιχνίδι και με την καθημερινή τους ζωή. Οι εκπαιδευόμενοι/-ες πρέπει να είναι συνειδητά συμμετοχικοί/-ες. Ο Μπρεχτ χαρακτηρίζει αυτή την τακτική ως αποστασιοποίηση, δηλαδή τα άτομα να μπορούν στοχάζονται σχετικά με την ιστορική και κριτική διάσταση των όσων συντελούνται στη διαδικασία (Crocco, 2011). Τέλος, η *εφαρμογή* είναι το στάδιο όπου οι συμμετέχοντες/-ουσες καλούνται να διηγηθούν όσα έχουν εξερευνήσει. Σε αυτό το σημείο η μακροπρόθεσμη αλλαγή μπορεί να έρθει στο προσκήνιο, καθώς οι συμπεριφορές που υιοθέτησαν μέσα στην εφαρμογή της Παιχνιδοποίησης μεταφέρθηκε και ευρύτερα στη ζωή τους (Nicholson, 2015). Αυτό συμβαίνει διότι, οι εκπαιδευόμενοι/-ες μαθαίνουν μέσα από τις ανταμοιβές και προσαρμόζουν την συμπεριφορά τους σε αυτές. Αυτό πολλές φορές μπορεί έχει επίδραση και στην συμπεριφορά τους έξω από το παιχνίδι (Nicholson, 2015). Ο τρόπος για να επηρεαστεί η συμπεριφορά έξω από το παιχνίδι είναι να παρέχεται πληροφόρηση μέσα από τη διαδικασία του διαλόγου, ώστε η ασυνειδητή μάθηση να γίνεται συνειδητή μέσω της διαδικασίας του κριτικού στοχασμού (Craven, 2015).

Για να δημιουργηθεί ένα σύστημα Παιχνιδοποίησης στα πλαίσια της ανθρωπιστικής προσέγγισης, είναι σημαντικό να παρέχονται στον/στην παίκτη/-ρια οι πληροφορίες που χρειάζεται, ώστε να μπορέσει συνδέσει ό,τι κάνει με τον πραγματικό κόσμο. Έτσι, αντί οι σχεδιαστές/-ριες να παρουσιάζουν στους/στις εκπαιδευόμενους/-ες τις αξίες που είναι σωστές, έχουν τη δυνατότητα, αξιοποιώντας τα στοιχεία παιχνιδιού, να δώσουν τις κατάλληλες πληροφορίες σχετικά με τους λόγους για τους οποίους μία πράξη είναι σωστή, καθώς και ποια είναι η ανάλογη ανταμοιβή μιας σωστής πράξης (Nicholson, 2015).

Η παραπάνω άποψη θα μπορούσε να ενισχυθεί περαιτέρω, από την παιδαγωγική πλευρά, εάν λάβουμε υπόψη τον τρόπο που ένας/μία μαθητής/-ρια βρίσκει νόημα και κινητοποιείται για την επίτευξη ενός στόχου. Ο Χατζηγεωργίου (2009) αναφέρει τρεις παράγοντες που καταδεικνύουν την ύπαρξη νοήματος για τους/τις μαθητές/-



τριες, αυτές είναι «η δυνατότητα εμπλοκής και σύνδεσης του εαυτού με τη δραστηριότητα, η δυνατότητα ύπαρξης σκοπού και δράσης από την πλευρά του/της μαθητή/-τριας και η δυνατότητα ύπαρξης μελλοντικής διάστασης στη δραστηριότητα» (σελ. 239). Με λίγα λόγια, σε πρώτη φάση, είναι σημαντική η εμπλοκή του/της εκπαιδευόμενου/-ης με την δραστηριότητα η οποία έχει ως αποτέλεσμα την απορρόφησή του/της και την ταύτισή του/της με τη διαδικασία, έτσι ώστε να πραγματοποιηθεί η «εγκατάσταση». Επιπλέον, για να επιστρέψει στην δραστηριότητα το άτομο εκτός των δύο παραπάνω, δεν αρκούν τα κίνητρα - εσωτερικά ή εξωτερικά - όσο ισχυρά και αν είναι, γι' αυτό είναι αναγκαίο ένας/μία μαθητής/-ρια να επιδιώκει την επίτευξη ενός σκοπού κατά τη δραστηριότητα. Τέλος, σημαντικές καθίστανται οι προσδοκίες που δημιουργούν οι εμπλεκόμενοι/-ες εντός των δραστηριοτήτων. Η μελλοντική διάσταση νοηματοδοτεί την πραγματικότητα και βάζει τα θεμέλια για την πραγματοποίηση των προσδοκιών αυτών (Χατζηγεωργίου, 2009).

#### 4. Κριτική Παιδαγωγική

Ο Freire (2006), θεμελιωτής της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής, θεωρούσε ότι οι εκπαιδευτικές πρακτικές δεν είναι ουδέτερες, αλλά εμπεριέχουν πολιτικές προεκτάσεις. Η Κριτική Παιδαγωγική θέτει το ζήτημα της εξάρτησης της εκπαίδευσης από κοινωνικοοικονομικές σχέσεις και διαδικασίες με στόχο να καταδείξει τις σχέσεις εξουσίας και εξάρτησης. Οι σχέσεις αυτές ενυπάρχουν στις παραπάνω δομές και διαδικασίες και έχουν ως αποτέλεσμα την αλλοτρίωση και την καθυστόαξη του ανθρώπου, τη διαμόρφωση της «ψευδούς συνείδησης» αναφορικά με την κοινωνική πραγματικότητα. Ένα από αυτά που ο ανέδειξε ο Freire (2006) ήταν η λειτουργία της εκπαίδευσης ως μιας συλλογικής δράσης, στα πλαίσια της οποίας απώτερος σκοπός είναι η κοινωνικο-πολιτική αλλαγή και η χειραφέτηση μέσω της ενδυνάμωσης, της κριτικής συνειδητοποίησης και της ανάληψης δράσης από τους/τις εκπαιδευόμενους/-ες. Δηλαδή, η εκπαίδευση αυτή συνδέεται με την χειραφέτηση και την ενεργοποίηση των ατόμων με σκοπό να δρουν με γνώμονα την αλληλεγγύη και τη συνεισφορά στην ευρύτερη κοινωνία. Εν συνεχεία, αυτή η εκπαίδευση έχει σκοπό την επίτευξη ριζοσπαστικών κοινωνικών αλλαγών.

Σύμφωνα με τη έννοια της συνειδητοποίησης οι εκπαιδευόμενοι/-ες μαθαίνουν να αντιλαμβάνονται τις κοινωνικές, πολιτικές και οικονομικές αντιθέσεις που διαμορφώνουν τη ζωή τους και να λαμβάνουν δράση κατά των καταπιεστικών στοιχείων της κοινωνίας (Freire, 2006). Βασικό εργαλείο για την επίτευξη αυτού είναι η χρήση του διαλόγου και της συνδιαλλαγής στα πλαίσια της σχολικής τάξης (English & Mayo, 2011). Ο εκπαιδευτικός δεν είναι εκεί για να προσφέρει γνώση, την οποία οι μαθητές/-ριες του θα λάβουν παθητικά. Για την Κριτική Παιδαγωγική το σχολείο είναι ένα πλαίσιο στο οποίο εκπαιδευτικοί και μαθητές/-ριες συνδιαμορφώνουν τη γνώση, έρχονται αντιμέτωποι/-ες με τις κυρίαρχες ιδέες, τις



οποίες επεξεργάζονται κριτικά και στη συνέχεια, μέσω της ενδυνάμωσης και της χειραφέτησης, αμφισβητούν και διαμορφώνουν τις δικές τους.

OGramsci (1973, στο Λιάμπας & Κάσκαρης, 2007) δίνει έμφαση στην δασκαλοκεντρική διδασκαλία και την αυθεντία του/της δασκάλου/-ας στην τάξη για να τονίσει την ηγεμονία του/της εκπαιδευτικού, και αναφέρει “ότι κάθε σχέση “ηγεμονίας” είναι αναγκαστικά μια παιδαγωγική σχέση” (Λιάμπας & Κάσκαρης, 2007, σελ. 6). Η παντογνωσία του/της εκπαιδευτικού εγκαταλείπεται και αντικαθίσταται από την διαλογική σχέση με τους/τις μαθητές/-ριες του/της (Shor&Freire, 1987). Στην εκπαιδευτική διαδικασία τα θέματα προς επεξεργασία συνδιαμορφώνονται από τον/την εκπαιδευτικό και τους/τις μαθητές/-ριες και το έναυσμα είναι η καθημερινότητα (Freire, 2006). Μέσω της συμμετοχικής διαδικασίας ενισχύεται σε ατομικό επίπεδο η αυτονομία, σε κοινωνικό επίπεδο η συνεργασία και σε δημόσιο επίπεδο η συμμετοχή. Επιπλέον, τα άτομα καταβάλλουν προσπάθεια να αναπτύξουν την ικανότητα εμπλοκής, συμμετοχής και δράσης (Καρακατσάνη, 2005).

Η Κριτική Παιδαγωγική, ή αλλιώς η εκπαίδευση των καταπιεσμένων θα πρέπει να έχει σκοπό να δώσει φωνή και βήμα σε εκείνους/-ες που η σύγχρονη κοινωνία αποκλείει και καταπιέζει. Απλούστερα, το παιδαγωγικό σύστημα του Freire (2006), οι ιδέες του και η πράξη που προτείνει, μπορούν να βοηθήσουν σε κάθε συνθήκη, που ο λαός δεν έχει τρόπο να μιλήσει (Γρόλλιος, 2003).

## 5. Κριτική Παιδαγωγική και Παιχνιδοποίηση

### 5.1 Παραδείγματα Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής μέσω του παιχνιδιού

Οι ιδέες των ερευνητών για μια αντισυμβατική χρήση της Παιχνιδοποίησης με την εισαγωγή στοιχείων κριτικής σκέψης, αντίστασης στο κατεστημένο και τις κυρίαρχες ιδέες (Crocco, 2011; Dragona, 2014· Woodcock & Johnson, 2017), αλλά και η ιδέα για μια ανθρωπιστική προσέγγιση (Nicholson, 2015) αποτέλεσαν έμπνευση και αφορμή για τη δημιουργία της έννοιας της Κριτικής Παιχνιδοποίησης. Στη συνέχεια ο Crocco (2011), αποτέλεσε μια ακόμη επιρροή στην διαμόρφωση της ιδέας αυτής, διότι αξιοποίησε εργαλεία της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής εντός ενός επιτραπέζιου και ενός ηλεκτρονικού παιχνιδιού. Σημαντικές ήταν οι ιδέες αρκετών θεωρητικών που προσπαθούν μέσω της Παιχνιδοποίησης να στοχεύσουν στη δράση (McGonigal, 2011; Schell, 2010). Τέλος, εντοπίστηκαν διάφορες μορφές Gamification οι οποίες στοχεύουν σε κοινωνικά ζητήματα, όπως τα ανθρώπινα δικαιώματα, τον ακτιβισμό και την οικολογία (Costa, Aparicio, Aparicio, Aparicio, 2017; Sgueo, 2017).

### 5.2 Εργαλεία της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής και Παιχνιδοποίηση

#### 5.2.1 Συλλογική δράση - Συνεργασία

Ένα στοιχείο που η Κριτική Παιδαγωγική θεωρεί σημαντικό είναι η συλλογική δράση. Οι βασικές αρχές της άλλωστε έχουν να κάνουν με την χειραφέτηση και την ενδυνάμωση των καταπιεσμένων ομάδων. Ένας τρόπος για να ενδυναμωθούν οι





καταπιεσμένοι/-ες και να τους δοθεί φωνή είναι να συνεργαστούν, να δημιουργήσουν συλλογικότητες και να επιλύσουν προβλήματα μέσω της συνεργασίας (Freire, 2006). Άλλωστε η Κριτική Παιδαγωγική προάγει την αλληλεγγύη και την υποστήριξη.

Οι Ramirez και Squire (2014) υποστηρίζουν πως μέσω της Παιχνιδοποίησης οι μαθητές/-ριες-παίκτες/-ριες ενθαρρύνονται να προβαίνουν σε συλλογικές δράσεις ώστε να καταφέρουν να πετύχουν κάποιους από τους στόχους τους και να φέρουν σε πέρας κάποια από τα έργα που τους έχουν δοθεί στα πλαίσια του παιχνιδιού. Επιπλέον, το παιχνίδι μπορεί να δίνει επιβράβευση για στις συλλογικές δράσεις. Αυτό ωθεί τους/τις μαθητές/-ριες να διευρύνουν τον κοινωνικό τους κύκλο, προσφέρει νέες εμπειρίες με διαφορετικά άτομα και τέλος τους μαθαίνει την αξία του να επιλύουν προβλήματα και να φέρνουν σε πέρας δραστηριότητες συλλογικά. Έτσι, η Παιχνιδοποίηση γίνεται μέσο για να επιτευχθεί ο στόχος της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής για συλλογική δράση και συνεργασία.

### 5.2.2 Περιέργεια

Σύμφωνα με τον Freire (2006), ο/η εκπαιδευτικός πρέπει να είναι ενήμερος/-η για το γεγονός ότι ο ακρογωνιαίος λίθος της όλης εκπαιδευτικής διαδικασίας είναι η ανθρώπινη περιέργεια. Η περιέργεια οδηγεί τους ανθρώπους να έχουν τη διάθεση για ερωτήσεις και τους παρακινεί όχι μόνο να έχουν να έχουν τη διάθεση για μάθηση αλλά να ενεργούν με σκοπό την απόκτηση της. Σε αυτή την περίπτωση η περιέργεια μετατρέπεται σε δράση δίνοντας ισχυρό κίνητρο.

Γενικότερα, η εκπαίδευση θα πρέπει να προάγει την περιέργεια και την δεκτικότητα σε νέες εμπειρίες, όπως υποστηρίζει η Κριτική Παιδαγωγική (Shor & Freire, 1987). Οι εκπαιδευόμενοι/-ες μαθαίνουν να είναι ανοιχτοί/-ες προς το διαφορετικό, ενθαρρύνεται η έμφυτη τάση για διερεύνηση του αγνώστου, έτσι ώστε το άγνωστο να αποτελεί ένα δελεαστικό άνοιγμα προς το καινούριο και όχι κάτι τρομακτικό που πρέπει κανείς να το περιθωριοποιήσει.

Αυτή είναι μια αρχή που μπορεί να εξυπηρετηθεί πολύ αποτελεσματικά μέσω της Παιχνιδοποίησης, καθώς το παιχνίδι παρέχει όλες τις δυνατότητες στον/στην παίκτη/-ρια να εξερευνήσει, αλλά και να δημιουργήσει νέους κόσμους, του δίνει την ευκαιρία να εμπλακεί σε νέες εμπειρίες ενώ εξάπτει την φαντασία και την περιέργειά του/της (Robinson & Bellotti, 2013).

### 5.2.3 Από τα εξωτερικά στα εσωτερικά κίνητρα.

Η εμπλοκή σε μια διαδικασία που, εκτός από την περιέργεια και τη διασκέδαση, είναι σε θέση να κάνει τον/την συμμετέχοντα/-ουσα να νιώσει σημαντικός για την κοινότητα, αποτελεσματικός στους στόχους που θέτει και δεσμευμένος καθ' όλη την διάρκεια της διαδικασίας, είναι ο τρόπος για να μετατρέψει κανείς το εξωτερικό κίνητρο σε εσωτερικό (Rigby, 2014). Δεν έχει να κάνει λοιπόν μόνο με την διασκέδαση, αλλά και με το υποκειμενικό βίωμα και την δυνατότητα που δίνεται



στον/στην συμμετέχοντα/-ουσα να συνεχίσει να εμπλέκεται στη διαδικασία. Σε αυτό είναι που η Παιχνιδοποίηση εξυπηρετεί τον/την «σχεδιαστή/-ρια» της δράσης, ώστε να καταφέρει να δεσμεύσει τους/τις συμμετέχοντες/-ουσες και στη συνέχεια να μην χρειάζονται πια οι εξωτερικές ανταμοιβές για να επιστρέψει κάποιος/-α στο παιχνίδι, αλλά να αρκεί η ψυχολογική ευφορία, η ικανοποίηση και η ανάγκη να επανασυνδεθεί κανείς με την κοινότητα.

Ο κίνδυνος στην Παιχνιδοποίηση είναι να δοθεί έμφαση στην κατάκτηση των ανταμοιβών, χωρίς να γίνεται η σύνδεση με το λόγο που ανταμείβεται κανείς για αυτήν την πράξη, με αποτέλεσμα να χάνεται ο ουσιαστικός στόχος του παιχνιδιού. Αυτό που έχει σημασία είναι να δοθεί έμφαση στο τρίπτυχο «σωστή/καλή/επιθυμητή» πράξη, η οποία αποτελεί όλα αυτά εφόσον το κίνητρο που οδήγησε σε αυτήν ήταν «σωστό/καλό/επιθυμητό» (Chou, 2015). Τα προαναφερόμενα ταιριάζουν με τα όσα διατύπωσε παραπάνω ο Nicholson (2015) (βλ. Κεφ. 3.2). σχετικά με το πώς τα στοιχεία του παιχνιδιού μπορούν να χρησιμοποιηθούν ώστε να αποφευχθεί ο διδακτισμός.

#### 5.2.4 Κριτικός αναστοχασμός

Για την Κριτική Παιδαγωγική ένα πολύ σημαντικό εργαλείο είναι η κριτική ανατροφοδότηση, τόσο για τον/την εκπαιδευτικό όσο και για τον/την μαθητή/-ρια. Η κριτική ανατροφοδότηση δίνει την ευκαιρία στα άτομα να πάνε πίσω στις πράξεις τους και να σκεφτούν τι έχουν κάνει, έτσι ώστε να είναι σε θέση να έχουν βαθιά κατανόηση του τρόπου σκέψης τους. Με αυτόν τον τρόπο μπορεί να είναι κανείς σε θέση να παρακολουθεί τον εαυτό του/της, να κατανοεί πώς κατασκευάζει την γνώση, σε τι “παγίδες” μπορεί να πέφτει, και να είναι σε θέση να αλλάξει πράγματα σε αυτόν/-ην. Τα στοιχεία αυτά είναι απαραίτητα για να γίνει κανείς κριτικά σκεπτόμενος/-η, είτε είναι εκπαιδευτικός είτε είναι μαθητής/-ρια (Freire, 2006).

Κάνοντας τη σύνδεση με την Παιχνιδοποίηση, θα ήταν ωφέλιμο να αξιοποιηθεί ο στοχασμός της Παιχνιδοποίησης του Nicholson (2015), όπου οι συμμετέχοντες/-ουσες στις παιχνιδοποιημένες διαδικασίες είναι σε θέση να συμμετέχουν σε κάτι που τους/τις δεσμεύει, που είναι ενδιαφέρον και διασκεδαστικό, σκεπτόμενοι/-ες παράλληλα τι επιλογές κάνουν κάθε φορά. Στην συνέχεια αναστοχάζονται και μιλούν για την εμπειρία τους, αφηγούνται τα γεγονότα, τις επιλογές τους, και τις προεκτάσεις που έχουν αυτές οι επιλογές στην καθημερινότητά τους, και ασκούν κριτική στον εαυτό τους με σκοπό την αυτοβελτίωση.

#### 5.3 Κοινωνικοπολιτικές προεκτάσεις

##### 5.3.1 Η εκπαίδευση δεν είναι πολιτικά ουδέτερη

Ο σχολικός θεσμός λειτουργεί ως όργανο για να διευκολύνει την αφομοίωση της νέας γενιάς μέσα στην λογική του τρέχοντος συστήματος και στη προσαρμογή της σε αυτό. Γι’ αυτό κατά τον Freire (2006) δεν υπάρχει ουδέτερη εκπαιδευτική διαδικασία, και προτείνει τον διάλογο ως μία διαδικασία απελευθέρωσης όπου ο/η



εκπαιδευτικός και ο/η εκπαιδευόμενος/-η είναι και οι δύο υποκείμενα γνώσης. Αυτό καταλήγει στο γεγονός ότι οι εκπαιδευτικοί δεν θα έπρεπε να κάνουν κατάχρηση της εξουσίας του ρόλου τους και να μονοπωλούν την σοφία, αλλά να εκπαιδεύουν μέσα από τον διάλογο χωρίς να αισθάνονται απειλή για την παντοδυναμία τους.

Γι αυτό το λόγο χρειάζεται οι διαδικασίες που γίνονται μέσω της Παιχνιδοποίησης να μην είναι πολιτικά ουδέτερες. Ειδικά από την στιγμή που γίνεται αποδεκτό πως οποιαδήποτε διδασκαλία εμπεριέχει ιδεολογία τότε και τα παιχνίδια που χρησιμοποιούνται στην εκπαίδευση φέρουν την ανάλογη ιδεολογία. Οπότε η πρακτικές που ακολουθούνται στην Κριτική Παιχνιδοποίηση θα πρέπει να αναδεικνύουν την κυρίαρχη ιδεολογία και εν συνεχεία, να ακολουθούν τις αρχές της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής. Αυτό σημαίνει πως το παιχνίδι θα πρέπει να καθιστά τον/την παίκτη/-ρια-μαθητή/-ρια ικανό/-η να σκέπτεται, να αμφισβητεί και, ως αποτέλεσμα αυτών, τελικά να δρα (McLaren & Jaramillo, 2010).

### 5.3.2 Τραπεζικό μοντέλο της εκπαίδευσης

Βασική έννοια στην θεωρία του Freire (2006) είναι αυτή του τραπεζικού συστήματος της εκπαίδευσης. Με τον όρο «τραπεζικό σύστημα» θέλει να περιγράψει τον δασκολοκεντρικό τρόπο διδασκαλίας, όπου ο/η εκπαιδευτικός «γεμίζει» τους/τις εκπαιδευόμενους/-ες με γνώσεις και με όλα όσα ζητούνται από τις εκπαιδευτικές αρχές. Αυτό έχει ως αποτέλεσμα να δημιουργούνται άτομα που δέχονται την γνώση άκριτα και η διαδικασία της μάθησης παύει να είναι μια συνδιαλλαγή, αλλά καταλήγει να είναι παροχή γνώσης, καταγραφή, αποστήθιση και επανάληψη αυτής (Durakoğlu, 2013). Η Κριτική Παιδαγωγική τοποθετεί τον/την μαθητή/-ρια στη θέση του δρώντος υποκειμένου, το οποίο σκέφτεται κριτικά κι αναστοχάζεται ώστε να προχωρήσει στην συνέχεια στη δράση.

Το παιχνίδι είναι πολύ αποτελεσματικό στην ανατροπή του τραπεζικού μοντέλου στην εκπαίδευση καθώς προωθεί την βιωματική μάθηση και τη δράση. Από τη μία οι παίκτες/-ριες εμπλέκονται σε κοινωνικά δίκτυα για να φέρουν σε πέρας κάποιες δραστηριότητες, συζητούν κι αναστοχάζονται, στοιχεία πολύ σημαντικά για την κοινωνική μάθηση. Από την άλλη, οι μαθητές/-ριες-παίκτες/-ριες μαθαίνουν και μέσω της εμπειρίας τους, δηλαδή ως δρώντα υποκείμενα και όχι ως παθητικοί δέκτες (Nicholson, 2015).

### 5.3.3 Χειραφέτηση, κριτική συνειδητοποίηση και πράξη

Η Κριτική Παιδαγωγική έχει στόχο να χειραφετήσει. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, αποσκοπεί να κάνει τους/τις μαθητές/-ριες να συνειδητοποιήσουν με ποιον τρόπο αναπαράγουν τα στερεότυπα και τις διακρίσεις, να κάνουν συνειδητές τις πράξεις τους και, τέλος, να προβούν στην αλλαγή μέσω του κριτικού αναστοχασμού (Freire, 2006).



Θεωρώντας ότι έχει προηγηθεί μια εκπαίδευση που προάγει την κριτική σκέψη και την αμφισβήτηση της ηγεμονίας (Crocco, 2011), έρχεται στη συνέχεια η ιδέα μιας ευρύτερης εφαρμογής της Κριτικής Παιχνιδοποίησης. Μια τέτοιου είδους εκπαίδευση, που θα αξιοποιεί τα εργαλεία της Παιχνιδοποίησης, θα έχει επίσης ενδυναμώσει τους μαθητές, θα τους έχει μάθει να λειτουργούν και να σκέφτονται συλλογικά προωθώντας επίσης την απελευθερωτική σκέψη. Επιπλέον, δίνεται στους/στις εκπαιδευόμενους/-ες η δυνατότητα να συμμετάσχουν σε επιστημονικές διαδικασίες, προσπαθώντας να δώσουν λύσεις σε ζητήματα της κοινωνικής πραγματικότητας, όπως θα έκαναν στα πλαίσια ενός παιχνιδιού (Crocco, 2011· Gaver, 2014). Τέλος, οι ανταμοιβές που δίνονται στα πλαίσια της Παιχνιδοποίησης μπορεί να έχουν τον στόχο ακριβώς να ενισχύσουν πρακτικές που είναι αντίθετες με τα στερεότυπα, τις κυρίαρχες απόψεις και τις διαστρεβλωμένες εικόνες της.

#### 5.3.4 Κοινωνικο-πολιτική αλλαγή

Με την δημιουργία κριτικά σκεπτόμενων ατόμων, τα οποία είναι σε θέση να αμφισβητήσουν τον κυρίαρχο τρόπο σκέψης, να λειτουργήσουν συλλογικά, να έχουν τη διάθεση να εξερευνήσουν το νέο και να δεχτούν το διαφορετικό, τελικά μπορεί να επέλθει η κοινωνικο-πολιτική αλλαγή την οποία η Κριτική Παιδαγωγική προσδοκά και επιδιώκει. Σε αυτό το σημείο προκύπτει η ανάγκης ενός παιχνιδιού που κάθε πολίτης θα είναι σε θέση να συμμετάσχει, να συμβάλλει με τις ιδέες του στην κοινότητα και να έχει ενεργό ρόλο μέσα από παιγνιώδεις διαδικασίες. Πρόκειται για ένα παιχνίδι σχεδιασμένο να εμπλέκει τα άτομα στις πολιτικές διαδικασίες, ώστε παίζοντας να είναι σε θέση να επιλυθούν τυχόν προβλήματα και να ληφθούν συλλογικές αποφάσεις (Gaver, 2014). Οι Lastowka και Steinkuehler (2014) υποστηρίζουν πως η δημιουργία ενός παιχνιδιού που θα εμπλέκει τα άτομα σε διαδικασίες της κοινότητας είναι μια πολύ καλή και αποτελεσματική πρακτική. Σε σχέση όμως με το αν θα πρέπει οι πολιτικές διαδικασίες να παιχνιδοποιούνται έχουν μια σκεπτικιστική θέση.

Ο Smolen (2015) αναφέρει ότι η Παιχνιδοποίηση είναι ένα εργαλείο δράσης και αλλαγής και διαφέρει από την κυρίαρχη ιδεολογία της παθητικότητας. Επίσης, θεωρεί ότι δεν θα πρέπει να ιδωθεί ως ένα «ψέμα» ενάντια στη πραγματικότητα που κρύβεται πίσω από αυτό. «Η Παιχνιδοποίηση και άλλες πρακτικές δεν καλύπτουν την πραγματικότητα με ένα στρώμα νέων νοημάτων και ερμηνειών (...) αλλά επηρεάζουν τις πράξεις των εκπαιδευόμενων» (Smolen, 2015, σελ. 58).

Αυτό μοιάζει να ταιριάζει με την προβληματική της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής, δηλαδή οι εκπαιδευτικοί χρειάζονται ένα μοντέλο που να προσκαλεί τους μαθητές να παραμείνουν περιέργοι, κριτικοί και μετέπειτα να προβούν σε δράση (Shor & Freire, 1987). Επίσης, οι μαθητές/-ριες καλούνται να δώσουν νέα νοήματα στην πραγματικότητά τους και να διαμορφώσουν με κριτικό τρόπο τη συνειδησή τους.

Δεν θα μπορούσε όμως να παραληφθεί και η κριτική που ασκείται στην Παιχνιδοποίηση, η οποία έχει αρχίσει να αντιμετωπίζεται ως πανάκεια για την διευκόλυνση της εμπλοκής σε όλων των ειδών τις διαδικασίες (εργασία, υγεία,



οικονομία, εκπαίδευση κ.ο.κ.). Ο μεγαλύτερος κίνδυνος που υπάρχει σε αυτήν την λογική είναι να χρησιμοποιηθούν άκριτα οι παιχνιδοποιημένες διαδικασίες, με το επιχείρημα της διευκόλυνσης και της διασκέδασης, με αποτέλεσμα οι συμμετέχοντες/-ουσες να χειραγωγηθούν και για μια ακόμη φορά να αναπαραχθεί η υπάρχουσα ιδεολογία (Fuchs, 2014β). Γι αυτό το λόγο το πιο σημαντικό είναι να προηγείται ο κατάλληλος σχεδιασμός.

## 6. Συζήτηση

Το εκπαιδευτικό πρίσμα είναι απαραίτητο για να ασκηθεί κριτική στις πλατφόρμες και τις εφαρμογές που παρουσιάστηκαν παραπάνω. Είναι σημαντικό να ληφθεί υπόψη ότι ο σχεδιασμός μίας πλατφόρμας γίνεται συνήθως από έναν/μια ή περισσότερους/-ες τεχνικούς της πληροφορίας και χωρίς τη συμμετοχή ανθρώπων με εκπαιδευτική ή/και παιδαγωγική κατάρτιση. Μέχρι τώρα δεν έχει δημιουργηθεί κατάλληλη πλατφόρμα για την εφαρμογή της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής, από σχεδιαστικής άποψης. Παρόλα αυτά οι διαθέσιμες πλατφόρμες είναι δυνατό να αξιοποιηθούν από τον/την εκπαιδευτικό, ο/η οποίος/-α μπορεί να ενσωματώσει στοιχεία της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής με σκοπό την χειραφέτηση και την κριτική συνειδητοποίηση.

Το ερώτημα είναι πώς θα μπορούσε να εφαρμοστεί κάτι τέτοιο. Ένας τρόπος να γίνει αυτό είναι, κατ' αρχάς, ο σχεδιασμός να πραγματοποιηθεί από κοινού με τον/την εκπαιδευτικό, γνώστη της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής και τον/την τεχνικό της πληροφορίας, όπου ο/η μεν θα κάνει τον εκπαιδευτικό σχεδιασμό εξ ολοκλήρου κι ο/η δε την πρακτική, τεχνική εφαρμογή της πλατφόρμας. Ένας δεύτερος τρόπος είναι να αξιοποιηθούν οι ήδη υπάρχουσες εφαρμογές από τους/τις εκπαιδευτικούς, με σκοπό να ενσωματωθούν οι αρχές της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής σε αυτές. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, να ενισχυθούν συμπεριφορές επιθυμητές στα πλαίσια της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής (συλλογική δράση, αποδοχή του διαφορετικού, εξάλειψη στερεοτύπων), όπως για παράδειγμα να μαζεύει κανείς πόντους υιοθετώντας μη στερεοτυπικές συμπεριφορές (Devers & Gurung, 2015).

Ένα άλλο ζήτημα που εγείρεται είναι πώς η Παιχνιδοποίηση θα αποτελεί μία εφαρμογή με νόημα στην τάξη και θα έχει παιδαγωγική πλαισίωση, όπως προτείνει, στην ανθρωπιστική προσέγγιση, ο Nicholson (2015). Δηλαδή, πώς η εφαρμογή μπορεί να διαμορφωθεί και να αποκτήσει νόημα και αν είναι συμβατό κάτι τέτοιο στην σχέση Παιχνιδοποίησης και Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής. Η απάντηση σε κάτι τέτοιο θα ήταν, όπως έχει αναφερθεί και νωρίτερα, να καταφέρει κανείς να μην πέσει στην παγίδα της Παιχνιδοποίησης, αλλά να την αξιοποιήσει με σκοπό την προώθηση των αρχών της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής. Η βασική κριτική που έχει ασκηθεί άλλωστε στην Παιχνιδοποίηση είναι ότι αναπαράγει τον κυρίαρχο λόγο και συνεχίζει τον φαύλο κύκλο της ηγεμονίας, προσπαθώντας απλά να κάνει ευχάριστη την άσκηση της εξουσίας στους αδύναμους δίνοντας τους επιβραβεύσεις για να παραμείνουν κομμάτι του συστήματος (Fuchs, 2014β). Αυτή η κριτική πρέπει να ληφθεί υπόψη από εκείνον/-ην που αποφασίζει να σχεδιάσει εκπαιδευτικές δράσεις, ώστε να





αξιοποιήσει την Παιχνιδοποίηση ως εργαλείο, έχοντας συνειδητοποιήσει τις κοινωνικο-πολιτικές προεκτάσεις που μπορεί να έχει.

Ένας ακόμη προβληματισμός αφορά στους οικονομικούς περιορισμούς που θέτουν οι ίδιες οι πλατφόρμες, αλλά και τον τεχνολογικό εξοπλισμό που πρέπει να έχει κανείς για να εφαρμόσει την Παιχνιδοποίηση. Κατ' αρχάς, οι περισσότερες, ήδη έτοιμες, πλατφόρμες δεν διατίθενται εξ ολοκλήρου δωρεάν, αλλά πρέπει κανείς να πληρώσει για να αποκτήσει όλες τις δυνατότητες. Επιπλέον, είναι απαραίτητο να υπάρχει ο τεχνολογικός εξοπλισμός για να εφαρμοστεί η δράση, ξεκινώντας από το την ύπαρξη ενός προβολικού μέχρι και τη χρήση διαδραστικού πίνακα, αίθουσας υπολογιστών, ακόμα και την κατοχή ταμπλετών.

Τέλος, το κύριο ερώτημα που τίθεται είναι πώς μια παιχνιδοποιημένη εκπαίδευση μπορεί να δώσει τη δυνατότητα στα άτομα να αναπτύξουν την κριτική επίγνωση για την υπαρξιακή τους κατάσταση και να δημιουργήσει χειραφετημένα υποκείμενα, έτσι ώστε να αγωνίζονται για τα ατομικά και συλλογικά δικαιώματά τους και άλλα παγκόσμια ζητήματα. Ο τρόπος για να γίνει κάτι τέτοιο είναι να δημιουργηθεί μια ανοιχτή πλατφόρμα, για όλους/-ες όσοι/-ες θα ήθελαν να εφαρμόσουν κάτι τέτοιο, η οποία θα είναι, ιδανικά, σχεδιασμένη από κριτικούς εκπαιδευτικούς και τεχνικούς της πληροφορίας, με σκοπό να αναπτυχθεί μια εφαρμογή που θα εξυπηρετεί αποτελεσματικά τις αρχές της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής.

Ακόμα κι αν υπάρχουν οι πρακτικές προϋποθέσεις για να διευκολυνθεί η Κριτική Παιχνιδοποίηση, ο σημαντικότερος παράγοντας είναι να αξιοποιηθεί από εκπαιδευτικούς πολιτικά συνειδητοποιημένους/-ες, οι οποίοι/-ες συνεχώς θα αναστοχάζονται και θα αναδιαμορφώνουν τον εαυτό τους μέσα από τις εκπαιδευτικές, κοινωνικές και πολιτικές διαδικασίες. Ένας/μια τέτοιος/-α εκπαιδευτικός είναι σε θέση και σε ετοιμότητα να προσαρμόζεται στις συνθήκες της τάξης του και του ευρύτερου πλαισίου, όπως προτείνει η Κριτική Παιδαγωγική.

Μια ανοιχτή πλατφόρμα θα ταίριαζε στη λογική της Κριτικής Παιδαγωγικής, η οποία δεν λειτουργεί με «συνταγές», αλλά μέσω της συνδιαμόρφωσης. Γι' αυτό το λόγο θα συνοδεύεται από την ανοιχτή κοινότητα των ανθρώπων που θέλουν να την αξιοποιήσουν, με σκοπό να συμμετάσχουν στην επέκταση της πλατφόρμας. Μια κοινότητα με υποστηρικτικό, ιδεολογικό και συνδιαμορφωτικό χαρακτήρα.

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## Τι συμβαίνει όταν οι δάσκαλοι δεν μπορούν πλέον να διδάξουν; Μια μελέτη περίπτωσης των Ελλήνων εκπαιδευτικών που τέθηκαν σε διαθεσιμότητα

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*Σύμβουλος Πρωτοβάθμιας Εκπαίδευσης*

### Περίληψη

Τον Ιούλιο του 2013 εφαρμόζεται το μέτρο της διαθεσιμότητας για πρώτη φορά σε Έλληνες εκπαιδευτικούς της Δευτεροβάθμιας Εκπαίδευσης. Πρόκειται για μια "προσπάθεια μεταρρύθμισης" που περιελάμβανε 23.000 μαθητές με την κατάργηση 52 ειδικοτήτων τεχνικής εκπαίδευσης. Από τους καθηγητές που τέθηκαν σε Διαθεσιμότητα το 20% μετατάχθηκε υποχρεωτικά σε θέσεις Διοικητικών με κοινωνικά κριτήρια. Ο σκοπός της παρούσας έρευνας είναι η διερεύνηση του burnout των καθηγητών Β/θμιας Εκπ/σης που υπέστησαν την πρώτη διαθεσιμότητα του ΥΠΑΙΘ στα πλαίσια μεταρρύθμισης σε περιβάλλον κρίσης και η συμβολή στη μελέτη στάσεων, απόψεων, σωματοποιημένων προβλημάτων και συναισθηματικών διαταραχών. Το αντιπροσωπευτικό δείγμα της έρευνας ανέρχεται στα 405 άτομα. Η κύρια έρευνα ξεκίνησε το Μάρτιο του 2014 και ολοκληρώθηκε τον Απρίλιο του 2015. Ερευνητικά Εργαλεία: Α.Ερωτηματολόγιο προσωπικών και υπηρεσιακών στοιχείων. 1. Η κλίμακα ψυχοπαθολογίας Symptom Checklist - 90- Revised (SCL - 90 - R, Derogatisetal, 1973). 2. Κλίμακα επαγγελματικής εξουθένωσης (Maslach Burnout Measure - MBI). 3. Τέσσερα ερωτηματολόγια που εξετάζουν παράγοντες άγχους, ενθάρρυνσης και υγείας. Η παρούσα έρευνα μελέτησε την επαγγελματική εξουθένωση που βίωσαν οι εκπαιδευτικοί που τέθηκαν σε διαθεσιμότητα και αυτοί που μετατάχθηκαν υποχρεωτικά. Με την κλίμακα επαγγελματικής εξουθένωσης Maslach καταγράφηκαν τα μεγαλύτερα ποσοστά που εμφανίστηκαν ιστορικά σε Έλληνες εκπαιδευτικούς. Μελετήθηκαν οι παράγοντες εργασιακού στρες και στις δύο κατηγορίες (διαθέσιμων - μεταταγμένων) και έγινε συγκριτική μελέτη μεταξύ τους. Καταγράφηκαν συμπτώματα ψυχοπαθολογίας που εμφανίστηκαν και στις δύο κατηγορίες λόγω εργασιακού στρες με την κλίμακα Ψυχοπαθολογίας SCL-90 όπου ο Δείκτης Γενικών Συμπτωμάτων (ΔΓΣ) και ο Δείκτης Ενόχλησης Θετικών Συμπτωμάτων (ΔΕΘΣ) εμφανίστηκαν παθολογικοί. Καταδείχθηκε ότι η εμφάνιση ψυχοπαθολογίας μπορεί να προβλεφθεί από την αυξημένη επαγγελματική εξουθένωση. Καταγράφηκε και στις δύο κατηγορίες η εμφάνιση και η επιδείνωση προβλημάτων σωματικής υγείας που συνδέονται με το χρόνιο στρες, όπου επίσης εμφανίστηκε επιδείνωση της σωματικής υγείας. Μελετώντας τους παράγοντες που προκάλεσαν ψυχική και σωματική ένταση και επηρέασαν την υγεία των εκπαιδευτικών, κατατίθενται παρατηρήσεις και προτάσεις, χρήσιμες για μελλοντικές εκπαιδευτικές μεταρρυθμίσεις.

### Λέξεις κλειδιά

Επαγγελματική εξουθένωση, προβλήματα υγείας και ψυχοπαθολογίας, διαθεσιμότητα εκπαιδευτικών





### Εισαγωγή

Στις 22 Ιουλίου 2013 ανακοινώνεται η κατάργηση 52 ειδικοτήτων της Τεχνικής Επαγγελματικής Εκπαίδευσης οι οποίες αριθμούσαν 23.000 μαθητές και 2.220 εκπαιδευτικούς, οι οποίοι τίθενται αυτοδίκαια σε διαθεσιμότητα. Το άρθρο 82 του Νόμου 4172/2013 προέβλεπε διάστημα Διαθεσιμότητας 8 μηνών και απόλυση στις 23/3/2014. Από τη Διαθεσιμότητα μπόρεσαν να εξαιρεθούν 400 εκπαιδευτικοί με κοινωνικά κριτήρια (πολυτεκνία, αναπηρίες, μονογονεϊκές οικογένειες) οι οποίοι μετατάχθηκαν υποχρεωτικά σε θέσεις Διοικητικών Υπαλλήλων. Για τους υπόλοιπους υπήρχε η πιθανότητα μετάταξης μέσα από μελλοντικές προκηρύξεις, σε άλλες δομές του Υπουργείου Παιδείας.

Ήταν η πρώτη φορά που τέθηκε θέμα απόλυσης μόνιμων δημοσίων υπαλλήλων από το 1911. Την ίδια περίοδο ανακοινώνεται το κλείσιμο της Κρατικής Ραδιοτηλεόρασης (ΕΡΤ) και τίθενται σε Διαθεσιμότητα οι Σχολικοί Φύλακες, οι Δημοτικοί Αστυνομικοί, οι Καθαρίστριες του Υπουργείου Οικονομικών και οι Διοικητικοί Υπάλληλοι των Πανεπιστημίων.

Τον Ιούλιο του 2013 η Ελλάδα βρισκόταν στον 5ο χρόνο βαθιάς οικονομικής κρίσης με την ανεργία να καλπάζει στο 27% και τις πρώτες συνέπειες να είναι ορατές στο βιοτικό επίπεδο και την ψυχική και σωματική υγεία του πληθυσμού (Καμινιώτη, 2012). Ο χώρος της εκπαίδευσης δέχθηκε μία μείωση του εργασιακού κόστους 17,5%, που αντιστοιχούσε στο μέσο του συνόλου των κλάδων της οικονομίας, ενώ ταυτόχρονα αυξήθηκε το ειδικό βάρος των ευέλικτων μορφών εργασίας αφού οι μόνιμοι διορισμοί αντικαταστάθηκαν από συμβάσεις ορισμένου χρόνου (αναπληρωτές) ή πρόσληψη ωρομισθίων (Καμινιώτη, 2013).

Ο όρος επισφάλεια εργασίας κάνει την εμφάνισή του στη διεθνή βιβλιογραφία (Standing, 2011), καλύπτοντας, όχι μόνο τη σταθερότητα εργασίας αλλά και τη δυνατότητα που παρέχει η μισθωτή σχέση, να εξασφαλίσει τους όρους αναπαραγωγής της εργατικής δύναμης, όπως λειτουργούσε έως τότε.

### Σκοπός

Ο σκοπός της παρούσας έρευνας είναι η διερεύνηση του burnout των καθηγητών Β/θμιας Εκπ/σης που υπέστησαν την πρώτη διαθεσιμότητα του ΥΠΑΙΘ στα πλαίσια μεταρρύθμισης σε περιβάλλον κρίσης και η συμβολή στη μελέτη στάσεων, απόψεων, σωματοποιημένων προβλημάτων και συναισθηματικών διαταραχών.

### Υλικό και μέθοδος

Το αντιπροσωπευτικό δείγμα της έρευνας ανέρχεται στα 405 άτομα. Η κύρια έρευνα ξεκίνησε το Μάρτιο του 2014 και ολοκληρώθηκε τον Απρίλιο του 2015.

Ερευνητικά Εργαλεία:

Α. Ερωτηματολόγιο προσωπικών και υπηρεσιακών στοιχείων

1. Η κλίμακα ψυχοπαθολογίας Symptom Checklist - 90- Revised (SCL - 90 -R), (Derogatis LR, 1973), (Derogatis, 1976), (Derogatis, 2000).

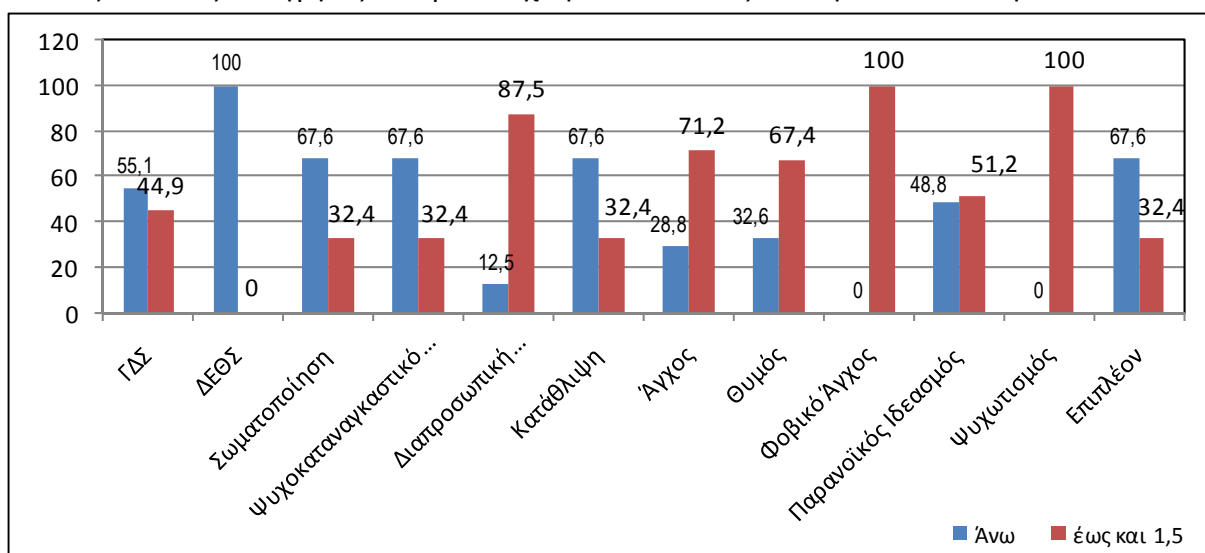


2. Κλίμακα επαγγελματικής εξουθένωσης (Maslach Burnout Measure - MBI) (Maslach & Jackson, 1981), (Maslach & Jackson, 1981), (Maslach & Jackson, 1986), (Maslach, Jackson, Leiter, 1996).
3. Τέσσερα ερωτηματολόγια που εξετάζουν παράγοντες άγχους, ενθάρρυνσης και υγείας.

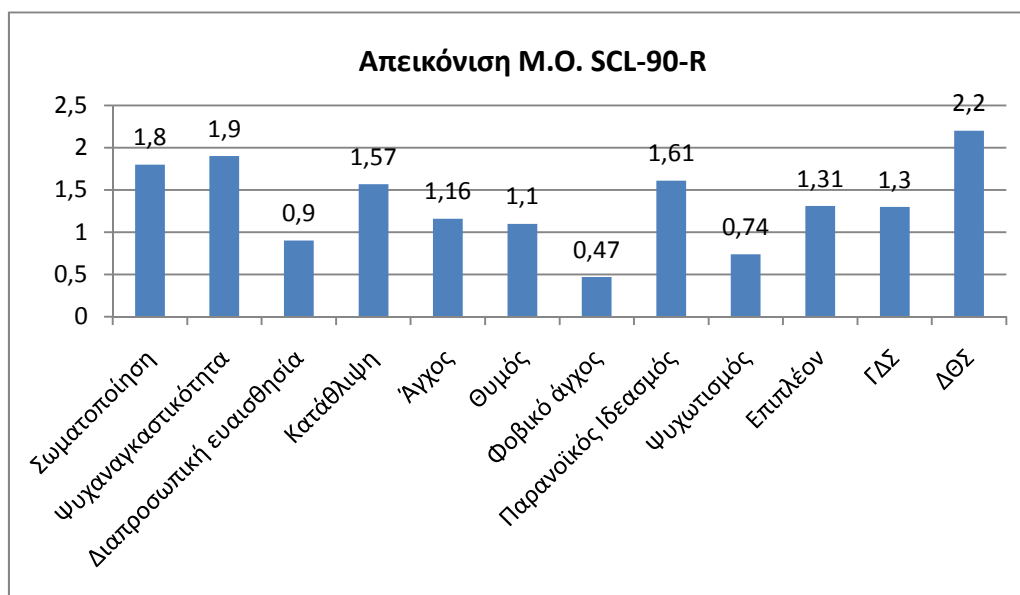
Η έρευνα έλαβε χώρα το διάστημα κατά το οποίο οι Διαθέσιμοι Εκπαιδευτικοί και οι Μεταταγμένοι Διοικητικοί Υπάλληλοι, έχοντας κερδίσει προσωρινά ασφαλιστικά μέτρα, δίδασκαν στα σχολεία τους εναπομείναντες μαθητές, με σκοπό να καταγράψει την επίδραση που είχε η διαθεσιμότητα στην επαγγελματική εξουθένωση, τη σωματική και ψυχική υγεία των εκπαιδευτικών και τον τρόπο με τον οποίο επιδρά στις ιδέες και τις στάσεις τους. Για λόγους μεθοδολογικούς η έρευνα χωρίστηκε σε τρία μέρη. Στο πρώτο μελετήθηκαν όσοι μετατάχθηκαν υποχρεωτικά, στο δεύτερο όσοι τέθηκαν σε διαθεσιμότητα και στο τρίτο μέρος έγινε η σύγκριση μεταξύ τους. Η έρευνα στηρίχθηκε σε μια πλούσια βιβλιογραφία για τη δημιουργία αυτοσχέδιων ερωτηματολογίων, λαμβάνοντας υπόψη τους βασικούς παράγοντες που δείχνουν να φορτίζουν το επαγγελματικό stress, την ψυχική και σωματική υγεία όσο και τα στοιχεία σε δημογραφικό επίπεδο. Για την επαγγελματική εξουθένωση χρησιμοποιήθηκε η Κλίμακα Επαγγελματικής Εξουθένωσης της Maslach, πολλαπλώς σταθμισμένη και για τον ελληνικό πληθυσμό (Kantas, 1996), (Kantas & Vassilaki, 1997) και για την επίδραση σε ψυχολογικό επίπεδο η Κλίμακα Ψυχοπαθολογίας SCL-90, επίσης σταθμισμένη στην Ελλάδα (Ντώνιας, Καραστεργίου, Μάνος, 1991).

### Αποτελέσματα

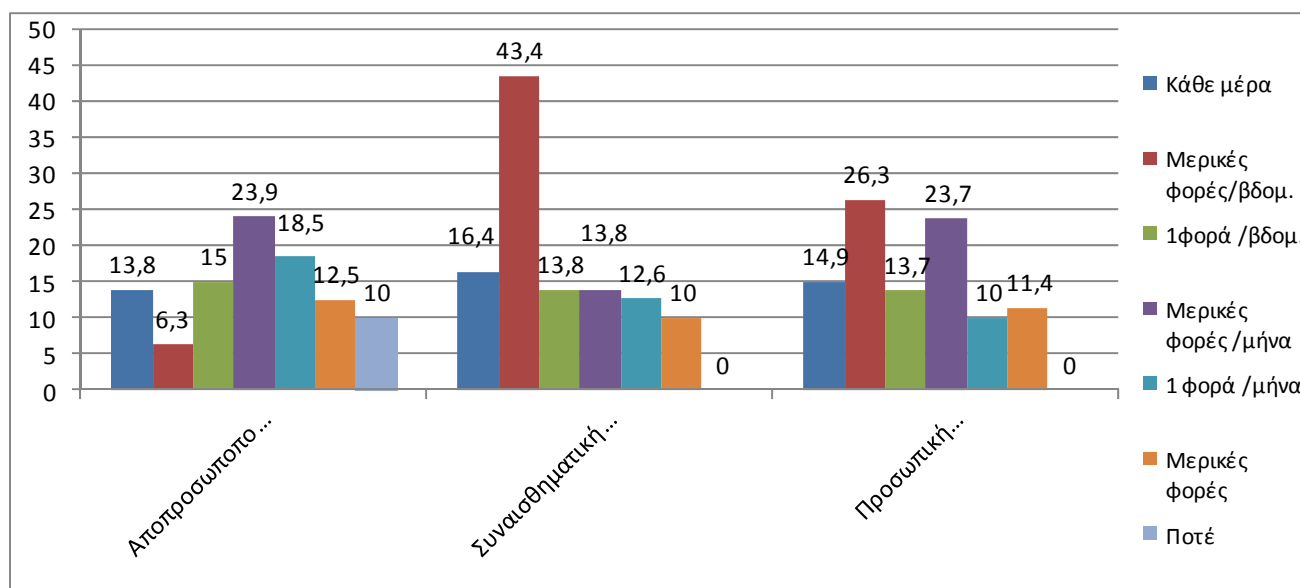
Α) Για τους καθηγητές που μετατάχθηκαν σε θέσεις διοικητικών υπαλλήλων



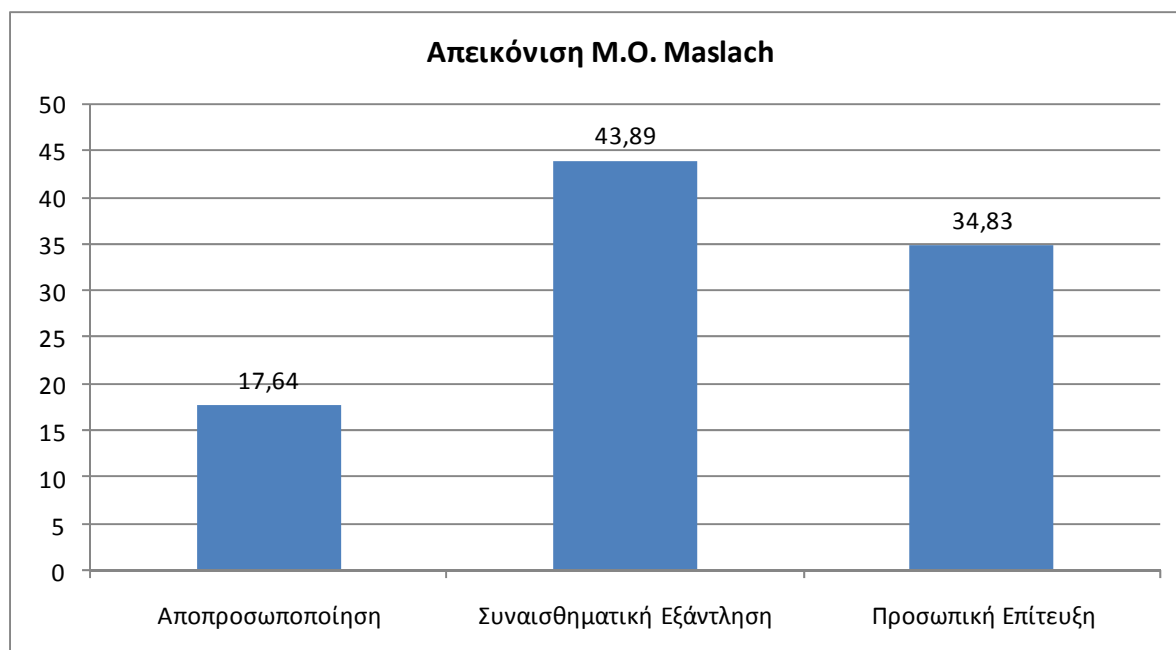
**Γράφημα 1.** Κατηγοριοποίηση ποσοστών(%) με βάση τον δείκτη κρισιμότητας 1,5 στην ψυχομετρική κλίμακα SCL- 90-R



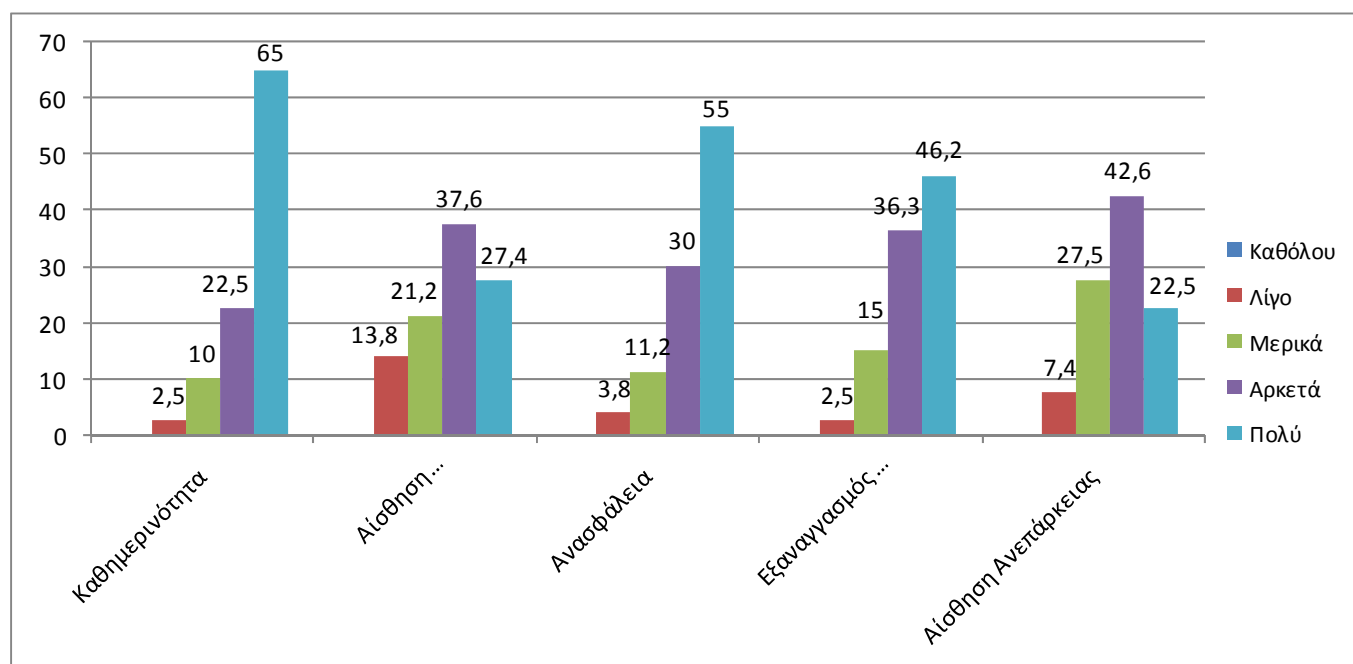
**Γράφημα 2.** Απεικόνιση των Μέσων Όρων του επαναλαμβανόμενου παράγοντα SCL-90-R



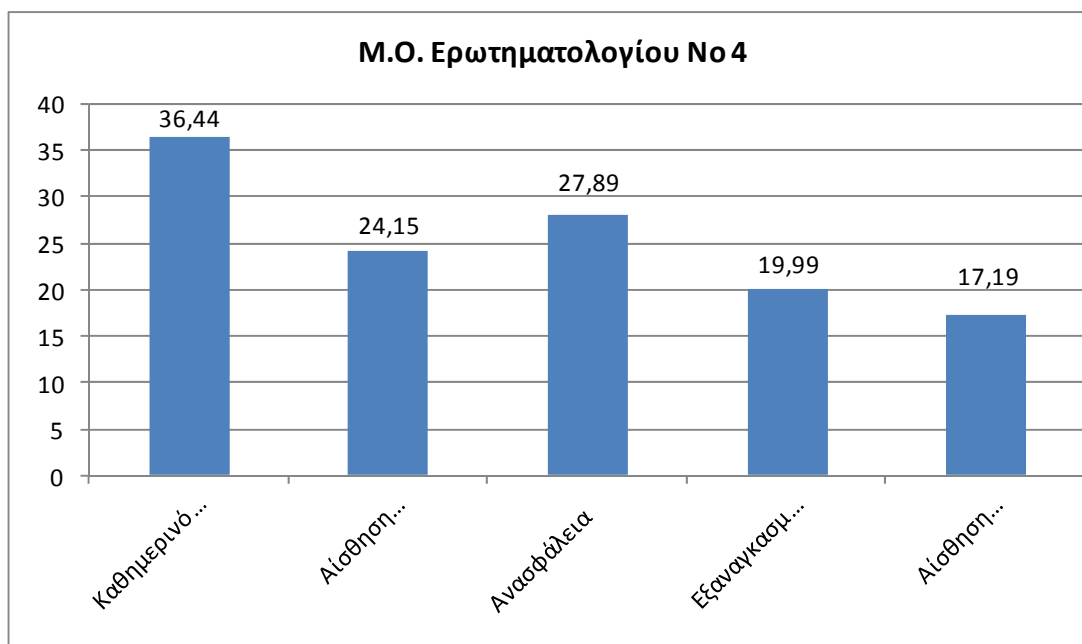
**Γράφημα 3.** Κατηγοριοποίηση ποσοστών ως προς το ερωτηματολόγιο της Maslach



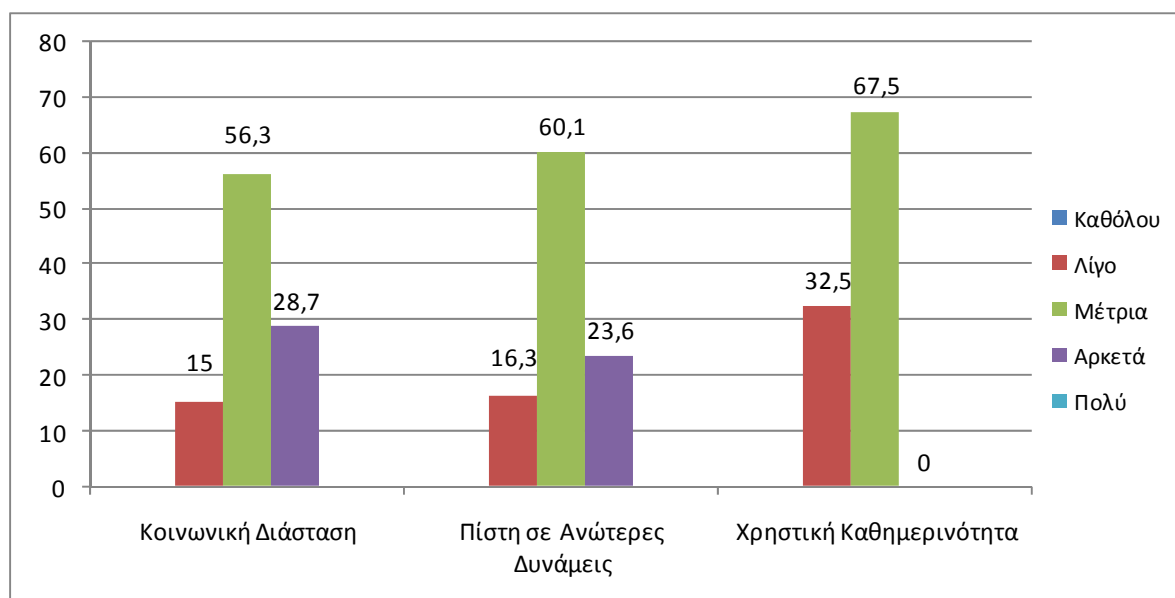
**Γράφημα 4.** Απεικόνιση των Μέσων Όρων του επαναλαμβανόμενου παράγοντα Maslach (MBI)



**Γράφημα 5.** Κατηγοριοποίηση ποσοστών του Ερωτηματολογίου Νο 4 που διερευνά παράγοντες stress

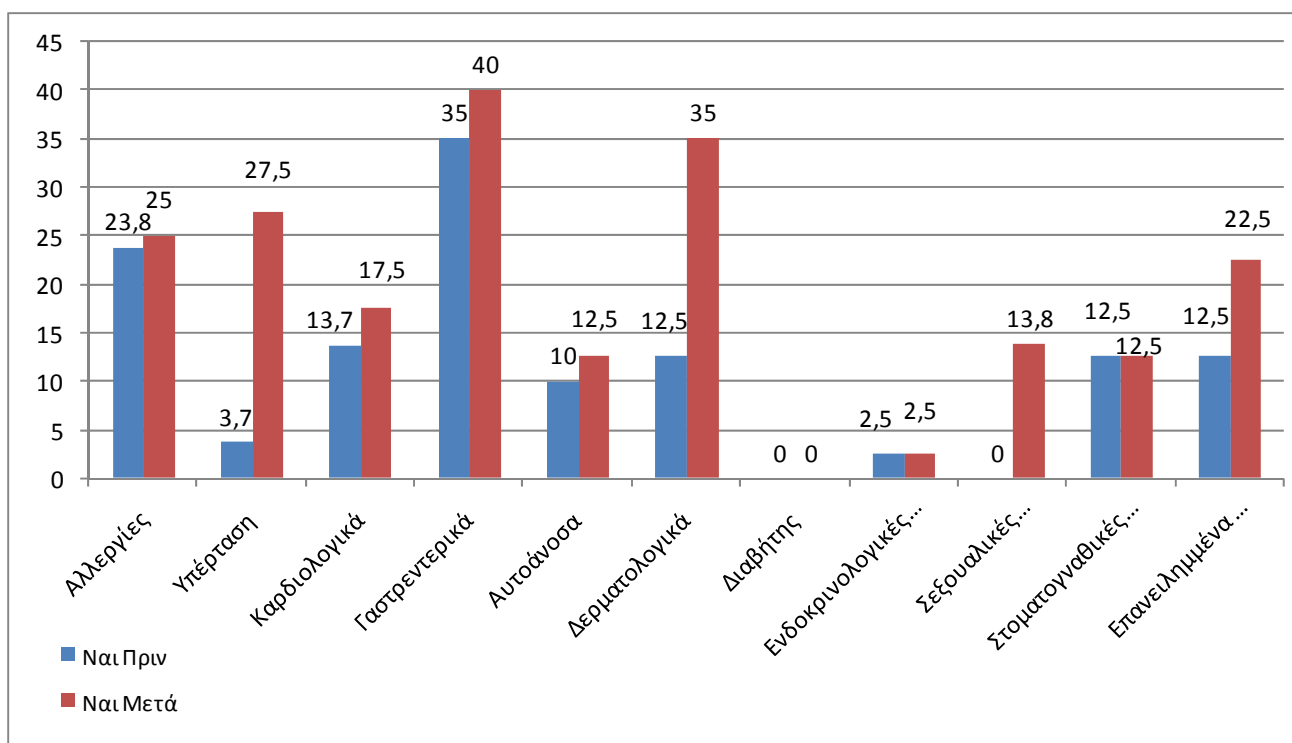


**Γράφημα 6.** Απεικόνιση των Μέσων Όρων του επαναλαμβανόμενου παράγοντα Ερωτηματολόγιο Νο 4 που διερευνά παράγοντες stress

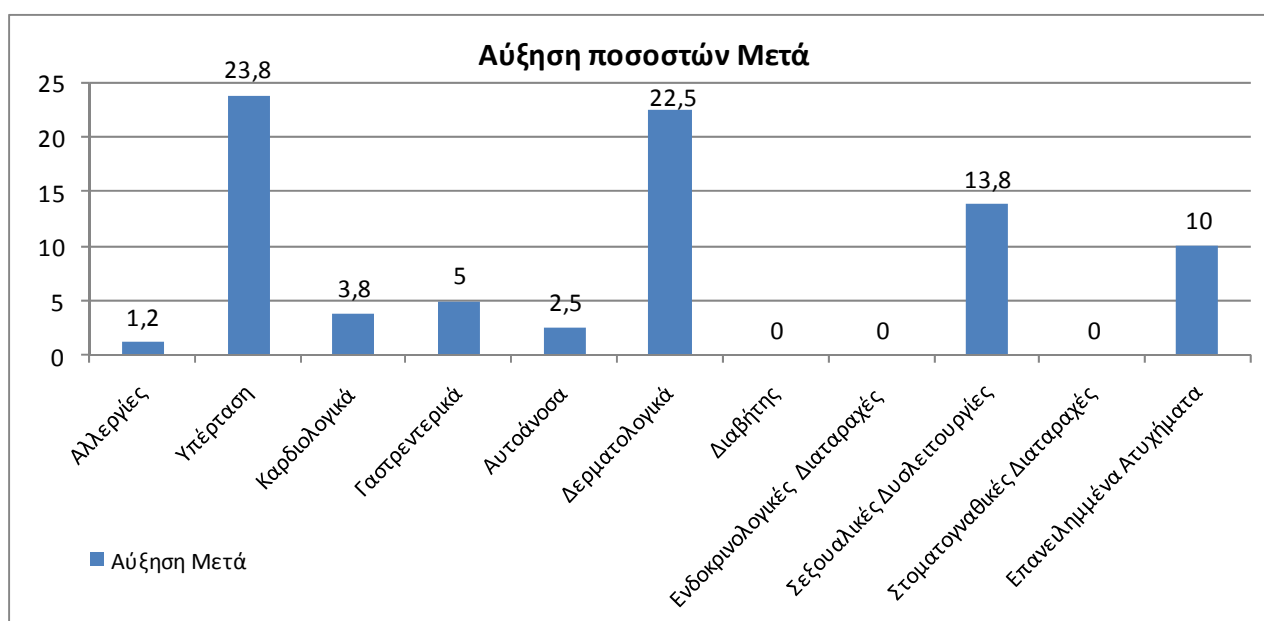


**Γράφημα 7.** Κατηγοριοποίηση ποσοστών του Ερωτηματολογίου Νο 2 που διερευνά παράγοντες ενθάρρυνσης





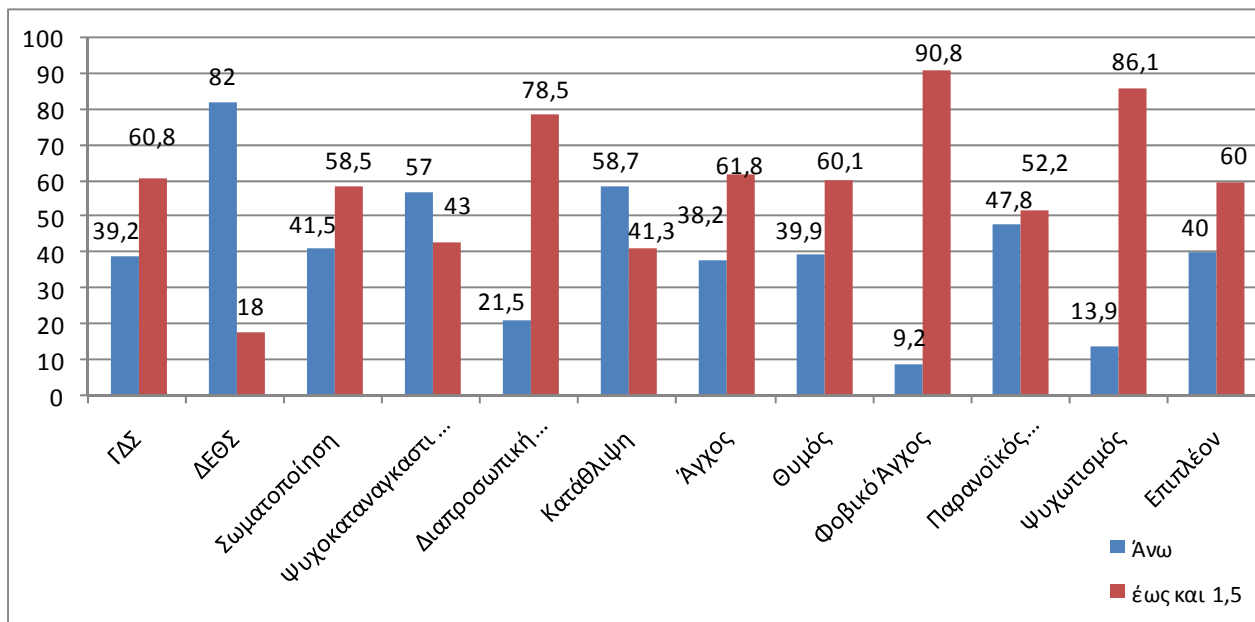
**Γράφημα 9Α.** Κατηγοριοποίηση **ποσοστών** που αφορούν την ύπαρξη προβλημάτων υγείας των Καθηγητών (**ΝΑΙ**) του Ερωτηματολογίου Νο 3 **Πριν** και **Μετά** την αναγκαστική Μετάταξη σε Διοικητικούς Υπαλλήλους



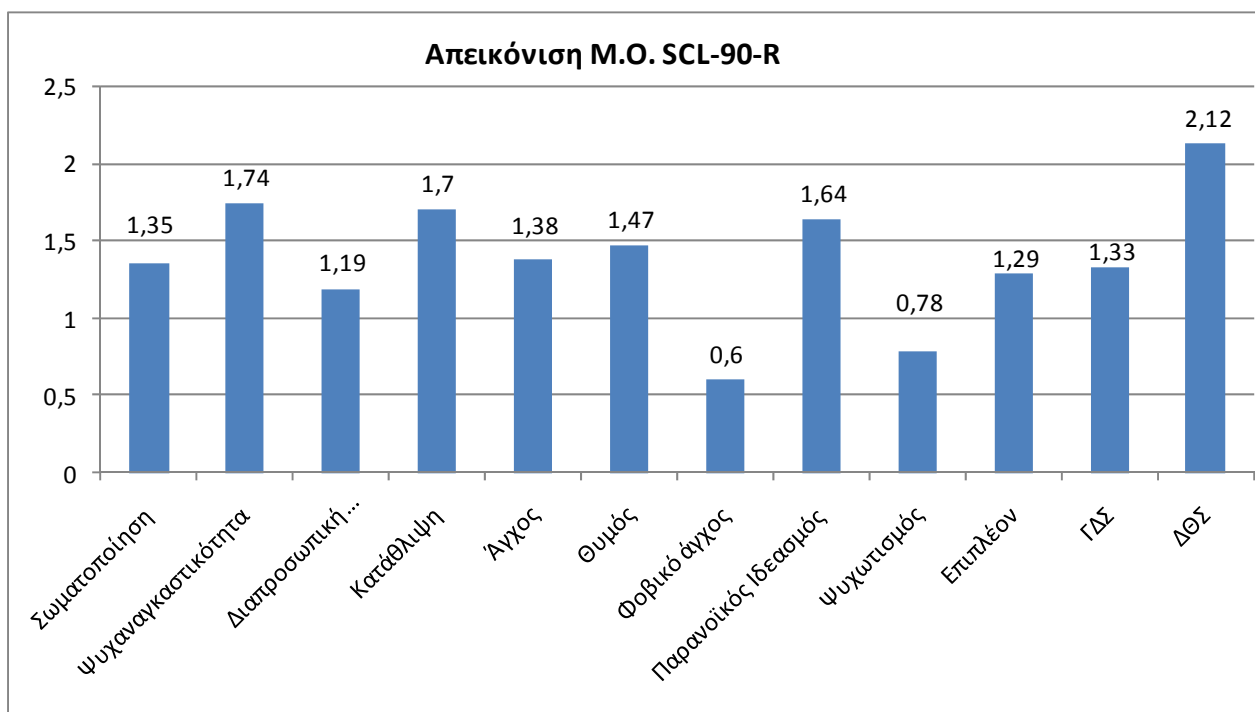
**Γράφημα 9Β.** Διαφορά **ποσοστών** που αφορούν την ύπαρξη προβλημάτων υγείας των Καθηγητών (**ΝΑΙ**) του Ερωτηματολογίου Νο3 **Πριν** και **Μετά** την αναγκαστική Μετάταξη σε Διοικητικούς Υπαλλήλους



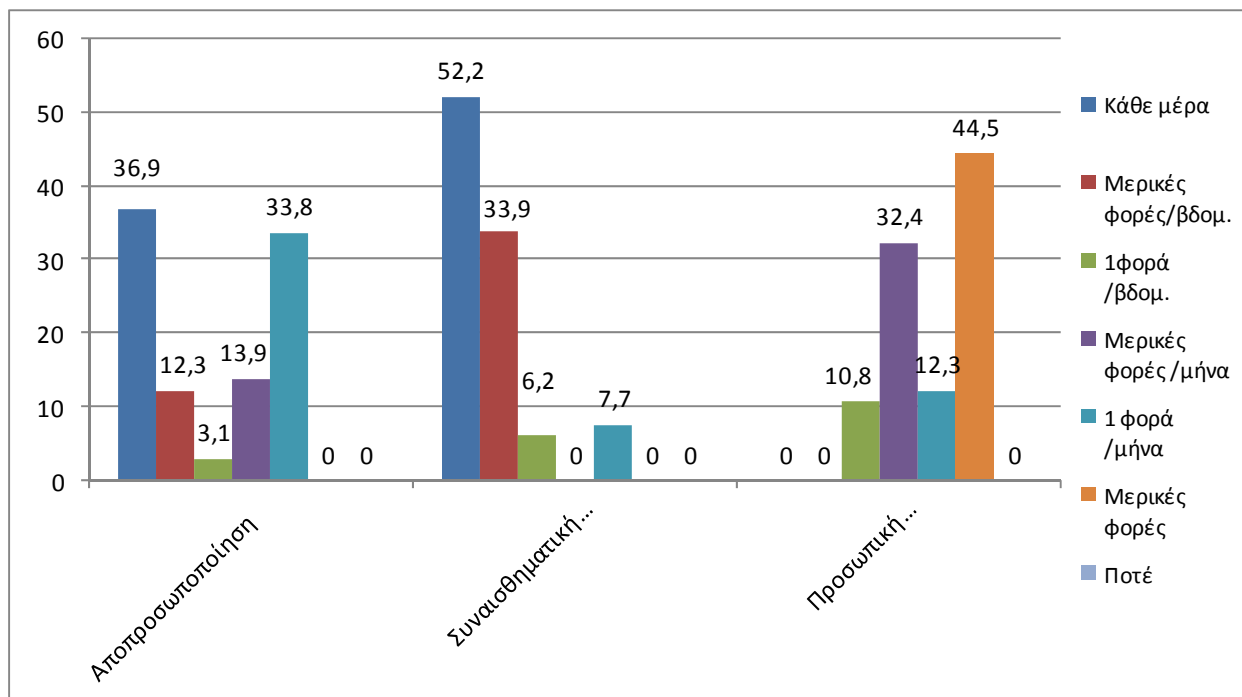
## Β) Για τους καθηγητές που τέθηκαν σε διαθεσιμότητα



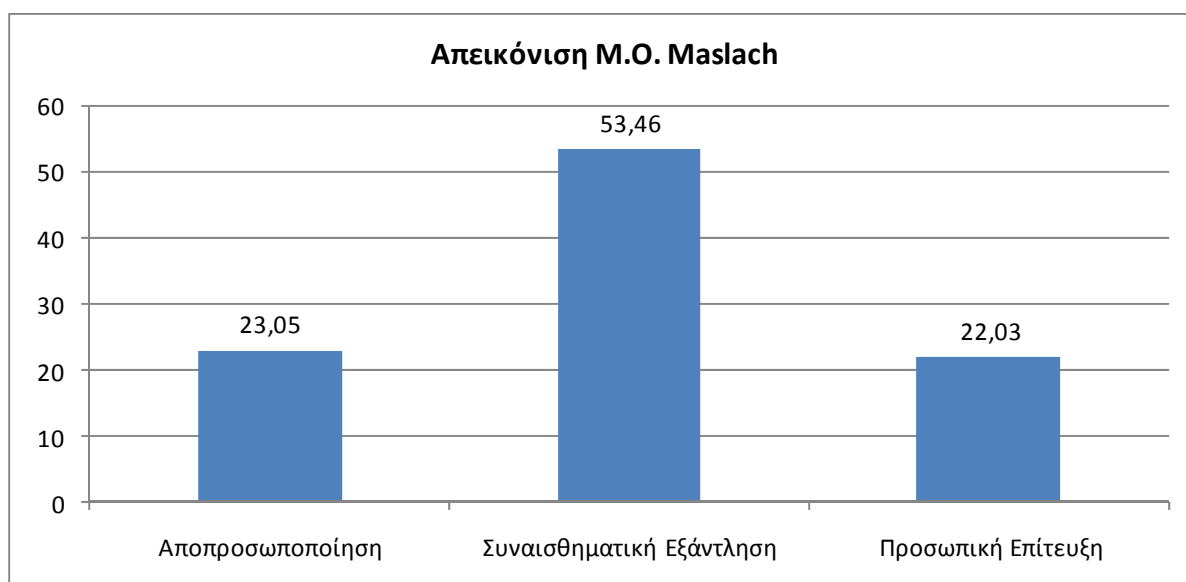
Γράφημα 11. Κατηγοριοποίηση ποσοστών με βάση τον δείκτη κρίσιμότητας 1,5 στην ψυχομετρική κλίμακα SCL- 90-R



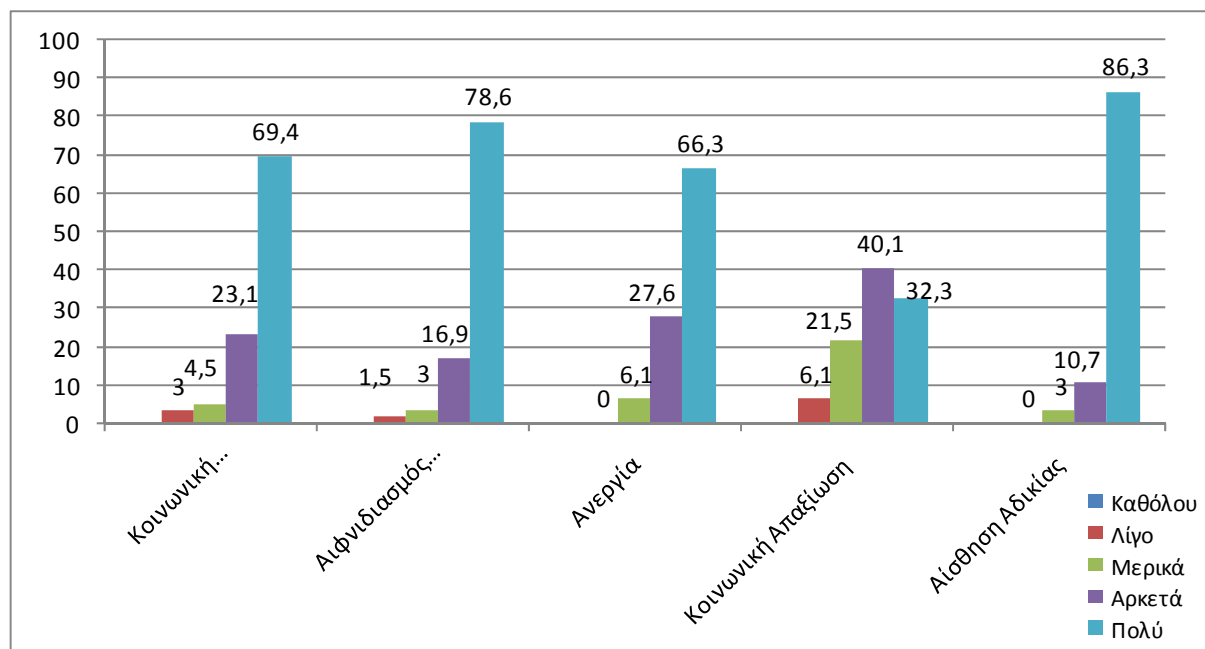
Γράφημα 12. Απεικόνιση των Μέσων Όρων του επαναλαμβανόμενου παράγοντα SCL-90-R



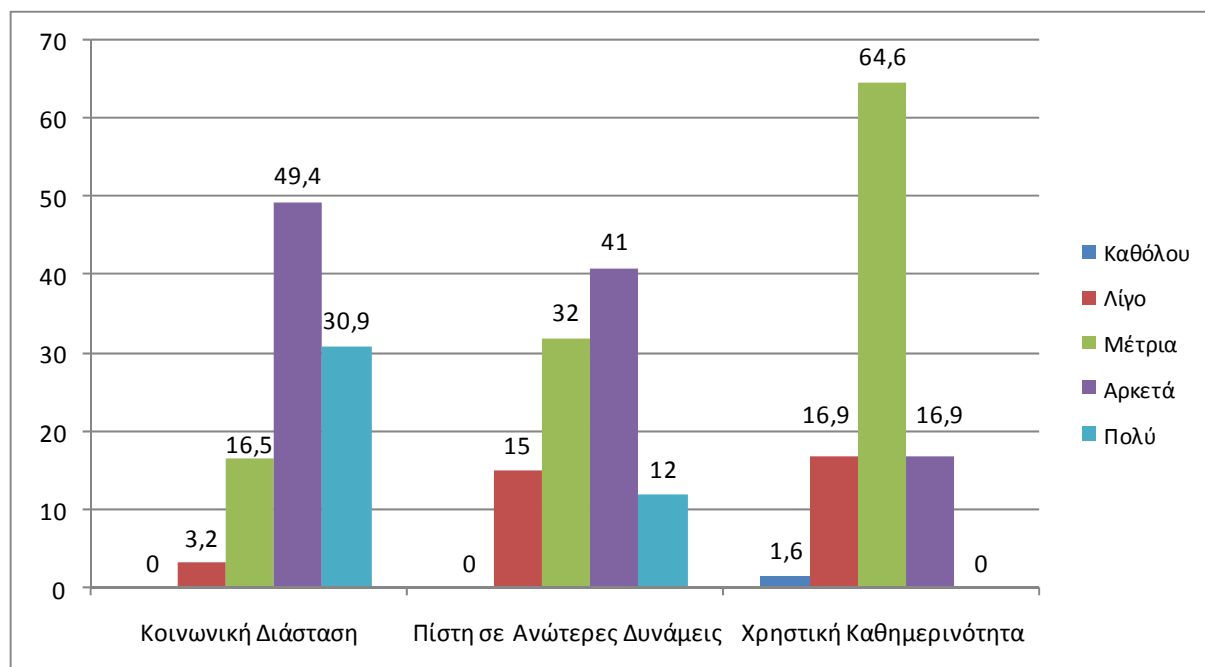
Γράφημα 13. Κατηγοριοποίηση ποσοστών ως προς το ερωτηματολόγιο της Maslach(MBI)



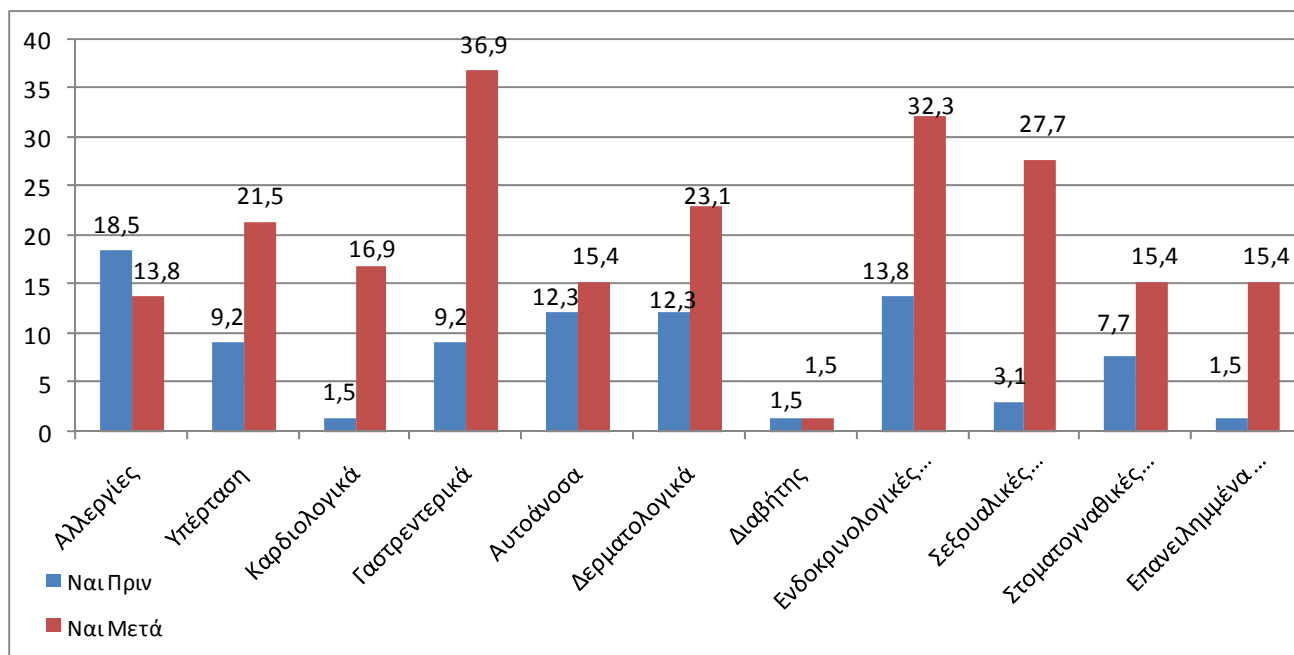
Γράφημα 14. Απεικόνιση των Μέσων Όρων του επαναλαμβανόμενου παράγοντα Maslach(MBI)



Γράφημα 15. Κατηγοριοποίηση ποσοστών του Ερωτηματολογίου Νο1 που διερευνά παράγοντες stress



Γράφημα 17. Κατηγοριοποίηση ποσοστών του Ερωτηματολογίου Νο2 που διερευνά παράγοντες ενθάρρυνσης



**Γράφημα 19 Α.** Κατηγοριοποίηση **ποσοστών** που αφορούν την ύπαρξη προβλημάτων υγείας των Καθηγητών (**ΝΑΙ**) του Ερωτηματολογίου Νο3 **Πριν** και **Μετά** την αναγκαστική Διαθεσιμότητά τους

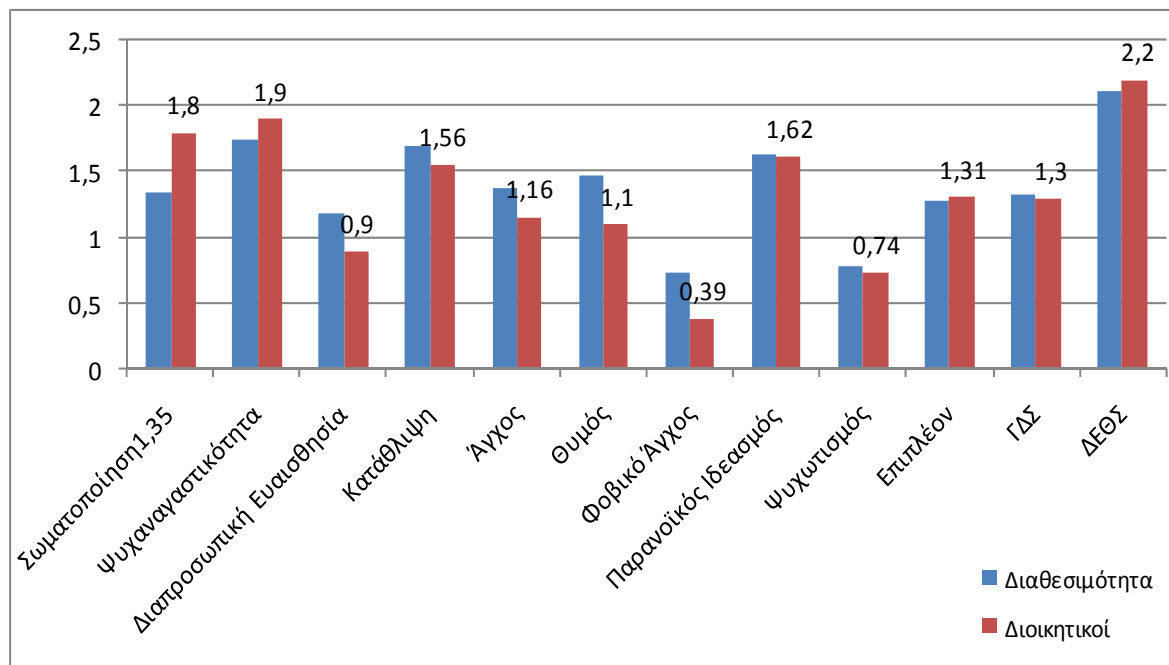


**Γράφημα 19 Β.** Διαφορά **ποσοστών** που αφορούν την ύπαρξη προβλημάτων υγείας των Καθηγητών (**ΝΑΙ**) του Ερωτηματολογίου Νο3 **Πριν** και **Μετά** την αναγκαστική Διαθεσιμότητά τους

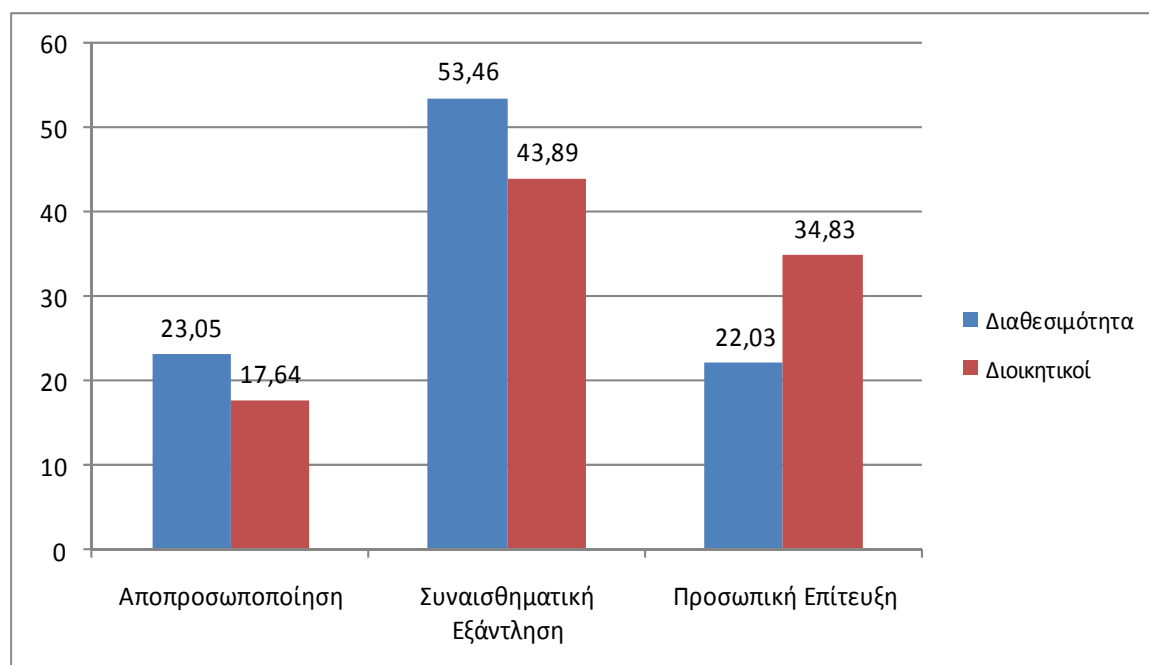




**Γ) Συγκριτική μελέτη μεταξύ των καθηγητών που τέθηκαν σε διαθεσιμότητα και όσων μετατάχθηκαν υποχρεωτικά σε διοικητικές θέσεις**



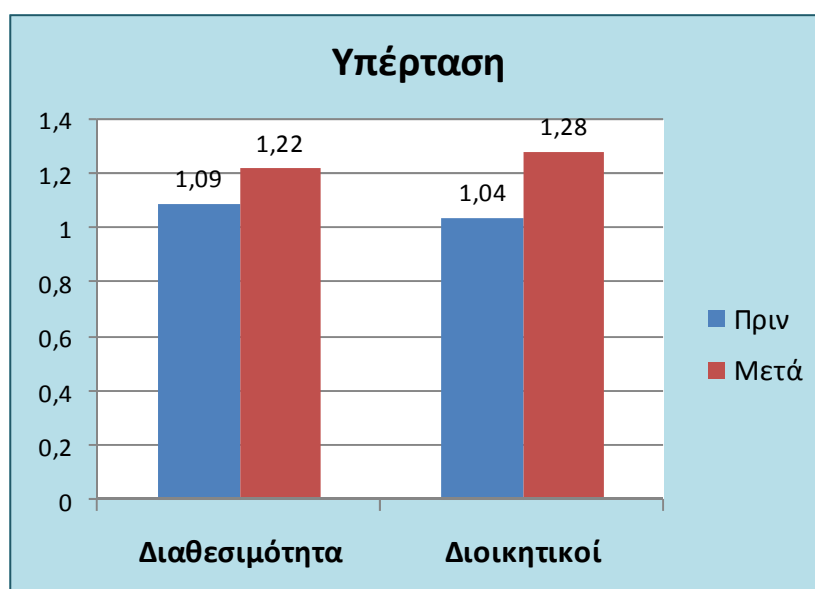
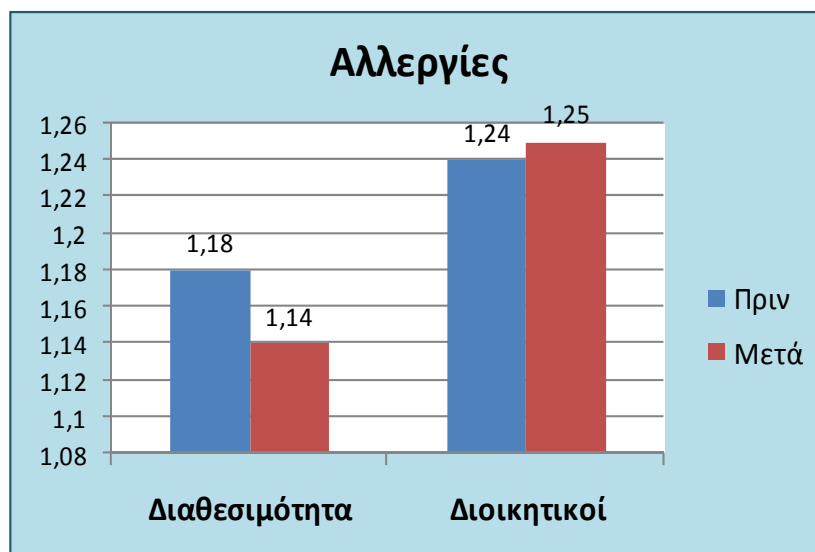
**Γράφημα 21.** Οι Μέσοι Όροι των Υπερμεταβλητών του Ερωτηματολογίου SCL-90-R των καθηγητών που τέθηκαν σε Διαθεσιμότητα και των καθηγητών που αναγκάστηκαν σε Μετάταξη Διοικητικών Υπαλλήλων

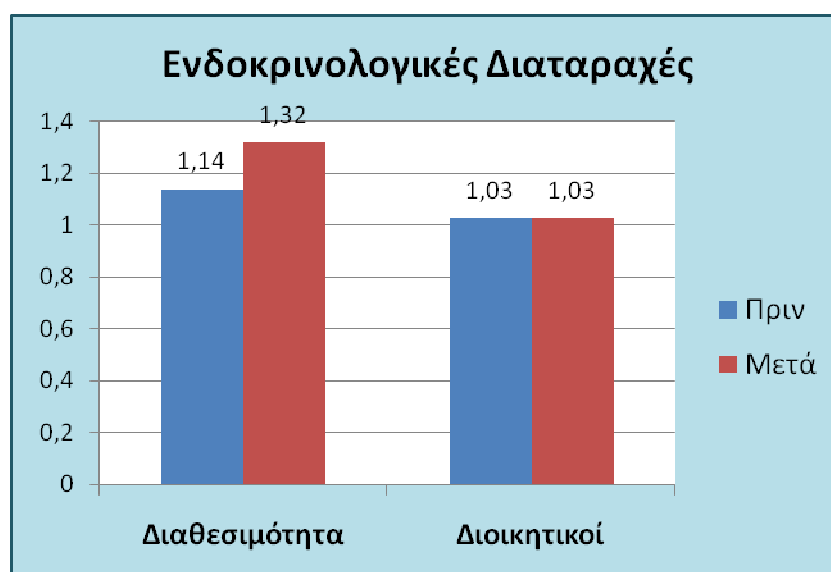
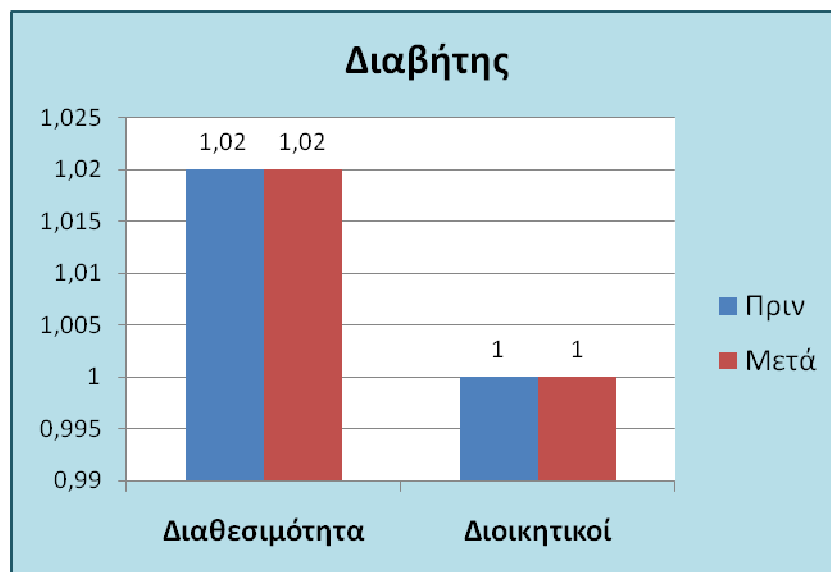


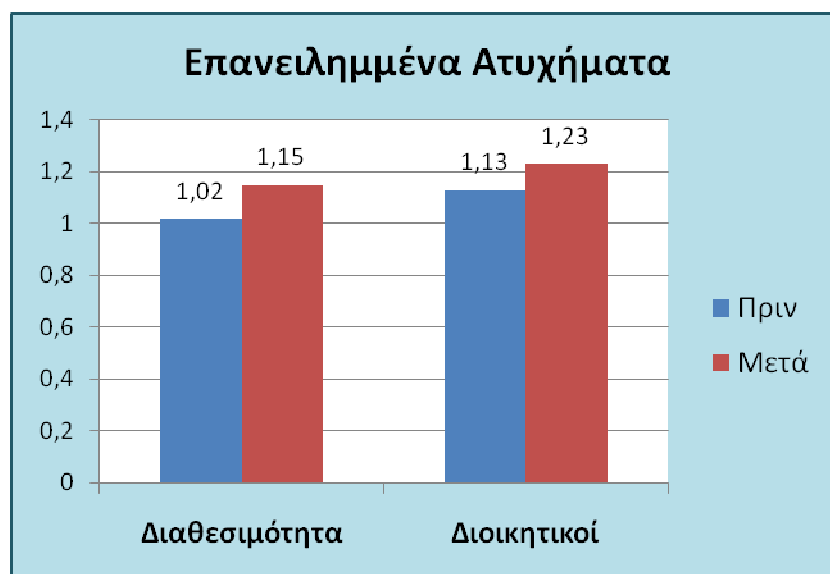
**Γράφημα 22.** Οι Μέσοι Όροι των Υπερμεταβλητών του Ερωτηματολογίου της Maslach των καθηγητών που τέθηκαν σε Διαθεσιμότητα και των καθηγητών που αναγκάστηκαν σε Μετάταξη Διοικητικών Υπαλλήλων



Δ) Συγκριτικά αποτελέσματα των προβλημάτων σωματικής υγείας που εμφανίστηκαν μεταξύ των καθηγητών που τέθηκαν σε διαθεσιμότητα και όσων μετατάχθηκαν υποχρεωτικά σε διοικητικές θέσεις







### Συζήτηση

Η έρευνα έχει πολλά στοιχεία πρωτοτυπίας γιατί η διαθεσιμότητα ήταν κάτι πρωτόγνωρο στη χώρα. Εντοπίσαμε ομοιότητες της δράσης των εκπαιδευτικών σε διαθεσιμότητα με ανάλογες δράσεις εργαζομένων σε επίσχεση εργασίας και επίδραση της υποχρεωτικής μετάταξης με στοιχεία ηθικής παρενόχλησης (mobbing) στο χώρο εργασίας (Djurkovic, McCormack, Casimir, 2008), (Brodsky, 1976). Επιβεβαιώσαμε την αρνητική επίδραση που έχει το επαγγελματικό stress στην ψυχική και σωματική υγεία του πληθυσμού και αποδείξαμε ότι η επίδρασή του συναρτάται από την ένταση και το χρόνο διοχέτευσής του. Καταδείξαμε την προβλεπτική ικανότητα που διαθέτει η επαγγελματική εξουθένωση στην ανάπτυξη ψυχοπαθολογίας, τόσο στην έκταση όσο και στην ένταση των συμπτωμάτων. Ένα σημαντικό εύρημα ήταν ο ρόλος των Μέσων Κοινωνικής Δικτύωσης ως παράγοντας ενθάρρυνσης και συντονισμού της δράσης των εργαζομένων.

Στην περίπτωση της υποχρεωτικής μετάταξης των εκπαιδευτικών οι αγχωτικές καταστάσεις που προκύπτουν στο εργασιακό περιβάλλον βιώνονται ως απειλητικές και οι εργαζόμενοι αισθάνονται ότι δεν έχουν τους διαθέσιμους πόρους αντιμετώπισης για ν' ανταποκριθούν σ' αυτές τις απαιτήσεις (Leymann, 1990). Από τα αποτελέσματα του SCL-90 φαίνεται ότι οι υπάλληλοι που υπέστησαν την υποχρεωτική μετάταξη εμφάνισαν σημαντική ψυχολογική επιβάρυνση. Ο χρόνος και ο τρόπος που συνέβη λειτούργησαν εξίσου επιβαρυντικά με την ίδια τη διαδικασία της υποχρεωτικής κινητικότητας. Δεν ακολουθήθηκε κάποια διαδικασία που να εξασφαλίζει την εξοικείωση, τη συναίνεση και την προετοιμασία για τα νέα τους καθήκοντα. Ο αιφνιδιασμός δημιούργησε αισθήματα πανικού και



κινητοποίησε σε συναισθηματικό επίπεδο τη διαδικασία που βιώνει ο άνθρωπος από μία ξαφνική απώλεια (Leymann & Gustafsson, 1996). Από τις οθόνες της τηλεόρασης και τα εκπαιδευτικά sites ενημερώνονταν για την απώλεια της εργασίας τους, και ενός τρόπου ζωής που είχαν επιλέξει. Βίωσαν με βίαιο τρόπο την απαξίωση του επαγγέλματός τους, την εκμηδένιση της ως τότε προσφοράς τους και τη βίαιη προσαρμογή σε μια επαγγελματική ταυτότητα που αγνοούσαν (Τσιάμα, 2013), (Vartia, 1996), (Vartia, 2001), Σπυριδάκης, 2009).

Τα στοιχεία αυτά προκάλεσαν μία κατάσταση ψυχικής και σωματικής έντασης, επηρεάζοντας αναπόφευκτα την υγεία τους. Σύμφωνα με τις δηλώσεις των μεταταγμένων υπαλλήλων η υπέρταση παρουσίασε πολύ μεγάλη αύξηση με ποσοστό 23,8 και ακολουθούν η εμφάνιση δερματολογικών προβλημάτων με αύξηση 22,5 οι σεξουαλικές δυσλειτουργίες με 13,8 και η πρόκληση επανειλημμένων ατυχημάτων με 10%.

Οριακή επιδείνωση παρατηρήθηκε στις περισσότερες ασθένειες που καταγράφηκαν (αλλεργίες, καρδιολογικά, γαστρεντερικά προβλήματα). Ο παράγοντας φύλο εμφανίστηκε να παρουσιάζει στατιστικά σημαντική κύρια επίδραση με τις γυναίκες να εμφανίζονται περισσότερο ευάλωτες. Στη στατιστική συσχέτιση μεταξύ προβλημάτων υγείας και διακύμανσης του Δ.Ε.Θ.Σ. του SCL-90 βρέθηκε συσχέτιση με τις ενδοκρινολογικές διαταραχές και τις αλλεργίες. Επίσης από την κλίμακα της Επαγγελματικής Εξουθένωσης, η διάσταση της Προσωπικής Επίτευξης εμφανίζει συσχέτιση με την Υπέρταση και τις Σεξουαλικές δυσλειτουργίες των προβλημάτων Υγείας των καθηγητών που αναγκάστηκαν σε μετάταξη Διοικητικού Υπαλλήλου. Η ερμηνευτική προσέγγιση σ' αυτά τα δεδομένα γίνεται από δύο κατευθύνσεις: α) Τη σύνδεση του χρόνιου στρες με σωματικές εκδηλώσεις. Σ' αυτή την κατεύθυνση συμφωνούν πολλές ιατρικές έρευνες (Cushway, 1992), (Unger, 1980), (Tyler & Cushway, 1998), (Burke, Greenglass, Schwarzer, 1996). β) Την προσέγγιση της υποχρεωτικής κινητικότητας με όρους ηθικής παρενόχλησης στο χώρο εργασίας (mobbing) και όλα τα συνοδά τραυματικά αποτελέσματα. Τα άτομα που βρέθηκαν αιφνιδιαστικά σε ένα ανοίκειο επαγγελματικό περιβάλλον χωρίς τη θέλησή τους, μόνο για λόγους επιβίωσης, βιώνουν την ίδια ψυχολογική κατάρρευση με τα θύματα του mobbing. Οδηγούνται παρόμοια σε απορρύθμιση των εσωτερικών ισορροπιών και μείωση της ικανότητάς τους να ανταποκρίνονται αποτελεσματικά στις απαιτήσεις της εργασίας και της καθημερινής ζωής (Aquino & Thau, 2009).

Δημιουργείται ένα δυσλειτουργικό εργασιακό περιβάλλον όπου οι εργαζόμενοι βιώνουν τοξικά συναισθήματα οργής και δυσπιστίας, άγχος και ανασφάλεια για την επίτευξη στόχων, μειωμένα κίνητρα και διάθεση, ψυχοσωματική και νοητική κόπωση που εκδηλώνεται με μακροχρόνιες απουσίες, αυξημένη χρήση αναρρωτικών αδειών και πρόωρες συνταξιοδοτήσεις.

Η εμφάνιση ψυχοπαθολογίας στους εκπαιδευτικούς που υπέστησαν την πρώτη διαθεσιμότητα δημοσίων υπαλλήλων (από το 1911) θα πρέπει να ερμηνευτεί με τους όρους και τις συνθήκες μέσα στις οποίες έγινε. Μέχρι τον Ιούλιο του 2013, ο μόνιμα διορισμένος δημόσιος υπάλληλος δεν απειλούνταν με την απώλεια της





σταθερής και μόνιμης εργασίας του παρά μόνο για ποινικούς ή πειθαρχικούς λόγους. Η ανακοίνωση της διαθεσιμότητας 2.200 εκπαιδευτικών ταυτίστηκε με ανακοίνωση μαζικών απολύσεων.

Στην κλίμακα ψυχοπαθολογίας SCL-90 ο Δ.Ε.Θ.Σ. που αποτελεί το μέτρο της έντασης των συμπτωμάτων εμφανίζεται να ξεπερνά το όριο κρισιμότητας του 1,5 και φτάνει το 2,12. Αυτό καταδεικνύει ότι το αντιπροσωπευτικό δείγμα των εκπαιδευτικών που τέθηκαν σε διαθεσιμότητα εμφανίζεται ευαίσθητο στα ψυχοπαθολογικά συμπτώματα και διαφοροποιείται από τον υγιή πληθυσμό. Οι διαστάσεις στις οποίες περισσότερο από το 50% των ερωτηθέντων έχει ξεπεράσει το κρίσιμο όριο του 1,5 είναι η Ψυχαναγκαστικότητα, η κατάθλιψη και ο Παρανοϊκός Ιδεασμός. Δύο ακόμη στοιχεία έδρασαν καθοριστικά στην κινητοποίηση διαδικασιών ψυχοπαθολογίας στους εκπαιδευτικούς. Το ένα είναι η χρονική στιγμή που επιλέχθηκε να ανακοινωθεί η έναρξη της διαθεσιμότητας. Τέλος Ιουλίου 2013 με κλειστά τα σχολεία και ενώ οι εκπαιδευτικοί της χώρας είχαν πάρει την καλοκαιρινή τους άδεια και τελούσαν υπό διακοπές. Αυτό απέκλειε κάθε δυνατότητα άμεσης αντίδρασης, επικοινωνίας και συντονισμού μεταξύ τους, ακόμα και ενημέρωσης. Το άλλο στοιχείο είναι ο τρόπος με τον οποίο το Υπουργείο Παιδείας έκανε την ανακοίνωση. Ανήρτησε στην ιστοσελίδα του τα ονοματεπώνυμα των εκπαιδευτικών μαζί με όλα τα ατομικά τους στοιχεία ΑΜ, ΑΤ, ΑΦΜ, ειδικότητες κ.λπ. Αυτό δημιούργησε αισθήματα οργής, θυμού, ντροπής και αγανάκτησης που δεν μπορούσαν να διοχετευτούν (Lazarsfeld, Jahoda, Zeisel, (1982[1933])). Την ανασφάλεια και το άγχος ενίσχυσε το γεγονός ότι ενώ τα δικαιώματα και οι υποχρεώσεις του υπαλλήλου σε καθεστώς διαθεσιμότητας δεν είχαν προσδιοριστεί εξ' αρχής, το τέλος της διαθεσιμότητας μετά την παρέλευση 8μήνου προσδιοριζόταν απόλυτα στις 22-03-2014 ως μόνιμη απόλυση.

Η ανεργία οδηγεί σε συσσωρευτική ρήξη όλων των κοινωνικών σχέσεων του ανθρώπου, τόσο με τον κόσμο της εργασίας όσο και των ιδιωτικών δεσμών στο οικογενειακό, φιλικό κ.λπ. περιβάλλον, οδηγώντας το σε κοινωνικό αποκλεισμό (Paugam, 1991), (Paugam, 2000). Ο άνθρωπος χάνει τα κοινωνικά δίκτυα που είχε οργανώσει και αδυνατεί να προσχωρήσει σε άλλα (Paugam, 1991). Βιώνει την κατάστασή του ως «κοινωνική ταπείνωση» (Castel, 1995), (Ledrut, 1961). Όλα αυτά τα συναισθήματα ήταν παρόντα στους εκπαιδευτικούς που βίωσαν τη διαθεσιμότητα ως «παρατεταμένη διαδικασία απόλυσης». Από την άμεση μείωση του μισθού (κατά 25%) μέχρι την πλήρη αποστέρησή του ελάμβανε χώρα και μια άλλη διαδικασία, πανομοιότυπα ίδια με την ανεργία. Η «διάρρηξη του χρονικού πλαισίου» που συμβαίνει όταν ο άνθρωπος χάνει τον εργάσιμο χρόνο του, ο οποίος νοηματοδοτεί και τον ελεύθερο χρόνο (Lazarsfeld, Jahoda, Zeisel, (1982[1933])). Τα άτομα περνούν από μια καθημερινότητα στην οποία κυριαρχεί η εργασία σε μια καθημερινότητα όπου κυριαρχεί το αίσθημα του κενού (Lemaire, 1987).

Το γεγονός ότι οι άνθρωποι που τέθηκαν σε διαθεσιμότητα ήταν εκπαιδευτικοί, έδωσε πολύ ιδιαίτερα χαρακτηριστικά στην ψυχολογία τους. Η επαγγελματική ταυτότητα του εκπαιδευτικού υπήρξε πολύ ισχυρή και εξαιρετικά φορτισμένη



συναισθηματικά και ιδεολογικά στη χώρα μας. Λίγα επαγγέλματα διατηρούν τις αναφορές τους ακόμα και πολλά χρόνια μέσα στη συνταξιοδότηση, όσο το επάγγελμα του εκπαιδευτικού. Η διαθεσιμότητα υπήρξε η κορυφαία πράξη υλικής και ηθικής απαξίωσης των Ελλήνων εκπαιδευτικών. Είχε προηγηθεί μια διαδικασία σταθερής μείωσης του εργασιακού κόστους στον κλάδο της εκπαίδευσης στα πλαίσια δημοσιονομικής προσαρμογής, κατοχύρωση επισφαλών σχέσεων εργασίας μέσα από τη διεύρυνση των ελαστικών μορφών απασχόλησης και κυρίως καλλιέργεια στην κοινή γνώμη της πεποίθησης ότι χωρίς έλεγχο και αξιολόγηση οι εκπαιδευτικοί είναι ανίκανοι να εκπληρώσουν τα καθήκοντά τους, οδηγώντας σε ματαίωση τις προσδοκίες των Ελλήνων πολιτών. Η έρευνά μας καταγράφει κατά το διάστημα που οι διαθέσιμοι εκπαιδευτικοί, έχοντας κερδίσει τα προσωρινά ασφαλιστικά μέτρα σε δικαστικούς αγώνες και επέστρεφαν μαζικά στα σχολεία τους για την ολοκλήρωση της φοίτησης των μαθητών, τα μεγαλύτερα ποσοστά επαγγελματικής εξουθένωσης που εμφανίστηκαν στην ελληνική εκπαίδευση. Η συναισθηματική εξάντληση έφτασε σε μ.ο. στο 53,46 όταν το όριο κρισιμότητας κατά τη Maslach είναι >31 η αποπροσωποποίηση 23,05 όταν το όριο κρισιμότητας είναι >11 και η προσωπική επίτευξη στο 22,03 όταν το όριο κρισιμότητας είναι <35. Πρόκειται για υψηλή καταγραφή επαγγελματικής εξουθένωσης σε όλες τις διαστάσεις. Η συχνότητα εμφάνισης της συναισθηματικής εξάντλησης φτάνει στο 52% σε καθημερινή βάση ενώ σε εβδομαδιαία συχνότητα ξεπερνά το 85%. Η αποπροσωποποίηση που δηλώνουν οι εκπαιδευτικοί ξεπερνά το 36% σε καθημερινή βάση ενώ αν υπολογιστεί σε εβδομαδιαία ξεπερνά το 50%. Το αίσθημα προσωπική επίτευξη εμφανίζεται μερικές φορές (44,5%) και μόνο στο 1/3 κάποιες φορές σε μηνιαία βάση. Είναι δεδομένο ότι η ίδια η διαδικασία της διαθεσιμότητας όσο και ο τρόπος που εφαρμόστηκε αποτέλεσε μια οδυνηρή εμπειρία για τους εκπαιδευτικούς. Τα χαρακτηριστικά της όπως διαμορφώθηκαν προσομοιάζουν με την επίσχεση εργασίας.

Η διαθεσιμότητα όπως και η επίσχεση δημιούργησε ένα οριακό καθεστώς μετάβασης από μία κατάσταση σχετικής ασφάλειας σ' έναν ορίζοντα άγνωστου προσανατολισμού και κατεύθυνσης (Spryridakis, 2013). Και στις δύο καταστάσεις το καθεστώς αυτό συντείνει στην αλλαγή εργασιακής ταυτότητας με βίαιο τρόπο, καθώς δεν αποτελεί επιλογή των εργαζομένων αλλά μια «έξωθεν» επιβολή. Άλλο κοινό χαρακτηριστικό είναι ότι η καθημερινότητα των ανθρώπων που βρίσκονται σε διαθεσιμότητα όπως και όσων βρίσκονται σε επίσχεση περιλαμβάνει δικαστικές διαμάχες, οργανωμένη διαμαρτυρία και διεκδίκηση, «επισκέψεις» σε θεσμικούς φορείς, υπουργεία κ.λπ. Κοινό χαρακτηριστικό επίσης διαθεσιμότητας και επίσχεσης είναι ότι και στις δύο περιπτώσεις σε αντίθεση με την απόλυση που συχνά είναι εξατομικευμένη, αυτές οι καταστάσεις είχαν συλλογικό χαρακτήρα. Ο αιφνιδιασμός, η βίαιη εφαρμογή, η οριζόντια προσαρμογή καθόρισαν τις εμπειρίες και νοηματοδοτήσεις των εκπαιδευτικών κατά την περίοδο της διαθεσιμότητας. Η ξαφνική απώλεια βιώθηκε με συναισθήματα πένθους. Η αποστέρηση που βίωσαν



ξεπέρασε κατά πολύ την απώλεια του 25% του μισθού και έγινε αντιληπτή ως συσσωρευμένη απώλεια.

1. Της δομής του χρόνου με πλαίσιο αναφοράς την καθημερινότητα, την εβδομάδα, το μήνα ή ακόμα και το χρόνο.
2. Των κοινωνικών επαφών πέρα από αυτές στο άμεσο νοικοκυριό.
3. Της αίσθησης ενός συλλογικού σκοπού και της επίτευξής του.
4. Της αυτοεκτίμησης, του στάτους και της ταυτότητάς τους.
5. Μιας επαναλαμβανόμενης δραστηριότητας.

Απέναντι σ' ένα γενικευμένο αίσθημα ματαίωσης ή αλλαγής των σχεδίων ζωής διαμορφώνεται ένα γενικότερο κλίμα απαισιοδοξίας για το μέλλον (Demazière, 2006), (Demazière, 2013a). Η ίδια η οικονομική κρίση επηρεάζει τον τρόπο με τον οποίο τα άτομα αντιλαμβάνονται την παρούσα αλλά και την μελλοντική τους κατάσταση. Οι πρόσθετες οικονομικές επιβαρύνσεις π.χ. φόροι, οι ανειλημμένες οικονομικές υποχρεώσεις πριν την ανακοίνωση της διαθεσιμότητας (δάνεια, σπουδές, κ.λπ.) σε συνδυασμό με την οικονομική αποδιοργάνωση των συγγενικών δικτύων που παραδοσιακά αποτελούσαν υποστηρικτικούς θεσμούς και πλέον αδυνατούν να παίξουν τον παραδοσιακό τους ρόλο, επιτείνουν το άγχος και τη συναισθηματική εξουθένωση των εκπαιδευτικών. Η απαξίωση της συσσωρευμένης γνώσης και της επαγγελματικής ταυτότητας, η «ταπείνωση» που βιώνουν ως περιττοί στο χώρο της εκπαίδευσης, η εκπαρθύρωσή τους από τα σχολεία τους, η απώλεια της «υπερηφάνειας και αξιοπρέπειας» που ταυτίζεται με την εργασία καθώς και με μια διχοτομική πρόσληψη όπου ο κόσμος της εργασίας αντιπαραβάλλεται στον κόσμο των «αργόσχολων» καταρρακώνουν την αυτοεκτίμησή τους. Το αίσθημα της αδικίας βιώνεται με την υψηλότερη ένταση και κινητοποιεί ως βουβή οργή τη διάσταση της αποπροσωποποίησης αλλά και βαθιά ψυχολογική και σωματική παθολογία. Η διαθεσιμότητα είναι μια συλλογική συνθήκη για όλες τις κατηγορημένες ειδικότητες αλλά είναι και μία κατάσταση που απομονώνει και περιθωριοποιεί 2.200 εκπαιδευτικούς από την υπόλοιπη εκπαιδευτική κοινότητα. Το υπουργείο Παιδείας τους αποδιώχνει εκδίδοντας τις διαπιστωτικές πράξεις απόλυσης, το υπουργείο Διοικητικής Μεταρρύθμισης είναι ο βασικός αντίδικος στις δικαστικές διαμάχες, τα Μ.Μ.Ε. λοιδορούν τους «τεμπέληδες» εκπαιδευτικούς που δίνουν πτυχία ανεργίας. Τα Τεχνικά σχολεία όχι μόνο δεν μειώνουν, αλλά αυξάνουν τις εγγραφές τους λόγω της Τράπεζας Θεμάτων, που ωθεί τους αδύναμους μαθητές στην Τεχνική εκπαίδευση ως λύση ανάγκης, καθώς δυσκολεύουν οι ενδοσχολικές εξετάσεις. Τα συνδικάτα αδυνατούν να οργανώσουν ισχυρό απεργιακό μέτωπο ώστε να εκφραστεί η συναδελφική αλληλεγγύη στους διαθέσιμους εκπαιδευτικούς. Τα στελέχη της εκπαίδευσης σιωπούν και προετοιμάζουν την αξιολόγηση των συναδέλφων τους. Σ' αυτό το κλίμα απομόνωσης και απογοήτευσης, ενθαρρυντικά δρουν τα μέσα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης και τα συντονιστικά όργανα, που φέρουν σ' επαφή τους εργαζόμενους που βιώνουν την ίδια κατάσταση. Οι μορφές αυτές της συνδικαλιστικής δράσης εκτυλίσσονται έξω



από τον παραδοσιακό συνδικαλισμό, χρησιμοποιώντας ποικίλα μέσα online κοινωνικής δικτύωσης, και συνήθως απευθύνονται σε μία νεότερη εργασιακή γενιά (Triga, 2011). Σ' αυτή την κινητοποίηση οι γυναίκες αποτελούν τον στατιστικά σημαντικό παράγοντα και ιδιαίτερα αυτές που έχουν τα πιο πολλά χρόνια στην εκπαίδευση, είναι έγγαμες και έχουν παιδιά. Οι απόφοιτοι των Τ.Ε.Ι. δείχνουν μεγαλύτερη κινητοποίηση στα κοινωνικά δίκτυα από τους αποφοίτους των Α.Ε.Ι. και κατόχους μεταπτυχιακών σπουδών. Ενώ η υπερμεταβλητή «Κοινωνική Διάσταση» λειτουργεί ενθαρρυντικά με καταγραφή Αρκετά και Πολύ άνω του 80% η υποστήριξη που εμφανίζεται από το κοινωνικό και οικογενειακό περίγυρο δηλώνεται σε μέτριο επίπεδο κατά 65%. Επιβεβαιώνονται προηγούμενες έρευνες που διαπιστώνουν ότι πέραν της δεδομένης ρήξης του δεσμού που συνδέει το άτομο με τον κόσμο της εργασίας του, διαρρηγνύονται επίσης οι δεσμοί με το οικείο περιβάλλον, οικογενειακό, συγγενικό, φιλικό, διότι η απώλεια εργασίας νοείται ως μια κατάσταση «κοινωνικής πτώσης» (Paugam, 1991),(Demazière, 2006) που οδηγεί ακόμα και σε κοινωνική απομόνωση (Castel, 1995).

Από την άλλη, τα υψηλά ποσοστά επαγγελματικής εξουθένωσης που έχουν καταγραφεί, περιγράφουν ότι οι άνθρωποι αυτοί θα εμφανίσουν τα συμπτώματα του συνδρόμου burn-out σε ατομικό, ψυχολογικό και συμπεριφορικό επίπεδο. Η αποθάρρυνση που αναπτύσσεται όταν απομυζείται η συναισθηματική ενέργεια επηρεάζει αρνητικά το σύνολο των κοινωνικών του σχέσεων, τόσο στο εργασιακό του περιβάλλον όσο και στις οικογενειακές και ιδιωτικές επαφές. Οι καθηγητές που βρέθηκαν σε διαθεσιμότητα βίωσαν τις ίδιες εμπειρίες με τα θύματα του mobbing. Ο αρνητικός αντίκτυπος των τοξικών συναισθημάτων, του stress που συσσωρεύει καθημερινά το άτομο από την εργασία και τον εαυτό του μεταφέρεται στην οικογένειά του, με αποτέλεσμα την επιβάρυνση των μεταξύ τους σχέσεων. Η οικογένεια του «διαθέσιμου» υφίσταται ως σύνολο υποβάθμιση της ποιότητας της ζωής, καθώς όλα τα μέλη της υφίστανται τις επιπτώσεις που έχει στην υγεία, την κοινωνική ζωή και τα οικονομικά δεδομένα τους η εμπειρία της ψυχολογικής βίας και της υπονόμευσης της επαγγελματικής του υπόστασης (Di Martino et al, 2003), (Agervold & Mikkelsen, 2004). Το αποτέλεσμα αυτής της μετέωρης κατάστασης είναι ο μηχανισμός του στρες να βρίσκεται σε συνεχή ή συχνή κινητοποίηση, αναπτύσσοντας έντονες βιολογικές αντιδράσεις που μπορούν να οδηγήσουν σε χρόνια εξασθένιση σε ψυχολογικό και σωματικό επίπεδο. Η μεγαλύτερη ποσοστιαία αύξηση υπήρξε στα γαστρεντερολογικά προβλήματα με 27,7% και τις σεξουαλικές δυσλειτουργίες με 24,6%. Ακολουθούν οι ενδοκρινολογικές διαταραχές 18,5%, τα καρδιολογικά προβλήματα 15,4%, τα επανειλημμένα ατυχήματα 13,9%, η υπέρταση 12,3%, τα δερματολογικά 10,8% και οι στοματογναθικές δυσλειτουργίες 8%. Τα αυτοάνοσα εμφανίζουν την μικρότερη αύξηση ποσοστών με 3,1% στατιστικά σημαντική ωστόσο, ο διαβήτης μένει στατιστικά αμετάβλητος, ενώ οι αλλεργίες κατά δήλωση εμφανίζουν υποχώρηση σε στατιστικά σημαντικό ποσοστό 4,7%.

Η προσέγγιση στην ερμηνεία της επιδείνωσης της υγείας των καθηγητών σε διαθεσιμότητα γίνεται ως αποτέλεσμα του ψυχολογικού shock που προκάλεσε ο



αιφνιδιασμός τους και του χρόνου στρες που αποδεδειγμένα επιδρά σε σωματικό επίπεδο. Οι γυναίκες άνω των 45 με περισσότερα από 10 έτη υπηρεσίες παντρεμένες και απόφοιτοι Τ.Ε.Ι. παρουσιάζουν την μεγαλύτερη μεταβολή στη σωματική τους υγεία. Η επίδραση του παράγοντα φύλο είναι ερμηνεύσιμη, λαμβάνοντας υπόψη ότι σε περιβάλλον οικονομικής κρίσης η ανεργία των γυναικών εμφανίζεται ιδιαίτερα αυξημένη (Λύτρας & Σουλιώτης, 2004), (Buunk & Schaufeli, 1999), (Greenglass & Burke, 2000a). Εκτός από το ότι οι γυναίκες αποτελούν πιο ευάλωτα τμήματα του πληθυσμού στην ανεργία, εμφανίζονται και συναισθηματικά πιο εξουθενωμένες από την απώλεια της εκπαιδευτικής επαγγελματικής τους ταυτότητας. Διαπιστώνουμε ότι το μέτρο της διαθεσιμότητας πυροδότησε αλυσιδωτές αντιδράσεις ασύμμετρα μεγαλύτερες και πιο οδυνηρές από τον πληθυσμό στον οποίο απευθυνόταν και το σκοπό για τον οποίο έγινε. Οι διαθέσιμοι εκπαιδευτικοί βρέθηκαν στο χείλος των αλλαγών των εργασιακών συνθηκών, μπήκαν βίαια στο στρώμα του «πρεκαριάτου», βίωσαν τον κίνδυνο του επισφαλούς εργαζόμενου που κινδυνεύει κάθε στιγμή να χάσει τη θέση του, να εκπέσει και βρέθηκαν στο χείλος του αποκλεισμού και της φτώχειας (Greenglass & Burke, 1988). Η ψυχολογική και σωματική υγεία επηρεάζονται αρνητικά, η επαγγελματική εξουθένωση νοηματοδοτείται με όρους ηθικής παρενόχλησης από την Πολιτεία, αλλά ταυτόχρονα διαγράφονται διαδικασίες μετασχηματισμού σε νέες υποκειμενικότητες, ατομικές και συλλογικές. Στην έρευνά μας διερευνήσαμε αν εμφανίζονται συσχετίσεις και παράγοντες πρόβλεψης μεταξύ της κλίμακας Ψυχοπαθολογίας SCL-90 και της κλίμακας Επαγγελματικής Εξουθένωσης της Maslach.

**Η εκδήλωση ψυχοπαθολογίας μπορεί να προβλεφθεί από την αυξημένη επαγγελματική εξουθένωση.** Ο δείκτης ενόχλησης θετικών συμπτωμάτων (ΔΕΘΣ) που αποτελεί το μέτρο της έντασης της εκδηλωμένης συμπτωματολογίας συσχετίζεται με τις διαστάσεις της αποπροσωποποίησης (37%) της συναισθηματικής εξάντλησης και της προσωπικής επίτευξης του Ερωτηματολογίου της Maslach. Όταν ένας εργαζόμενος αισθάνεται ότι ο χώρος εργασίας του έχει αποτύχει να ανταποκριθεί στις υποχρεώσεις του, προκύπτει θυμός, οργή, δυσαρέσκεια και δυσπιστία. Όταν ο εργοδότης είναι το ίδιο το κράτος, η δυσπιστία και η οργή στρέφονται ενάντια σε θεσμικούς πυλώνες της αστικής δημοκρατίας και πλήττεται η δημοκρατική συνείδηση και η νηφάλια πολιτική σκέψη των δημοσίων υπαλλήλων που νιώθουν να απειλείται η ασφάλεια της εργασίας τους. Επένδυσαν σε μια ισόβια σχέση με τον κρατικό μηχανισμό, αισθάνονταν οργανικό κομμάτι του και αξίωναν την ανταποδοτικότητα του λειτουργημάτων τους με σταθερή και μόνιμη εργασία. Στο βαθμό που η ψυχολογική σύμβαση παραβιάζεται από αυτούς που θα έπρεπε να τους προστατέψουν, γιατί αυτούς υπηρετούσαν και υποστήριζαν (κρατικοί θεσμοί, υπουργείο Παιδείας, Δικαιοσύνη κλπ.) νιώθουν προδομένοι «σαν παιδί που κακοποιήθηκε από την οικογένειά του». Βιώνουν θυμό, κυνισμό και εχθρότητα. Ιδεολογικά ελλοχεύει ο κίνδυνος να διολισθήσουν σε ακραίες πολιτικές





θέσεις και να θυματοποιηθούν από δημαγωγούς. Ψυχολογικά ο θυμός και ο κυνισμός αντικατοπτρίζει μία από τις βασικές πτυχές της επαγγελματικής εξουθένωσης. Ταυτόχρονα, με την αμφισβήτηση του ρόλου τους ως εκπαιδευτικού διαρρηγνύεται ο συναισθηματικός δεσμός και η αφοσίωση που δομήθηκε με το παιδαγωγικό έργο από τα χρόνια των σπουδών τους και ισχυροποιούνταν όσο μεγάλωνε η εκπαιδευτική τους εμπειρία.

Η πορεία των μεταρρυθμίσεων προσδιορίστηκε από την ανάγκη γρήγορης δημοσιονομικής προσαρμογής και δεν καθόρισε στρατηγικά το στόχο μετάβασης σε ένα διαφορετικό τύπο Τεχνολογικού Λυκείου με εκπαιδευτικά κριτήρια. Το μέτρο της διαθεσιμότητας εκπαιδευτικών της δημόσιας εκπαίδευσης έθεσε επί τάπητος το ιδεολογικό και πολιτικό ζήτημα του διλήμματος ανάμεσα στις κοινωνικές υπηρεσίες και την ευρύτερη κοινωνική λειτουργία του κράτους που θεσμοθετήθηκε με κριτήριο την ανάγκη και την οικονομική ανάπτυξη που στοχεύει στη συσσώρευση κερδών η οποία όταν απειλείται από πτωτική τάση, όπως συμβαίνει σε περιόδους καπιταλιστικής κρίσης, οδηγεί σε ακύρωση των πολιτικά και θεσμικά κατοχυρωμένων μέτρων κοινωνικής προστασίας

Επειδή οι ανθρώπινες σχέσεις χρειάζονται την αμοιβαιότητα για να είναι δημιουργικές, οι εκπαιδευτικοί δεν μπορούν να επιτελέσουν το έργο τους αν δεν βιώνουν ένα βαθμό προσωπικής επίτευξης, αν δεν νιώθουν ότι είναι πολύτιμοι στη ζωή των μαθητών τους και απαραίτητοι στο κράτος – εργοδότη τους. Με τη διαθεσιμότητα αυτό καταστράφηκε. Ένωσαν απώλεια κινήτρων συναισθηματικής απεμπλοκής και στιγματισμό. Ο κυνισμός και η εχθρότητα που αναπτύσσεται στους εργαζόμενους είναι ανάλογος με την εργασιακή ανασφάλεια που βιώνουν, τον περιορισμό των θέσεων εργασίας, την υποβάθμιση των συνθηκών εργασίας και τις προβλεπόμενες επιπτώσεις από την αναδιάρθρωση που επιχειρείται. Αυτοί οι «θυμωμένοι» άνθρωποι που έχουν χάσει όχι μόνο θέσεις εργασίας αλλά και την αίσθηση της προσωπικής τους αξίας στρέφονται ενάντια στην όποια κυβέρνηση πιστεύοντας ότι έχει υπονομεύσει τη ζωή τους. Χρησιμοποιώντας μια εμπειρική ερμηνεία του κόσμου, ενισχυμένη από τα Μ.Μ.Ε., αναδεικνύουν σε βασικό εχθρό τους, την ίδια την πολιτική ζωή της χώρας τους και τους ιστορικά θεσμικούς φορείς της (κόμματα, συνδικάτα, κυβερνήσεις κλπ.) Μία ποιοτική διαφορά των διαθέσιμων εκπαιδευτικών είναι ότι πέρασε ανάμεσα από τις συμπληγάδες της ιδιώτευσης και του εκφασισμού, αυτοοργανώθηκε από τα μέσα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης και συμμαχώντας με συνδικάτα και πολιτικούς φορείς διεκδίκησε οργανωμένα πολιτική αλλαγή. Οι καθηγητές σε διαθεσιμότητα διένυσαν μια πορεία χειραφέτησης. Η άποψη ότι η πολιτική δεν έχει καμιά θέση στα σχολεία και ότι η εκπαίδευση είναι ουδέτερη και εξαντλείται στο να υποστηρίζει τους μαθητές στην απόκτηση γνώσεων και δεξιοτήτων τέθηκε υπό αμφισβήτηση. Παίρνοντας ώθηση από την ανάγκη να «πάρουν τη ζωή τους πίσω» πήραν τη ζωή στα χέρια τους. Βίωσαν μια πορεία αναστοχασμών και δράσεων με στόχο να μετασχηματίσουν τις υπάρχουσες δομές, σχέσεις και τρόπους επικοινωνίας. Έγιναν ακτιβιστές, συνδικαλιστές και πολιτικά υποκείμενα, κομμάτι της επικαιρότητας και της πολιτικής ζωής της χώρας. Βίωσαν



την ελευθερία δράσης αυτού που δεν έχει κάτι να χάσει και το δημοκρατικό ήθος αυτού που αναλαμβάνει την ευθύνη (Νικολακάκη, 2011). Διεκδίκησαν την αλληλεγγύη από τις υπόλοιπους εργαζόμενους και τους μαθητές τους και έστησαν δίκτυα αλληλοϋποστήριξης μεταξύ τους. Μελλοντικές έρευνες αξίζει να διερευνήσουν αν αυτές οι συλλογικότητες υπήρξαν ικανές να κινητοποιήσουν μια διαδικασία κριτικής συνειδητοποίησης που μπορεί να θέσει σε εφαρμογή μια σταθερή προσπάθεια εμπλοκής σε αγώνες προς αναζήτηση ενός δικαιότερου κόσμου.

Στη συγκριτική μελέτη μεταξύ «Διαθεσίμων» εκπαιδευτικών και Εκπαιδευτικών σε αναγκαστική μετάταξη σε θέσεις Διοικητικών υπαλλήλων όσον αφορά στην κλίμακα ψυχοπαθολογίας SCL-90 ούτε στον ΓΔΣ (Γενικό Δείκτη Συμπτωμάτων) ούτε στον ΔΕΘΣ (Δείκτη ενόχλησης από θετικά συμπτώματα) εμφανίζεται στατιστικά σημαντική διαφορά. Αυτό καταδεικνύει το γεγονός ότι, η απότομη και χωρίς τη συναίνεση του εργαζομένου, αλλαγή εργασιακή περιβάλλοντος είναι σε θέση να κινητοποιήσει την έναρξη ψυχοπαθολογίας αντίστοιχα με τους εργαζόμενους που αντιμετωπίζουν πιθανή απόλυση. Ο αριθμός των συμπτωμάτων και η ένταση με την οποία εμφανίζονται και στις δύο κατηγορίες μπορεί να προβλέψει την εμφάνιση του συνδρόμου της επαγγελματικής εξουθένωσης, η οποία καταγράφεται σε υψηλά επίπεδα και στις δύο κατηγορίες. **Οι αναλογίες στην επιδείνωση της σωματικής υγείας πριν και μετά τη διαθεσιμότητα και τη μετάταξη φαίνονται να διατηρούνται σε στατιστικό επίπεδο, επιβεβαιώνοντας ότι το εργασιακό στρες επιδεινώνει την ανθρώπινη υγεία, ανεξάρτητα από τον τρόπο με τον οποίο αυτό επιδρά.**

Συμπερασματικά θα λέγαμε ότι κάθε μεταρρυθμιστική προσπάθεια στο χώρο της εκπαίδευσης θα έχει μεγαλύτερη αποτελεσματικότητα αν δεν λειτουργεί αιφνιδιαστικά αλλά εξασφαλίζει με κάποιες προϋποθέσεις τη συναίνεση των εκπαιδευτικών. Η οριζόντια εφαρμογή δημιουργεί αρνητικές συνθήκες στην εξασφάλιση συναίνεσης και δημιουργεί πολλαπλασιαστικά επιζήμιες επιπτώσεις. Η διαδικασία των μετατάξεων κινδυνεύει να εκληφθεί ως ηθική παρενόχληση (με όλες τις αρνητικές επιπτώσεις) στο χώρο εργασίας (mobbing) και να προκαλέσει προβλήματα δυσλειτουργίας στις υπηρεσίες υποδοχής. Θα ήταν πιο αποτελεσματικό να τίθεται ως εθελούσια μετακίνηση με προϋποθέσεις και διαδικασία επιλογής ώστε ο εργαζόμενος να χρειαστεί να διεκδικήσει την μετακίνησή του με προοπτικές βελτίωσης των όρων ζωής και εργασίας του. Ταυτόχρονα οι υπηρεσίες υποδοχής θα πρέπει να προετοιμαστούν οργανωτικά για μια περίοδο προσαρμογής του νεοεισερχόμενου προσωπικού που αποτελείται από έμπειρους υπαλλήλους άλλου κλάδου. Αναδεικνύεται σήμερα όσο ποτέ άλλοτε σε εθνικό επίπεδο το έλλειμμα καταγραφής αναγκών, σχεδιασμού, παρακολούθησης και αξιολόγησης των επιμορφωτικών προγραμμάτων που θα συνοδεύουν τη διαδικασία μετάταξης (Μπαγάκης & Σκιά, 2015), (Μπαγάκης, 2015). Μελετώντας ιστορικά την εφαρμογή του μέτρου της διαθεσιμότητας διαπιστώνουμε ότι οι αντιδράσεις που προκάλεσε ήταν ασύμμετρα μεγαλύτερες από αυτό που εφαρμό-



στηκε τελικά. Το σημαντικότερο είναι η διαπίστωση πως η επαγγελματική ταυτότητα του εκπαιδευτικού είναι βαθιά ριζωμένη στις ψυχές και τη συνείδηση των ανθρώπων και η απώλειά της τους αρρωσταίνει. Οι διαθέσιμοι πέρασαν όλο το δρόμο από την απόγνωση στη συλλογική ευθύνη και η δικαίωσή τους αποτέλεσε μια ιστορική νίκη του ελληνικού εκπαιδευτικού κινήματος γιατί ήταν μια υπόθεση που όχι απλώς κερδήθηκε αλλά κερδήθηκε στο ακέραιο. Σ' ένα περιβάλλον βαθιάς οικονομικής κρίσης και με τις επισφαλείς εργασιακές σχέσεις να επεκτείνονται στο χώρο της εκπαίδευσης, η ιστορική νίκη των διαθεσίμων θα γίνει σημείο αναφοράς για τους μελλοντικούς εκπαιδευτικούς αγώνες.

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## Οι σταυροφόροι του νεοφιλελευθερισμού εφορμούν στην δημόσια εκπαίδευση: Έκθεση ΟΟΣΑ – Έκθεση ΣΕΒ - Πορίσματα εθνικού διαλόγου για την παιδεία (κυβέρνηση), μια αποκαλυπτική σύγκριση

Παπαποστόλου Ελένη  
δασκάλα στο 12<sup>ο</sup> Δ.Σ. Αθηνών

### Περίληψη

Το νεοφιλελεύθερο σχέδιο της εισαγωγής των μηχανισμών της αγοράς στην εκπαίδευση (αγοραιοποίηση) παγκοσμιοποιείται ολοένα και περισσότερο. Η διαδικασία εισαγωγής μιας τέτοιας μεταρρύθμισης προϋποθέτει μια προετοιμασία του εδάφους για την ένταξη των μηχανισμών της, δηλαδή την αποσυγκέντρωση (σχολική αυτονομία), την απελευθέρωση των εγγραφών από τα γεωγραφικά όρια, ταυτόχρονα με την αύξηση του κρατικού ελέγχου μέσω της προτυποποίησης μετρήσιμων στόχων και των μηχανισμών ελέγχου επίτευξής τους από τα σχολεία και τους εκπαιδευτικούς και τους μαθητές, τη μείωση της κρατικής χρηματοδότησης των σχολείων και τη σύνδεσή της με την αποτελεσματικότητα του σχολείου και των εκπαιδευτικών ώστε να δημιουργηθούν οι κατάλληλες συνθήκες που οδηγούν στην είσοδο της επιχειρηματική φιλανθρωπίας και των επιχειρηματικών αλυσίδων εκπαιδευτικών υπηρεσιών, ανοίγοντας έτσι μια νέα αγορά εξαιρετικά επικερδών επενδύσεων δημιουργώντας μια νέα ιεραρχική γραφειοκρατία ασφυκτικού ελέγχου. Η διαδικασία αυτή οδηγεί σε μεγάλη ένταση της ταξικής διαφοροποίησης στην εκπαίδευση με θύμα τα δημόσια σχολεία των φτωχών, εξυπηρετώντας τα σχέδια για φθηνή και ευέλικτη εκπαίδευση των πολλών που εργαλειοποιείται και αποστεώνεται σε ότι είναι μετρήσιμο, επικουρούμενη από την ιδεολογική και σωματική πειθαρχηση των μαθητών. Στην Ελλάδα το έδαφος έχει ήδη προετοιμαστεί και έχουν συντελεστεί σημαντικές προσπάθειες στην κατεύθυνση της νεοφιλελεύθερης μεταρρύθμισης, που αναδιπλώθηκαν λόγω της αντίστασης της εκπαιδευτικής κοινότητας σε αυτές. Η κυβέρνηση ΣΥΡΙΖΑ-ΑΝΕΛ, παρά τις διακηρύξεις της για ισότητα και δημοκρατία στην εκπαίδευση, έχει ήδη ξεκινήσει ένα νέο γύρο περικοπών στην εκπαίδευση και προετοιμάζεται για την νέα έφοδο της αγοραίας μεταρρύθμισης. Σε αυτό το συμπέρασμα μπορεί κανείς να καταλήξει μέσα από τη σύγκριση των προγραμματικών θέσεων ΣΕΒ, ΟΟΣΑ και κυβέρνησης, που εκφράζονται σε αντίστοιχα προγραμματικά κείμενα.

### Λέξεις κλειδιά

σχολική αυτονομία, ιδιωτικοποίηση, νεοφιλελευθερισμός, ΟΟΣΑ, ΣΕΒ, κυβέρνηση

### Εισαγωγή

Την άνοιξη του 2016, δημοσιεύτηκαν δύο κείμενα (Λιάκος Α., 2016, - Γαβρόγλου Κ., 2016) που εκθέτουν, επί της ουσίας, τις θέσεις της κυβέρνησης ΣΥΡΙΖΑ-ΑΝΕΛ για την εκπαίδευση, τα λεγόμενα αποτελέσματα του διαλόγου για την παιδεία. Στα κείμενα αυτά, κεντρική θέση έχει η θέση για την αυτονόμηση των σχολικών μονάδων από το υπουργείο παιδείας (δηλαδή από την κρατική καθοδήγηση, διοίκηση και χρηματοδότηση) και το «άνοιγμά» τους στις «τοπικές κοινωνίες» και την τοπική



αυτοδιοίκηση με ταυτόχρονη λογοδοσία με ένα σύστημα αυτοαξιολόγησης που θα υπόκειται όμως σε νόρμες, δείκτες και ποσοτικές αξιολογήσεις ορισμένες σε κεντρικό επίπεδο. Παράλληλα ομολογείται η ανάγκη για ακόμα μεγαλύτερη συμπίεση του αριθμού των εκπαιδευτικών.

Η φιλοσοφία αυτή δεν είναι καινούργια, ούτε στην Ελλάδα και πολύ περισσότερο στην Ευρώπη και διεθνώς, και όπου εφαρμόστηκε είχε σαν αποτέλεσμα τον εξανδραποδισμό και τη διάλυση της δημόσιας εκπαίδευσης πιο φτωχούς και ευάλωτους μαθητές. Η ίδια φιλοσοφία διέπει και τα κείμενα της μεταρρύθμισης του «Νέου Σχολείου» ενώ ομολογείται ότι είναι ευρωπαϊκή κατεύθυνση.

Η κυβέρνηση ΣΥΡΙΖΑ-ΑΝΕΛ παραγγέλλει, εν τω μεταξύ, στον ΟΟΣΑ μια νέα αξιολόγηση για την εκπαίδευση στην Ελλάδα (η προηγούμενη ήταν το 2011).

Τον Φλεβάρη του 2017 (7/2) ο Σύνδεσμος Βιομηχάνων Ελλάδας (ΣΕΒ) δημοσιεύει μια έκθεση για την εκπαίδευση στην Ελλάδα. Και στο κείμενο αυτό κεντρική θέση κατέχει η αυτονομία και η αποκέντρωση, η αυτοαξιολόγηση και η αξιολόγηση, καθώς και η σύνδεση με την «τοπική κοινωνία» αλλά και η χρηματοδότηση από την τοπική αυτοδιοίκηση. Προχωράει ακόμα περισσότερο θέτοντας το «γονεϊκό δικαίωμα» στην επιλογή σχολείου που συνδέεται με τη φιλοσοφία της αυτονομίας, βοηθώντας στην μετατροπή του γονιού σε πελάτη και του σχολείου σε μαγαζί.

Η εικόνα τώρα γίνεται πιο καθαρή: σχολεία επιχειρήσεις σε ανταγωνιστική μεταξύ τους βάση που υπόκεινται σε τυποποιημένους ποσοτικούς δείκτες αξιολόγησης και εξαρτώνται από τις χορηγίες και την κατ' επιλογήν χρηματοδότηση από την τοπική αυτοδιοίκηση.

Στις 12 Φλεβάρη, η εφημερίδα Αυγή δημοσιεύει κατ' αποκλειστικότητα πληροφορίες για το περιεχόμενο της νέας έκθεσης του ΟΟΣΑ με αποκαλυπτικό τίτλο «Σχολεία αυτόνομα με τους εκπαιδευτικούς «ηγέτες». Η ομοιότητα είναι ολοφάνερη. Η ίδια η έκθεση, παρότι δημοσιεύεται στα αγγλικά στον ιστότοπο του ΟΟΣΑ, δεν δίνεται στη δημοσιότητα σε μετάφραση στα ελληνικά. Στις πληροφορίες που δίνονται στο άρθρο γίνεται αναφορά στη εκπαιδευτική μεταρρύθμιση στη Χιλή και στη χρηματοδότηση μέσω κουπονιών. Δεν αναφέρεται βέβαια καθόλου στα ολέθρια αποτελέσματα αυτής της μεταρρύθμισης στη δημόσια εκπαίδευση των φτωχών, παρότι αυτή η πολιτική ακολουθήθηκε στο όνομα των φτωχών και αδύναμων και το ίδιο συστήνει και ο ΟΟΣΑ. Ούτε εδώ πρωτοτυπεί ο ΣΕΒ που στο ίδιο μόντο επικαλείται την «διάσωση» των πιο ευάλωτων μαθητών για να δικαιώσει τις θέσεις του. Αλλά και η κυβέρνηση συνεπικουρεί : «οι συνέπειες της κρίσης οδηγούν σε μια κοινωνική ανισότητα μέσα στο σχολείο. Για το λόγο αυτό χρειάζονται σωστικές ενέργειες με τη μορφή πρότυπων σχολείων σε επιλεγμένες φτωχές περιοχές όπου εμφανίζεται μια υπερ- συσσώρευση προβλημάτων.»

Παρακάτω θα εκτεθούν διεξοδικότερα οι ομοιότητες στις πολιτικές θέσεις ΟΟΣΑ, ΣΕΒ και κυβέρνησης για την εκπαίδευση, που δείχνουν ότι προετοιμάζεται μια νέα έφοδος του νεοφιλελευθερισμού με στόχο την αγοραιοποίηση και όχημα τη «σχολική αυτονομία». Πρώτα όμως θα εξεταστεί η «μηχανική» της νεοφιλελεύθερης απορρύθμισης της δημόσιας εκπαίδευσης, που οδηγεί στο



μοντέλο της αγοραίας εκπαίδευσης, ένα μοντέλο που με τη βοήθεια των υπερεθνικών οργανισμών παγκοσμιοποιείται ταχύτατα.

### **Η μηχανική του νεοφιλελεύθερου σχεδίου αγοραιοποίησης της εκπαίδευσης: Σχολική αυτονομία ταξική «ισότητα» και ρατσιστική πολυπολιτισμικότητα<sup>1</sup>**

#### *Η προετοιμασία*

- ο Οι θιασώτες και οι ταγοί της νεοφιλελεύθερης απορρύθμισης προετοιμάζουν κατ' αρχήν το έδαφος για την επέλαση της αγοράς. Η δημιουργία όρων αγοραίου ανταγωνισμού έχει ορισμένα «προαπαιτούμενα»:
- ο Η πολιτική της υποχρηματοδότησης των δημόσιων σχολείων είναι όρος για την επιβολή της ιδιωτικοποίησης μέσω των χορηγών. Στην Ελλάδα ξεκινά πριν από την κρίση χρέους του 2010 και τις μνημονιακές περικοπές (Κοτσυφάκης Θ. 2016). Η κρίση χρέους αποτέλεσε ευκαιρία για την επιβολή της αγοραιοποίησης της εκπαίδευσης (Verger et al., 2016).
- ο Συγχωνεύσεις και καταργήσεις σχολείων, για να επιτευχθούν οικονομίες κλίμακας αλλά και να δημιουργηθούν μεγάλες σχολικές μονάδες που προσομοιάζουν περισσότερο σε μια επιχείρηση.
- ο Προετοιμασία της κοινής γνώμης: διανοούμενοι-«ειδικοί», ΜΜΕ, συνέδρια, εκθέσεις διαφόρων υπερεθνικών οργανισμών και ενώσεων (ΟΟΣΑ, Παγκόσμια Τράπεζα, ΕΕ κ.λπ.) οι οποίοι/ες διαμορφώνουν τις προγραμματικές θέσεις της εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής, αλλά και εθνικές οργανώσεις και ενώσεις όπως ο ΣΕΒ.
- ο Ιδιαίτερο ρόλο διαδραματίζει ο διαγωνισμός PISA, τα αποτελέσματα του οποίου χρησιμοποιούνται κατά κόρον για την νεοφιλελεύθερη επέλαση. «Είναι, πλέον, υπόθεση ρουτίνας: Κυβερνήσεις χωρών κάθε φορά που σχεδιάζουν εκτεταμένες εκπαιδευτικές αλλαγές νεοφιλελεύθερου προσανατολισμού, καταφεύγουν στον ΟΟΣΑ και αναθέτουν την «εργολαβία» αξιολόγησης του εκπαιδευτικού τους συστήματος. Πληρώνουν, δηλαδή, τον ΟΟΣΑ, κυρίως, για να «αγοράζουν» πιο εύκολα την αποδοχή και νομιμοποίηση ειλημμένων, πολλές φορές, αποφάσεων. Συμπληρωματική προς αυτή τη δραστηριότητα είναι το PISA, οι τακτές (κάθε τρία χρόνια), δηλαδή, διεθνείς συγκριτικές «έρευνες αξιολόγησης» της επίδοσης σχολείων και μαθητών σε προεπιλεγμένους τομείς» (Μαυρογιώργος κ.ά. 2011).
- ο Κυβερνήσεις, πολιτικοί οργανισμοί, επιχειρηματικοί όμιλοι και φιλανθρωπικά ιδρύματα επιδίδονται σε *astroturfing*, δηλαδή χρηματοδοτούν την οργάνωση δήθεν αυθόρμητων κινήσεων που δημιουργούν την εντύπωση μαζικής υποστήριξης των θέσεων και των πολιτικών τους, ώστε να προωθήσουν τα οργανωμένα συμφέροντά. Στις ΗΠΑ δραστηριοποιούνται πολλές τέτοιες οργανώσεις για να προωθήσουν την αγοραία εκπαιδευτική μεταρρύθμιση -με πολυδαίδαλες μεταξύ τους σχέσεις - που πολεμούν λυσσαλέα όποιον αντιτίθεται

<sup>1</sup> Ο όρος «ρατσιστική πολυπολιτισμικότητα» αναφέρεται από τον Wayne Au (2016).



στις επιδιώξεις τους, όπως το SFER (Students For Education Reform) που έδρασε με λύσσα ενάντια στα συνδικάτα των εκπαιδευτικών και ιδιαίτερα κατά τη διάρκεια της απεργίας των εκπαιδευτικών στο Σικάγο το 2012 (Simonton, 2013). Στην χώρα μας ένα κακέκτυπο της SFER είναι η REN (Reform Education Now), μια ομάδα φοιτητών που συμμετείχε στον εθνικό διάλογο για την παιδεία καταθέτοντας μια συνολική πρόταση για την εκπαίδευση, η οποία, λίγο ως πολύ αποτελεί τις θέσεις της σημερινής κυβέρνησης ΣΥΡΙΖΑ-ΑΝΕΛ. Η πρόταση αυτή έτυχε μεγάλης προβολής (θετικής και αρνητικής) από τα ΜΜΕ (Παπαματθαίου, 2016).

Άλλο παράδειγμα τέτοιων κινήσεων είναι οι εκδηλώσεις που διοργανώνουν σε συνεργασία το Ελληνοαμερικανικό Κολλέγιο, η Ελληνοαμερικανική Ένωση και το ελληνικό τμήμα της Ένωσης Ευρωπαίων Δημοσιογράφων με τίτλο «Διάλογος για την Ανάπτυξη». Τρεις στις εννέα εκδηλώσεις έχουν θέμα τους την εκπαίδευση: «Παιδεία και ΜΜΕ ως εφιαλτήρια ανάπτυξης», «Συμμαχία για το Ελεύθερο Σχολείο», «Παιδεία Ελευθερίας, Κοινωνία Επιλογών». Στις εκδηλώσεις αυτές προωθούν την ιδέα της αυτονομίας της σχολικής μονάδας ως μια σωτήρια πολιτική για την παιδεία αλλά και την οικονομία ενώ παράλληλα «ευλογούν» τα πρότυπα-πειραματικά και τα ιδιωτικά σχολεία. Φυσικά, έχουν ιδιαίτερη προβολή στον τύπο.

ο Στοχοποιείται το ζωντανό στοιχείο της εκπαίδευσης, δηλαδή οι εκπαιδευτικοί και οι μαθητές, αφήνοντας στο απυρόβλητο όλους όσους ασκούν εκπαιδευτική πολιτική. Ο εκπαιδευτικός και ο μαθητής θεωρούνται υπεύθυνοι για τα «χάλια της εκπαίδευσης» δηλαδή την κατάσταση στην οποία βρίσκεται το εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα εξαιτίας της υποχρηματοδότησης και των πολιτικών των εκάστοτε κυβερνήσεων. (Saltman 2014, Apple, 2016), Στα ΜΜΕ, εκπαιδευτικοί και μαθητές χαρακτηρίζονται συλλήβδην με διάφορα κοσμητικά επίθετα όπως τεμπέληδες, αμόρφωτοι, κ.λπ. με στήριγμα εκθέσεις διαφόρων θεσμών και οργανισμών (Στούπας, 2013).

ο Ξεχωριστά στοχοποιείται ο συνδικαλισμός καθώς αποτελεί εμπόδιο στην ελαστικοποίηση των εργασιακών σχέσεων των εκπαιδευτικών και στις σκοπούμενες απολύσεις, στην επιλογή προσωπικού χωρίς ακαδημαϊκά προσόντα, στην υποβάθμιση της παιδαγωγικής του ελευθερίας αλλά και στην αύξηση των ταξικών φραγμών και την διεύρυνση της ταξικής διαφοροποίησης στη δημόσια εκπαίδευση.

ο Επιστρατεύονται τα ιδεολογήματα της αριστείας και της αξιοκρατίας σε αντιπαράθεση με την ισότητα, την αλληλεγγύη και τις αντισταθμιστικές πολιτικές. Εκκινούνται σταυροφορίες λανσάροντας σλόγκαν που έχουν τη θέση μιας «μεγάλης ιδέας» π.χ. No Child Left Behind, (ΗΠΑ), Σχολεία για τον 21ο αιώνα (ΕΕ), Πρώτα ο μαθητής (Ελλάδα). Συνηθέστατα, επικαλούνται τα μορφωτικά δικαιώματα των πιο ευάλωτων κοινωνικά και οικονομικά μαθητών (δηλαδή των μαθητών που ανήκουν στις λαϊκές τάξεις) ενώ ταυτόχρονα η ίδια η πολιτική τους καταστρέφει τα σχολεία τους και τους στερεί ακόμα περισσότερο τα μορφωτικά τους δικαιώματα.

Οι «ενδιαφερόμενοι» παίρνουν θέση: Διάφοροι τοπικοί «άρχοντες», οι επιχειρηματίες φιλάνθρωποι ή αλλιώς Χορηγοί- Επενδυτές και οι επιχειρήσεις που



δραστηριοποιούνται στο χώρο της εκπαίδευσης προετοιμάζονται για την εφόρμηση στο σώμα της δημόσιας εκπαίδευσης.

Και το παιχνίδι έχει ήδη αρχίσει!

### **Η μηχανική της απορρύθμισης:**

#### **Η αυτόνομη σχολική μονάδα ως αρωγός της επικερδούς επένδυσης**

Βασικό εργαλείο/γρανάζι της πολιτικής της απορρύθμισης της δημόσιας εκπαίδευσης προς όφελος των αγοραίων συμφερόντων αποτελεί η αυτονομία της σχολικής μονάδας.

Στόχος της όλης επιχείρησης είναι η πρόκληση ανταγωνισμού ανάμεσα στις σχολικές μονάδες, ανάμεσα στους μαθητές, ανάμεσα στους εκπαιδευτικούς, ανάμεσα στους γονείς, ώστε να δημιουργηθούν συνθήκες παρόμοιες με αυτές που επικρατούν στην αγορά. Οι υποστηρικτές του σχεδίου αυτού ισχυρίζονται ότι ο ανταγωνισμός αυτός βελτιώνει την «ποιότητα» της παρεχόμενης εκπαίδευσης. Στην πράξη, όμως, τα αποτελέσματα είναι μηδαμινά, ενώ το χάσμα ανάμεσα στις επιδόσεις των σχολείων αυξάνεται. Ανομολόγητος στόχος όμως είναι η άλωση της δημόσιας εκπαίδευσης και την αφαίμαξη της κρατικής χρηματοδότησης από τους επιχειρηματικούς ομίλους που αποκομίζουν τεράστια κέρδη, ενώ η μόρφωση των παιδιών των λαϊκών τάξεων καταστρέφεται μαζί με τα δημόσια σχολεία τους που αντικαθίστανται από αυτόνομα σχολεία που μοιάζουν περισσότερο με ιδρύματα πειθάρχησης.

#### **Αυτονομία της σχολικής μονάδας**

Το πρώτο βήμα της νεοφιλελεύθερης απορρύθμισης είναι η αποσυγκέντρωση του εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος και η μεταβίβαση πολλών αρμοδιοτήτων στην τοπική αυτοδιοίκηση ή και στην ίδια τη σχολική μονάδα. Αυτή είναι η λεγόμενη «αυτονόμηση» της σχολικής μονάδας από το κεντρικό κράτος. Είναι κεντρική πολιτική επιλογή για την επιβολή της αγοραιοποίησης.

Η αυτονομία συνίσταται στη διοικητική, την παιδαγωγική και την οικονομική αυτονομία.

#### **Διοικητική αυτονομία**

Δίνεται στη σχολική μονάδα η αρμοδιότητα της διοίκησης της σχολικής μονάδας. Τις περισσότερες αρμοδιότητες συγκεντρώνει ο διευθυντής της σχολικής μονάδας ο οποίος καλείται να παίξει ρόλο μάνατζερ. Συνδιοικεί το σχολείο με το σχολικό συμβούλιο στο οποίο έχουν αυξημένη εκπροσώπηση οι γονείς των μαθητών του σχολείου, στο οποίο επίσης συμμετέχουν μέλη της τοπικής αυτοδιοίκησης καθώς και τοπικοί παράγοντες (π.χ. επιχειρηματίες της περιοχής). Ο ρόλος του σχολικού μάνατζερ (σχολικού ηγέτη) αλλάζει: δεν είναι πια ένας εκπαιδευτικός σε θέση ηγεσίας αλλά ένας διαχειριστής της απόδοσης του οργανισμού που εστιάζει στα αποτελέσματα και στον οποίο «παρέχεται ευλυγισία και αυτονομία στη χρήση των





οικονομικών και ανθρώπινων πόρων» και αναμένεται να είναι δυναμικός, να διαμορφώνει οράματα και να αναλαμβάνει ρίσκα (Balls. & Youdell D., 2008).

Η διοίκηση του σχολείου, είτε ασκείται αποκλειστικά από το διευθυντή είτε από σχολικό συμβούλιο, μπορεί στα πλαίσια της αυτονομίας να έχει την αρμοδιότητα να αποφασίζει για την πρόσληψη και την απόλυση του προσωπικού αλλά και της διαδικασίας εισαγωγής και εγγραφής των μαθητών στο σχολείο (στα πλαίσια πάντα της κρατικής νομοθεσίας).

### **Οικονομική αυτονομία**

Η διοίκηση του σχολείου (διευθυντής ή και σχολικό συμβούλιο) έχει την αρμοδιότητα της διαχείρισης των οικονομικών του σχολείου. Καταρτίζει προϋπολογισμό και μεριμνά για την αντιμετώπιση των λειτουργικών εξόδων του σχολείου, μεριμνά για τη συντήρηση των υποδομών, την προμήθεια εκπαιδευτικού υλικού κ.λπ. Είναι ακόμα υπεύθυνη για τη χρηματοδότηση του σχολείου, δηλαδή, εφόσον δεν επαρκεί η κρατική χρηματοδότηση (μέσα από την πολιτική υποχρηματοδότησης) υποχρεούται να αναζητήσει πόρους για το σχολείο είτε από τους γονείς είτε από χορηγούς-επενδυτές. Μπορεί ακόμα να νοικιάζει τους χώρους του σχολείου για να αυξήσει τον προϋπολογισμό του, να κάνει έρευνα αγοράς για να ανιχνεύσει τις προτιμήσεις των γονιών-πελατών, να εκδώσει διαφημιστικά φυλλάδια για να προβάλλει το σχολείο (Μούτσιος, 2001).

### **Παιδαγωγική αυτονομία**

Ο διευθυντής σε συνεργασία με το εκπαιδευτικό προσωπικό αποκτούν τη δυνατότητα να διαφοροποιούν σε ένα ορισμένο βαθμό το πρόγραμμα σπουδών, δίνοντας έμφαση σε κάποια μαθήματα, εμπλουτίζοντάς το με δραστηριότητες, προγράμματα κλπ, ανάλογα με το τι πιστεύουν ότι είναι αναγκαίο για τους μαθητές τους.

Σύμφωνα με το δίκτυο Ευρυδίκη υπάρχουν τρία μοντέλα παιδαγωγικής αυτονομίας: Στο πρώτο μοντέλο η κεντρική ανώτατη αρχή καθορίζει το γενικό πλαίσιο με τα κύρια χαρακτηριστικά του προγράμματος το οποίο κατόπιν μελετούν και εξειδικεύουν οι τοπικές και περιφερειακές αρχές και οι εκπαιδευτικοί στα σχολεία τους. Στο δεύτερο μοντέλο είναι η κεντρική κυβέρνηση να ορίζει εκπαιδευτικούς στόχους (στοχοκεντρικό πρόγραμμα) που θα πρέπει να έχουν επιτευχθεί με την ολοκλήρωση των κύριων σταδίων της σχολικής εκπαίδευσης. Τέλος, στο τρίτο μοντέλο η κεντρική κυβέρνηση καθορίζει εθνικά προγράμματα σπουδών για κάποια γνωστικά αντικείμενα ενώ οι τοπικές και περιφερειακές αρχές και οι εκπαιδευτικοί στα σχολεία σχεδιάζουν και καταρτίζουν προγράμματα για άλλα γνωστικά αντικείμενα (Ευρυδίκη, 2015).

Και τα τρία αυτά μοντέλα καταλήγουν σε διαφοροποιημένα προγράμματα σπουδών ανάμεσα στα σχολεία κάτι που επιδιώκεται ώστε κάθε σχολείο ένα διακριτό παιδαγωγικό προφίλ ώστε να είναι δυνατός ο ανταγωνισμός με τα άλλα σχολεία



στην προσέλκυση μαθητών. Η δυνατότητα διαφοροποίησης, όμως, περιορίζεται σημαντικά από ένα σύνολο στόχων που πρέπει να επιτύχουν όλα τα σχολεία και με βάση αυτά αξιολογούνται (αυτονομία με κοινωνική λογοδοσία). Το κράτος δεν αποσύρεται από τον έλεγχο του μορφωτικού περιεχόμενου. Τουναντίον τον ενισχύει, θέτοντας πολύ στενά προσδιορισμένους στόχους και κριτήρια (προτυποποιημένα στάνταρντ ποιότητας). Η οργανωτική απορρύθμιση του σχολικού συστήματος συνδυάζεται με την αύξηση ή την επιβολή κεντρικού ελέγχου στις προτεραιότητες του αναλυτικού προγράμματος, σε πολλές περιπτώσεις σε πρωτόγνωρο βαθμό. Πρόκειται για ένα συνδυασμό συγκεντρωτικού-αποκεντρωτικού ελέγχου παρά για ένα «απορρυθμισμένο εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα» (Μούτσιος, 2001). Το κράτος ενισχύει τον ιδεολογικό έλεγχο του πάνω στην εκπαίδευση ενώ δίνει διαχειριστική αυτονομία, θέτοντας στόχους και κριτήρια, αξιολογώντας την επίτευξή τους και μετατρέποντας την αξιολόγηση αυτή σε εμπορική αξία που μπορεί η σχολική μονάδα να ανταλλάξει με χρηματοδότηση, εφόσον καταφέρει μέσω της αξιολόγησης αυτής να προσελκύει μαθητές. Όπως παραδέχεται και η έρευνα του δικτύου Ευρυδίκη, «η στενή παρακολούθηση των μηχανισμών καταμερισμού εξουσιών που καθιερώθηκε στην πλειονότητα των χωρών δεν έχει αποκαλύψει άμεση σχέση μεταξύ των ευρύτερων ευθυνών των εκπαιδευτικών και της ελευθερίας τους να δράσουν.... Η δραστηριότητά τους καθοδηγείται ολοένα και περισσότερο από νέα πλαίσια...» ενώ «...νέες μορφές εξωτερικής τυποποιημένης αξιολόγησης που όλο και περισσότερο χρησιμοποιούνται σε μεγάλους μαθητικούς πληθυσμούς, επιχειρούν να επιβάλουν ένα δεύτερο γύρο αξιολόγησης σε συνάρτηση με την αξιολόγηση που εκτελούν οι εκπαιδευτικοί» και «το μοντέλο της παραδοσιακής αξιολόγησης[των εκπαιδευτικών] δίνει ολοένα και περισσότερο τη θέση τους στις εξωτερικές αξιολογήσεις...» (Ευρυδίκη, 2015).

Η παιδαγωγική αυτονομία περιορίζεται ακόμα από την υποχρηματοδότηση των σχολείων. Τα σχολεία οδηγούνται σε οικονομική ασφυξία και σέρνονται στα πόδια της επιχειρηματικής φιλανθρωπίας, η οποία με τη δύναμη του χρήματος που διαθέτει μπορεί να επιβάλλει τις δικές της πολιτικές, τα δικά της προγράμματα και τους δικούς της στόχους προκειμένου να χρηματοδοτήσει το σχολείο. Στις ΗΠΑ, όπου το μοντέλο της επιχειρηματικής φιλανθρωπίας γνωρίζει μεγάλη ανάπτυξη, τα μεγάλα φιλανθρωπικά ιδρύματα χρησιμοποιούν τις επιχορηγήσεις τους σαν μοχλούς διαμόρφωσης πολιτικών: δίνουν τα χρήματα σε εκείνους τους δωρεοδόχους οι οποίοι συμφωνούν να υιοθετήσουν τις πολιτικές του ιδρύματος. Οι πολιτείες και οι σχολικές περιφέρειες που στερούνται χρηματοδοτικών πόρων αισθάνονται αναγκασμένες να αποδέχονται τις παχυλές χορηγίες, ακόμη και όταν συνοδεύονται από πολλές δεσμεύσεις ή ακόμα κι όταν θεωρούν ασύνετες τις πολιτικές που τις συνοδεύουν. Συχνά βρίσκονται σε απελπιστική κατάσταση (Barkan, 2013).

Επιπλέον, στο βαθμό που οι γονείς παίζουν ρόλο στη χρηματοδότηση του σχολείου (είτε μέσω δωρεών είτε μέσω κουπονιών είτε μέσω της κεντρικής χρηματοδότησης



ανά μαθητή), μπορούν και να διαμορφώνουν το παιδαγωγικό προφίλ του σχολείου, συρρικνώνοντας ενίοτε το περιεχόμενο του σχολικού προγράμματος στα επιθυμητά από αυτούς μαθήματα.

**Η σχολική αυτονομία όχι μόνο δεν ταυτίζεται με την παιδαγωγική αυτονομία του εκπαιδευτικού αλλά – τελικά – συγκρούεται με τη δεύτερη, συρρικνώνοντάς την όσο το δυνατόν περισσότερο.** Όσο κι αν φαίνεται περίεργο, μέσα στο ιεραρχικό γραφειοκρατικό σύστημα της εκπαίδευσης μπορεί ο εκπαιδευτικός να έχει περισσότερη αυτονομία όσο δεν ελέγχονται τα αποτελέσματα της διδασκαλίας του αλλά η διαδικασία (αν δηλαδή, εφαρμόζει το ενιαίο πρόγραμμα σπουδών και όχι αν επιτυγχάνουν οι μαθητές του προτυποποιημένους μετρήσιμους στόχους). Ο έλεγχος από το κράτος, τους υπερεθνικούς οργανισμούς και τους επιχειρηματικούς (ενίοτε πολυεθνικούς) ομίλους γίνεται ασφυκτικός μέσα από τον διαρκή εκβιασμό της υποχρηματοδότησης του σχολείου και της απώλειας της εργασίας του εκπαιδευτικού. Όπως δείχνουν οι έρευνες, τελικά, οι εκπαιδευτικές πολιτικές της αγοράς και ιδιαίτερα η ολοκλήρωσή τους με την δημιουργία τραστ, ευνοεί εξίσου αν όχι περισσότερο την ομοιομορφία και την τυποποίηση στο περιεχόμενο και τη διαδικασία της διδασκαλίας, ενώ η καινοτομία που ευαγγελίζονταν οι υποστηρικτές των οιονεί εκπαιδευτικών αγορών βρίσκεται μόνο στην οργάνωση, τη διοίκηση και τη διαφήμιση του εκπαιδευτικού τους «προϊόντος» και όχι σε αυτό το ίδιο το προϊόν, δηλαδή την εκπαιδευτική διαδικασία μέσα στη σχολική τάξη. Ακόμα, η διαφοροποίηση ανάμεσα στα σχολεία τείνει να είναι ιεραρχική, αφού έχει να κάνει με διαφοροποίηση του μαθητικού πληθυσμού που ορίζει ταξικές και κοινωνικές διακρίσεις. Τα αυτόνομα σχολεία κάθε άλλο παρά χρησιμοποιούν την «ελευθερία» που τους δίνεται για να βρουν παιδαγωγικούς τρόπους να μορφώσουν τους μαθητές τους. Αντιθέτως, όπως συμβαίνει και στην αγορά, αντί να καθορίζει ο καταναλωτής το παραγόμενο προϊόν με βάση τις ανάγκες του είναι ο παραγωγός ή ο προμηθευτής που επιλέγει τον καταναλωτή. Αυτό για τα σχολεία σημαίνει ότι, αντί να προσαρμόσουν το πρόγραμμά τους με βάση τις ανάγκες των μαθητών τους, επιλέγουν τους μαθητές τους (Lubienski, 2009).

Έτσι, η φερόμενη ως «παιδαγωγική αυτονομία της σχολικής μονάδας» ως κεντρικός μοχλός της ιδιωτικοποίησης της εκπαίδευσης έρχεται σε αντίθεση με την παιδαγωγική αυτονομία του εκπαιδευτικού και λειτουργεί εις βάρος των πιο ευάλωτων μαθητών, εντείνοντας και αναπαράγοντας τις ταξικές διακρίσεις μέσα από το εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα και μεγαλώνοντας το χάσμα.

### **Ο ρόλος του διευθυντή**

Ο διευθυντής αποκτά έναν πολύ πιο διευρυμένο ρόλο. Σύμφωνα με τον ΟΟΣΑ η «εκπαιδευτική ηγεσία» σε πολλές χώρες ορίζεται όλο και περισσότερο με όρους οικονομικής διαχείρισης αλλά και διαχείρισης ανθρώπινων πόρων. Πρέπει να μπορούν να διαχειρίζονται στοιχεία και να καθοδηγούν τους εκπαιδευτικούς καθώς αυτό είναι σημαντικό για τη καλύτερευση του σχολείου, δηλαδή την άνοδο των επιδόσεων σε τεστ και την αλλαγή της σχολικής κουλτούρας. Ακόμα, οι τέσσερις



βασικότερες αρμοδιότητες της εκπαιδευτικής ηγεσίας που κάνουν τη διαφορά στην απόδοση του σχολείου είναι να αξιολογεί τον εκπαιδευτικό και έτσι να αναπτύσσει την ποιότητά του, να ορίζει στόχους και να αποτιμά την επίτευξή τους, να διαχειρίζεται ανθρώπινους και οικονομικούς πόρους και να συνεργάζεται με άλλα σχολεία(ΟΟΣΑ, 2017). Για να το πούμε πιο απλά, στο αμιγώς αυτόνομο σχολείο, ο διευθυντής γίνεται το αφεντικό του σχολείου με αρμοδιότητες πρόσληψης και απόλυσης<sup>2</sup>, αξιολόγησης και διαχείρισης προσωπικού καθώς και αξιοποίησης της χρηματοδότησης του σχολείου, αλλά και προσέλκυσης εγγραφών (δηλαδή πελατών), είναι υπεύθυνος για τις δημόσιες σχέσεις του σχολείου και την προσέλκυση χορηγών. Η ομοιότητά του με τον CEO μιας επιχείρησης είναι ολοφάνερη.

### **Ο ρόλος των εκπαιδευτικών**

Οι εκπαιδευτικοί, από την άλλη, εκτός από την διαφοροποίηση του προγράμματος είναι υπεύθυνοι για την επίτευξη των στόχων που τίθενται από το κεντρικό κράτος και από τη διοίκηση του σχολείου σε ότι αφορά τις επιδόσεις των μαθητών και επίσης είναι υπεύθυνοι για την αξιολόγηση των μαθητών (ενδοσχολικά). Αξιολογούνται από τους διευθυντές αλλά αξιολογούνται επίσης και από τις επιδόσεις των μαθητών τους σε πανεθνικά τεστ. Μπορεί ακόμα να αξιολογούνται από συναδέλφους τους (ετεροαξιολόγηση) αλλά και από εξωτερικούς αξιολογητές στα πλαίσια της αξιολόγησης της σχολικής μονάδας. Έμμεσα ή άμεσα αξιολογούνται και από τους γονείς και τους μαθητές στη διαδικασία αυτοαξιολόγησης, σύμφωνα με το δίκτυο Ευρυδίκη: «16 συστήματα απαιτούν τη συμμετοχή ενός ευρύτατου φάσματος ενδιαφερομένων μερών, συμπεριλαμβανομένων των μαθητών ή/και των γονιών, ενώ επτά απαιτούν μόνο τη συμμετοχή του σχολικού προσωπικού. Στην δεύτερη περίπτωση, η συμμετοχή κι άλλων ενδιαφερομένων μπορεί να ενθαρρύνεται ούτως ή άλλως.» (Ευρυδίκη, 2015).

Ο διευθυντής μαζί με τους εκπαιδευτικούς έχουν, επιπλέον την υποχρέωση να κάνουν αυτοαξιολόγηση του σχολείου τους με βάση προτυποποιημένους ποσοτικούς και μετρήσιμους στόχους/ δείκτες για όλες τις λειτουργίες και τις ανάγκες του σχολείου: υποδομές, υλικά, καθαριότητα, παιδαγωγικό κλίμα, συνεργασία, συμπεριφορά μαθητών, επιδόσεις μαθητών, καινοτόμα προγράμματα, χρηματοδότηση κ.λπ.

### **Ο ρόλος των μαθητών**

Οι μαθητές, εργάτες αλλά και πελάτες της εκπαίδευσης, αξιολογούνται από τους καθηγητές και από τα πανεθνικά τεστ, ενώ η εγγραφή τους σε ένα σχολείο σημαίνει

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<sup>2</sup> Σε κάποια συστήματα όπου δίνεται μικρότερη αυτονομία στα σχολεία, οι αρμοδιότητες πρόσληψης και απόλυσης προσωπικού ανήκουν σε σχολικά συμβούλια με τη συμμετοχή της τοπικής αυτοδιοίκησης και των γονέων ή στο κεντρικό κράτος.



και την εισροή χρημάτων σε αυτό. Από την άλλη όμως, η αξιολόγησή τους επηρεάζει σημαντικά την αξιολόγηση του σχολείου αλλά και την αξιολόγηση των εκπαιδευτικών. Έτσι, παρότι μπορεί φαινομενικά να χαλαρώνουν οι διαδικασίες εγγραφής και να έχουν το δικαίωμα επιλογής σχολείου, αυτό περιορίζεται (ή και ακυρώνεται) εάν έχουν κακές επιδόσεις στα τεστ (ή θεωρείται ότι μπορεί να έχουν κακές επιδόσεις στα πανεθνικά τεστ) που μπορεί να οφείλονται στο μορφωτικό τους κεφάλαιο ή επειδή οι μαθητές προέρχονται από εθνικές ή φυλετικές μειονότητες, ή από φτωχά λαϊκά στρώματα ή εμφανίζουν μαθησιακές δυσκολίες ή αναπηρία. Έτσι, τελικά, αντί να επιλέγουν, στην πραγματικότητα επιλέγονται, είτε με τυπικές είτε με άτυπες διαδικασίες επιλογής ή απόρριψης. Σε μερικές χώρες δίνεται νόμιμα η δυνατότητα στα σχολεία να επιλέγουν τους μαθητές τους ή να αρνούνται την εγγραφή τους εάν θεωρούν ότι απειλείται ο χαρακτήρας του σχολείου τους ενώ σε άλλες περιπτώσεις χρησιμοποιούν πολιτικές αποδοχής μαθητών που αποκλείουν ή αποθαρρύνουν μαθητές που είναι πιο δύσκολο να εκπαιδευθούν (Lubienski, 2009).

### Προτυποποίηση στόχων και πανεθνικά τεστ

Το αυτόνομο σχολείο ελέγχεται από το κεντρικό κράτος για την αποδοτικότητά του. Για να επιτευχθεί αυτό, πρέπει οπωσδήποτε το κεντρικό κράτος να θεσπίσει α) προτυποποιημένους μετρήσιμους δείκτες ποιότητας για την αυτοαξιολόγηση και την εξωτερική αξιολόγηση των σχολείων και των εκπαιδευτικών και β) στοχοκεντρικό ενιαίο πρόγραμμα σπουδών με τυποποιημένους ποσοτικούς και μετρήσιμους δείκτες για ορισμένα μαθήματα μόνο και γ) πανεθνικά τυποποιημένα τεστ για την αξιολόγηση των μαθητών (και έμμεσα των σχολείων και των εκπαιδευτικών) στα οποία οι μαθητές θα εξετάζονται στα μαθήματα για τα οποία έχουν οριστεί οι τυποποιημένοι και μετρήσιμοι δείκτες.

Με την αξιολόγηση των σχολείων με βάση τις επιδόσεις των μαθητών στα πανεθνικά τεστ, το κράτος αποποιείται την ευθύνη του για το εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα και καθιστά υπεύθυνους μαθητές, εκπαιδευτικούς και γονείς για όλες, σχεδόν, τις παραμέτρους που επιδρούν στην εκπαιδευτική διαδικασία, όπως η κοινωνική προέλευση, η οικονομική και κοινωνική κατάσταση της οικογένειας, το μορφωτικό κεφάλαιο που φέρει ο μαθητής, η υλικοτεχνική υποδομή του σχολείου, οι ιδιαίτερες ανάγκες των μαθητών, η επάρκεια σε προσωπικό, η χρηματοδότηση όλων των αναγκών. Ο εκπαιδευτικός, ο μαθητής και οι γονείς του αποτελούν τους μόνους υπεύθυνους για την επιτυχία ή την αποτυχία, εν τέλει, του κάθε σχολείου και του κάθε μαθητή ξεχωριστά.

Οι έννοιες της αξιοκρατίας και η αριστείας (που συνηθέστατα αποτελούν επιχειρήματα υπέρ των διάφορων διαδικασιών αξιολόγησης και βεβαίως, και των πανεθνικών τεστ) δομούνται πάνω στον εξής συλλογισμό : ο νεοφιλελεύθερος άνθρωπος είναι κατ' ουσίαν ελεύθερος από τους περιορισμούς των κοινωνικών, οικονομικών, ιστορικών, θεσμικών και πολιτισμικών δομών. Μπορεί ελεύθερα να ανταγωνίζεται ως άτομο τα άλλα ελεύθερα άτομα και ο πιο εργατικός, ο πιο





γνωστικός, ο πιο ενάρετος θα επιτύχει. Για τον νεοφιλελεύθερο άνθρωπο, ο ρατσισμός και οι άλλες μορφές της συστημικής δύναμης που βρίσκονται έξω από την αγορά θεωρούνται απαρχαιωμένες και ανύπαρκτες, αυτό που μετράει για την επιτυχία είναι η ατομική θέληση, αποφασιστικότητα, θυσία και σκληρή δουλειά. Επομένως η αποτυχία ενός ανθρώπου ή μιας ομάδας ανθρώπων οφείλεται στην από μέρους τους έλλειψη προσπάθειας και σκληρής δουλειάς. Η αξιοκρατία και η αριστεία, όμως, προϋποθέτουν την αποτυχία κάποιων στο όνομα της επιτυχίας κάποιων άλλων. Άρα δεν μπορεί να είναι όλοι άριστοι και επομένως κάποιοι μαθητές θα μείνουν πίσω στην κούρσα παρά τις αντίθετες διακηρύξεις.

Ο εξανδραποδισμός του δημόσιου σχολείου στις εκπαιδευτικές αγορές προωθείται στο όνομα των πιο αδύναμων. Η αξιοκρατική αξιολόγηση των μαθητών με βάση τις επιδόσεις σε πανεθνικά τυποποιημένα διαγωνίσματα λογίζεται ότι δίνει ίσες ευκαιρίες σε όλους τους μαθητές ανεξάρτητα από φύλλο, φυλή, εθνική καταγωγή, κοινωνική του, οικονομική τάξη. Ακριβώς όμως επειδή αγνοούνται επί του όλου αυτά ως παράγοντες που επιδρούν στην επιτυχία ή την αποτυχία, η αξιοκρατική αξιολόγηση μέσω των πανεθνικών εξετάσεων είναι ένα ταξικό-ρατσιστικό σχέδιο αφού οδηγεί μαθηματικά στην αποτυχία τους πιο ευάλωτους μαθητές και στη συνέχεια τα σχολεία στα οποία φοιτούν καθώς δεν αντέχουν στον ανταγωνισμό της ανταποδοτικότητας στραγγαλίζονται οικονομικά και υποβαθμίζονται ακόμα περισσότερο ή κλείνουν.

Τα βελτιωμένα αποτελέσματα στα τεστ αυτά μπορεί να έχουν περισσότερη σχέση με την ειδική προετοιμασία για την αντιμετώπιση των εξετάσεων παρά με τη μάθηση. Στις ΗΠΑ, εκπαιδευτικοί και διευθυντές αναφέρουν ότι η κεντρική διοίκηση τους συμβουλεύει να επικεντρώνουν τις προσπάθειές τους στους μαθητές που βρίσκονται λίγο κάτω από το όριο της βαθμολογίας που χρειάζονται για να περάσουν τα τεστ, αφήνοντας στην άκρη και αυτούς που είναι πολύ πάνω από αυτό το όριο αλλά και όσους δεν έχουν καμία ελπίδα να το φτάσουν. Ανάλογες πρακτικές εφαρμόζονται και στη Μ. Βρετανία. Το εξετασιοκεντρικό σύστημα εξουσιάζει περισσότερο, όπως είναι φυσικό, τα σχολεία με τις χαμηλότερες επιδόσεις. Όσο παρωθούνται τα σχολεία από τις πολιτικές της αγοραιοποίησης να δώσουν υπερβολική έμφαση στα προτυποποιημένα τεστ και τις βασικές δεξιότητες (σε αντίθεση με την εντατική προσπάθεια να αναπτύξουν παιδαγωγικές πιο επικεντρωμένες στη σκέψη που προκαλούν τη νόηση) μεγαλώνουν οι μορφωτικές ανισότητες, καθώς το αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα στενεύει και οι εργασίες δεν οξύνουν τη σκέψη (Lipman, 2006).

Μελέτες έχουν δείξει ότι, στις ΗΠΑ, οι εκπαιδευτικοί κάτω από την πίεση του συστήματος αξιολόγησης χρησιμοποιούν πιο δασκαλοκεντρικές μεθόδους διδασκαλίας ώστε να καλύψουν την εξεταζόμενη ύλη. Καθώς «το σύστημα αξιολόγησης έχει σαν αποτέλεσμα να συγκεντρώνει την αποτυχία στα σχολεία όπου πλειοψηφούν οι ευάλωτοι μαθητές», (φτωχοί, έγχρωμοι, μετανάστες) η συρρίκνωση του σχολικού προγράμματος στην εργαλειακή γνώση και η συμπίεση της παιδαγωγικής σε ότι είναι «χρήσιμο», δηλαδή σε ότι εξετάζεται και κατά



συνέπεια σε ότι είναι μετρήσιμο, καθώς και οι τυποποιημένες ανούσιες δασκαλοκεντρικές διδασκαλίες που προετοιμάζουν για τις εξετάσεις είναι πιο συχνό φαινόμενο σε αυτά τα σχολεία. Ακόμα, τα διαπολιτισμικά προγράμματα και οι νοηματοδοτημένες παιδαγωγικές και μέθοδοι διδασκαλίας που λειτουργούν καλύτερα σε αυτούς τους «δύσκολους» μαθητές και τις κοινότητές τους, βγαίνουν επίσης έξω από το σχολικό πρόγραμμα. Συνεπώς, «σαν αποτέλεσμα των πανεθνικών εξετάσεων, οι φτωχοί έγχρωμοι μαθητές στις ΗΠΑ υπόκεινται σε μια σημαντικά διαφορετική εκπαιδευτική εμπειρία από ότι οι αντίστοιχοι λευκότεροι και πιο εύποροι μαθητές που έχουν πολύ περισσότερες πιθανότητες να τύχουν μιας πιο πλούσιας σε περιεχόμενο και πιο ελκυστικής εκπαίδευσης. Έτσι, ο νεοφιλελευθερισμός, προπαγανδίζει ως εξισωτικό και πολυπολιτισμικό ένα καθαρά ρατσιστικό-ταξικό σχέδιο». Στο όνομα της ισότητας στην εκπαίδευση, «η φυλή, η ταξική καταγωγή και η κουλτούρα στην διδασκαλία και τη μάθηση εξορκίζονται στην επίσημα καθιερωμένη, α-φυλετική, αταξική, «σωστή» γνώση και παιδαγωγική, όπως αυτή ορίζεται από τα τεστ». Δηλαδή, αναστρέφεται η πραγματικότητα: διαγράφονται από τα αίτια της σχολικής αποτυχίας οι παράγοντες αυτοί, αφού οι νεοφιλελεύθεροι διατείνονται ότι η γνώση που περιέχεται στις εξετάσεις αυτές είναι αντικειμενική και ουδέτερη και επομένως μόνο το σθένος και η προσπάθεια του μαθητή σε συνδυασμό με την προσπάθεια και την επάρκεια του εκπαιδευτικού αρκούν για την επιτυχία στις εξετάσεις. Για τον νεοφιλελευθερισμό ο αντι-ρατσισμός περιορίζεται στη μη-αναφορά στη φυλή – καθώς η φυλή δεν έχει σε τίποτα να κάνει με την αξιολογημένη από τα τεστ γνώση και μάθηση. Από την άλλη πρέπει να μην αποδέχεται ότι ο ρατσισμός ενυπάρχει στο σύστημα καθώς η «αντικειμενικότητα» των εξετάσεων αποκλείει μια τέτοια πιθανότητα» (Au, 2015).

### **Ο ρόλος των γονιών – η γονεϊκή επιλογή ως γρανάζι του ανταγωνισμού**

Η σχολική αυτονομία είναι απαραίτητη για να μπορεί να λειτουργήσει η γονεϊκή επιλογή σαν μοχλός ανακίνησης του ανταγωνισμού ανάμεσα στις σχολικές μονάδες με τρόπο που να χρηματοδοτήσει τους γονείς. Η αυτονομία της σχολικής μονάδας δεν είναι τίποτε άλλο από την απέραντη μοναξιά ενός υποχρηματοδοτημένου σχολείου της γειτονιάς που παραπαίει μέσα στο ξερό τοπίο της αγοράς και είναι η ίδια υπεύθυνη για την εξεύρεση πόρων. Για να επιβιώσει πρέπει πάση θυσία να προσελκύσει την προτίμηση των γονέων-μαθητών πελατών που θα φέρουν και την χρηματοδότησή της. Όσο περισσότεροι μαθητές, τόσο μεγαλύτερη η χρηματοδότηση. Για να δημιουργηθεί το τοπίο αυτό του ανταγωνισμού απαιτούνται τρεις βασικές αλλαγές (απορρυθμίσεις): δυνατότητα επιλογής σχολείου από το γονιό ή και ελευθερία του σχολείου να επιλέξει τους μαθητές του, η κρατική χρηματοδότηση να δίνεται είτε μέσω των γονιών-μαθητών πελατών με τα λεγόμενα κουπόνια (Voucher) είτε να είναι σε μεγάλο βαθμό ανάλογη των εγγεγραμμένων μαθητών, να υπάρχει διαφοροποίηση ανάμεσα στις αυτόνομες σχολικές μονάδες με σχολεία πολλών τύπων και με διαφοροποίηση του προφίλ του κάθε σχολείου μέσα από την αυτονομία. Ακόμα, είναι σημαντική η δημόσια ανάρτηση των αποτελεσμάτων των



αξιολογήσεων (εσωτερικών και εξωτερικών) ώστε να αποτελούν κριτήρια επιλογής σχολείου για τους γονείς. Η διαφοροποίηση των σχολικών μονάδων δεν αποτελεί απλά μια ποικιλία προσφερόμενων υπηρεσιών: μέσα από τις διαδικασίες εσωτερικής και εξωτερικής αξιολόγησης αλλά και τις προτιμήσεις των γονιών, γίνεται κατηγοριοποίηση, δημιουργώντας έτσι ένα αγοραίου τύπου ανταγωνιστικό περιβάλλον.

Η ελευθερία επιλογής σχολείου συγκινεί ιδιαίτερα πολλούς γονείς, που σήμερα μπορεί να αισθάνονται εγκλωβισμένοι σε ένα σχολείο της γειτονιάς που θεωρούν ότι δεν είναι ικανοποιητικό για το παιδί τους. Όμως, μπορεί τελικά η ίδια η ελευθερία επιλογής να στραφεί εναντίον του παιδιού τους, ιδιαίτερα αν ανήκει σε μια ευάλωτη μαθητική ομάδα (μαθητές με ειδικές εκπαιδευτικές ανάγκες, φτωχοί μαθητές, μετανάστες κ.λπ.).

Σύμφωνα με εμπειρική έρευνα που έγινε σε πειραματικό δημοτικό σχολείο, όπου οι εγγραφές είναι ελεύθερες, επιβεβαιώνεται ότι η επιλογή σχολείου από τους γονείς συνιστά στρατηγική αναπαραγωγής κοινωνικών προνομίων. Τα σχολεία αυτά συγκεντρώνουν μαθητικό πληθυσμό που προέρχεται από τη μεσαία τάξη και έχουν υψηλό μορφωτικό κεφάλαιο καθώς οι γονείς της εργατικής τάξης αυτοαποκλείονται από αυτά με την κατάλληλη «συμβουλευτική» (Λάκκα, 2016).

Το φαινόμενο «frogpond effect» δείχνει ότι το μορφωτικό κεφάλαιο και η κοινωνικοοικονομική κατάσταση της οικογένειας παραμένουν καθοριστικοί παράγοντες για τις επιδόσεις ενός μαθητή και όχι το ανταγωνιστικό περιβάλλον μιας ομάδας μαθητών με υψηλό μορφωτικό κεφάλαιο και επιδόσεις, που είναι πολύ πιθανό να τον επηρεάσει αρνητικά (Θεριανός & Φωτόπουλος, 2011).

Συνεπώς ο επιχειρήμα ότι τα «πρότυπα-πειραματικά σχολεία είναι τα καλά σχολεία των φτωχών» είναι έωλο. Αντιθέτως, τα διεθνή στοιχεία δείχνουν ότι τα σχολεία που έχουν διαδικασίες επιλογής των μαθητών τους προσελκύουν μαθητές με ανώτερες ικανότητες αλλά και κοινωνικοοικονομικό στάτους, ανεξάρτητα από την εκπαιδευτική ποιότητα των σχολείων. Με δεδομένο ότι οι μαθητές που διαθέτουν υψηλές ικανότητες μπορεί να αυξήσουν την προτίμηση των άλλων γονέων για το σχολείο αυτό και ακόμα ότι το να τους μορφώσει κανείς κοστίζει λιγότερο, ο έλεγχος της εισαγωγής των μαθητών αποτελεί ένα για το σχολείο ένα ανταγωνιστικό πλεονέκτημα (Boeskens, 2016). Έτσι, τα σχολεία ωθούνται σε πρακτικές επιλογής των μαθητών τους, με αποτέλεσμα την όλο και μεγαλύτερο ταξικό διαχωρισμό και ταξική διαφοροποίηση των σχολείων.

Οι πολιτικές που ακολουθούν τα ίδια τα σχολεία, προκειμένου να αποκλείσουν μαθητές οι οποίοι τους είναι ανεπιθύμητοι, μπορεί να είναι ρητές και νόμιμες (π.χ. εξετάσεις επιλογής όπως στα πρότυπα και τα πάλαι ποτέ πρότυπα πειραματικά ή τα grammar schools στη Μ. Βρετανία ή σε ιδιωτικά σχολεία) ή άτυπες και έμμεσες όταν είναι απαγορευμένες από το νόμο οι πρώτες (όπως στα charter schools στις ΗΠΑ, ή στα ιδιωτικά που δέχονται μαθητές με κουπόνια ή και στα δικά μας πειραματικά σχολεία) (Simon, 2013 και Freedberg, 2016).



Η ελευθερία επιλογής σχολείου ευνοεί τους προνομιούχους έναντι των μη προνομιούχων, διαμορφώνοντας έτσι μεγαλύτερες ανισότητες και ταξικά διαχωρισμένα σχολεία: «τα στοιχεία δείχνουν ότι οι γονείς δεν είναι πάντα ικανοί να παίρνουν τις απαραίτητες πληροφορίες για να κάνουν τις βέλτιστες εκπαιδευτικές επιλογές για τα παιδιά τους. Επίσης, οι γονείς δεν βασίζονται απαραίτητα στις αποφάσεις τους στα ακαδημαϊκά χαρακτηριστικά [των σχολείων] αλλά κυρίως σε άλλους παράγοντες, όπως η εγγύτητα [στη διεύθυνση κατοικίας], κατά πόσον η κοινωνικοοικονομική σύνθεση [των μαθητών] του σχολείου είναι ομότιμη με τη δική τους, τις εγκαταστάσεις του σχολείου κ.λπ. Κατά συνέπεια, τα σχολεία γίνονται όλο και περισσότερο διαχωρισμένα και οι εμπειρογνώμονες κατέθεσαν στοιχεία αποχώρησης ντόπιων ή λευκών από ορισμένα σχολεία. Οι μειονεκτούντες γονείς και οι μαθητές, των οποίων οι προσδοκίες είναι χαμηλότερες, που δεν έχουν πρόσβαση στο σωστό τύπο πληροφοριών και των οποίων οι γνώσεις σχετικά με τον τρόπο αξιοποίησης των σύνθετων μηχανισμών επιλογής σχολείων είναι περιορισμένες, απομονώνονται περαιτέρω»(Musset, 2012).

### Ο ρόλος της (υπο)χρηματοδότησης

Η χρηματοδότηση δίνεται στη σχολική μονάδα με ανταποδοτικό τρόπο, ανάλογα με τις εγγραφές που έχει. Εφόσον οι γονείς υποτίθεται ότι επιλέγουν το καλύτερο κάθε φορά σχολείο, το καλύτερο σχολείο παίρνει και την μεγαλύτερη επιχορήγηση, είτε μέσω των ίδιων των γονιών που φέρνουν τα κουπόνια τους με την εγγραφή των παιδιών τους στο σχολείο, είτε με ένα σύστημα χρηματοδότησης που βασίζεται στον αριθμό των εγγραφών κάθε σχολείου. Τα τελευταία χρόνια στα σχολεία που βρίσκονται σε υποβαθμισμένες περιοχές και έχουν μεγάλο αριθμό ευάλωτων μαθητών η χρηματοδότηση θεωρείται ότι πρέπει να είναι αυξημένη αλλά πρέπει επίσης να είναι ανταποδοτική (OECD, 2017): τα σχολεία πρέπει να ανεβάζουν τις αποδόσεις των μαθητών τους, αγνοώντας τους κοινωνικούς παράγοντες που μπορεί να επηρεάζουν την επίδοση των μαθητών αυτών

Η κρατική χρηματοδότηση, καθώς είναι μειωμένη, δεν επαρκεί ακόμα και για τα σχολεία με την καλύτερη αξιολόγηση. Έτσι, η αυτόνομη σχολική μονάδα υποχρεώνεται να προσελκύσει χορηγίες της επιχειρηματικής φιλανθρωπίας (γεγονός για το οποίο θα αξιολογείται θετικά). Όμως, οι σχολικές μονάδες οι οποίες θα βρίσκονται κάτω από την προστασία αλλά και την κυριαρχία των μεγάλων ιδρυμάτων θα έχουν περισσότερη χρηματοδότηση και άρα θα μπορούν να είναι ανταγωνιστικότερες στην παροχή εκπαιδευτικών υπηρεσιών. Σιγά-σιγά υποχρεώνονται όλο και περισσότερα σχολεία να υποταχθούν στους οργανισμούς διαχείρισης σχολείων που διαπλέκονται με τα μεγάλα φιλανθρωπικά ιδρύματα και την επιχειρηματική φιλανθρωπία καθώς και με τη παγκόσμια εκπαιδευτική βιομηχανία (Vergeretal. 2017) ώστε να μπορέσουν να επιβιώσουν, ή, διαφορετικά, αναγκάζονται να κλείσουν.



### Ο ρόλος του κεντρικού κράτους

Το κράτος κρατά για τον εαυτό του έναν επιτελικό ρόλο στα πλαίσια του νέου δημόσιου μάνατζμεντ. Είναι αρμόδιο να θέτει το πλαίσιο, τους στόχους, τα τυποποιημένα στάνταρντ και να εποπτεύει τις διαδικασίες αξιολόγησης ιδρύοντας και χρηματοδοτώντας διάφορες ανεξάρτητες αρχές και ινστιτούτα και να χορηγεί βασική χρηματοδότηση των σχολείων ανάλογα με την αποδοτικότητά τους.

### Ο ρόλος της αξιολόγησης

Ο ρόλος της αξιολόγησης είναι κομβικότατος στην αγοραιοποίηση της εκπαίδευσης. Αξιολογούνται οι μαθητές, οι εκπαιδευτικοί, οι διευθυντές και οι σχολικές μονάδες συνολικά. Αξιολογούνται εσωτερικά (αυτοαξιολόγηση) και εξωτερικά.

#### Η εσωτερική αξιολόγηση

Στην εσωτερική αξιολόγηση της σχολικής μονάδας (καθ'ημάς αυτοαξιολόγηση) παίρνουν μέρος ο διευθυντής και το προσωπικό του σχολείου σε όλες τις περιπτώσεις και σε κάποιες περιπτώσεις οι γονείς, οι μαθητές και τοπικοί παράγοντες. Ακόμα και όταν οι νόμοι δεν ορίζουν τη συμμετοχή των γονιών, μαθητών και τοπικών παραγόντων στην αξιολόγηση συχνά τα σχολεία ωθούνται να τους συμπεριλαμβάνουν με κάποιους τρόπους στην αυτοαξιολόγηση των σχολικών μονάδων. Η αυτοαξιολόγηση όπως τη γνωρίσαμε στην προσπάθεια εφαρμογής της στην Ελλάδα γίνεται πάνω σε προτυποποιημένους και ποσοτικοποιημένους δείκτες που αφορούν όλες τις λειτουργίες της σχολικής μονάδας. Οι εκθέσεις αυτοαξιολόγησης που συντάσσουν τα σχολεία αναρτώνται δημόσια στο διαδίκτυο ώστε να αποτελέσουν κριτήριο επιλογής σχολείου για τους γονείς.

Αν και στην τελευταία του έκθεση (OECD, 2017) ο ΟΟΣΑ διατείνεται ότι η αυτοαξιολόγηση χρειάζεται για την εμπέδωση κουλτούρας αξιολόγησης στα σχολεία, η αυτοαξιολόγηση δεν αφορά μόνο αυτό. Είναι η ενοχοποίηση των δασκάλων, των μαθητών και των γονιών για την εκπαιδευτική πολιτική που ασκείται από άλλους (την κυβέρνηση και τους πλουτοκράτες) αλλά και η χρησιμοποίηση αυτής της ενοχοποίησης για την ηθική νομιμοποίηση της ταξικής διαφοροποίησης/κατηγοριοποίησης των σχολείων.

Με τον ίδιο τρόπο που η σχολική αυτονομία είναι η αποποίηση της ευθύνης της πολιτείας για τη χρηματοδότηση της παιδείας, η αυτοαξιολόγηση της αυτόνομης σχολικής μονάδας δεν είναι τίποτε άλλο από την αυτονόμηση-αποποίηση ευθύνης της πολιτείας για την εκπαιδευτική πολιτική που ακολουθεί (ή που δεν ακολουθεί) και τα αποτελέσματα που αυτή έχει για την ολόκληρη την κοινωνία και το σύνολο των πολιτών της. Όπως η νεοφιλελεύθερη ιδεολογία καθιστά αποκλειστικά υπεύθυνο τον μαθητή για την ατομική επιτυχία ή την ατομική αποτυχία του, αγνοώντας τις κοινωνικοοικονομικές συνθήκες, το φύλο, τη ράτσα, τη φυλή που, εν πολλοίς, μέσα σε ένα ιδιαίτερα ταξικό-ρατσιστικό πλαίσιο διαμορφώνουν εντελώς διαφορετικές αφετηρίες για τους διαφορετικούς μαθητές, έτσι, αφού μετατρέψει το σχολείο της γειτονιάς σε αυτόνομη σχολική μονάδα - «σχολικό άτομο»- το





καθιστά αποκλειστικά υπεύθυνο για την επιτυχία ή την αποτυχία των μαθητών του ως σύνολο-άτομο (όχι ως συλλογικότητα) και κατά συνέπεια και του ίδιου ως «σχολικό άτομο», αγνοώντας τις κοινωνικοοικονομικές συνθήκες της περιοχής, της γειτονιάς, της κοινωνικής, εθνικής και φυλετικής σύνθεσης των μαθητών, που διαμορφώνουν σε ένα ταξικό-ρατσιστικό περιβάλλον τελείως διαφορετικές αφετηρίες εκκίνησης για τα διαφορετικά σχολεία.

Η αυτοαξιολόγηση της αυτόνομης σχολικής μονάδας είναι βασικός πυλώνας της διαφοροποίησης που απαιτείται για να υπάρχει ανταγωνισμός. Για να μπορεί να σταθεί ως παράγοντας διαφοροποίησης, σύγκρισης και ανταγωνισμού, θα πρέπει να υπάρχουν κοινά «πρότυπα». Έτσι λοιπόν δεν είναι ούτε ελεύθερη, ούτε συντάσσεται με βάση τις ανάγκες και τις προτιμήσεις των εκπαιδευτικών. Υπόκειται σε στενά ορισμένους προτυποποιημένους δείκτες ποιότητας που πρέπει να απαντώνται και μάλιστα αριθμητικά, να δημοσιοποιούνται και να συγκρίνονται. Αυτό όμως συρρικνώνει εξαιρετικά έως και εξαλείφει οτιδήποτε θετικό θα μπορούσε να υπάρχει σε μια διαδικασία άλλου είδους που θα αναφερόταν και θα αφορούσε αποκλειστικά τη σχολική κοινότητα ως μια διαδικασία προγραμματισμού-απολογισμού με τη συμμετοχή όλων των ενδιαφερόμενων ώστε να βελτιώνεται συνεχώς το έργο του σχολείου προς όφελος όλων των μαθητών και της σχολικής κοινότητας γενικά. Αντίθετα, η περιώνυμη αυτοαξιολόγηση απευθύνεται στην οιονεί εκπαιδευτική αγορά συμβάλλοντας στη δημιουργία των απαραίτητων συνθηκών ανταγωνισμού.

#### Η εξωτερική αξιολόγηση

Η αυτοαξιολόγηση της σχολικής μονάδας συνοδεύεται πάντα από την εξωτερική αξιολόγηση των σχολείων και την ατομική αξιολόγηση των εκπαιδευτικών με βάση τους προτυποποιημένους δείκτες. Η δημοσίευση των εκθέσεων εσωτερικής και εξωτερικής αξιολόγησης σε συνδυασμό με την (μικρότερη ή μεγαλύτερη) ελευθερία επιλογής σχολείου από τους γονείς εγκαθιδρύουν το σύστημα αγοραίου ανταγωνισμού ανάμεσα στα σχολεία.

Σημαντικό ρόλο στην εξωτερική αξιολόγηση των σχολείων και των εκπαιδευτικών παίζει η αξιολόγηση των μαθητών στα πανεθνικά τεστ (στις ΗΠΑ οι μαθητές υποχρεούνται να πάρουν μέρος σε αυτά τα τεστ από την Τρίτη δημοτικού – 8 με 9 χρονών δηλαδή).

Ακόμα και αν οι χαμηλές επιδόσεις δεν μεταφράζονται άμεσα σε τιμωρητικά μέτρα για τους μαθητές, τους εκπαιδευτικούς και τα σχολεία, οι μηχανισμοί της αγοράς επιβάλουν την «τιμωρία». Τα «καλά» σχολεία, που επιτυγχάνουν καλές επιδόσεις σε όλες τις αξιολογήσεις και απολαμβάνουν καλή φήμη ανάμεσα στους γονείς, έχουν πολλές εγγραφές και μεγάλη χρηματοδότηση και επομένως προσελκύουν τους καλύτερους εκπαιδευτικούς, είτε με καλύτερους μισθούς, είτε επειδή και οι εκπαιδευτικοί θα έχουν καλύτερη αξιολόγηση, εφόσον αξιολογούνται με βάση τις επιδόσεις των μαθητών τους. Έτσι, επενδύουν όλο και περισσότερα χρήματα στην προσέλκυση νέων πελατών (μαθητών/γονιών) αλλά και, χρησιμοποιώντας είτε νόμιμες είτε άτυπες μορφές επιλογής μαθητών να



εγγράφουν όλο και πιο «καλούς» μαθητές και έτσι να έχουν όλο και καλύτερα αποτελέσματα, όλο και περισσότερες εγγραφές, όλο και μεγαλύτερη χρηματοδότηση. Αντίθετα, τα σχολεία με χαμηλές επιδόσεις στις αξιολογήσεις μπαίνουν σε ένα αντίστροφο (προς τα κάτω) σπирάλ «θανάτου», με δραματικές επιπτώσεις για τους εκπαιδευτικούς αλλά και τους μαθητές των σχολείων αυτών.

#### Οι εταιρείες διοικητικής υποστήριξης σχολείων

Είναι εταιρείες που παρέχουν υπηρεσίες διαχείρισης σχολείων δηλαδή διοικητική, οικονομική και παιδαγωγική υποστήριξη του αυτόνομου σχολείου, μιας και η προσομοίωσή του με επιχείρηση καθιστά το έργο του μέσα όλο και πιο σύνθετο και πολυδαίδαλο.

Οι εταιρείες διοικητικής υποστήριξης σχολείων επί της ουσίας οικειοποιούνται τις σχολικές μονάδες που εποπτεύουν: κατέχουν τα κτήρια στα οποία στεγάζεται το σχολείο αλλά και κάθε άλλο μέσο το οποίο χρειάζεται για να λειτουργήσει το σχολείο: στην πράξη, η διεύθυνση του σχολείου δεν μπορεί να αλλάξει εταιρεία υποστήριξης! (Bryant, 2016).

Συν τω χρόνω οι εταιρείες αυτές γιγαντώνονται δημιουργώντας τραστές εποπτευόμενων σχολείων (M.A.T. - multi-academy trusts στην Μ. Βρετανία και CMOs- Charter school Management Organizations ή EMOs –Education Management Organizations ή Vendor Operated Schools στις ΗΠΑ) και, ενώ το κράτος αποσυγκεντρώνεται, μια νέα γραφειοκρατία αναδύεται μέσα από αυτούς τους οργανισμούς. Οι κραυγές των νεοφιλελεύθερων για απελευθέρωση της εκπαίδευσης από την κρατική «τυραννία» (Λεωνίδας Φοίβος-Κόσκος, 2015, 2016) συσκοτίζουν την ενίσχυση του ασφυκτικού ελέγχου του κράτους πάνω στην εκπαίδευση με τη βοήθεια των οργανισμών αυτών. Καθώς στο «νέο δημόσιο μάνατζμεντ» απολιπαίνονται οι ενδιάμεσες δομές της διακυβέρνησης, οι οργανισμοί «συμβάλλουν στη δημιουργία νέων κλιμακωτών ιεραρχιών και υποδομών λογοδοσίας που εδραιώνει μορφές κρατικής εξουσίας» ανακατασκευάζοντας αυτές τις ενδιάμεσες δομές έτσι ώστε το βλέμμα της εξουσίας να επιτηρεί πολύ πιο αποτελεσματικά και να καθοδηγεί πολύ στενότερα τα σχολεία από ότι πριν (Wilkins, 2017).

Ακόμη, επιβάλλουν ομοιομορφία στο πρόγραμμα και στις μεθόδους διδασκαλίας στραγγαλίζοντας κάθε ελευθερία για ανάπτυξη καινοτόμων εκπαιδευτικών ιδεών και δράσεων. Οι μόνες καινοτομίες είναι στην οργάνωση, τη διοίκηση και ιδιαίτερα στη διαφήμιση, φτάνοντας μάλιστα στην ακρότητα σε ένα σχολείο, οι εκπαιδευτικοί, για να διαφημίσουν το σχολείο τους, να κάνουν skydiving αλλά και στις μεθόδους αποκλεισμού μαθητών (Lubienski, 2009).

Κάποιες από αυτές τις εταιρείες διοικητικής υποστήριξης σχολείων αναλαμβάνουν σχολεία των λαϊκών τάξεων στα οποία επιβάλλουν μια κουλτούρα ελέγχου και πειθαρχίας του μυαλού αλλά του ίδιου του σώματος των μαθητών. Οι πρακτικές φτάνουν μέχρι την διαμόρφωση ολόκληρου του σχολείου στα πρότυπα της φυλακής και του στρατού (Saltman, 2014).



Ακόμη, αποφεύγουν να προσλαμβάνουν εκπαιδευτικούς που γραμμένοι σε συνδικάτα και προκειμένου να ρίξουν το κόστος για ορισμένα σχολεία, προσλαμβάνουν και εκπαιδευτικούς που δεν έχουν τα απαιτούμενα ακαδημαϊκά προσόντα, τους οποίους καταρτίζουν με σύντομα σεμινάρια.

### **Η βιομηχανία εκπαιδευτικών πόρων – Outsourcing εκπαιδευτικών υπηρεσιών.**

Αναπτύσσεται ακόμα η βιομηχανία εκπαιδευτικών πόρων και υπηρεσιών που παρέχει υπηρεσίες και προϊόντα στα σχολεία όπως η συντήρηση και η τροφοδοσία, το λογισμικό των τεχνολογιών των πληροφοριών, η δικτύωση και η τεχνική υποστήριξη, η μισθοδοσία και η διαχείριση ανθρώπινων πόρων, υποστήριξη αξιολόγησης και ελέγχου απόδοσης, επαγγελματική ανάπτυξη των εκπαιδευτικών, σχολική επιθεώρηση, εξεύρεση και επιλογή προσωπικού (εκπαιδευτικών), υλικά του αναλυτικού προγράμματος όπως σενάρια διδασκαλίας ή τεστ, διδακτικό λογισμικό για διαδραστικούς πίνακες μέχρι και παροχή υπηρεσιών για το σχεδιασμό και την κατάρτιση εθνικών αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων.

Οι εταιρείες που δραστηριοποιούνται στη βιομηχανία εκπαιδευτικών πόρων και υπηρεσιών, καθώς και οι αλυσίδες υποστήριξης σχολείων διαπλέκονται μεταξύ τους και με τα μεγάλα φιλανθρωπικά ιδρύματα και διεθνοποιούνται: συγχωνεύονται και εξαγοράζονται μεταξύ τους και διεισδύουν στην αναδυόμενη εκπαιδευτική αγορά άλλων χωρών, ιδιαίτερα στον αναπτυσσόμενο κόσμο (Ball & Youdel, 2006: 29,41) (Verger et al., 2017).

### **Ο ρόλος των μεγάλων φιλανθρωπικών ιδρυμάτων (επιχειρηματική φιλανθρωπία).**

Οι πλουτοκράτες με όπλο την τεράστια οικονομική τους δύναμη χρησιμοποιούν τα ιδρύματά τους για να ασκούν εκπαιδευτική πολιτική. Χρηματοδοτούν έρευνες και προγράμματα τα οποία εκπονούν τα ίδια με ερευνητές και επιστήμονες δικής τους επιλογής, προεξοφλώντας έτσι τα επιθυμητά αποτελέσματα και τις επιθυμητές κατά συνέπεια πολιτικές που συστήνονται. Κατόπιν, οι πλουτοκράτες παρεμβαίνουν χορηγώντας τις ανάγκες των δημόσιων σχολείων θέτοντας την προϋπόθεση να εφαρμόσουν τις πολιτικές τους και τα προγράμματά τους. Με τον τρόπο αυτό ελέγχουν την εκπαίδευση, αποκομίζοντας παράλληλα μεγάλα κέρδη: Τα προγράμματα και οι πολιτικές των φιλανθρώπων οδηγούν τα δημόσια σχολεία σε κατανάλωση προϊόντων και υπηρεσιών της επιλογής των φιλανθρώπων (που συνήθως είναι μέτοχοι) εις τρόπον ώστε να ωφελούνται πολύ περισσότερο οι, παίρνοντας πίσω όχι μόνο το κεφάλαιο το οποίο «επένδυσαν» στην φιλανθρωπία αλλά και την λιγοστή κρατική χρηματοδότηση του δημόσιου σχολείου το οποίο «δωρεοδοτούν» (Barkan, 2013).



### Ελλάδα: Οι σταυροφόροι του σχολείου της αγοράς εφφορούν στη δημόσια εκπαίδευση

Στη χώρα μας, έχουν περισσότερο από δέκα χρόνια που έχουν ξεκινήσει οι προσπάθειες για την είσοδο των αγορών στην υποχρεωτική δημόσια εκπαίδευση. Η μεταρρύθμιση του «Νέου Σχολείου» αποτελεί την πρώτη συγκροτημένη προσπάθεια αγοραιοποίησης της υποχρεωτικής δημόσιας εκπαίδευσης. Ανάμεσα στα άλλα, δημιουργεί δίκτυο «αυτόνομων» σχολείων με ελεύθερες εγγραφές (που όμως περιορίζονται αργότερα από εισαγωγικές εξετάσεις) και τα οποία απευθύνονται στο κοινό της μεσαίας τάξης: πρόκειται για τα πρότυπα πειραματικά σχολεία (ΠΠΣ) Διακηρυγμένος στόχος των εμπνευστών της μεταρρύθμισης είναι η επέκταση του δικτύου αυτών των σχολείων. Θεσπίζεται, ακόμη, η αυτοαξιολόγηση και η εξωτερική αξιολόγηση των σχολικών μονάδων και των εκπαιδευτικών καθώς και οι ποιοτικοί και μετρήσιμοι δείκτες αλλά και οι ανάλογοι υποστηρικτικοί θεσμοί (ΑΔΙΠΔΕ, ΙΕΠ). Θεσμοθετείται μια διαδικασία πανεθνικών εξετάσεων με τράπεζα θεμάτων (τύπου πανελλαδικών) στην πρώτη και στη δεύτερα λυκείου.)

Οι πολιτικές αυτές συνάντησαν μεγάλη αντίδραση από εκπαιδευτικούς αλλά και από μαθητές. Παρότι δεν κατάφεραν να αποτρέψουν τις συγχωνεύσεις και καταργήσεις σχολείων (που έγιναν σε δύο κύματα) τις περιόρισαν.<sup>3</sup> Η υποχρηματοδότηση όμως συνεχίστηκε και εντάθηκε, ιδιαίτερα σε ότι αφορά τα λειτουργικά έξοδα των σχολείων, αφού ακόμα και η μειωμένη χρηματοδότηση της εκπαίδευσης διοχετεύθηκε κυρίως σε επιτροπές που είχαν αναλάβει την εφαρμογή της μεταρρύθμισης. Οι πανεθνικές εξετάσεις με την τράπεζα θεμάτων, παρόλη τη δυσφορία των μαθητών και την ακόμα μεγαλύτερη αφαιμάξη των γονιών καθώς έπρεπε να πληρώσουν φροντιστήρια για δύο επιπλέον χρόνια, εφαρμόστηκε στην πράξη δείχνοντας τις συνέπειες μιας τέτοιας πολιτικής σε ότι αφορά την αύξηση της σχολικής αποτυχίας εξαιτίας της έλλειψης διδακτικού χρόνου ώστε να εμπεδωθούν οι νέες γνώσεις αλλά και τη συρρίκνωση της διδακτικής πράξης σε ότι είναι χρήσιμο για τις εξετάσεις. Καταργήθηκε από την κυβέρνηση ΣΥΡΙΖΑ αλλά στα προγραμματικά κείμενα, στις δηλώσεις του υπουργού παιδείας, καθώς και στελεχών του κόμματος γίνεται φανερό η πρόθεση επαναφοράς πανεθνικών εξετάσεων με στόχο, μάλιστα, την αξιολόγηση των εκπαιδευτικών. (alfavita.gr , 2016)

Ακόμα, Τα ΠΠΣ διαχωρίστηκαν σε πρότυπα και πειραματικά, καταργώντας έτσι τις εξετάσεις στα δεύτερα και αλλάζοντας ορισμένες διατάξεις που σχετίζονταν με το εργασιακό καθεστώς των εκπαιδευτικών. Όμως, το βασικό νομοθετικό πλαίσιο λειτουργίας των ΠΠΣ δεν άλλαξε. Άλλωστε οι εξετάσεις εισαγωγής για τις οποίες έγινε η μεγάλη φασαρία, ήταν μια νομοθετική αλλαγή από την κυβέρνηση της ΝΔ, δεν προβλεπόταν εξ' αρχής. Η δημόσια συζήτηση όμως άφησε απ' έξω το στην

<sup>3</sup> Και στη Γαλλία το 2011 έγιναν μεγάλες κινητοποιήσεις από γονείς και εκπαιδευτικούς ενάντια στις περικοπές τάξεων και θέσεων εκπαιδευτικών. Συνεπώς, δεν ήταν απόρροια της δημοσιονομικής στενότητας λόγω κρίσης χρέους οι πολιτικές αυτές αλλά αφορούν κεντρική πολιτική της ΕΕ.



ουσία της λειτουργίας των σχολείων αυτών: Τα ΠΠΣ (και αργότερα πρότυπα ή πειραματικά) έχουν σε μεγάλο βαθμό τα χαρακτηριστικά της αυτόνομης σχολικής μονάδας όπως ορίζονται στη νεοφιλελεύθερη μεταρρύθμιση (Βάλαρη, 2016). Γι' αυτό άλλωστε θεωρούνται πρότυπα αυτονομίας από τους θιασώτες της νεοφιλελεύθερης απορρύθμισης (Κόσκος, 2016).

Μια ακόμα σημαντική πλευρά της μεταρρύθμισης του Νέου Σχολείου, η αυτοαξιολόγηση της σχολικής μονάδας καθώς και η εξωτερική αξιολόγηση των σχολείων και των εκπαιδευτικών, σκόνταψαν πάνω στη μεγάλη αντίσταση των εκπαιδευτικών, αποσαρθρώθηκαν και προσωρινά εγκαταλείφθηκαν. Όμως, παρέμεινε όλο το νομοθετικό πλαίσιο ως είχε, με δυνατότητα να ενεργοποιηθεί ανά πάσα στιγμή.

Η κυβέρνηση ΣΥΡΙΖΑ-ΑΝΕΛ, παρότι αναγκάστηκε να αναδιπλώσει τη μεταρρύθμιση εξαιτίας των αντιδράσεων που υπήρξαν από την εκπαιδευτική κοινότητα προεκλογικά, πολύ γρήγορα επανέφερε τα κρίσιμα αυτά ζητήματα σε μια δήθεν-διαπραγματέυση: αναφέρομαι στον «Εθνικό Διάλογο για την Παιδεία» - έναν προσχηματικό, βεβαίως, διάλογο υπονομευμένο από τις μνημονιακές δεσμεύσεις. Ταυτόχρονα, η υποχρηματοδότηση και οι περικοπές σε προσωπικό συνεχίστηκαν και συνεχίζονται με κάθε τρόπο. Η αυτοαξιολόγηση και η αξιολόγηση, η τράπεζα θεμάτων, η επέκταση των πειραματικών σχολείων (έστω και χωρίς την «πρότυπη» ιδιότητά τους), η προτυποποίηση, αλλά και με πολύ σαφή και έντονο τρόπο η αυτονομία της σχολικής μονάδας σφραγίζουν τα προγραμματικά κείμενα αλλά και τις δηλώσεις και συνεντεύξεις του Λιάκου και του Γαβρόγλου. Η εφαρμογή του Ενιαίου Ολοήμερου Σχολείου από τον κ. Φίλη που περιέκοψε ώρες του ωρολόγιο πρόγραμμα για να εξοικονομήσει προσωπικό, ενώ επέβαλε όρους για τη συμμετοχή των μαθητών στο ολοήμερο πρόγραμμα. Ακόμα, εισήγαγε τα voucher στους βρεφονηπιακούς σταθμούς δηλαδή έναν από τους πιο επιθετικούς τρόπους επιβολής των νόμων της αγοράς στη χρηματοδότηση των σχολείων, που εφαρμόστηκε για πρώτη φορά στη Χιλή από τον δικτάτορα Πινοσέτ με τις ευλογίες του. Το ενδεχόμενο ενοποίησης του τομέα φροντίδας και αγωγής (βρεφονηπιακοί σταθμοί) με το δημόσιο νηπιαγωγείο είναι η κερκόπορτα για την εισαγωγή των voucher σε όλη τη δημόσια εκπαίδευση.

Οι θέσεις της κυβέρνησης, αποτυπώνονται σε μεγάλο βαθμό στα κείμενα του εθνικού διαλόγου. Μια γρήγορη ματιά στον πίνακα σύγκρισης των θέσεων του ΣΕΒ, του ΟΟΣΑ και της κυβέρνησης --δηλαδή των κειμένων αυτών-- δείχνει ότι α) οι θέσεις και των τριών προτείνουν και επικροτούν τους βασικούς μηχανισμούς της αγοράς στην εκπαίδευση, όπως αναλύθηκαν πιο πάνω. β) οι θέσεις τους στα ζητήματα αν δεν είναι ταυτόσημες παρομοιάζουν αρκετά. γ) οι όποιες διαφορές αφορούν την επικοινωνιακή γλώσσα κυρίως των κυβερνητικών κειμένων καθώς είναι αναγκαίο να διαφοροποιούνται από τις θέσεις της αντιπολίτευσης που εκφράζει πιο καθαρά τις νεοφιλελεύθερες θέσεις, όπως και ο ΣΕΒ, καθώς η κυβέρνηση αντιμετωπίζει πιέσεις από το εσωτερικό του κόμματος αλλά και τους ψηφοφόρους της.





ΣΥΓΚΡΙΤΙΚΟΣ ΠΙΝΑΚΑΣ ΘΕΣΕΩΝ ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΣΗ

	ΟΟΣΑ	ΣΕΒ	ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΗ
ΣΧΟΛΙΚΗ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΙΑ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ενίσχυση της σχολικής αυτονομίας</li> <li>Χαλάρωση του κεντρικού ελέγχου σε επίπεδο προσωπικού, προγραμμάτων σπουδών και εκτέλεσης του προϋπολογισμού</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Η σημαντικότερη πρόκληση για το Ελληνικό σχολείο σήμερα εντοπίζεται στην <b>αποκέντρωση από την ασφυκτική μικροδιοίκηση</b> που επιβάλλει το Υπουργείο, παράλληλα με την <b>εδραίωση των δομών εκείνων διοίκησης και αξιολόγησης</b> σε όλα τα επίπεδα συνεργασίας.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Η εκπαίδευση κρατήθηκε από όλες τις κυβερνήσεις σε <b>κατάσταση χρόνιας ανηλικιότητας και εξάρτησης</b>, τόσο ως προς τους οικονομικούς πόρους όσο και ως προς την <b>καθοδήγηση από ένα συγκεντρωτικό μηχανισμό</b>.</li> <li>Η <b>αυτονομία της σχολικής μονάδας αποτελεί κεντρική πολιτική επιλογή</b>.</li> </ul>
ΣΧΟΛΙΚΗ ΗΓΕΣΙΑ ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΙΑ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>«Σχολικούς ηγέτες» με περισσότερες ευθύνες από εκείνες που έχουν σήμερα οι διευθυντές των σχολείων, και την <b>υποχρέωση να λογοδοτούν για τις αποφάσεις τους</b>. Ο θεσμός της «σχολικής ηγεσίας» <b>θα στηρίζεται στη σχολική αυτονομία</b>.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>Ενίσχυση της αυτονομίας των διοικήσεων των σχολείων</b> στη λήψη αποφάσεων που αφορούν τη διαμόρφωση του εκπαιδευτικού προγράμματος και την διαχείριση του προϋπολογισμού του σχολείου.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Η αυτονομία αυτή διαρθρώνεται στους εξής τομείς: <b>α. Παιδαγωγική/ διδακτική αυτονομία, β. Διοικητική αυτονομία, και γ. Οικονομική αυτονομία</b>.</li> </ul>
ΑΥΤΟΑΞΙΟΛΟΓΗΣΗ ΣΧΟΛΙΚΗΣ ΜΟΝΑΔΑΣ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Είναι κοινός τόπος ότι η <b>αυτοαξιολόγηση</b> της σχολικής μονάδας πρέπει να επανεισαχθεί μαζί με κάποια μορφή <b>εξωτερική αναφορά</b></li> <li>(Είναι σημαντικό) να ενισχυθεί η εμπιστοσύνη σε μια τέτοια διαδικασία και τα σχολεία να είναι προσανατολισμένα στις ανάγκες των μαθητών.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Καθιέρωση εθνικών στρατηγικών στόχων βάσει των οποίων <b>θα αξιολογούνται τα σχολεία</b>, με παράλληλη <b>ενίσχυση της εποπτείας της διοίκησης του σχολείου</b> ώστε η αυξημένη ελευθερία διαχείρισης να συνοδεύεται από ανάλογη <b>λογοδοσία</b> και επαρκή διαφάνεια.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Η αυτοαξιολόγηση θα συμβάλλει ... <b>στη διαρκή, τεκμηριωμένη και έγκυρη ενημέρωση της κοινωνίας</b> σχετικά με την ποιότητα του επιτελούμενου έργου.</li> <li><b>διασφάλιση της συνέπειας και της συμβατότητας του συστήματος με το ευρύτερο σύστημα αξιολόγησης της εκπαίδευσης</b>, (και) η διασφάλιση της τήρησης σαφώς προκαθορισμένων αρχών κατά την εφαρμογή της.</li> </ul>
ΠΡΟΤΥΠΟΠΟΙΗΣΗ - ΕΠΙΠΤΕΡΙΚΗ ΑΞΙΟΛΟΓΗΣΗ - ΠΑΙΔΟΜΗΤΡΗΣΗ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>Τα σχολεία οφείλουν να λογοδοτούν</b> στο μέλλον εφόσον παίρνουν επιπλέον χρηματοδότηση για την κάλυψη αναγκών για τους μαθητές που έχουν ανάγκη.</li> <li>Προτείνονται περισσότερες διαδικασίες αξιολόγησης επί των επιδόσεων των σχολείων (κατ' αναλογία του διεθνούς διαγωνισμού PISA για την αξιολόγηση των μαθητών).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>Ανάπτυξη συστημάτων αξιολόγησης, σε εθνικό επίπεδο και σε επίπεδο μονάδας, τα αποτελέσματα της οποίας θα δημοσιοποιούνται</b>.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Η κυβέρνηση <b>θα πρέπει επίσης να αποκτήσει στόχους και standards</b> στην εκπαίδευση.</li> <li>Το Εθνικό Σχολικό Πρόγραμμα Σπουδών <b>θα διαμορφώνει πρότυπα με τα οποία θα μπορεί να αποτιμηθεί το έργο των εκπαιδευτικών</b>, γι' αυτό και τα ζητήματα αξιολόγησης θα αντιμετωπιστούν στο πλαίσιο αυτό. Παρέχει τη δυνατότητα <b>διαφοροποίησης του εκπαιδευτικού έργου</b>.</li> </ul>



ΣΥΝΔΕΣΗ ΜΕ ΤΗΝ «ΤΟΠΙΚΗ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ» ΕΜΠΛΟΚΗ ΤΩΝ ΓΟΝΕΩΝ- ΧΡΗΜΑΤΟΔΟΤΗΣΗ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● Πλέον τα σχολεία θα συνιστούν “οργανισμούς μάθησης”, ανοικτούς στις συνέργειες με τις τοπικές κοινότητες, που θα αξιοποιούν δεδομένα για να αξιολογούν τις επιδόσεις των σχολείων και θα ενθαρρύνουν τη συμμετοχή των γονέων στον σχεδιασμό της εκπαιδευτικής διαδικασίας.</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● <b>Αύξηση της εμπλοκής των τοπικών αρχών</b>, ιδανικά με ανάληψη και μέρους της ευθύνης χρηματοδότησης και την αντίστοιχη ευθύνη εποπτείας.</li><li>● <b>αναγνώριση του γονεϊκού δικαιώματος επιλογής της εκπαίδευσης</b> που θα λάβουν τα παιδιά.</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● Μια σταθμισμένη επίσης <b>εμπλοκή των γονέων</b> σε δραστηριότητες μπορούν να εμπλουτίσουν το σχολείο με προγράμματα και δραστηριότητες.</li></ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● <b>Μετακύλιση της ευθύνης για την κατανομή των προϋπολογισμών σε τοπικό - περιφερειακό επίπεδο</b> με τρόπο που θα λάβει υπόψη πώς το εκπαιδευτικό προσωπικό είναι κατανεμημένο στα διάφορα σχολεία. Στόχος είναι η <b>σύνδεση της εκπαίδευσης με τις τοπικές κοινωνίες και τις ανάγκες τους.</b></li><li>● <b>Το παράδειγμα της Χιλής :</b> Χρηματοδοτικό πρόγραμμα για τους μη προνομιούχους μαθητές και τα σχολεία τους.</li><li>● Οι μεγαλύτερες <b>δαπάνες για την εκπαίδευση κατανέμονταν ανά μαθητή</b>, με <b>κουπόνια που αποδίδονταν στη σχολική μονάδα</b>. Συνοδεύονταν από <b>μέτρα για την εξασφάλιση της ορθολογικής χρήσης των χρημάτων αυτών.</b></li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● Είναι απαραίτητη η <b>πλήρης αξιοποίηση κάθε πιθανής πρόσθετης, πέραν της κρατικής, χρηματοδότησης</b>, η οποία δεν θίγει τον δημόσιο χαρακτήρα της εκπαίδευσης, όπως αυτός υπαγορεύεται από το άρθρο 16 του Συντάγματος</li><li>● Στήριξη του θεσμού των <b>πειραματικών σχολείων και επέκτασή του ειδικά σε λιγότερο προνομιούχες περιοχές</b> καθώς και στην <b>τεχνική-επαγγελματική εκπαίδευση</b></li><li>● <b>(Εφαρμογή ήδη του συστήματος των κουπονιών – voucher- στους παιδικούς σταθμούς και στην προσχολική εκπαίδευση που παρέχουν οι δήμοι)</b></li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● Μια αυτόνομη σχολική μονάδα πρέπει να είναι <b>ανοιχτή στην κοινωνία και να συνεργάζεται με τους τοπικούς φορείς και την τοπική κοινωνία.</b><sup>4</sup></li></ul>

Ακόμα, στα κείμενα αυτά και ιδιαίτερα στα κείμενα του εθνικού διαλόγου η αξιοκρατία παρουσιάζεται ως δικαιοσύνη και επιβράβευση των πιο εργατικών, η σχολική αυτονομία ως απελευθέρωση των σχολείων από τα δεσμά της κρατικής γραφειοκρατίας -ενώ ταυτόχρονα αφήνεται να συγχέεται με την παιδαγωγική ελευθερία του εκπαιδευτικού- και η αυτοαξιολόγηση της σχολικής μονάδας ως ανώδυνη διαδικασία προγραμματισμού και απολογισμού που βελτιώνει το εκπαιδευτικό έργο. Ακόμα, η γονεϊκή επιλογή σχολείου, βασικό γρανάζι της νεοφιλελεύθερης μεταρρύθμισης, εμφανίζεται ως δημοκρατικό δικαίωμα.

<sup>4</sup>Σύμφωνα με την έκθεση της επιτροπής μορφωτικών υποθέσεων της Βουλής δεν προνομιμοποιείται προς το παρόν να περάσει η ευθύνη της χρηματοδότησης των σχολείων στην τοπική αυτοδιοίκηση: «Σήμερα πράγματι ένα μέρος των εξόδων του σχολείου (συντήρηση κτηρίων, θέρμανση, καθαριότητα και μεταφορά μαθητών) καλύπτεται μέσω των δήμων (Σχολικές Επιτροπές), αλλά με πόρους που προέρχονται από το κεντρικό κράτος. Επομένως παρόμοιο ζήτημα δεν τίθεται, και δεν προβλέπεται για το προβλέψιμο μέλλον.»



### Συμπεράσματα

Εάν το ζητούμενο είναι ένα καλύτερο σχολείο για τα παιδιά μας, είναι το σχολείο της αγοράς είναι η λύση; Οι απαντήσεις που δίνονται από τις έρευνες δεν είναι καθόλου κολακευτικές για τους υπερασπιστές της αγοραίας σχολικής αυτονομίας, αφού οι πιο σημαντικές διακηρύξεις τους διαψεύδονται: η περιώνυμη εκπαιδευτική καινοτομία φαίνεται να είναι περισσότερο προϊόν κρατικής παρέμβασης και σχεδόν ανύπαρκτη στα αυτόνομα σχολεία, οι διαφορές στις επιδόσεις των μαθητών δεν φαίνεται να είναι στατιστικά σημαντικές ανάμεσα στα κλασικά δημόσια σχολεία και στα αυτόνομα σχολεία ενώ ευνοούνται μέσα σε αυτό το σύστημα οι μαθητές που προέρχονται από ανώτερα κοινωνικά στρώματα σε βάρος των υπόλοιπων. Ακόμα η στατιστική διαφορά της καλύτερης των επιδόσεων των μαθητών με το σύστημα των κουπονιών είναι μηδενική (Waslander et al., 2010). Την ίδια στιγμή η διαφάνεια στην οικονομική διαχείριση των δημόσιου χρήματος από τις επιχειρηματικές αλυσίδες αυτόνομων σχολείων είναι ζητούμενη ενώ πολλά σχολεία charter ελέγχονται για μεγάλα οικονομικά σκάνδαλα (Rawls, 2015).

Αντίθετα ο ταξικός ή/και φυλετικός διαχωρισμός και κατηγοριοποίηση των σχολείων αυξάνεται επικίνδυνα μέσα στο περιβάλλον του αγοραίου ανταγωνισμού των αυτόνομων.

Αν οι έρευνες δείχνουν την αποτυχία του εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος των αγορών σε ότι αφορά το μορφωτικό ζητούμενο, ο ανομολόγητος στόχος των υπέρμαχών του, που είναι η φθηνή εκπαίδευση για τους πολλούς σε συνδυασμό με τη μεταφορά δημόσιων πόρων στους ιδιώτες για να κάνουν μπίζνες με τεράστια κέρδη, μιας και η εκπαίδευση αποτελεί την πολυπόθητη νέα αγορά για επικερδείς επενδύσεις (Au & Hollar, 2016, Simonton, 2013).

Η ταύτιση των θέσεων του ΣΥΡΙΖΑ με τις νεοφιλελεύθερες θέσεις του ΣΕΒ και του ΟΟΣΑ, δείχνουν πως όλα είναι έτοιμα για μια νέα επέλαση του σχολείου της αγοράς στην ελληνική δημόσια εκπαίδευση. Όμως, όσο κι αν η επέλαση αυτή μοιάζει αναπόφευκτη και ο αντίπαλος παντοδύναμος, η ίδια η φύση του μηχανισμού ιδιωτικοποίησης έχει αδύναμους κρίκους.

Το κίνημα αποχής από τις πανεθνικές εξετάσεις στις ΗΠΑ «απειλεί τις σύγχρονες νεοφιλελεύθερες εκπαιδευτικές μεταρρυθμιστικές προσπάθειες καθώς αφαιρεί εντελώς από την εξίσωση τις εξετάσεις και τα στοιχεία που παράγουν, αμφισβητώντας έτσι τη θεμελιώδη μέτρηση πάνω στην οποία οι νεοφιλελεύθερες εκπαιδευτικές μεταρρυθμίσεις βασίζονται ολοκληρωτικά» (Au&Hollar, 2016). Όμως και η αντίσταση των εκπαιδευτικών στην Ελλάδα στις νεοφιλελεύθερες μεταρρυθμίσεις που ανάγκασαν σε αναδίπλωση τις κυβερνήσεις, δείχνουν πως το τέρας δεν είναι ανίκητο. Τα γρανάζια αλληλοεξαρτώνται σε τέτοιο βαθμό ώστε έστω και ένα να «χαλάσει» η μηχανή δεν λειτουργεί. Η αυτοαξιολόγηση και η αξιολόγηση των σχολείων και των εκπαιδευτικών καθώς και τα πανεθνικά τεστ, αποδεικνύεται ότι αποτελούν τους αδύναμους κρίκους καθώς απαιτούν την ενεργή συμμετοχή γονιών, μαθητών και εκπαιδευτικών. Αυτοί είναι που μπορούν και πρέπει να



σπάσουν αυτό το βρόγχο που περισφίγγει ολοένα και περισσότερο το δημόσιο σχολείο, καταπνίγοντας το δημοκρατικό δικαίωμα όλων των μαθητών στη μόρφωση.

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## Η αξιολόγηση των εκπαιδευτικών στην Ελλάδα. Ιστορική αναδρομή

Παυλίδου Έφη

Εκπαιδευτικός στη Δευτεροβάθμια Εκπαίδευση

### Περίληψη

Με αφετηρία την πρόθεση του Υπουργείου Παιδείας να εγκαθιδρύσει ένα σύστημα αυτοαξιολόγησης των σχολικών μονάδων, καθώς και αξιολόγησης των στελεχών εκπαίδευσης, η συγκεκριμένη ανακοίνωση επιχειρεί την ιστορική εξέταση της αξιολόγησης των εκπαιδευτικών στην Ελλάδα. Η κοινωνικο-ταξική και πολιτική υπόσταση του εκπαιδευτικού θεσμού στην Ελλάδα και η επιδίωξη του κράτους να επιβάλλει διαμέσου αυτού την κυρίαρχη ιδεολογία συνεπάγονταν εξ αρχής την εφαρμογή πολιτικών κρατικού ελέγχου των σχολείων και των διδασκόντων, κάτι που αναπόφευκτα συμπεριελάμβανε την αξιολόγηση του εκπαιδευτικού έργου. Έτσι, γεννήθηκε ο θεσμός του επιθεωρητή, που έμελλε να αποτελέσει έναν από τους μακροβιότερους και πιο αυταρχικούς θεσμούς στην ελληνική εκπαίδευση, ο οποίος καταργήθηκε, ύστερα από έντονες αντιπαραθέσεις και αγώνες, μόλις στις αρχές της δεκαετίας του 1980 και αντικαταστάθηκε από το θεσμό του σχολικού συμβούλου. Στόχος της ανακοίνωσής μας είναι ο προσδιορισμός του ρόλου του επιθεωρητή και του σχολικού συμβούλου, με αναφορές στο νομοθετικό και ιστορικό πλαίσιο και η διατύπωση κριτικών παρατηρήσεων σε ό, τι αφορά στην αξιολόγηση των εκπαιδευτικών.

### Λέξεις κλειδιά

αξιολόγηση, επιθεωρητής, σχολικός σύμβουλος, εποπτεία, διοίκηση

Στο κείμενο αυτό θα επιχειρήσουμε αφενός μια σύντομη ιστορική αναδρομή στο θεσμό του επιθεωρητή, που ήταν ο σημαντικότερος και ο μακροβιότερος θεσμός (μέχρι το 1982), σε ό, τι αφορά στην εποπτεία της ελληνικής εκπαίδευσης και αφετέρου θα αναφερθούμε στις προσπάθειες, από το 1982 και εξής, της εκάστοτε κυβέρνησης να επιβάλλει την «αξιολόγηση των εκπαιδευτικών», «την αξιολόγηση του εκπαιδευτικού έργου» ή την «αυτοαξιολόγηση της σχολικής μονάδας», μέσω νόμων, προεδρικών διαταγμάτων, εγκυκλίων κ.ο.κ. Αφετηριακή μας αρχή η θέση του E. Hobsbawm ότι «οι άνθρωποι δεν μπορούν να μην προβλέπουν το μέλλον μέσα από κάποια μορφή ανάγνωσης του παρελθόντος. Οφείλουν να το κάνουν [...] βάσει της εύλογης παραδοχής πως εν γένει το μέλλον συνδέεται συστηματικά με το παρελθόν, το οποίο με τη σειρά του δεν είναι ένα αυθαίρετο άθροισμα περιστάσεων και γεγονότων» (Hobsbawm, 1998: 57). Για την καλύτερη κατανόηση θα προσπαθήσουμε να εντάξουμε τη διαμόρφωση και την εξέλιξη του εποπτικού θεσμού στο γενικότερο πολιτικό πλαίσιο κάθε εποχής. Ωστόσο, στα περιορισμένα όρια μιας ανακοίνωσης δεν είναι δυνατό να αναλυθούν πλήρως όλες οι ιστορικές, πολιτικοκοινωνικές και ιδεολογικές πλευρές του θέματος.

Η αξιολόγηση των εκπαιδευτικών από την έναρξη της εφαρμογής της, συνδέθηκε με την προσπάθεια του κράτους να επιβάλλει την επίσημη άποψη για τη γνώση και τον



τρόπο απόκτησής της, να επιβάλει δηλαδή μια ορισμένη παιδαγωγική αντίληψη και να διαμορφώσει πολίτες που, σε τελευταία ανάλυση, αποδέχονται την εκάστοτε κυρίαρχη ιδεολογία και πολιτική για την οργάνωση της κοινωνίας (Γρόλλιος κ.ά., 2002: 114). Έτσι, ταυτόχρονα με την ίδρυση του ελληνικού κράτους και την οργάνωση του εκπαιδευτικού του συστήματος καθιερώθηκε και ο θεσμός του επιθεωρητή. Πρώτος επιθεωρητής ήταν ο Ιωάννης Κοκκώνης, ο οποίος έπρεπε, σύμφωνα με το Διάταγμα 1372/05-10-1830, να επισκέπτεται αιφνιδιαστικά και να επιθεωρεί τα σχολεία της Πελοποννήσου, να παρακολουθεί τις διδασκαλίες, να ελέγχει αν εφαρμόζεται σωστά η αλληλοδιδασκτική μέθοδος (με το Διάταγμα 1032/12-07-1830, ΓΕΕ, αρ. 68, 1830, ορίστηκε η αλληλοδιδασκτική ως η μόνη διδασκτική μέθοδος του δημοτικού σχολείου) και να απολύει εκείνους που κρίνονταν ανάξιοι του επαγγέλματος και ανίκανοι να συμμορφωθούν (Γρόλλιος κ.ά., 2002: 114-115).

Την περίοδο της Βαυαροκρατίας διαμορφώθηκε η βασική δομή του ελληνικού εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος, με κύρια χαρακτηριστικά τον πλήρη κρατικό έλεγχο και συγκεντρωτισμό, τον κλασικισμό, την αρχαιολατρεία, τη χρήση της αρχαϊζουσας γλώσσας, τη χρήση της αλληλοδιδασκτικής μεθόδου (ως το 1880) (Μπουζάκης, 1996:37). Με τον Νόμο Περί δημοτικών σχολείων (ΦΕΚ 11/13-03-1834) η διοίκηση και η εποπτεία των σχολείων ανατέθηκε στον Γραμματέα Παιδείας, ο οποίος θα ασκούσε το έργο του με τη συνδρομή πέντε αρχών-οργάνων, όπως ήταν: α) οι δάσκαλοι α' τάξεως, που τελούσαν καθήκοντα εφόρου των σχολείων του Νομού ή της Επαρχίας, β) η επιτόπια εφορευτική επιτροπή αποτελούμενη από τον δήμαρχο, τον ιερέα και 2-3 δημοτικούς συμβούλους, γ) η επιθεωρητική επιτροπή, που διακρίνονταν στη νομαρχιακή επιθεωρητική επιτροπή, με μέλη τον νομάρχη, τον πρόεδρο του δικαστηρίου της πρωτεύουσας του νομού, τον εισαγγελέα, έναν ιερέα, έναν καθηγητή γυμνασίου ή πανεπιστημίου και 2-4 κατοίκους, διορισμένους από το νομαρχιακό συμβούλιο, και στην επαρχιακή επιθεωρητική επιτροπή, με μέλη τον έπαρχο, τον ειρηνοδίκη, έναν ιερέα, έναν δάσκαλο και 2-4 κατοίκους, διορισμένους από το επαρχιακό συμβούλιο, δ) ο Έπαρχος και ο Νομάρχης και ε) ο Γενικός Επιθεωρητής.

Αυτό το πολυπρόσωπο ελεγκτικό σύστημα καταντούσε, το λιγότερο, καταθλιπτικό. Απέναντι σε όλους αυτούς ο δάσκαλος έπρεπε να είναι ευάρεστος, διότι ο καθένας τους είχε το δικαίωμα να τον τιμωρεί, να τον μεταθέτει, να τον παύει ή να τον απολύει, χωρίς απολογία και χωρίς τη δυνατότητα να χρησιμοποιήσει ένδικα μέσα. Έτσι, οι εκπαιδευτικοί υπέφεραν υπό την μικροπρεπή δεσποτεία των πολυειδών αυτών αφεντικών, κατά την περίοδο 1834-1895, καταδυναστευόμενοι, τρομοκρατούμενοι, φοβισμένοι, χωρίς αξιοπρέπεια και φρόνημα, ταπεινούμενοι και προπηλακιζόμενοι, με αποτέλεσμα να μεταμορφώνονται σταδιακά σε λιτόψυχες υπάρξεις και κόλακες, σε αληθινούς παρίες της υπαλληλικής ιεραρχίας. Με την πάροδο του χρόνου οι επιθεωρητικές επιτροπές ατόνησαν και την εξουσία συγκέντρωσε ο δήμαρχος, με συνέπεια ο δάσκαλος να καταστεί έρμαιό του (Λέφας, 1942: 274-278 και Φίλος, 1984: 21).



Εύγλωττο παράδειγμα για τη συμπεριφορά και την ηθική που όφειλε να έχει ο δάσκαλος προσφέρει ο «Οδηγός της Αλληλοδιδασκτικής Μεθόδου» του 1842, στον οποίο ο Ι. Κοκκώνης δίνει μια σειρά από οδηγίες: «Μετά μεγάλης προσοχής πρέπει να αποφεύγη [ο δάσκαλος] τας διενέξεις και τα σκάνδαλα. Δεν πρέπει να λαμβάνη ποτέ μέρος εις τα επιτοπίους φατρίες και τα πάθη, αλλά μάλιστα χρεωστεί ν' αποφεύγη παν ό,τι εμπορεί να δώσει την παραμικράν υποψίαν εις τούτο. [...] Αυτός χρεωστεί να φέρηται προς όλους φιλικώς και να περιορίζεται εις τα διδασκαλικά του καθήκοντα, δίδων και λόγω και έργω το παράδειγμα της χρηστοήθειας και της τιμιότητος. Και αν ποτέ συμπέση να έλθη εις λόγους ή διενέξεις με τινα, δεν είναι πρόπον να μεταχειρίζεται εκφράσεις καπηλικάς ή βαναύσους, ουδέ να εμβαιν η εις λογομαχίας και συζητήσεις πεισματώδεις, θυμώνων και οργιζόμενος. [...] Εις συμπόσια και γάμους προσκαλούμενος χρεωστεί να μη λησμονή ποτέ τον οποίον φέρει διδασκαλικόν χαρακτήρα. Αυτός δεν πρέπει να φαίνεται ποτέ ο αρχηγός ή ο προσκαλεστής της ευθυμίας, ουδέ να λαμβάνη μέρος εις πράξεις απρεπείς ή εις λόγους ασέμνους, αλλά ουδέ πάλιν να μένη αυτός μόνος σκυθρωπός ή σοβαρός εν μέσω των ευθυμούντων. Εμπορεί να συμφάγη και να συμπίη μετρίως και να συνδιαλεχθή σεμνοπρεπώς με τους παρακαθήμενους, χωρίς να πέση εις λόγους ή εις πράξεις ασυμβίβαστους με τον χαρακτήρα του, και να αποσυρθή δε ενωρίς εις την οικίαν του και την επαύριον κατά την ωρισμένην ώραν να ευρεθή εις το σχολείον του. Εάν τύχη να έχη και σύζυγον, χρεωστεί να διαγράψη και εις αυτήν τους αυτούς όρους της διαγωγής και της συμπεριφοράς, χρεωστεί μάλιστα να φροντίση και περί της καλής ανατροφής αυτής και παιδείας» (Δημαράς, 1973: 102).

Σταδιακά η υπηρεσιακή κατάσταση των εκπαιδευτικών χειροτέρευε, καθώς ήταν εντελώς απροστάτευτοι και στις επιθυμίες των Υπουργών, των βουλευτών, των τοπικών κομματάρχων. Ο παιδαγωγός Π. Οικονόμου σημείωνε, χαρακτηριστικά, στις αναμνήσεις του: «Φρίκη με κατέλαβε ότε εν έτει 1885 διωρίσθην γενικός δ/ντής δημοτικής εκπαίδεύσεως, εν των υπουργείω Παιδείας. Ουδείς δημοδιδάσκαλος ήτο εν ασφαλεία. Ο βουλευτής, ο κομματάρχης, ο παντοπώλης, ηδύνατο να τον μεταθέσουν, να τον παύσουν... Ένας βουλευτής είχεν ειπέι: Και τι βουλευτής είμαι εγώ, όταν δεν δύναμαι να παύσω ούτε έναν δημοδιδάσκαλον;» (Ντουντουλάκης, 2002).

Στο δεύτερο μισό του 19ου αι. οι αλλαγές σε οικονομικό και πολιτικό επίπεδο (εκσυγχρονισμός εμπορίου και ναυτιλίας, εκτέλεση δημόσιων έργων και δημιουργία σύγχρονων υποδομών, εισροή ξένου κεφαλαίου, ενίσχυση αστικής τάξης κλπ.) επηρέασαν και την εκπαίδευση, καθώς οι κυβερνήσεις της περιόδου επιδίωξαν να την εκσυγχρονίσουν. Στο πλαίσιο αυτό έπρεπε να αντιμετωπιστεί και το πρόβλημα της εξάρτησης των δημοσίων υπαλλήλων από τους τοπικούς παράγοντες, τους βουλευτές, τους κομματάρχες κ.ο.κ., οι οποίοι με τις παρεμβάσεις τους εκφύλιζαν κάθε κρατική λειτουργία και υπηρεσία. Ωστόσο, οι νομοθετικές προσπάθειες (με αρχή τις κυβερνήσεις του Χ. Τρικούπη) δεν ευοδώθηκαν. Τα νομοσχέδια των Υπουργών Γ. Μίληση (1877), Π. Μανέτα (1887), Γ. Θεοτόκη (1889) που προέβλεπαν



διάφορες βελτιωτικές αλλαγές δεν ψηφίστηκαν στη Βουλή (Λέφας, 1942: 279-286 και Σάμιος, 2013: 6).

Σταθμό στην ιστορία της εκπαίδευσης αποτέλεσε ο Νόμος ΒΤΜΘ΄, Περί της Στοιχειώδους ή Δημοτικής Εκπαιδύσεως (ΦΕΚ 37/05-10-1895), με τον οποίο εισαγόταν, θεωρητικά τουλάχιστον, το αποκεντρωτικό σύστημα στη διοίκηση της δημοτικής εκπαίδευσης. Η εποπτεία και η διοίκηση της στοιχειώδους εκπαίδευσης δεν ασκούνταν πλέον από το Υπουργείο των Εκκλησιαστικών, τους Νομάρχες, Επάρχους κλπ., αλλά από τα Εποπτικά Συμβούλια και τους νομαρχιακούς επιθεωρητές (Φίλος, 1984: 28-29). Σε κάθε νομό συστήθηκαν εποπτικά συμβούλια, που αποτελούνταν από τον μητροπολίτη, ως πρόεδρο, τον γυμνασιάρχη, έναν επιστήμονα, έναν κτηματία ή έμπορο, ως μέλη και τον νομαρχιακό επιθεωρητή ως εισηγητή. Οι αποφάσεις τους ήταν υποχρεωτικές για τον Υπουργό εκτός των περιπτώσεων της παύσης και μετάθεσης.

Επίσης, καθιερώθηκε ο θεσμός του νομαρχιακού επιθεωρητή και του βοηθού επιθεωρητή (ή επιθεωρητή β΄ τάξεως). Ο νομαρχιακός επιθεωρητής εκπροσωπούσε, ουσιαστικά, το εποπτικό συμβούλιο στις επαφές με το Υπουργείο Παιδείας, με τις άλλες δημόσιες αρχές και τους πολίτες. Επίσης, ήταν ο εισηγητής όλων των εκπαιδευτικών υποθέσεων και θεμάτων του εποπτικού συμβουλίου. Στα καθήκοντά του συμπεριλαμβανόταν η εποπτεία και η άσκηση ελέγχου στη διοίκηση του σχολείου, στη διδακτική εργασία και στην παιδαγωγική στάση του δασκάλου (τήρηση ωραρίου, εργατικότητα και ευσυνειδησία, συμπεριφορά απέναντι στους μαθητές), καθώς και στην ενδοσχολική και εξωσχολική ζωή και δράση του (σχέσεις με συναδέλφους, γονείς, μαθητές, συμπεριφορά στην κοινωνία) (Γρόλλιος, 2002: 115). Μετά την ολοκλήρωση της επιθεώρησης όφειλε να συντάξει και να υποβάλει στο εποπτικό συμβούλιο λεπτομερή έκθεση υπηρεσιακής ικανότητας για κάθε δάσκαλο ξεχωριστά, να ασκήσει πειθαρχική εξουσία και να εφαρμόσει προγράμματα επιμόρφωσης των δασκάλων κατά τις θερινές διακοπές.

Οι νομαρχιακοί επιθεωρητές β΄ τάξης τοποθετήθηκαν ως βοηθοί των νομαρχιακών επιθεωρητών σε συγκεκριμένους νομούς. Οι υποχρεώσεις τους ήταν όμοιες με των νομαρχιακών επιθεωρητών. Επιπλέον, όμως, παρακολουθούσαν τον δάσκαλο την ώρα της διδασκαλίας, πραγματοποιούσαν υποδειγματικές διδασκαλίες, όταν ήταν απαραίτητο, συμβούλευαν και παρείχαν καθοδηγητική υποστήριξη στους δασκάλους. Ακόμα, επέπλητταν τους αδιάφορους (κατά την κρίση τους) δασκάλους και κατήγγειλαν στους νομαρχιακούς επιθεωρητές τη συμπεριφορά εκείνων στους οποίους έπρεπε (κατά την άποψή τους) να επιβληθεί κάποια ποινή (Ιορδανίδης, 2011).

Σύντομα η διοικητική και εποπτική εξουσία συγκεντρώθηκε στα χέρια του επιθεωρητή, γεγονός που προκάλεσε δριμεία κριτική. Καταρχάς, ο ίδιος ο εισηγητής του μέτρου, ο Υπουργός Παιδείας Δ. Πετρίδης σε εγκύκλιό του καταδείκνυε τις παρατυπίες και καταχρήσεις που έγιναν από τους επιθεωρητές στην εφαρμογή του νόμου και ανέφερε ότι «[...] υποκατεστάθη [...] η απόφασις του Επιθεωρητού εις την γνώμην του Εποπτικού Συμβουλίου και μετέθησαν ή απειλήθησαν διδάσκαλοι και





διδασκάλισσαι, διότι ούτως έδοξεν ενί ανθρώπων μετά μίαν του σχολείου επίσκεψιν και πολλάκις άνευ απολογίας του δικαζομένου». Επίσης, ο Υπουργός Παιδείας Μομφερράτος σε εγκύκλιό του, το 1899, επικρίνοντας τη στάση των επιθεωρητών έγραφε: «Λυπούμεθα ότι πολλοί των επιθεωρητών ουδέ του πνεύματος του νόμου αντελήφθησαν, ουδέ τον σκοπόν του νομοθέτου κατενόησαν. [...]Και συντόμως ειπείν αντί να καθοδηγήσωσιν, ενισχύσωσιν, ενθαρρύνωσιν, εμπυχώσωσιν και φρονηματίσωσι τους Έλληνας δημοδιδασκάλους, ούτοι προσηνέχθησαν και προσφέρονται προς αυτούς, ώστε δεν πιστεύουσιν ούτοι ότι της τυραννίας απηλλάγησαν, αλλ' ότι τυράννους μετήλλαξαν μόνον [...]» (Λέφας, 1942: 291-292). Τέλος, ο Χαρ. Παπαμάρκου ασκώντας κριτική στο νόμο τόνισε ότι οι διατάξεις που ρύθμιζαν την επιθεώρηση των σχολείων οδηγούσαν στον εξευτελισμό των δημοτικών αρχών, στο θρυμματισμό της ενιαίας εικόνας της εκπαίδευσης και μετέτρεπαν το δάσκαλο σε κόλακα και δούλο των επιθεωρητών. (Ιορδανίδης, 2011).

Κομβικό σημείο στην αξιολόγηση του εκπαιδευτικού αποτέλεσε ο έλεγχος της ιδιωτικής του ζωής από τον εκάστοτε επιθεωρητή. Μάλιστα, αυτό θα εξελιχθεί σε μόνιμο χαρακτηριστικό των υπηρεσιακών εκθέσεων σε όλη τη διάρκεια του επιθεωρητισμού και θα προσλάβει, επιπλέον, τον χαρακτήρα ελέγχου των πολιτικών – ιδεολογικών πεποιθήσεων του εκπαιδευτικού.

Το 1911, με το Νόμο ΓΩΚΗ' (3828), Περί Κεντρικού Εποπτικού Συμβουλίου της δημοτικής Εκπαιδεύσεως (ΦΕΚ 185/18-07-1911), οι επιθεωρητές έγιναν μόνιμοι και συγκροτήθηκε το Κεντρικό Εποπτικό Συμβούλιο Δημοτικής Εκπαίδευσης (Κ.Ε.Σ.Δ.Ε.) στην Αθήνα, το οποίο ήταν πενταμελές και είχε αρμοδιότητες πειθαρχικές και γνωμοδοτικές για παιδαγωγικά ζητήματα. Με τον συγκεκριμένο νόμο τερματίστηκε και τυπικά η άσκηση της διοίκησης και εποπτείας των δημοτικών σχολείων από τα τοπικά συλλογικά όργανα και συγκεντρώθηκε στους επιθεωρητές, ως εντολοδόχους του Υπουργείου Παιδείας.

Το 1914, ο Νόμος 240, Περί διοικήσεως της δημοτικής και μέσης εκπαιδεύσεως (ΦΕΚ 97/ 16-04-1914), κατήργησε τη διάκριση των νομαρχιακών επιθεωρητών σε α' και β' τάξη, όρισε τον διορισμό σε κάθε εκπαιδευτική περιφέρεια ενός επιθεωρητή και καθόρισε λεπτομερώς τους τομείς επιθεώρησης. Επίσης, στις αρμοδιότητες του επιθεωρητή συμπεριέλαβε τη θεώρηση και έκδοση των μισθοδοτικών ενταλμάτων πληρωμής των εκπαιδευτικών.

Προκειμένου να ξεπεραστούν οι ασάφειες και οι αοριστίες στη σύνταξη των υπηρεσιακών εκθέσεων και να καθιερωθούν κοινά κριτήρια αξιολόγησης, δημοσιεύτηκε το κανονιστικό Διάταγμα της 16ης Απριλίου του 1915 (ΦΕΚ 168/05-05-1915). Σύμφωνα με αυτό, ο επιθεωρητής στην έκθεσή του έπρεπε να περιγράψει με σαφήνεια τη σωματική και πνευματική κατάσταση του δασκάλου, την επιμέλειά του, την ευσυνειδησία, την επιστημονική κατάρτιση, τη μεθοδική και παιδαγωγική ικανότητα, τη συνεισφορά του στο χώρο του σχολείου, τις σχέσεις του με την τοπική κοινωνία, καθώς και να δίνει πληροφορίες για τον ιδιωτικό του βίο. Σημειωτέον ότι η υπηρεσιακή εξέλιξη του εκπαιδευτικού εξαρτιόταν από την εν λόγω έκθεση.



Στο πλαίσιο της εκπαιδευτικής μεταρρύθμισης του 1917, που επιχειρήθηκε μεσούντος του Εθνικού Διχασμού και του Α΄ Παγκόσμιου πολέμου, καθιερώθηκε, με τον Νόμο 826, Περί κυρώσεως και τροποποιήσεως του αναγκαστικού Διατάγματος της 29<sup>ης</sup> Ιουνίου 1917 «περί συμπληρώσεως κλπ. του νόμου 567 περί διοικήσεως της μέσης και δημοτικής εκπαίδευσως» (ΦΕΚ 188/ 05-09-1917), ο θεσμός των Ανώτερων Εποπτών Δημοτικής Εκπαίδευσης, οι οποίοι ήταν ισόβαθμοι με τα μέλη του Εκπαιδευτικού Συμβουλίου. Σε αυτούς ανατέθηκε, ουσιαστικά, η γενική εποπτεία όλης της δημοτικής εκπαίδευσης και η προώθηση της γλωσσοεκπαιδευτικής μεταρρύθμισης, στοχεύοντας στην εξοικείωση με τα νέα αναγνωστικά βιβλία και τη διδασκαλία της δημοτικής των δασκάλων και των επιθεωρητών. Ανώτεροι Επόπτες Δημοτικής Εκπαίδευσης διορίστηκαν ο Αλέξανδρος Δελμούζος και ο Μανόλης Τριανταφυλλίδης (Λέφας, 1942: 307).

Νέες ρυθμίσεις στο θεσμό των επιθεωρητών σημειώθηκαν στην επόμενη εκπαιδευτική μεταρρύθμιση του 1929, με τον Νόμο 4178, Περί κυρώσεως του από 11 Μαΐου ε.ε. Ν. Διατάγματος «περί των επιθεωρητών της δημοτικής εκπαίδευσως και των βοηθών αυτών» (ΦΕΚ 211/28-06-1929) και με τον Νόμο 4653, Περί Διοικήσεως της Εκπαίδευσως (ΦΕΚ 169/ 16-05-1930). Με τον τελευταίο θεσπίστηκαν τα Περιφερειακά Εποπτικά Συμβούλια Στοιχειώδους Εκπαίδευσης (Π.Ε.Σ.Σ.Ε.) και το Ανώτατο Εκπαιδευτικό Συμβούλιο (Α.Ε.Σ.), το οποίο χωρίστηκε σε Γνωμοδοτικό και Διοικητικό. Ο αριθμός των επιθεωρητών αυξήθηκε στους 120 (από 70 που ήταν), ο μισθός τους βελτιώθηκε μέσω, κυρίως, επιδομάτων και αμοιβών για συμμετοχή σε επιτροπές και ο ιδεολογικός τους προσανατολισμός επιχειρήθηκε να ρυθμιστεί μέσω κεντρικά οργανωμένων επιμορφωτικών συνεδρίων. Η αντίληψη της Κυβέρνησης των Φιλελευθέρων για την αυτοδιοίκηση του εκπαιδευτικού κλάδου και την αποκέντρωση της διοίκησης εκφράστηκε γλαφυρά στην αγόρευση του Γ. Παπανδρέου στη Βουλή, το 1930: «Η αυτοδιοίκησης του κλάδου αποτελεί προφανώς άρνησιν της εννοίας του κράτους και παρανόησιν της Δημοκρατίας». Όσο «διά την αποκέντρωσιν, εις είναι ο στοιχειώδης και απαραίτητος όρος: Η ποσοτική και ποιοτική επάρκεια των οργάνων του κράτους» (Αθανασιάδης, 2007: 137-138).

Την ίδια περίοδο η κυβέρνηση Ελ. Βενιζέλου αντιμετώπιζε με σοβαρά κοινωνικά και πολιτικά προβλήματα και με τον «κίνδυνο» της ανόδου της Αριστεράς και της ανάπτυξης των κομμουνιστικών ιδεών ψήφισε τον Νόμο 4229, Περί των μέτρων ασφαλείας του κοινωνικού καθεστώτος και προστασίας των ελευθεριών των πολιτών, το λεγόμενο «Ιδιώνυμο» (ΦΕΚ 245/25-07-1929), που περιλάμβανε ορισμένες διατάξεις και για τους εκπαιδευτικούς. Σύμφωνα με το άρθρο 6, «εκπαιδευτικοί καίτοι μη υποπέσοντες εις αξιόποινον πράξιν του παρόντος νόμου, προπαγαδίζοντες [sic] εν τούτοις κομμουνιστικάς αρχάς [...], απολύονται οριστικώς της υπηρεσίας μετ' απόφασιν του οικείου Συμβουλίου». Για να εκδιωχθούν οι εκπαιδευτικοί από την υπηρεσία ως εχθροί του καθεστώτος δεν χρειαζόταν κάποια διαπιστωμένη ανατρεπτική πράξη ή κάποια εκφρασμένη πρόθεση για τέτοια πράξη. Αρκούσε, απλώς, μία καταγγελία από οποιονδήποτε πολίτη για κομμουνισμό, για



να παραπεμφθεί ο καταγγελλόμενος εκπαιδευτικός στο Εκπαιδευτικό Συμβούλιο για απόλυση. Εξάλλου, για την απόλυση ή τη δυσμενή μετάθεσή του δεν ήταν αναγκαία η δικαστική απόφαση, όπως στους άλλους δημοσίους υπαλλήλους. Το μόνο που χρειαζόταν ήταν η απόφαση του τοπικού εποπτικού συμβουλίου με τη σύμφωνη γνώμη του αντίστοιχου επιθεωρητή. Είναι φανερό ότι με αυτόν τον τρόπο οι δάσκαλοι γίνονταν εύκολοι στόχοι στις πολιτικές επιδιώξεις διαφόρων παραγόντων και ο επιθεωρητής, στον οποίον ουσιαστικά κατέληγαν οι καταγγελίες, αποκτούσε καθοριστικότερο ρόλο (Αθανασιάδης, 2007: 139-140).

Αποκαλυπτικό των προθέσεων της πολιτικής εξουσίας είναι το ακόλουθο απόσπασμα από το λόγο του Υπουργού Παιδείας Γ. Παπανδρέου στο Συνέδριο των Επιθεωρητών, το 1930:

Γ. Παπανδρέου: «Έχει κανείς εξ υμών κομμουνιστήν διδάσκαλον εις την περιφέρειαν του; Οι κ.κ. Επιθεωρηταί, εγειρόμενοι όρθιοι, διαμαρτύρονται και φωνάζουν: Κανένα, κανένα. Χαίρω, εξακολουθεί ο κ. Υπουργός, διά την διαβεβαίωσιν, η οποία μου επιτρέπει να διακηρύξω προς την ελληνικήν κοινωνίαν ότι η ελληνική παιδεία παραμένει πιστή και αφοσιωμένη εις τα ιδεώδη του έθνους. Αλλά επιθυμώ να προσθέσω ότι, και να τυχόν εις το μέλλον εκδηλωθούν τοιαύται τάσεις, πρέπει να παταχθούν αμελίκτως. Εις μίαν δημοκρατίαν οι πολίται έχουν ελευθερία φρονημάτων και διά τούτο το Ιδιώνυμον χαρακτηρίζει ως αδίκημα μόνον την έμπρακτον εκδήλωσιν του κομμουνιστικού φρονήματος. Αλλά διά τους διδασκάλους δεν είναι απαραίτητος η έμπρακτος εκδήλωσις διά να είναι υπεύθυνοι. Αρκεί και το φρόνημα. Διότι ο Διδάσκαλος είναι φορέυς ιδανικών. Και δεν είναι δυνατόν να εμπιστευώμεν τον εθνικόν φρονηματισμόν εις τοιούτους, οι οποίοι εμπαιίζουν και υπονομεύουν την ιδέαν του Έθνους. Διδάσκαλος κομμουνιστής είναι ηναγκασμένος ή να παραβιάση τον όρκον του ή να παραβιάση την συνείδησίν του. Και αι δύο περιπτώσεις είναι απαράδεκτοι. Ας συμπεράνωμεν λοιπόν: Κομμουνιστής διδάσκαλος δεν υπάρχει σήμερα εις την εκπαίδευσιν, αλλ' αν τυχόν παρουσιασθή εις το μέλλον, αποτελεί κοινόν καθήκον πάντων ημών η άμεσος απόλυσίς του, διότι δεν έχει θέση εις την Ελληνικήν Εκπαίδευσιν» (Αθανασιάδης, 2007: 138).

Ως παράδειγμα τέτοιων απολύσεων μπορεί να αναφερθεί η περίπτωση πέντε εκπαιδευτικών που απολύθηκαν λόγω των πολιτικών τους φρονημάτων από το Εποπτικό Συμβούλιο Θεσσαλονίκης, τον Αύγουστο του 1931. Πρόκειται για τους: Πράτο, Σαξώνη, Αντωνιάδου, Χριστάρα και Δουμάκη. Συγχρόνως και για την ίδια αιτία το εν λόγω Εποπτικό Συμβούλιο μετέθεσε δυσμενώς τους: Κεχαγιά, Θεοδώρου, Τσίρκα, Κανάκη και Γρηγοριάδου. Επίσης, το 1931 απολύθηκε και ο Νίκος Πλουμπίδης, δάσκαλος στην Ελασσόνα (Κατσαντώνης, 1998: 59).

Επόμενος σταθμός η περίοδος της μεταξικής δικτατορίας. Ο Ι. Μεταξάς έδειξε ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον για την εκπαίδευση, γεγονός που πιστοποιείται από την ανάληψη του Υπουργείου Παιδείας από τον ίδιο (τον Νοέμβριο του 1938) και τη στελέχωση του εκπαιδευτικού μηχανισμού με πιστούς ομοϊδεάτες του, από τη φιλοδοξία του να μετατρέψει τους εκπαιδευτικούς σε υπερασπιστές και



προπαγανδιστές του καθεστώτος της 4<sup>ης</sup> Αυγούστου, καθώς και από την επίμονη προσπάθειά του να επιβάλει την Ε.Ο.Ν. στα σχολεία. Με τους Α.Ν. 767, Περί Διοικήσεως της Εκπαιδύσεως (ΦΕΚ 255/ 05-07-1937) και 2180, Περί τροποποιήσεως, συμπληρώσεως και κωδικοποιήσεως των διατάξεων του Α.Ν. 767/37 «περί διοικήσεως της εκπαιδύσεως» και των διατάξεων διά των οποίων συνεπληρώθη και ετροποποιήθη ούτος (ΦΕΚ 14/12-01-1940), εφαρμόστηκε ένα συγκεντρωτικό σύστημα διοίκησης, καθώς ο Υπουργός Παιδείας ανέλαβε την εποπτεία της εκπαίδευσης, που την ασκούσε μέσω της Κεντρικής Υπηρεσίας, του Ανώτατου Συμβουλίου Εκπαίδευσης, του Κεντρικού Εποπτικού Συμβουλίου και των Ανώτερων Περιφερειακών Εποπτικών Συμβουλίων. Σε αυτά προβλεπόταν, επίσης, και η συμμετοχή ανώτερου αξιωματικού του στρατού. Τα σχολεία της χώρας κατανεμήθηκαν σε 100 εκπαιδευτικές περιφέρειες, σε καθεμιά από τις οποίες τοποθετήθηκε και ένας επιθεωρητής. Επιπλέον, επιβλήθηκε το Πιστοποιητικό Κοινωνικών Φρονημάτων, απαραίτητο εφόδιο για κάθε υποψήφιο δάσκαλο και ασκήθηκε αυστηρός έλεγχος σε όλη την υπηρεσιακή του εξέλιξη. Με όλα αυτά τα μέτρα το μεταξικό καθεστώς «[...] κατήργησε πάσαν δημοκρατικήν μορφήν διοικήσεως, παρέδωσε την διοίκησην της Παιδείας εις πολιτικά και εις στρατιωτικά πρόσωπα και κατέστησε τα επιστημονικά όργανα εποπτείας και διαφώτισεως παιδαγωγικής (Εκπαιδευτικόν Συμβούλιον, εποπτικά συμβούλια, επιθεωρητάς κ.τ.λ.) εις απλά γραφειοκρατικά όργανα διεκπεραιώσεως της τρεχούσης υπηρεσίας» (Καλαντζής, 2002: 93-94). Ο εκπαιδευτικός, για άλλη μια φορά, κατέληγε έρμαιο στα χέρια των επιθεωρητών, των διορισμένων τοπικών αρχόντων των αξιωματούχων της Ε.Ο.Ν., των αξιωματικών που προέδρευαν στα Εκπαιδευτικά Συμβούλια κλπ. Στην περίπτωση που δεν συμμορφώνονταν, τους περίμεναν απολύσεις, συλλήψεις, φυλακίσεις, βασανιστήρια, εκτοπίσεις, εξορία (Κενη, 2003: 51 και Σάμιος, 2013: 16).

Την περίοδο της Κατοχής δεν έγιναν διορισμοί επιθεωρητών, ενώ πολλοί από αυτούς εγκατέλειψαν τις οργανικές τους θέσεις και με αίτησή τους αποσπάστηκαν στις έδρες Γενικών Επιθεωρήσεων Αθηνών, Πειραιά, Θεσσαλονίκης ή σε άλλες εκπαιδευτικές περιφέρειες. Μερικοί βρέθηκαν σε περιοχές που ελέγχονταν από τις αντιστασιακές οργανώσεις και έπαιρναν εντολές από αυτές (Φίλος, 1984: 102). Αξιοπρόσεχτη είναι η παραίνεση προς τους δασκάλους του επιθεωρητή δημοτικής εκπαίδευσης Σπ. Μένταυλου στην Α΄ Περιφέρεια Πειραιά, το 1942: «Προς τας Αρχάς Κατοχής θα απονέμητε την πρέπουσαν τιμήν, όπου δε είναι δυνατόν θα έλθητε εις επαφήν μετά αυτών. Είναι άνθρωποι πολιτισμένοι και ανήκουν εις κράτη μεγάλα, έχοντα το προβάδισμα ... εις την εκπαιδευτικήν οργάνωσιν. Σέβονται το σχολείον και εκτιμούν τον διδάσκαλον ... Δια της μετά των αρχών Κατοχής επαφής θα εύρουν τας καλυτέρας λύσεις, άπερα των απασχολούντων υμάς προβλήματα.» (Σάμιος, 2013: 17). Σε γενικές πάντως γραμμές δεν υπήρχε εποπτεία και διοίκηση των σχολείων, με αποτέλεσμα πολλά δημοτικά σχολεία να κλείσουν και άλλα να υπολειμθούν, καθώς πολλοί εκπαιδευτικοί είχαν προσχωρήσει στην Εθνική Αντίσταση (Φίλος, 1984: 102).



Κατά τη διάρκεια του Εμφυλίου, οι κυβερνήσεις σκλήρυναν τη στάση τους απέναντι στους υπαλλήλους που είχαν συμμετάσχει στην Εθνική Αντίσταση. Με το Θ΄ ψήφισμα, Περί εξυγιάνσεως των δημοσίων υπηρεσιών, με τον Α.Ν. 516, Περί ελέγχου νομιμοφροσύνης (ΦΕΚ 6/08-01-1948) και με το Ν.Δ. 4-5-1946 (ΦΕΚ 145/04-05-1946) ενορχηστρώθηκε ένας πρωτοφανής διωγμός δημοσίων υπαλλήλων και εκπαιδευτικών. Μέχρι το 1947 απολύθηκαν 7.147 δημόσιοι υπάλληλοι. Περίπου 4.000 δάσκαλοι κλήθηκαν σε απολογία και, τελικά, το 1947 απολύθηκαν περίπου 3.500 εκπαιδευτικοί (Σάμιος, 2013: 19). Κατά τον Χ. Νούτσο, την περίοδο αυτή χτίζεται το «σχολείο των Εθνοκφρόνων» (Νούτσος, 2007). Οι επιθεωρητές της εποχής έπαιζαν καθοριστικό ρόλο στην εμπέδωση της αντικομμουνιστικής ιδεολογίας και του αυταρχισμού, με τις υπηρεσιακές τους εκθέσεις οι οποίες στη συντριπτική τους πλειοψηφία ήταν γεμάτες από χαρακτηρισμούς και παρατηρήσεις άσχετες με τη διαδικασία του μαθήματος και τη λειτουργία του σχολείου (Σάμιος, 2013).

Στο σημείο αυτό αξίζει να αναφερθεί ότι υπήρξαν και επιθεωρητές που απολύθηκαν από την υπηρεσία τους, όπως ο Άγγελος Γιούρτσος, ο Χαράλαμπος Γεωργόπουλος κ.ά., διότι «αμφότεροι [...] συνείργησαν και συμμετέσχον εις την στάσιν της 3.12.1944 και έκτοτε και εφεξής μέχρι σήμερον συμμετέχουσι εις ενεργείας αντικρατικής και αντεθνικής [...]» (Σάμιος, 2013: 19 και Φίλος, 1984: 109).

Βεβαίως, ο αυταρχισμός και ο αντικομμουνισμός συνεχίστηκε και στην μετεμφυλιακή περίοδο. Χαρακτηριστικές είναι οι δηλώσεις του Γ. Παπανδρέου, Αντιπροέδρου και Υπουργού Παιδείας (Κυβέρνηση Σοφ. Βενιζέλου, 3-11-1950 έως 1-7-1951), κατά την ανάληψη των καθηκόντων του στο Υπουργείο (01-02-1951): «[...] δεν αρκεί οι διδάσκαλοι να μην είναι απλώς κομμουνισταί ή συνοδοιπόροι, οφείλουν να είναι σημαιοφόροι του εθνικού αγώνος εναντίον του κομμουνισμού. Υπάρχει δυστυχώς μία κατηγορία πνευματικών ανθρώπων που δεν είναι ούτε κομμουνισταί, ούτε συνοδοιπόροι, οι οποίοι ανήκουν εις την εθνικήν οικογένειαν, αλλά είναι δυστυχώς ουδέτεροι, απόντες και άμαχοι εις τον αγώνα της Ελλάδος [...] εναντίον θανασίμων εχθρών [...]» (Σάμιος, 2013: 21).

Εύγλωττο παράδειγμα για τον σκοπό της επιθεώρησης προσφέρει το σύγγραμμα του Γενικού Επιθεωρητή Ι. Αρχιμανδρίτη, το 1959, με τίτλο «Τι παρατηρεί, τι ελέγχει, τι αξιολογεί ο Επιθεωρητής κατά την επιθεώρηση»: «[...] Πιστεύει ο δάσκαλος απολύτως εις την πολιτιστική δύναμιν του ελληνισμού; Είναι θερμός θιασώτης του ελληνικού πνεύματος και οι καθόλου πράξεις του φέρουν έκδηλον το χρώμα της εθνικής υπερηφάνειας; Μήπως τα τελευταία χρόνια εκλόνισαν κατά κάποιον τρόπο το εθνικό του υπόστρωμα; [...] Ο επιθεωρητής δια της παρακολουθήσεως οιασδήποτε διδασκαλίας του διδασκάλου, δια της επιθεωρήσεως των αποτελεσμάτων του, διά της συζητήσεως μετ' αυτού, αντιλαμβάνεται ευχερώς αν ο ιδεολογικός προσανατολισμός του επιθεωρουμένου είναι πράγματι εθνικός ή όχι και αναλόγως χαρακτηρίζει τούτον [...] η θέσις των (των εκπαιδευτικών) εις την πολιτικήν θα είναι σύμφωνος προς τας θεμελιώδεις επιδιώξεις των προς την αγωγήν, πάντοτε εντός των νομίμων πλαισίων της πολιτείας [...]. Ως ελεύθερος





πολίτης ο διδάσκαλος συντάσσεται και αυτός με ένα κόμμα πολιτικών, κινούμενον όμως αυστηρώς εντός των εθνικών πλαισίων και δη με κόμμα το οποίο πλησιάζει περισσότερο προς τας γενικές εθνικές επιδιώξεις [...]» (Σάμιος, 2013: 22).

Στη συνέχεια, στο πλαίσιο της εκπαιδευτικής μεταρρύθμισης του 1964 ψηφίστηκε το Ν.Δ. 4379, Περί οργανώσεως και διοικήσεως της Γενικής (Στοιχειώδους και Μέσης) Εκπαιδεύσεως (ΦΕΚ 182/24-10-1964), με το οποίο ιδρύθηκε το Παιδαγωγικό Ινστιτούτο (Π.Ι.). Έργο του η επιστημονική έρευνα των εκπαιδευτικών προβλημάτων, η μετεκπαίδευση του διδακτικού και εποπτικού προσωπικού κάθε βαθμίδας, η εποπτεία όλων των σχολείων, η καθοδήγηση των περιφερειακών διοικητικών οργάνων κλπ. Με την ίδρυσή του επιχειρήθηκε ο διαχωρισμός ανάμεσα στο εκπαιδευτικό - ερευνητικό έργο (Παιδαγωγικό Ινστιτούτο) και στη διοίκηση (Κεντρικά Υπηρεσιακά Συμβούλια). Με το ίδιο Ν.Δ. οι εκπαιδευτικές περιφέρειες και οι οργανικές θέσεις των επιθεωρητών της στοιχειώδους εκπαίδευσης αυξήθηκαν σε διακόσιες. Με αυτό το μέτρο Υπουργείο Παιδείας απέβλεπε στην ενίσχυση του θεσμού και στον καλύτερο έλεγχο των εκπαιδευτικών.

Η δικτατορία των συνταγματαρχών κατέλυσε, εν πολλοίς, την εκπαιδευτική μεταρρύθμιση του 1964 και επέφερε αλλαγές στο σύστημα διοίκησης και εποπτείας της εκπαίδευσης. Αποσκοπώντας στη δημιουργία ενός συγκεντρωτικού, γραφειοκρατικού μηχανισμού και στον ασφυκτικό έλεγχο των εκπαιδευτικών, ψήφισε το Ν.Δ. 651, Περί οργανώσεως της Γενικής Εκπαιδεύσεως και διοικήσεως του προσωπικού αυτού (ΦΕΚ 179/28-08-1970), το οποίο δημιούργησε ποικιλία εποπτικών οργάνων. Έτσι, ο Υπουργός Παιδείας ασκούσε τη διοίκηση και εποπτεία στην εκπαίδευση με 5 επάλληλες αρχές: α) τον διευθυντή του σχολείου, β) τον επιθεωρητή, γ) τον νομαρχιακό επιθεωρητή, δ) τον γενικό επιθεωρητή και ε) τον εκπαιδευτικό σύμβουλο. Ενδεικτικό στοιχείο των διαθέσεων της κεντρικής εξουσίας ήταν το γεγονός ότι διατηρούσε ως αποκλειστικό της δικαίωμα τη λήψη αποφάσεων για όλα τα εκπαιδευτικά θέματα, ενώ δεχόταν προτάσεις από το εποπτικό προσωπικό για την αντιμετώπιση εκπαιδευτικών θεμάτων, οι οποίες όμως δεν είχαν δεσμευτικό χαρακτήρα για την ηγεσία του Υπουργείου Παιδείας (Φίλος, 1984: 149 και Ιορδανίδης, 2011). Δημιουργήθηκαν δέκα Ανώτερες Εκπαιδευτικές Περιφέρειες, σε καθεμία από τις οποίες τοποθετήθηκε ως επόπτης της εκπαίδευσης ένας εκπαιδευτικός σύμβουλος, με αρμοδιότητες ανώτατης επιστημονικής και παιδαγωγικής καθοδήγησης, εποπτείας και διοίκησης των σχολείων της περιφέρειάς του και του διδακτικού και εποπτικού προσωπικού τους (άρθρο 5). Επίσης, τοποθετήθηκε και από ένας Γενικός Επιθεωρητής με την υποχρέωση σύνταξης Εκθέσεων Υπηρεσιακής Επίδοσης για το διδακτικό και εποπτικό προσωπικό της περιφέρειάς του και επαγρύπνησης για την «ηθικότητα και ακμαιότητα του ηθικού και εθνικού φρονήματος» του διδακτικού προσωπικού και των μαθητών (ΦΕΚ 804/09-10-1971, Υπουργική απόφαση υπ' αρ. 13348, 04-10-1971). Επιπλέον, στο ίδιο Ν.Δ. (άρθρο 26), καθιερώθηκε για πρώτη φορά η αξιολόγηση των δασκάλων και από τον διευθυντή του σχολείου. Αυτός συνέτασσε δική του έκθεση, για κάθε εκπαιδευτικό του σχολείου του ξεχωριστά, για τους



τομείς: α) Ευσυνειδησία, β) Διοικητικών, γ) Δράσεις και Συμπεριφορά. Ο επιθεωρητής ήταν υποχρεωμένος να λάβει υπόψη του την έκθεση του διευθυντή και σε περίπτωση διαφωνίας έπρεπε να αιτιολογήσει τη βαθμολογία του. Οι εκθέσεις έμπαιναν στον ατομικό υπηρεσιακό φάκελο του εκπαιδευτικού και με βάση αυτές γίνονταν οι βαθμολογικές και μισθολογικές προαγωγές. Επίσης, το Παιδαγωγικό Ινστιτούτο καταργήθηκε, με τον Α.Ν. 59, Περί καταργήσεως του Παιδαγωγικού Ινστιτούτου (ΦΕΚ 110/ 30-06-1967), ως «διαβρωτικός θεσμός».

Μετά από τις σχετικές εκκαθαρίσεις που προέβη η Χούντα στον τομέα της εκπαίδευσης, ψήφισε τον Α.Ν. 129, Περί οργάνωσης και διοικήσεως της Γενικής Εκπαιδύσεως και άλλων τινών διατάξεων, (ΦΕΚ 163/25-09-1967), με τον οποίο επιχείρησε την στελέχωση του εκπαιδευτικού μηχανισμού με ομοϊδεάτες (Φίλος, 1984: 140). Στην προκήρυξη ανταποκρίθηκαν 742 δάσκαλοι, των οποίων τα δικαιολογητικά πέρασαν από έλεγχο για να διαπιστωθούν, κυρίως, τα «Υγιή Κοινωνικά Φρονήματα». Στη συνέχεια διενεργήθηκε διαγωνισμός παρωδία και ανακοινώθηκαν οι «επιτυχόντες». Τα δικαιολογητικά και ο «διαγωνισμός» νομιμοποιούσαν την επιλογή συγκεκριμένων προσώπων με συγκεκριμένη και σαφή ιδεολογική και πολιτική τοποθέτηση. Τα επιστημονικά προσόντα των επιθεωρητών που επιλέχτηκαν στις περισσότερες περιπτώσεις δεν ήταν τίποτε άλλο παρά το πτυχίο της Παιδαγωγικής Ακαδημίας και η προϋπηρεσία. Άλλωστε, στόχος του χουντικού καθεστώτος ήταν να οργανωθεί ένας κατάλληλος μηχανισμός χειραγώγησης, χαφιεδισμού και τρομοκράτησης των εκπαιδευτικών. Όπως δήλωνε ο τότε Υφυπουργός Παιδείας Κ. Καλαμπόκας: «[...] δε θέλουμε σοφούς, αλλά πιστούς» (Σάμιος, 2013: 25).

Κατά τη μεταπολίτευση οι εκπαιδευτικοί στις γενικές συνελεύσεις τους δεν αμφισβήτησαν το θεσμό της εποπτείας αλλά έθεσαν θέμα «κάθαρσης» των επιθεωρητών. Το Ειδικό Συμβούλιο Κρίσης για τη συγκρότηση του οποίου προέβλεψε ο Νόμος 309, Περί οργάνωσης και διοικήσεως της Γενικής Εκπαιδύσεως (ΦΕΚ 100/ 30-04-1976), γνωμάτευσε ότι κανένας από τους επιθεωρητές οι οποίοι επελέγησαν σύμφωνα με τον Ν.Δ. 651/1970 δεν στήριξε «ηθελημένα» το δικτατορικό καθεστώς με τη δραστηριότητά του, δίνοντας προσωρινά τέλος στη διαμάχη που είχε ξεσπάσει μεταξύ δασκάλων και επιθεωρητών (Ιορδανίδης, 2011).

Τέλος, ο Νόμος 309, Περί οργάνωσης και διοικήσεως της Γενικής Εκπαιδύσεως (ΦΕΚ 100/30-04-1976), δημιούργησε δεκαπέντε ανώτερες εκπαιδευτικές περιφέρειες δημοτικής εκπαίδευσης με προϊστάμενο τον επόπτη. Οι επόπτες ήταν διοικητικοί και πειθαρχικοί προϊστάμενοι του διδακτικού και εποπτικού προσωπικού της περιφέρειάς τους. Οι εκπαιδευτικές περιφέρειες αυξήθηκαν σε 240 με αντίστοιχη αύξηση και των οργανικών θέσεων των επιθεωρητών, οι οποίοι διακρίνονταν σε επιθεωρητές Α' (54) και Β' (186). Οι επιθεωρητές Α' τοποθετούνταν στις πρωτεύουσες των νομών. Επίσης συστάθηκαν δύο θέσεις επιθεωρητών Ειδικής Αγωγής.



Ο θεσμός του επιθεωρητή καταργήθηκε, όταν η κυβέρνηση του ΠΑΣΟΚ, υπό την πίεση του εκπαιδευτικού και, γενικότερα, του λαϊκού κινήματος, ψήφισε τον Νόμο 1304, Για την επιστημονική-παιδαγωγική καθοδήγηση και τη διοίκηση στη Γενική και τη Μέση Τεχνική-Επαγγελματική Εκπαίδευση και άλλες διατάξεις, (ΦΕΚ 144/07-12-1982), με τον οποίο καθιερώθηκε ο θεσμός του Σχολικού Συμβούλου. Οι επιθεωρητές του Νόμου 309/1976 μπορούσαν να υποβάλλουν αίτηση να κριθούν για Σχολικοί Σύμβουλοι ή αν δεν επιθυμούσαν να κριθούν ή δεν επιλέγονταν, τους δινόταν η δυνατότητα να αναλάβουν καθήκοντα Διευθυντών Σχολείων και να διατηρήσουν τον Βαθμό και τον μισθό τους (Σάμιος, 2013: 30).

Παρόλ' αυτά, από τότε έως σήμερα, στο πλαίσιο της νεοφιλελεύθερης ηγεμονίας και της αναπροσαρμογής των εκπαιδευτικών δομών σε όλες τις αναπτυγμένες καπιταλιστικές χώρες στις αρχές της αγοράς και της επιχειρηματικότητας, δεν σταμάτησαν οι προσπάθειες αναζήτησης και επιβολής κατάλληλων μηχανισμών ελέγχου των εκπαιδευτικών και του έργου τους. Πλέον οι εκθέσεις της Ε.Ε., της Παγκόσμιας Τράπεζας και του Ο.Ο.Σ.Α. ορίζουν τα μεταρρυθμιστικά πρότυπα, βάσει των οποίων πρέπει να εξελιχθούν και τα εκπαιδευτικά συστήματα των ευρωπαϊκών χωρών. Ως εκ τούτου, τα εκπαιδευτικά μέτρα, από τα τέλη της δεκαετίας του '90 και εξής, αποτυπώνουν αυτήν ακριβώς την αναπροσαρμογή του εκπαιδευτικού μηχανισμού στις ανάγκες και τις προτεραιότητες της καπιταλιστικής αναδιάρθρωσης.

Στη συνέχεια σταχυολογούνται ορισμένες χαρακτηριστικές προσπάθειες επιβολής της αξιολόγησης στην ελληνική εκπαίδευση από τη δεκαετία του '90 και μετά.

Το 1985, με τον Νόμο 1566, Δομή και λειτουργία της πρωτοβάθμιας και δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης και άλλες διατάξεις (ΦΕΚ 167/30-09-1985), γινόταν προσπάθεια να εισαχθεί η εσωτερική αξιολόγηση της σχολικής μονάδας με τη συμμετοχή του διευθυντή του σχολείου, ο οποίος θα συμμετείχε και στην αξιολόγηση του έργου των εκπαιδευτικών (άρθρο 11, Δ, 1).

Το 1987, ο Υπουργός Αντώνης Τρίτσης, επανέφερε το ζήτημα της αξιολόγησης με νέο σχέδιο Προεδρικού Διατάγματος. Η τομή σ' αυτό ήταν ότι το βάρος της αξιολόγησης μετατοπιζόταν από τον εκπαιδευτικό στο σχολείο. Συγκεκριμένα, γινόταν λόγος για «αξιολόγηση του εκπαιδευτικού έργου των σχολείων», η οποία ωστόσο, αναφερόταν και στον «προσδιορισμό της αξίας του συλλογικού» αλλά και του «ατομικού» έργου των εκπαιδευτικών σε κάθε σχολείο, με στόχο τη «συνεχή βελτίωση της παρεχόμενης εκπαίδευσης, που επιτυγχάνεται με τη βελτίωση του έργου των εκπαιδευτικών και βασίζεται στον προγραμματισμό του εκπαιδευτικού έργου». Μεταξύ των προτάσεων του συγκεκριμένου σχεδίου ήταν η «συσχέτιση της αξιολόγησης του μαθητή με την αξιολόγηση του εκπαιδευτικού», η συμμετοχή των σχολικών συμβούλων «στην αξιολόγηση του εκπαιδευτικού έργου και την υπηρεσιακή κρίση των εκπαιδευτικών», καθώς και η ρύθμιση της διοικητικής ιεραρχίας με την ενίσχυση της θέσης του διευθυντή (Ρουκούδη, 2016: 98). Οι συνδικαλιστικές οργανώσεις απέρριψαν το συγκεκριμένο σχέδιο, ζητώντας την



κατάργηση του θεσμικού πλαισίου που συνέδεε τους σχολικούς συμβούλους με την αξιολόγηση.

Μερικά χρόνια αργότερα, με τον Νόμο 2327, Εθνικό Συμβούλιο Παιδείας, ρύθμιση θεμάτων έρευνας παιδείας και μετεκπαίδευσης εκπαιδευτικών και άλλες διατάξεις (ΦΕΚ 1561/ 31-07-1995), ιδρύθηκε το Κέντρο Εκπαιδευτικής Έρευνας (Κ.Ε.Ε.) και το Εθνικό Συμβούλιο Παιδείας (Ε.Σ.Υ.Π.). Το Υπουργείο Εθνικής Παιδείας και Θρησκευμάτων (Υ.Π.Ε.Π.Θ.) του ανέθεσε την «Επισκόπηση του Ελληνικού Εκπαιδευτικού Συστήματος - Έκθεση για τον Ο.Ο.Σ.Α.», που υποβλήθηκε στον Ο.Ο.Σ.Α., από τον οποίο ζητήθηκε η σύνταξη συνολικής Αξιολογικής Έκθεσης του ελληνικού εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος. Τον Ιούλιο του 1997 το Υπουργείο δημοσίευσε το κείμενο «Εκπαίδευση 2000: Για μια Παιδεία Ανοικτών Οριζόντων» όπου προδιαγράφονταν οι αλλαγές.

Ακολούθησε ο Νόμος 2525, Ενιαίο Λύκειο, πρόσβαση των αποφοίτων του στην Τριτοβάθμια Εκπαίδευση, αξιολόγηση του εκπαιδευτικού έργου και άλλες διατάξεις (ΦΕΚ 188/23-09-1997), επί υπουργίας Γ. Αρσένη, με τον οποίο προβλεπόταν η αξιολόγηση της επάρκειας του εκπαιδευτικού και της απόδοσης της σχολικής μονάδας από όλα τα στελέχη της εκπαίδευσης και από το Σώμα Μονίμων Αξιολογητών (Σ.Μ.Α.). Ο σύλλογος διδασκόντων δεν συμμετείχε στην αξιολόγηση και δεν αναφερόταν ο όρος αυτοαξιολόγηση σχολικής μονάδας. Την αξιολογική έκθεση της σχολικής μονάδας τη συνέτασσε αποκλειστικά ο διευθυντής του σχολείου (Σάββας, 2012: 35).

Έπειτα με τον Νόμο 2986, Οργάνωση των περιφερειακών υπηρεσιών της Πρωτοβάθμιας και Δευτεροβάθμιας Εκπαίδευσης, αξιολόγηση του εκπαιδευτικού έργου και των εκπαιδευτικών, επιμόρφωση των εκπαιδευτικών και άλλες διατάξεις, (ΦΕΚ 24/ 13-02-2002), ο Υπουργός Π. Ευθυμίου επιδίωξε να θεσμοθετήσει εκ νέου την αξιολόγηση του εκπαιδευτικού έργου, με ορισμένες αλλαγές σε σχέση με τον προηγούμενο νόμο. Ειδικότερα, το Σ.Μ.Α. καταργήθηκε και καθιερώθηκε για πρώτη φορά η αυτοαξιολόγηση της σχολικής μονάδας, με τη συμμετοχή του συλλόγου διδασκόντων, ο οποίος συνέτασσε και τις σχετικές εκθέσεις.

Επί υπουργίας Α. Διαμαντοπούλου, ψηφίστηκε ο Νόμος 3848, Αναβάθμιση του ρόλου του εκπαιδευτικού-καθιέρωση κανόνων αξιολόγησης και αξιοκρατίας στην εκπαίδευση και άλλες διατάξεις (ΦΕΚ 71/ 19-05-2010), ο οποίος αναφερόταν αποκλειστικά στην αυτοαξιολόγηση της σχολικής μονάδας και όριζε ότι «τα προγράμματα δράσης και η έκθεση αξιολόγησης καταρτίζονται με ευθύνη του διευθυντή σε συνεργασία με το σύλλογο [...]». Μετά την εν λόγω διαδικασία, προβλεπόταν ότι θα ακολουθούσε η αξιολόγηση των εκπαιδευτικών, που θα γινόταν σύμφωνα με τις διατάξεις του Νόμου 2986/2002. Την ίδια χρονιά άρχισε και η «πιλοτική εθελοντική» εφαρμογή της αυτοαξιολόγησης, αποβλέποντας στη συμμετοχή – συναίνεση εκπαιδευτικών. Κάτι τέτοιο, όμως, δεν επιτεύχθηκε μαζικά. Παράλληλα, ξεκίνησαν και τα «μνημόνια» και επιταχύνθηκαν οι αντιδραστικές αναδιαρθρώσεις στο Δημόσιο (αξιολόγηση, εφεδρεία, μισθολόγιο, κινητικότητα, διαθεσιμότητα, απολύσεις).



Τέλος, το 2013, επί υπουργίας Κ. Αρβανιτόπουλου, ψηφίστηκε ο Νόμος 4142, (ΦΕΚ 83/09-04-2013), με τον οποίο θεσμοθετήθηκε η «Αρχή Διασφάλισης της Ποιότητας στην Πρωτοβάθμια και Δευτεροβάθμια Εκπαίδευση» (ΑΔΙ.Π.Π.ΔΕ.) Η αρχή αυτή ανέλαβε τις αρμοδιότητες σχετικά με την αξιολόγηση του εκπαιδευτικού έργου που είχαν το Κ.Ε.Ε. και το Π.Ι., τα οποία καταργήθηκαν και δημιουργήθηκε το Ι.Ε.Π. Ακόμη, τον Νοέμβριο του 2013, δημοσιεύτηκε το Π.Δ. 152, «Αξιολόγηση των εκπαιδευτικών της Πρωτοβάθμιας και Δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης» (ΦΕΚ 240/05-11-2013) και στις 10-12-2013 εκδόθηκε η εγκύκλιος αρ. 1900089/Γ1 «Εφαρμογή του θεσμού της Αξιολόγησης του εκπαιδευτικού έργου της σχολικής μονάδας κατά το σχολικό έτος 2013/14-Διαδικασίες», με την οποία παρέχονταν διευκρινίσεις σχετικά με τη διαδικασία της αυτοαξιολόγησης στο πλαίσιο της αξιολόγησης του εκπαιδευτικού έργου. Με βάση την εγκύκλιο, ανατέθηκε στο σύλλογο διδασκόντων η αρμοδιότητα ορισμού ομάδων εργασίας, για να ξεκινήσει η αυτοαξιολόγηση της σχολικής μονάδας.

Σύμφωνα με το Π.Δ. 152, η αξιολόγηση διακρινόταν σε διοικητική και εκπαιδευτική (Σάββας, 2012: 38-40). Η τελευταία αποσκοπούσε στη «βελτίωση της ποιότητας του εκπαιδευτικού έργου, προς όφελος των μαθητών και της κοινωνίας». Περιλάμβανε 4 κατηγορίες, η καθεμιά από τις οποίες είχε διαφορετικό συντελεστή βαρύτητας και από 2-4 κριτήρια. Συγκεκριμένα, οι κατηγορίες ήταν οι εξής: 1. Η κατηγορία I «Εκπαιδευτικό περιβάλλον», με συντελεστή βαρύτητας 0,75. 2. Η κατηγορία II «Σχεδιασμός, προγραμματισμός και προετοιμασία της διδασκαλίας, με συντελεστή βαρύτητας 0,5. 3. Η κατηγορία III «Διεξαγωγή της διδασκαλίας και αξιολόγηση των μαθητών, με συντελεστή βαρύτητας 1,25. 4. Η κατηγορία V «Επιστημονική και επαγγελματική ανάπτυξη του εκπαιδευτικού», με συντελεστή βαρύτητας 1. Η εκπαιδευτική αξιολόγηση θα διενεργούνταν από το σχολικό σύμβουλο μία τουλάχιστον φορά ανά τριετία, μετά από παρακολούθηση δύο τουλάχιστον διδασκαλιών εντός συνεχούς χρονικού διαστήματος που δεν θα υπερέβαινε τους 2 μήνες. Η διοικητική αξιολόγηση θα διενεργούνταν κάθε 2 χρόνια από τον διευθυντή του σχολείου (μεταξύ 1ης Φεβρουαρίου και 15ης Μαΐου) και αφορούσε την κατηγορία IV «Υπηρεσιακή συνέπεια και επάρκεια», με συντελεστή βαρύτητας 2.

Για την αξιολόγηση θα χρησιμοποιούνταν τετράβαθμη περιγραφική κλίμακα, κατά την οποία «ελλιπής» θα ήταν ο εκπαιδευτικός που θα συγκέντρωνε 0-30 βαθμούς, «επαρκής» 31-60, πολύ καλός» 61-80, «εξαιρετικός» 81-100, και βαθμολογική κλίμακα 0-100.

Σημειώτέον ότι «οι εκπαιδευτικοί που χαρακτηρίζονται ελλιπείς σε περισσότερα του ενός κριτήρια σε μία εκ των κατηγοριών χαρακτηρίζονται συνολικά ελλιπείς, ασχέτως συνολικής βαθμολογίας» (Κεφ. 2, άρθρο 16, εδ. 4). Όσοι εκπαιδευτικοί κρίνονταν συνολικά ελλιπείς, θα εγγράφονταν στον πίνακα των μη προακτέων, όπως προβλεπόταν στον Νόμο 4024, Συνταξιοδοτικές ρυθμίσεις, ενιαίο μισθολογιο-βαθμολογίο, εργασιακή εφεδρεία και άλλες διατάξεις εφαρμογής του μεσοπρόθεσμου πλαισίου δημοσιονομικής στρατηγική 2012-2015, (ΦΕΚ 226/ 27-10-2011). Σύμφωνα με το άρθρο 8, εδ. 4, «οι υπάλληλοι που περιλαμβάνονται σε





πίνακα μη προακτέων στερούνται του δικαιώματος για προαγωγή για τα επόμενα δύο (2) έτη».

Με το παραπάνω διάταγμα καταβλήθηκε ακόμα πιο συστηματική προσπάθεια να εφαρμοστεί η καταγραφή και η μέτρηση εκπαιδευτικών διαδικασιών, οι οποίες όμως είναι σύνθετες και εγγενώς μη μετρήσιμες, να συγκαλυφθεί ο ταξικός χαρακτήρας των εκπαιδευτικών προβλημάτων, να τεθούν οι εκπαιδευτικοί υπό μηχανισμό διαρκούς επιτήρησης και καταγραφής της προσωπικότητάς τους, να ενοχοποιηθούν για την εκπαιδευτική κακοδαιμονία, να ενισχυθεί η εργασιακή τους επισφάλεια και, εντέλει, να υποταχθούν στις κυρίαρχες πολιτικές και ιδεολογικές αντιλήψεις για την κοινωνία και το ρόλο της εκπαίδευσης σε αυτήν (Παυλίδης, 2014).

Ασφαλώς, ο αντιδραστικός χαρακτήρας της αξιολόγησης συγκαλύφθηκε από εξωραϊσμούς και από τον μανδύα της επιστημονικής ουδετερότητας. Εμφανίστηκε ως μία παιδαγωγική διαδικασία που αποσκοπούσε στη βελτίωση της παρεχόμενης παιδείας προς όφελος της κοινωνίας. Ωστόσο, οι απόψεις περί αποτελεσματικού σχολείου και κοινωνικής αποδοτικότητας στην εκπαίδευση δεν εκφράζουν τίποτα άλλο παρά τη νεοφιλελεύθερη λογική που επιδιώκει τη σύνδεση του σχολείου με τον κόσμο της αγοράς και αντιμετωπίζει την εκπαιδευτική διαδικασία ως μια επιχειρηματική δραστηριότητα, το αποτέλεσμα της οποίας μπορεί και πρέπει να ελεγχθεί, όπως ένα οποιοδήποτε καταναλωτικό προϊόν (Ρέππας, 2017).

Εν κατακλείδι, η αξιολόγηση των εκπαιδευτικών και του έργου τους είτε με τη μορφή του επιθεωρητισμού είτε με τη μορφή των νεότερων εκδοχών της ήταν και είναι μηχανισμός μέσω του οποίου η άρχουσα τάξη προσπαθεί να παγιώσει την ιδεολογία της, με τον πλήρη έλεγχο της γνώσης, των δασκάλων και των μαθητών, ένας μηχανισμός εργασιακής και ιδεολογικής ομηρίας των εκπαιδευτικών. Γι' αυτό, λοιπόν, και εν όψει της επικείμενης «αυτοαξιολόγησης» των σχολικών μονάδων, πρέπει να ενισχυθεί ο προβληματισμός γύρω από το είδος της εκπαίδευσης που επιθυμούμε, τον κοινωνικό της ρόλο και, ως εκ τούτου, γύρω από την κοινωνία που αγωνιζόμαστε να δομήσουμε.

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## The Social Frontier : Πεδίο Δημόσιας Συζήτησης για τον Στρατηγικό Ρόλο της Εκπαίδευσης

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### Περίληψη

Τον Οκτώβρη του 1934 προσοδευτικοί παιδαγωγοί, μέλη της ομάδας που είχε συσταθεί από το 1927 στο πανεπιστήμιο της Columbia (Teachers College Group ) και ηγετικές μορφές της οπτικής της κοινωνικής ανασυγκρότησης, προχώρησαν στην έκδοση του μηνιαίου περιοδικού *The Social Frontier*. Απότοκο της εποχής της μεγάλης ύφεσης και της μερικής απογοήτευσης από την αρχική εφαρμογή του *New Deal*, το περιοδικό αυτό επανέφερε στους εκπαιδευτικούς κύκλους τη συζήτηση σχετικά με τον ιδεολογικό χαρακτήρα της εκπαίδευσης. Επικεφαλής της προσπάθειας αυτής ήταν ο *William Kilpatrick*, ενώ η εκδοτική ομάδα απαρτιζόταν από τους *George Counts*, *John Childs*, *Jesse Newlon*, *Harold Rugg* και *John Dewey*. Σκοπός τους ήταν, όπως αναφέρεται στο πρώτο άρθρο του περιοδικού *Launching The Social Frontier*, να αποτελέσει το έντυπο αυτό ένα πρωταρχικό, εποικοδομητικό μέσο για τους εκπαιδευτικούς εκείνους που θεωρούν ότι το σχολείο, μπορεί να συνδράμει στην ανασυγκρότηση της αμερικάνικης κοινωνίας. Στην 9χρονη πορεία του περιοδικού-και σύμφωνα με τις κοινωνικές εξελίξεις- ξεδιπλώνεται μέσα από τις στήλες του μια ενδιαφέρουσα ιστορία για την εξέλιξη των στάσεων ριζοσπαστών παιδαγωγών σχετικά με βασικά εκπαιδευτικά ζητήματα. Στόχος της παρούσας εισήγησης αποτελεί η διερεύνηση των ιδεών για την εκπαιδευτική πολιτική και παιδαγωγική των βασικών εκπροσώπων της οπτικής της κοινωνικής ανασυγκρότησης, όπως αυτές εκφράζονται μέσα από τα άρθρα του περιοδικού και η ανάδειξη της σημασίας της σκόπιμης εκπαιδευτικής κριτικής, ως βασική προϋπόθεση για την προώθηση του διαλόγου σχετικά με την εκπαιδευτική και κοινωνική ανασυγκρότηση. Πιο συγκεκριμένα τα ερωτήματα που θα επιχειρηθεί να απαντηθούν, μέσα από την χαρτογράφηση μέρους των άρθρων του περιοδικού, αφορούν τη σημασία που δινόταν στον ρόλο του δασκάλου, τον τρόπο πρόσληψης της έννοιας της επιβολής, τον ρόλο της εκπαίδευσης στην ταξική διαμάχη, τη σημασία της ελευθερίας λόγου και έκφρασης εντός και εκτός του σχολείου και τον τρόπο που οι αρθρογράφοι «στέκονταν» απέναντι στην πολιτική του *Roosevelt* αλλά και το κοινωνικό όραμα που οι ίδιοι αντιπρότειναν.

### Λέξεις κλειδιά

Κοινωνική Ανασυγκρότηση, Social Frontiers, Ιδεολογία, Εκπαιδευτική Πολιτική

Στα τέλη της δεκαετίας του 1920 οι ΗΠΑ ήρθαν αντιμέτωπες με την πιο βαθιά και δύσκολη οικονομική κρίση στην ιστορία τους. Η ύφεση επηρέασε τους κοινωνικούς συσχετισμούς και δημιούργησε μια σειρά από κοινωνικά αδιέξοδα. Οι συνέπειες της μεγάλης ύφεσης στον εκπαιδευτικό κόσμο άρχισαν να γίνονται ορατές στις αρχές της δεκαετίας του 1930. Ιδιαίτερα από το 1932 και έπειτα διευρύνθηκαν ακόμα περισσότερο οι ανισότητες ανάμεσα στα σχολεία των πόλεων και της περιφέρειας. Την άνοιξη του 1933 ο *Franklin D. Roosevelt*, υποψήφιος πρόεδρος του Δημοκρατικού Κόμματος ορκίστηκε νέος πρόεδρος των ΗΠΑ και άρχισε να εφαρμόζει ένα πρόγραμμα μεταρρυθμίσεων που έγινε γνωστό ως *New Deal*.



Βασικές έννοιες του προγράμματος ήταν η ανακούφιση, η ανάρρωση και η μεταρρύθμιση. Το σχέδιο αυτό όπως αναφέρουν οι Zinn & Arnove (2009:311-312) δεν αποτελούσε μια ευεργεσία της διοίκησης του Roosevelt, αλλά ήταν αποτέλεσμα των συνεχόμενων απεργιών και των κοινωνικών συνθηκών. Στόχος του ήταν η σταθεροποίηση το συστήματος και η αποφυγή των εξεγέρσεων. Στο άρθρο του κοινωνιολόγου Henry Pratt Fairchild το 1934 (Fairchild, 1934:15-18), *A Sociologist Views The New Deal*, ο συγγραφέας του άρθρου χαρακτηρίζει τον πρόεδρο των ΗΠΑ ως οικονομολόγο της παλιάς σχολής που υπηρετούσε τον οικονομικό συντηρητισμό, επιδιώκοντας την συμβατική σχέση ανάμεσα σε εργαζόμενους και εργοδότες, που επέλεγε την αύξηση των τιμών παρά την αύξηση των μισθών, που προτιμούσε την υπογραφή δανειακών συμβάσεων παρά την επιβολή φορολογίας στους κεφαλαιούχους. Συμπέρανε ότι παρόλο που όλο το πρόγραμμα διακατεχόταν από ανθρωπιστικό πνεύμα δεν απόπνεε ένα γνήσιο ανασυγκροτικό αέρα. Μολονότι ενδιαφερόταν (το πρόγραμμα) να μειώσει τον πόνο και τη δυστυχία των ανθρώπων δεν επεδίωκε την κατάργηση των δομών εκείνων της κοινωνίας που οδήγησαν τους ανθρώπους στην εξαθλίωση.

Η εκπαιδευτική πολιτική που πρότεινε ο Roosevelt μέσα από το New Deal δεν δικαιολογούσε τον αρχικό ενθουσιασμό της εκπαιδευτικής κοινότητας. Αντίθετα από τις αρχικές προσδοκίες των ηγετών της δημόσιας εκπαίδευσης για ομοσπονδιακή ενίσχυση και συνεργασία, ο Roosevelt φάνηκε να προκρίνει την ίδρυση επικουρικών οργανισμών. Πίστευε ότι η οικονομική βοήθεια στη δημόσια εκπαίδευση μπορούσε να εκτοξεύσει το χρέος και ότι τόσο τα σχολεία όσο και οι δάσκαλοι λάμβαναν ικανοποιητικούς πόρους τηρουμένων των αναλογιών. Η επιστολή που έστειλαν στον Roosevelt 220 εκπαιδευτικοί το 1933 έμεινε αναπάντητη. Έτσι, οι αρχικές δηλώσεις συμπαρατάσεως και συμφωνίας άρχισαν σταδιακά να μετουσιώνονται σε δηλώσεις διαφωνίας και κριτικής (Tyack et al, 1984: 27-41, 103-132)

Μέσα σ' αυτό το κλίμα τον Οκτώβρη του 1934 προοδευτικοί παιδαγωγοί, μέλη της ομάδας που είχε συσταθεί από το 1927 στο πανεπιστήμιο της Columbia (Teachers College Group ) και ηγετικές μορφές της οπτικής της κοινωνικής ανασυγκρότησης, προχώρησαν στην έκδοση του μηνιαίου περιοδικού *Social Frontier*. Απότοκο της εποχής της μεγάλης ύφεσης και της μερικής απογοήτευσης από την αρχική εφαρμογή του New Deal, το περιοδικό αυτό επανέφερε στους εκπαιδευτικούς κύκλους τη συζήτηση σχετικά με τον ιδεολογικό χαρακτήρα της εκπαίδευσης. Επικεφαλής της προσπάθειας αυτής ήταν ο William Kilpatrick, ενώ στην εκδοτική συμμετείχαν οι George Counts, John Childs, Jesse Newlon, Harold Rugg και John Dewey. Σκοπός τους ήταν, όπως αναφέρεται στο πρώτο άρθρο του περιοδικού, *Launching The Social Frontier* (Kilpatrick, 1934:2), να αποτελέσει το έντυπο αυτό ένα πρωταρχικό, εποικοδομητικό μέσο για τους δασκάλους εκείνους που αναγνωρίζουν το σημαντικό, ίσως και στρατηγικό ρόλο της εκπαίδευσης στην ανασυγκρότηση της αμερικάνικης κοινωνίας. Στην 9χρονη πορεία του περιοδικού-και σύμφωνα με τις κοινωνικές εξελίξεις- ξεδιπλώνεται μέσα από τις στήλες του, που σύμφωνα με τον





Cremin (1964:233) «αποτελέσαν μια αυθεντική προοδευτική φωνή κατά τη δεκαετία του '30», μια ενδιαφέρουσα ιστορία για την εξέλιξη των στάσεων προοδευτικών. Σύμφωνα με τον Bowers (1969:97) «στόχος του περιοδικού ήταν να αφυπνίσει τους αναγνώστες του σχετικά με την αδυναμία του καπιταλιστικού συστήματος όσο και των προγραμμάτων του New Deal». Το περιοδικό ήταν υπό τη καθοδήγηση του Counts έως το 1937, κατόπιν και ως το 1939 ανέλαβε ο George Hartmann. Το 1939 η ένωση της προοδευτικής εκπαίδευσης ανέλαβε το περιοδικό και το μετονόμασε σε *Frontiers Of Democracy*. Στόχος των νέων αναδόχων του περιοδικού ήταν η συνέχεια της φιλοσοφίας του, παρολ' αυτά κάτι τέτοιο δεν επιβεβαιώνεται απόλυτα. Την εκδοτική του εποπτεία σε αυτό το διάστημα είχε αρχικά ο Kilpatrick και τους τελευταίους μήνες της έκδοσης του -το 1943- ανέλαβε ο Harold Rugg.

Στην επίσημη ιστοσελίδα του περιοδικού περιγράφεται συνοπτικά η πορεία του ως εξής (<http://www.tcrecord.org/frontiers/about.asp>),

«Το *The Social Frontier* (1934-1939) και το *Frontiers of Democracy* (1939-1943) υπήρξε ένα περιοδικό που εκδιδόταν υπό την διεύθυνση των George Counts (1934-1937), George Hartmann (1937-1939), William H. Kilpatrick (1939-1943) και Harold Rugg (1943). Ξεκίνησε σαν ένα ριζοσπαστικό περιοδικό, το οποίο εκδιδόταν ανεξάρτητα στο Teachers College, οι *Social Frontier* παρότρυναν τους εκπαιδευτικούς να χρησιμοποιήσουν τα σχολεία ως παράγοντα κοινωνικής αλλαγής. Με συνοδουπόρους όπως ο John Dewey, ο Sidney Hook, ο Leon Trotsky και ο John Childs, το περιοδικό προσέλκυσε ένα ευρύ κοινό. Δεδομένου ότι το προοδευτικό κίνημα άρχισε να διασπάται, το περιοδικό έχασε μέρος της εκδοτικής του καθοδήγησης και των συνδρομητών του. Το 1939 το περιοδικό ήταν χρεωμένο, και αποδέχτηκε την χορηγία της Ένωσης Προοδευτικής Εκπαίδευσης. Την ίδια στιγμή ο τίτλος του περιοδικού άλλαξε σε *The Frontiers of Democracy* και ο Kilpatrick έγινε ο εκδότης του. Το 1943, η PEA αποφάσισε ότι δεν θα υποστήριζε άλλο την έκδοση του περιοδικού και έτσι εκείνη τη χρονιά δημοσιεύτηκε το τελευταίο του τεύχος».

Στόχος της παρούσας εισήγησης αποτελεί η διερεύνηση των ιδεών για την εκπαιδευτική πολιτική και παιδαγωγική των βασικών εκπροσώπων τις οπτικής της κοινωνικής ανασυγκρότησης για το αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα, όπως αυτές εκφράζονται μέσα από τα άρθρα του περιοδικού, κυρίως της πρώτης 5ατίας της έκδοσης του, και η ανάδειξη της σημασίας της σκόπιμης εκπαιδευτικής κριτικής, ως βασική προϋπόθεση για την προώθηση του διαλόγου σχετικά με την εκπαιδευτική και κοινωνική ανασυγκρότηση και για τον ιδεολογικό χαρακτήρα της εκπαίδευσης και τις προεκτάσεις της παραδοχής αυτής. Πιο συγκεκριμένα τα ερωτήματα που θα επιχειρηθεί να απαντηθούν, μέσα από την χαρτογράφηση μέρους των άρθρων του περιοδικού, αφορούν τη σημασία που δινόταν στον ρόλο του δασκάλου, τον τρόπο πρόσληψης της έννοιας της κατήχησης/επιβολής, τον ρόλο της εκπαίδευσης στην ταξική διαμάχη και τον τρόπο που οι αρθρογράφοι «στέκονταν» απέναντι στην



πολιτική του Roosevelt και ιδιαίτερα απέναντι στο New Deal αλλά και το κοινωνικό όραμα που οι ίδιοι αντιπρότειναν.

Στο πρώτο κείμενο του περιοδικού που υπογράφεται από την εκδοτική ομάδα, αλλά αποδίδεται στον Counts, παρουσιάζεται με σαφήνεια ο προσανατολισμός του περιοδικού. Το περιοδικό, όπως ισχυρίζονται, δεν διατείνεται να είναι απολύτως αντικειμενικό. Έχει μια συγκεκριμένη πολιτική οπτική και ερμηνεία για την αμερικάνικη κοινωνία. Η συγκεκριμένη αυτή οπτική στη τότε συγκυρία μπορεί να συνοψισθεί στην άποψη που εκφράζεται στις σελίδες του περιοδικού ότι, «η εποχή του ατομικισμού στην οικονομία έχει κλείσει και μια εποχή που σημαδεύεται από στενή ενοποίηση της κοινωνικής ζωής και του συλλογικού σχεδιασμού και ελέγχου ανοίγει» (Counts, 1934: 3). Η συντακτική ομάδα θεωρούσε ότι η συγκεκριμένη εποχή ήταν μια εποχή γεμάτη από ιστορικές ευθύνες και ευκαιρίες. Για το λόγο αυτό ήταν απαραίτητο να υπάρχει μια σαφή κατεύθυνση – μια συγκεκριμένη κοινωνική θεωρία που θα συντελούσε στην επιλογή των διαφορετικών δρόμων που ανοίγονταν μπροστά. Η εκπαίδευση σύμφωνα με αυτή την προσέγγιση θα έπαιζε σημαντικό ρόλο στη διαμόρφωση των επιλογών αυτών.

Στις σελίδες του Social Frontier μπορούμε να ισχυριστούμε ότι συνυπάρχουν δύο διαφορετικές οπτικές για την κατεύθυνση που θα μπορούσε να έχει ο μετασχηματισμός της κοινωνίας. Από τη μια μεριά έχουμε την έννοια της κολεκτιβιστικής Δημοκρατίας, η οποία κατά κύριο λόγο εκφράζεται μέσα από τα editorials του περιοδικού και από την άλλη έχουμε μια εναλλακτική προσέγγιση του φιλελευθερισμού, στην οποία αναφέρεται κατά βάση ο Dewey.

Στο δεύτερο τεύχος του περιοδικού, στο άρθρο της εκδοτικής ομάδας, *Collectivism and Collectivism* εκφράζεται με σαφήνεια η κατεύθυνση που προκρίνει η εκδοτική ομάδα. Εκεί παραπέμποντας στα συμπεράσματα της Commission On Social Studies of American Historical Association, της οποίας μέλη ήταν επιφανή μέλη του περιοδικού, αναφέρεται ότι η εποχή του άκρατου ατομικισμού και της ελεύθερης οικονομίας τελειώνει και μια νέα συλλογική εποχή αρχίζει. Το ζητούμενο για την εκδοτική ομάδα είναι ο προσδιορισμός του όρου κολεκτιβισμού. Όπως αναφέρουν, ο συγκεκριμένος όρος είναι ιδιαίτερα ευρύς και μπορεί να βρει εφαρμογή σε διάφορα και εκ δια μέτρου αντίθετα κοινωνικά συστήματα. Για τους εκδότες του περιοδικού ο όρος collectivism αναφέρεται σε ένα σύστημα οικονομίας που εξυπηρετεί τα συμφέροντα των πολλών προκειμένου κανένα παιδί να μην πεινάει, να επισκιάζεται αλλά ούτε να παραχαϊδεύεται. Ταυτόχρονα γίνεται λόγος για ένα είδος κοινωνικού κολεκτιβισμού που εξασφαλίζει ίσες ευκαιρίες για όλους και διασφαλίζει την ελευθερία λόγου, το δικαίωμα στη διαφορετικότητα, της προσωπικής ελευθερίας, ασφάλειας και αξιοπρέπειας (Editorial Board, 1934:3-4).

Στο άρθρο της εκδοτικής ομάδας, *Freedom in a Collectivist Society* (1935e: 9-10) οι εκδότες επιλέγουν να ασχοληθούν με τα όρια της ελευθερίας τόσο στα πλαίσια του καπιταλισμού συστήματος όσο και στα πλαίσια του δημοκρατικού κολεκτιβισμού. Με αυτό τον τρόπο απαντούν στους φόβους που συνοδεύουν την έννοια της *κοινωνικοποιημένης οικονομίας* (socialized economy) και οι οποίοι, όπως



υποστηρίζουν, έχουν επικρατήσει εξαιτίας της προπαγάνδας των *υποκινουμένων από το κέρδος αντιδραστικών* (profit-motivated reactionaries) και των *ειλικρινών αλλά εξαπατημένων φιλελεύθερων* (honest but deluded liberals). Στο άρθρο, ο άκρατος ατομικισμός που θεμελιώνεται στα πλαίσια της αναζήτησης του κέρδους παρουσιάζεται ως ανίκανος να υπερασπιστεί βασικές ελευθερίες των ατόμων που ανήκουν στις κατώτερες οικονομικές και κοινωνικές ομάδες. Τα δικαιώματα των ανθρώπων σε ένα τέτοιο σύστημα αποτελούν, όπως ισχυρίζονται απλά θεωρητικές προαναγγελίες. Για την εκδοτική ομάδα, *μόνο η κοινωνική ιδιοκτησία και ο δημοκρατικός έλεγχος των μέσων παραγωγής μπορεί να διασφαλίσει την ελεύθερη και δημοκρατική ζωή.*

Εξάλλου όπως σημειώνουν σε άλλο άρθρο τους (Editorial Board, 1936a) στόχος τους είναι η υπεράσπιση της δημοκρατίας και όχι του καπιταλιστικού συστήματος. Επομένως δεν υπερασπίζονται τις μεταρρυθμίσεις εκείνες που αποσκοπούν στην πρόσκαιρη «βελτίωση» του καπιταλιστικού συστήματος, η διατήρηση του οποίου, για πολλούς, θεωρείται αυτοσκοπός (1936f:236). Όπως υποστηρίζουν, «η σύγχρονη κοινωνία δεν νοσεί απλά από λειτουργική δυσλειτουργία αλλά από οργανική αρρώστια» (1936a:206).

Οι ίδιοι θεωρούν (1935f) ότι μια κολεκτιβιστική κοινωνική τάξη πραγμάτων μπορεί να οδηγήσει στη γνήσια δημοκρατία, όπου θα εκλείψουν οι οικονομικές ανισότητες και οι κοινωνικές ανασφάλειες. Η εκπαίδευση για τους ίδιους θα μπορούσε να αναπτύξει τη σκέψη και την κρίση των ατόμων προς αυτή την κατεύθυνση. Κάτω από αυτό το πρίσμα αντιμετώπιζαν την εκπαίδευση ως μια *επαναστατική πράξη*, που απομακρύνει τον φόβο από τους ανθρώπους, οξύνοντας τους τη σκέψη και την κρίση (1935a).

Στον αντίποδα για τον κύριο εκφραστή της προοδευτικής εκπαίδευσης (Dewey, 1935: 137-140) το ζητούμενο για την κοινωνία είναι η εγκαθίδρυση ενός νέου, πιο δημοκρατικού μοντέλου φιλελευθερισμού. Απορρίπτοντας τη σύγχρονη έννοια του φιλελευθερισμού που συνδεόταν με το δόγμα της ελεύθερης αγοράς, στρέφεται στην πρωταρχική του σημασία, εκείνη που σύμφωνα με τον Dewey (1935: 138) υπαινίσσεται, «*ένα νέο ενδιαφέρον στον μέσο άνθρωπο και μια νέα αίσθηση ότι ο μέσος άνθρωπος, αυτός που αντιπροσωπεύει την μεγαλύτερη μάζα των ανθρώπων, έχει δυνατότητες που είχαν μείνει κρυφές και δεν μπόρεσαν να αναπτυχθούν, εξαιτίας θεσμικών και πολιτικών συνθηκών*».

Θεωρώντας ως διαχρονικό τον παραπάνω στόχο αντιλαμβάνεται (Dewey, 1935; 1936) ως απαραίτητη προϋπόθεση για την επίτευξή του στη σύγχρονη κοινωνία την αλλαγή στους οικονομικούς και πολιτικούς συσχετισμούς. Η απομάκρυνση τόσο των μέσων παραγωγής όσο και της διανομής του πλούτου από τα «*χέρια*» εκείνων που τα χρησιμοποιούν για την εξυπηρέτηση των δικών τους συμφερόντων αποτελεί βασικό στοιχείο του φιλελευθερισμού που ευαγγελιζόταν ο Dewey. Υπό αυτήν την έννοια το αστικό κράτος θα έπρεπε να υιοθετήσει έναν αναδιανεμητικό ρόλο, εξασφαλίζοντας με αυτόν τον τρόπο τα συμφέροντα μιας άλλης κοινωνικής τάξης. Επομένως ο Dewey τοποθετεί απέναντι από την ατομική ελευθερία ως εχθρό τις



διαδικασίες εκείνες που τροφοδοτούν την οικονομική και κατ' επέκταση την κοινωνική ανισότητα. Στρέφεται ενάντια στον τρόπο που μέσα από τα μονοπώλια συντηρείται το καπιταλιστικό σύστημα και θεωρεί ότι ο μόνος τρόπος για να συνυπάρξουν η ελευθερία με την ισότητα, ολοκληρώνοντας έτσι το δημοκρατικό ιδεώδες είναι διαμέσου της δημοκρατικής λειτουργίας των θεσμών και των νόμων. Και ενώ στη «φιλοσοφία» του Dewey η υπέρβαση αυτή γίνεται με έναν αυτόματο τρόπο μέσα από τους ισχύοντες θεσμούς (μέσα σε αυτούς και η εκπαίδευση) του ίδιου του αστικού κράτους, στην πράξη κάτι τέτοιο, όπως έχει και ιστορικά αποδειχτεί, είναι ουσιαστικά ανεδαφικό και ως εκ τούτου ανέφικτο.

Όπως φαίνεται οι αρθρογράφοι του περιοδικού συνέδεαν άρρηκτα την πολιτική με την εκπαίδευση. Έτσι μέσα από τις σελίδες του περιοδικού συχνά αναφερόταν στα πολιτικά δρώμενα της εποχής και ασκούσαν κριτική σε ομοσπονδιακές επιλογές και αποφάσεις. Στο τρίτο τεύχος - σε ανυπόγραφο άρθρο- γίνεται δριμύ κριτική στην πολιτική του Ρούζβελτ. Εκεί αναφέρεται ότι η πολιτική που ασκεί ο νέος πρόεδρος έχει δημιουργήσει τις προϋποθέσεις εκείνες ώστε επαγγελματίες ρήτορες «να χειραγωγούν τα απογοητευμένα πλήθη με απατηλές υποσχέσεις, δημαγωγικές αγυρτείες, και ανοιχτή δικτατορία στο όνομα της δημιουργίας μια νέας κοινωνίας» (χ.ο., 1934:7-8).

Σε άρθρο του Norman Thomas ( 1935: 12-15) που μπορούμε να βρούμε στο δέκατο τεύχος με τίτλο *The New Deal-an Appraisal*, ο συγγραφέας, αφού παρουσιάζει με κριτικό τρόπο πτυχές του σχεδίου, βάλλεται ενάντια του καπιταλιστικού συστήματος εν γένει. Θεωρεί ότι η ανεπάρκεια του σχεδίου, πέρα από τις αδυναμίες του θεμελιώνεται στο γεγονός ότι αποτελεί έκφραση ενός ούτως ή άλλως αναποτελεσματικού συστήματος.

Η στάση του περιοδικού απέναντι στον Roosevelt φαίνεται σταδιακά να τροποποιείται. Μετά από την επανεκλογή του τελευταίου το 1936 οι συντάκτες του περιοδικού αρχίζουν να εκφράζονται θετικά τόσο για τον ίδιο τον πρόεδρο όσο και για πτυχές του προγράμματός του. Το 1937 (Editorial Board, 1937b) η εκδοτική ομάδα σε επιστολή προς τον πρόεδρο σχετικά με ζητήματα που αφορούν τη δικαστική εξουσία, αναφέρουν εκτός των άλλων ότι σέβονται το αξίωμά του και θαυμάζουν τον θαρραλέο τρόπο διακυβέρνησης του για την προάσπιση της Δημοκρατίας.

Στα δύο επόμενα τεύχη, όπου εν τω μεταξύ ο Counts είχε παραιτηθεί από την εκδοτική ομάδα προκειμένου να ηγηθεί της αντικομμουνιστικής εκστρατείας, μπορούμε να εντοπίσουμε δύο εκ δια μέτρου αντίθετα μεταξύ τους άρθρα που το ένα υπογράφεται από την εκδοτική ομάδα (της οποίας πλέον υπεύθυνος είναι ο Hartmann) και το άλλο από μέλος της ομάδας αυτής ( Newlon). Στο πρώτο άρθρο *Roosevelt the Reactionary?* (Editorial Board, 1938) παρόλο που οι εκδότες σημειώνουν ότι το περιοδικό έχει πολλές φορές εκφράσει την έγκριση του στις ενέργειες του προέδρου και ελπίζει να το κάνει και στο μέλλον, συνεχίζουν αναφέροντας ότι ο Roosevelt δεν έχει εκφράσει ξεκάθαρα τη θέση του για πολλά σοβαρά ζητήματα ενώ συχνά η θεωρία του έρχεται σε αντιδιαστολή με την πράξη



του. Χαρακτηρίζουν τον Roosevelt ως αντιδραστικό καθώς όπως σημειώνουν *μιλάει με προοδευτικούς όρους, αλλά συμπεριφέρεται σαν συντηρητικός.*

Σε προγενέστερο άρθρο του Jesse Newlon με τίτλο *How Reactionary is Roosevelt?* (Newlon, 1937:243-245), ο συγγραφέας προβάλλει ως πλεονεκτήματα της πολιτικής του Roosevelt την ενημέρωση που ο πρόεδρος παρείχε στον αμερικάνικο λαό σχετικά με τη φύση των οικονομικών και κοινωνικών τους προβλημάτων, την υποστήριξη των συλλογικών δράσεων των εργατών, την εκπόνηση προγραμμάτων ανακούφισης και τον –σε αρχικά στάδια έστω- σχεδιασμό της οικονομικής και κοινωνικής ζωής του κράτους. Το ιδεώδες της δημοκρατίας ως κινητήριο δύναμη για της επιλογές των εκπαιδευτικών υποστηρίζεται σε άρθρο του ίδιου συγγραφέα και το 1939 (Newlon, 1939: 262-264). Εκεί με σαφή τρόπο αναφέρεται στο αναπόφευκτο της συμμετοχής των ΗΠΑ σε ένα επικείμενο πόλεμο<sup>1</sup>, στο όνομα βέβαια της προάσπισης των δημοκρατικών ιδεωδών. Το ζήτημα όμως είναι ο τρόπος με τον οποίο νοηματοδοτείται η δημοκρατία και ο τρόπος που το σχολείο έχει συμβάλλει στην νοηματοδότηση αυτή.

Μέσα στις σελίδες του περιοδικού παρατηρείται μια συνεχή προσπάθεια προσδιορισμού της θεσμοθετημένης εκπαίδευσης και του ρόλου της. Για τους παιδαγωγούς, αρθρογράφους του περιοδικού –ήδη από την έναρξη της κυκλοφορίας του- η εκπαίδευση θεσμοθετημένη ή μη επιβάλλει συγκεκριμένες γνώσεις και έξεις. Θεωρούν επομένως σημαντικό ο δάσκαλος της τάξης να έχει μια συγκεκριμένη κοινωνική θεωρία προκειμένου μη γίνεται φερέφωνο ξένων απόψεων. Για τον Sidney Hook (1934: 17) «η επιλογή μιας κοινωνικής οπτικής στην εκπαίδευση σημαίνει την υιοθέτηση μια ταξικής οπτικής».

Η ταξική αυτή οπτική γίνεται ακόμα πιο συγκεκριμένη στο άρθρο της εκδοτικής ομάδας *Teachers and Labor* (Editorial Board, 1935h), όπου γίνεται λόγος για την συνεργασία των εκπαιδευτικών με την ευρύτερη εργατική τάξη στην προσπάθεια εγκαθίδρυσης μια νέας κολεκτιβιστικής κοινωνίας. Η εκδοτική ομάδα θεωρεί αυτονόητο ότι οι εκπαιδευτικοί από μόνοι τους όσο αποτελεσματικοί και αν είναι δεν μπορούν να επιφέρουν ριζικές αλλαγές. Θα πρέπει επομένως να επεκτείνουν τις δραστηριότητες τους και εκτός του σχολείου ζητώντας όμως και τη συνδρομή και της υπόλοιπης εργατικής τάξης<sup>2</sup>. Η σύμπραξη αυτή οδηγεί σε μια ταξική διαμάχη

<sup>1</sup> Η τάση υπέρ της συμμετοχής στο Δεύτερο Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο γίνεται ακόμα πιο συγκεκριμένη και έντονη από το 1940. Όπως σημειώνει ο Provenzo (2011:14) « Από το 1940 οι εκδότες του περιοδικού προέτρεπαν τους αναγνώστες τους να σκεφτούν την πιθανότητα ότι οι ΗΠΑ θα πρέπει να υπερασπιστεί τον εαυτό της» και συνεχίζει αναφέροντας ότι τον Οκτώβρη του 1941 δώδεκα από τα δεκατέσσερα μέλη της εκδοτικής ομάδας υπέγραψαν μια δήλωση που συνηγορούσε εκτός των άλλων και σε συμμετοχή της χώρας στον πόλεμο.

<sup>2</sup> Την προηγούμενη χρονιά (1934) ο Counts ζητούσε από τους δασκάλους να εκμεταλλευτούν την αριθμητική και πνευματική τους υπεροχή και να συμπορευτούν με άλλες δυνάμεις ώστε να αποτελέσουν σημαντική δύναμη στην οργάνωση της κοινωνίας. Βέβαια στην ομιλία του εκείνη δεν θεωρούσε δεδομένη τη συμπόρευση των δασκάλων με την εργατική τάξη, έλεγε χαρακτηριστικά «αν οι δάσκαλοι αποφασίσουν ότι οι τραπεζίτες και οι βιομήχανοι είναι οι πραγματικοί τους φίλοι θα συστρατευτούν μαζί τους» (teachers college in news, 1934: 331).





στην οποία οι εκπαιδευτικοί οφείλουν να πάρουν έμπρακτα το μέρος των εργατών και όχι μιας μικρής ομάδας που έχει τον πραγματικό έλεγχο της διακυβέρνησης του έθνους.

Η σχέση ανάμεσα στην εκπαίδευση και την ταξική διαμάχη αναδεικνύεται κυρίως τα πρώτα χρόνια της κυκλοφορίας του περιοδικού. Έτσι και σε συνέχεια των παραπάνω βρίσκουμε σχετικά άρθρα των Dewey, Childs και Rugg στις σελίδες του περιοδικού το 1936 και του Brameld το 1935. Σύμφωνα με τον Childs (1936: 274-278) η βασική διαμάχη αφορά τον εργατικό ή καπιταλιστικό προσανατολισμό που θα πρέπει να έχει η κοινωνία. Ο εκπαιδευτικός αναλαμβάνοντας τις ευθύνες που απορρέουν από τον διττό του ρόλο- εκείνο του εκπαιδευτικού της τάξης και εκείνου του εκπαιδευτικού ως μέλος ενός εργατικού κλάδου- οφείλει να κάνει τις επιλογές του. Για τον Childs, «ο δάσκαλος πάντα σκόπιμα προσπαθεί να εμφυσήσει έναν τύπο προσωπικότητας και κοινωνικής οπτικής στους νέους σε σχέση με άλλους τύπους, που είναι πιθανόν να αναπτυχθούν». Τάσσεται υπέρ της ανάδειξης των ταξικών διαφορών και τη σημασία της ταξικής διαμάχης και καταλήγει αναφερόμενος στην εκπαίδευση, υποστηρίζοντας ότι «η μόνη επαρκής κοινωνική οπτική για την εκπαίδευση συμπεριλαμβάνει ως βασική πτυχή της την αντίληψη της ταξικής διαμάχης».

Ο Dewey (1936: 148-151) ως υπέρμαχος της οργανικής κοινωνίας μολονότι αποδέχεται τη μη ουδετερότητα του σχολικού θεσμού και ταυτόχρονα αντιλαμβάνεται την ταξική διαφοροποίηση και διαμάχη που επικρατούσε στην τότε αμερικάνικη κοινωνία, δεν αντιμετωπίζει τη ταξική διαμάχη ως τη λύση του προβλήματος ούτε βέβαια ως μονόδρομο στην εκπαιδευτική διαδικασία. Προκρίνει αντί αυτού τη «δημοκρατική» και ήπια επίλυση των προβλημάτων.

Ο Rugg (1936: 138-142) θεωρούσε ότι η Αμερική δεν αποτελούταν από δύο διακριτές μεταξύ τους τάξεις αλλά από πολλές μικρές-ετερογενείς κατά βάση-ομάδες με αντικρουόμενα ενδιαφέροντα. Ως εκ τούτου η μαρξιστική ανάλυση και λύση της ανάπτυξης της ταξικής συνείδησης ως το όπλο της εργατικής τάξης απέναντι στην κοινωνικο-οικονομική κρίση δεν μπορούσε να εφαρμοστεί στην Αμερική της δεκαετίας του '30. Υποστήριζε τη μη ταξική επανάσταση που θα βασιζόταν στη ελεγχόμενη κοινωνική αλλαγή δια μέσου της δημοκρατικής μεθόδου και της πραγματικής συναίνεσης των ατόμων.

Το παραπάνω άρθρο μπορεί να θεωρηθεί απάντηση στο άρθρο του Brameld που είχε δημοσιευτεί το 1935 (:53-56) με τίτλο *Karl Marx and the American Teacher*. Ο Brameld επιχειρώντας μια μαρξιστική προσέγγιση στον τρόπο λειτουργίας του σχολείου θεωρεί ότι θα έπρεπε οι δάσκαλοι που συνηγορούν υπέρ της εγκαθίδρυσης μιας νέας τάξης πραγμάτων θα ήταν σωστό να δίνουν μεγαλύτερη έμφαση στην έννοια της μεθόδου. Υποστηρίζει ότι μια μαρξιστική μεθοδολογία θα έπρεπε να περικλείει τη μέθοδο της πειθούς και ταυτόχρονα θα προέκρινε την λογική και την εις βάθος ανάλυση των πραγματικών γεγονότων και όχι των



ψευδαισθήσεων που παράγει το σύστημα. Μια σημαντική αντίθεση μιας τέτοιας προσέγγισης με τη φιλελεύθερη προσέγγιση των περισσότερων δασκάλων εντοπίζεται στη λειτουργία της Δημοκρατίας και των δυνατοτήτων της. Για τον Marx, όπως σημειώνει, ο Brameld, τόσο η αποδόμηση του καπιταλιστικού συστήματος όσο και το μεταβατικό στάδιο που χρειάζεται για την πραγματική εγκαθίδρυση της κολεκτιβιστικής κοινωνίας αποτελούν μια επίπονη αλλά σαφώς απαραίτητη διαδικασία. Οι μηχανισμοί που το ίδιο το καπιταλιστικό σύστημα έχει «χτίσει» στα θεμέλια της δημοκρατίας καθιστούν αδύνατη τη μετάβαση από το ένα σύστημα στο άλλο μέσα από δημοκρατικές διαδικασίες και καθιστά απαραίτητη την ταξική διαμάχη. Για το λόγο αυτό ο συγγραφέας θεωρεί ότι η συμμετοχή του δασκάλου στη διαμάχη αυτή είναι πολύτιμη και για το λόγο αυτό οφείλει να αναπτύξει πρώτα απ’ όλα ο ίδιος ταξική συνείδηση και κατόπιν αφού αποτινάξει την φαινομενική ουδετερότητα του ρόλου του να προσπαθήσει να συμβάλλει στην αποδοχή μιας συγκεκριμένης κοινωνικής θεωρίας. Αναφέρει σχετικά, «πρέπει να επηρεάσουν τους μαθητές, διακριτικά εάν είναι αναγκαίο, ειλικρινά, αν είναι δυνατόν, προς την αποδοχή της ίδιας θέσης. Αυτό δεν σημαίνει ότι η δίκαιη και ευφυή ανάλυση της "άλλης πλευράς" θα πρέπει να αποφεύγεται. Αντίθετα γίνεται ένα απαραίτητο μέσο στα χέρια του δασκάλου».

Η ανάδειξη του ζητήματος της οπτικής του εκπαιδευτικού και η σχέση του με την ταξική δομή της κοινωνίας είναι εμφανής και στο άρθρο του Newlon με τίτλο *The Great Educational Illusion*, που δημοσιεύτηκε στο έκτο τεύχος του περιοδικού το ίδιο έτος (1935: 14-18). Στο άρθρο αυτό ο Newlon αναφέρει ως δύο από τα πιο σημαντικά χαρακτηριστικά της αμερικάνικης κοινωνίας την ταξική δομή της και τον τρόπο λειτουργίας των κυρίαρχων δυνάμεων μέσα σε αυτήν.

Ο συγγραφέας αντιμετωπίζει την εκπαίδευση ως την έκφραση ενός συγκεκριμένου πολιτισμού. Θεωρεί όμως ότι ο έλεγχος που ασκείται στην εκπαιδευτική διαδικασία δεν περιορίζεται στο άμεσο έλεγχο, όπως αυτός γίνεται εμφανής μέσα από τα σχολικά εγχειρίδια και το αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα. Ο πραγματικός έλεγχος είναι πιο περίπλοκος. Έτσι σημειώνει δύο βασικές μορφές του. Η πρώτη αφορά τον τρόπο που οι κυρίαρχες δυνάμεις επηρεάζουν τη λεγόμενη κοινή γνώμη και η δεύτερη σχετίζεται με τα πολιτικά και κοινωνικά ιδανικά, καθώς και τις παραδοσιακές αξίες των Αμερικανών πολιτών. Κοντολογίς υποστηρίζει ότι η κοινή γνώμη – την οποία οφείλει να υπηρετεί ο δάσκαλος- είναι αποτέλεσμα της κοινωνικής κληρονομιάς και της επίδρασης των κυρίαρχων δυνάμεων. Επομένως δεν αποτελεί μια αυθόρμητη και ελεύθερη έκφραση του λαού αλλά μάλλον μια καλά χειραγωγούμενη «φωνή». Η «φωνή» αυτή βέβαια δεν αντηχεί τις σκέψεις και τις επιθυμίες της εργατικής τάξης αλλά των ομάδων εκείνων που κατέχουν μεγάλη οικονομική δύναμη και ελέγχουν τα μέσα επικοινωνίας και ενημέρωσης, καθώς και βασικούς δημόσιους οργανισμούς, όπως το σχολείο και η εκκλησία.

Επομένως οι εκπαιδευτικοί όταν επικαλούνται την «κοινή γνώμη» ουσιαστικά προσδιορίζουν μια συγκεκριμένη κοινωνική τάξη. Μέσα σ’ αυτό το πλαίσιο ο συγγραφέας θεωρεί ότι ο εκπαιδευτικός δεν έχει άλλη εναλλακτική παρά να



ερμηνεύει όσο καλύτερα μπορεί τις ανάγκες των ανθρώπων και να δρα με γνώμονα αυτές. Ρόλος του εκπαιδευτικού είναι να διαμορφώνει την κοινή γνώμη, καθώς όπως αναφέρει ο Newlon η έννοια της ουδετερότητας στην εκπαίδευση δεν υφίσταται. Ο ίδιος περιγράφει το επάγγελμα του δασκάλου ως μια δημιουργική δύναμη της κοινωνίας, καθώς εξαιτίας της περιπλοκότητας του δεν είναι εύκολο να ελεγχθεί εξ' ολοκλήρου από εξωγενείς παράγοντες. Με αυτό τον τρόπο μένουν στον εκπαιδευτικό περιθώρια- έστω και ελάχιστα- δράσης. Αρκεί ο εκπαιδευτικός να αποδεχτεί τις ευθύνες που του αναλογούν, ιδιαίτερα σε περιόδους κρίσης, ώστε να συμμετέχει στην αναμόρφωση της κοινωνίας. Σε άρθρο του ίδιου περίπου τέσσερα χρόνια αργότερα (Newlon, 1939: 262-264) ο ίδιος επιστρέφει στο ίδιο περίπου θέμα εκφράζοντας την απορία «ωριμάζουμε πολιτικά;» και καταλήγει στο συμπέρασμα ότι *οι εκπαιδευτικοί δεν μπορούν να αποφύγουν τις πολιτικές τους ευθύνες*. Θεωρεί ότι η αμερικάνικη εκπαίδευση έχει κατεξοχήν πολιτικό χαρακτήρα και υποστηρίζει ότι « *οι δάσκαλοι και τα στελέχη της εκπαίδευσης αντιλαμβάνονται σήμερα (μια δεκαετία μετά το κραχ και πριν από μια ακόμα δομική κρίση, θα συμπληρώναμε εμείς) ότι τα εκπαιδευτικά προβλήματα δεν μπορούν να διαχωριστούν από τα οικονομικά και πολιτικά προβλήματα.*» Για τον ίδιο η εκπαίδευση δεν είναι ουδέτερη και αναπόφευκτα πάντα γίνονται επιλογές υπέρ ή κατά μιας κοινωνικής τάξης. Υποστηρίζει ότι οι εκπαιδευτικοί πρέπει να συστρατευτούν με τις δυνάμεις εκείνες που προασπίζουν τα αμερικάνικα δημοκρατικά ιδεώδη και να αποτελέσουν με αυτό τον τρόπο *δημιουργική δύναμη* στη ζωή της αμερικάνικης κοινωνίας (Newlon, 1935:14-18; 1939:262-264).

Όπως προκύπτει από τα παραπάνω ο ρόλος των δασκάλων τόσο μέσα στη σχολική τάξη όσο και στην ευρύτερη κοινωνία καθώς και η έννοια της επιβολής από τον εκπαιδευτικό αποτελούσαν βασικά ζητήματα του περιοδικού. Στο άρθρο της εκδοτικής ομάδας 1,105,921 (Editorial Board, 1935b:5-6), αριθμός που αναφέρεται στο εκπαιδευτικό προσωπικό της χώρας, οι συντάκτες του περιοδικού αναγνωρίζουν στον πολυπληθή εκπαιδευτικό κλάδο μια πολιτική και κοινωνική δύναμη, «*μπορούν ακόμα και να επηρεάσουν την πολιτική ζωή της χώρας, αν το επιθυμούσαν*», απορρίπτουν την παντοδυναμία του δασκάλου αλλά και την εργαλειακή, μηχανιστική και απρόσωπη ιδιότητα του όπως αυτή προσδιορίζεται, σύμφωνα με τους συντάκτες του άρθρου, από τους συντηρητικούς, τους δογματικούς ριζοσπάστες και τους φιλελεύθερους. Αντιπαραθέτουν στα παραπάνω την δική τους φιλελεύθερη ριζοσπαστική άποψη ότι οι δάσκαλοι οφείλουν στη πολιτικοοικονομική συγκυρία της μεγάλης ύφεσης να επιδιώξουν τη συμμετοχή τους στην επιλογή του περιεχομένου της εκπαίδευσης και στον τρόπο διοίκησης της, παύοντας με αυτόν τον τρόπο να αποτελούν εκτελεστικά όργανα άνωθεν οδηγιών. Ταυτόχρονα προτρέπουν τους εκπαιδευτικούς να μην περιμένουν είτε από το θεό είτε από τους πολιτικούς την επίλυση των εκπαιδευτικών προβλημάτων και των ζητημάτων που απασχολούν τον κλάδο τους (μειώσεις μισθών, απολύσεις κ.α.), αλλά αντίθετα να αναλάβουν οι ίδιοι- και σε σχέση με τη δύναμη που απορρέει από τη μαζικότητα του κλάδου- δράση.



Ο τρόπος που το συγκεκριμένο άρθρο παρουσιάζει τις διαφορετικές προσεγγίσεις σε σχέση με το ρόλο του δασκάλου και τη θέση του στην κοινωνία, προδίδουν και τις διαφορετικές απόψεις που κυριαρχούσαν και στα πλαίσια της προοδευτικής εκπαίδευσης σε σχέση με αυτό το ζήτημα. Ταυτόχρονα η άποψη που εκφράζεται από τους εκδότες του περιοδικού προϋποθέτει μια σειρά από προαπαιτούμενα. Ακόμα και αν θεωρήσουμε ότι εκπαιδευτικοί είναι κάτοχοι μιας σχετικής ελευθερίας, γιατί διαφορετικά δεν θα μπορούσε να εκδοθεί το συγκεκριμένο περιοδικό και να έχει αναγνώστες, ακόμα και αν δεχτούμε ότι αυτό που λείπει είναι το θάρρος, η οργάνωση και το κουράγιο, θεωρούμε ότι οι συντάκτες του περιοδικού δεν έλαβαν υπόψη ένα σημαντικότερο παράγοντα. Οι εκπαιδευτικοί στο σύνολό τους δεν αποτελούν μια ομοιόμορφη «τάξη». Σε κάθε περίπτωση η επίλυση των προβλημάτων, πόσο μάλλον η ανάληψη ηγετικής ευθύνης προς αυτήν την κατεύθυνση προϋποθέτει πάνω απ' όλα και πρώτα απ' όλα την κατανόηση του προβλήματος σε όλες τις πλευρές του και τη διάθεση επίλυσης του. Και αυτό δεν αποτελεί ένα ακόμα φιλολογικό πρόβλημα που μπορεί να επιλυθεί στις σελίδες ενός περιοδικού ούτε στις ομιλίες συντεχνιακών συνεδριών.

Προκειμένου να προσδιοριστούν αρτιότερα οι απόψεις για το συγκεκριμένο θέμα των κοινωνικών ανασυγκροτηστών θα στραφούμε στα άρθρα της εκδοτικής ομάδας και των Jesse C. Newlon, James Wechsler και William H. Kilpatrick.

Στο άρθρο του Newlon (1936:189-191), *A Strategy for Teachers*, διατυπώνεται ένα σχέδιο δράσης που είναι ευθύνη των δασκάλων να εφαρμόσουν σε καιρούς κρίσης, όπου οι συντηρητικές δυνάμεις προσπαθούν με κάθε τρόπο να επιβάλουν τις επιθυμίες τους, προκειμένου να διατηρήσουν τα προνόμια τους. Οι δάσκαλοι-θεωρεί ο συγγραφέας- ότι θα πρέπει πρώτα απ' όλα να κατανοήσει πλήρως τα προβλήματα της κοινωνίας στην οποία ζει και να μπορέσει να συνειδητοποιήσει τους κοινωνικούς συσχετισμούς που απορρέουν από το επάγγελμά του. Προκειμένου να υπερασπιστεί τις δημοκρατικές αρχές και ιδεώδη οφείλει μέσα στην σχολική τάξη να επιδιώκει τη συνεχή έρευνα και ενασχόληση με ποικιλία ζητημάτων, αποτάσσοντας το μύθο της ουδετερότητας και επιδιώκοντας τη δημιουργία μιας καλύτερης κοινωνίας. Για να εξασφαλιστεί όμως η ελευθερία της διδακτικής πράξης είναι απαραίτητη η εγκαθίδρυση ενός ενοποιημένου οργανισμού δασκάλων που εκτός των άλλων θα φροντίσει να ενημερώσει την κοινή γνώμη για τη σημασία της επίθεσης που δέχεται η εκπαιδευτική κοινότητα.

Στο ίδιο πλαίσιο ο Wechsler (1936: 176-178) στο άρθρο του, *Freedom to Learn*, αναφέρεται στην ευθύνη του δασκάλου απέναντι στους μαθητές του. Είναι ιδιαίτερα σαφής για τον τρόπο που ο δάσκαλος οφείλει να φέρεται μέσα στην τάξη, όταν χαρακτηρίζει την απόκρυψη στοιχείων για τα βασικά κοινωνικά ζητήματα ως *έγκλημα πρώτου βαθμού*. Παράλληλα αποδέχεται την ελευθερία του δασκάλου να εκφράζει υποθέσεις σε σχέση με τα γεγονότα σε τέτοιο βαθμό όμως που να μην παρεμποδίζεται η κρίση του ίδιου του μαθητή. Ταυτόχρονα υποστηρίζει την αναγκαιότητα ο μαθητής να έχει τη δυνατότητα δράσης σε σχέση με τις κρίσεις στις οποίες έχει καταλήξει, θεωρώντας καταστροφική για το εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα τη



διχοτόμηση ανάμεσα στη σκέψη και τη δράση. Για τον Kilpatrick (1936: 174-175) η κοινωνική δράση (σε σχέση και με τις επιλογές που καλούνται να κάνουν οι πολίτες) η οποία δε βασίζεται στην κριτική σκέψη είναι επικίνδυνη. Θεωρεί επομένως χρέος της εκπαίδευσης σε όλες τις βαθμίδες να μεριμνήσει για την ανάπτυξη της ευφυΐας. Σε σχέση με τη θέση του δασκάλου ως πολιτική προσωπικότητα μέσα στην σχολική τάξη, η εκδοτική ομάδα ασχολείται το ζήτημα της επιβολής/κατήχησης. (Editorial Board, 1935c:8-9) Αναφέρουν σχετικά, «καλώντας τους συμμετέχοντες αυτού του τεύχους να αποθέσουν τις απόψεις τους για το ζήτημα της κατήχησης, η εκδοτική ομάδα δεν επιχειρεί να αποσπάσει μια συζήτηση σχετικά με το αφηρημένο θέμα, εάν πρέπει ή όχι να υφίσταται η κατήχηση. Χρησιμοποιεί μάλλον το ζήτημα του προσηλυτισμού ως σημείο αφετηρίας για τη διευκρίνιση των κύριων καθηκόντων, που αντιμετωπίζει το εκπαιδευτικό επάγγελμα σήμερα».

Μέσα στις σελίδες του συγκεκριμένου τεύχους (τεύχος 4, 1935) περιέχονται πέντε άρθρα γραμμένα από εκ δια μέτρου διαφορετικές προσωπικότητες. Το πρώτο άρθρο υπογράφεται από τον F.J.Sheed, έναν θεολόγο, με αμιγώς καθολικές καταβολές. Στο άρθρο (1935) του αναφέρει πως στόχος της εκπαίδευσης είναι να προετοιμάζει τους ανθρώπους για τη ζωή. Το ερώτημα όμως που θέτει αφορά το νόημα της ζωής. Θεωρεί αδιανόητο να εκπαιδεύει κάποιος τους νέους ανθρώπους χωρίς να έχει δώσει μια επαρκή απάντηση σε ένα τόσο βασικό ερώτημα. Προκειμένου ο ίδιος να το απαντήσει στρέφεται στη θρησκεία. Καταλήγει στο άρθρο του ότι στόχος του εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος θα έπρεπε να είναι η συνειδητή επιβολή της θέλησης του θεού με απώτερο στόχο την περιφρούρηση της καθολικής πίστης.

Για τον οικονομολόγο και κοινωνιολόγο καθηγητή Harry Gideonse (1935) η επιβολή ιδεών (αν και αναπόφευκτη), όπως έχει αποδειχτεί και ιστορικά, δεν αποτελεί το φάρμακο για τα δεινά της ανθρωπότητας. Υποστηρίζει ότι οποιοδήποτε είδος συνειδητής κατήχησης μέσα στη σχολική τάξη είναι ανούσιο. Αντίθετα προκρίνει την ολόπλευρη ενασχόληση με τα ζητήματα και τις δυνάμεις της εκάστοτε παρούσας κατάστασης. Θεωρεί ότι με αυτό τον τρόπο θα αμφισβητηθούν συντηρητικές όψεις τις κοινωνίας και θα δημιουργηθούν νέοι συσχετισμοί.

Αντίθετα ο Earl Bowder (1935), γενικός γραμματέας του Κουμμουνιστικού Κόμματος των ΗΠΑ θεωρεί την κατήχηση ως αναπόσπαστο κομμάτι της εκπαιδευτικής διαδικασίας. Υποστηρίζει ότι ένα επαναστατικό προλεταριακό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα προϋποθέτει κατ' ανάγκην την κατήχηση ως βασικό χαρακτηριστικό (κατήχηση που ορίζεται, όχι ως κήρυγμα του ενός σώματος του δογμάτων, αλλά ως την εμφύσηση μιας θετικής στάσης υπέρ ενός συγκεκριμένου τύπου κοινωνικής δραστηριότητας). Παρολ' αυτά θεωρεί ότι προκειμένου το σχολείο να συμβάλει με οποιοδήποτε τρόπο στην διαμόρφωση μιας νέας τάξης πραγμάτων πρέπει πρώτα απ' όλα να συμβεί μια «εσωτερική επανάσταση» μέσα στον ίδιο τον εκπαιδευτικό θεσμό, καθώς όπως ισχυρίζεται, στο σημερινό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα των Ηνωμένων Πολιτειών η γενική τάση της κατήχησης έχει, λόγω του καπιταλιστικού ελέγχου, κατ' ανάγκην αντιδραστικό χαρακτήρα.





Αντίστοιχα ο καθηγητής George Coe στο άρθρο του (1935) θεωρεί ότι πρέπει να γίνει σαφές στους μαθητές/τριες ότι το καπιταλιστικό σύστημα αποτελεί τροχοπέδη στην εγκαθίδρυση μιας συνεργατικής και ισότιμης κοινωνίας. Ως εκ τούτου υποστηρίζει ότι, εάν ο δάσκαλος δεν καταφέρει να υποβάλλει την πολιτική και οικονομική τάξη στον έλεγχο της νέας γενιάς είναι ένα άπιστος, αν όχι δόλιος, υπηρέτης.

Τέλος στο άρθρο του ο Bode (1935) εκφράζει την αντίθεση του σε οποιαδήποτε μορφή κατήχησης και θεωρεί ότι ο στόχος της εκπαίδευσης θα πρέπει να συμπεριλαμβάνει την δημιουργία των πολιτών εκείνων στους οποίους θα είναι αδύνατη η άσκηση επιβολής.

Το αμφιλεγόμενο ζήτημα της επιβολής αποτέλεσε τη διαχωριστική γραμμή ανάμεσα σε πολλούς παιδαγωγούς της προοδευτικής εκπαίδευσης. Η «επίσημη γραμμή» της εκδοτικής ομάδας πάντως σχετικά με αυτό το ζήτημα μπορεί να συνοψισθεί στο παρακάτω,

«κατά την άποψη του Social Frontier καμία από τις δύο ακραίες θέσεις που υφίστανται αυτή την εποχή για το ζήτημα της επιβολής δεν είναι ικανοποιητικές. Από τη μία πλευρά, απορρίπτει την άποψη ότι το σχολείο θα πρέπει δογματικά να επιβάλει ως οριστική και αμετάκλητη οποιαδήποτε οπτική κοινωνικής θεωρίας, ανεξάρτητα αν αυτή σχετίζεται με την παλιά ή με μια νέα κοινωνική τάξη πραγμάτων. Πιστεύουμε ότι το κριτικό στοιχείο πρέπει να εισαχθεί σε όλη την εκπαίδευση και ότι η ευφυΐα πρέπει να καλλιεργηθεί στο έπακρο... Από την άλλη πλευρά, η εκδοτική ομάδα του social frontier θεωρεί επίσης την αντίθετη άποψη ως ανεδαφική-την άποψη ότι το σχολείο θα πρέπει να περιοριστεί σε μια καθαρά αντικειμενική περιγραφή και ανάλυση της κοινωνικής ζωής και για τον εξοπλισμό του ατόμου με τα εργαλεία και τις μεθόδους της σκέψης. Το σχολείο για να λειτουργήσει σε ένα κοινωνικό περιβάλλον πρέπει να έχει κάποιο κοινωνικό προσανατολισμό» (Editorial Board, 1935d: 30-31).

Ακόμα πιο ξεκάθαρα δοσμένη είναι η άποψη της εκδοτικής ομάδας ενδέκατο τεύχος (1935i:39-40) του περιοδικού. Εκεί ξεκάθαρα αναφέρουν ότι ο δάσκαλος δεν είναι προπαγανδιστής και ούτε χρειάζεται αλλά ούτε πρέπει να επιβάλει την άποψη του στους μαθητές. Η επίδραση του στην κοινωνία και η ανάδειξη της αναγκαιότητας του μετασχηματισμού της κοινωνίας μπορεί να επιτευχθεί απλά και μόνο με την άσκηση αληθινού εκπαιδευτικού έργου. Και πραγματικό εκπαιδευτικό έργο για την εκδοτική ομάδα νοείται η παρουσίαση ιστορικών γεγονότων και η διδασκαλία των αντιθέσεων της αμερικάνικης κοινωνίας με έμφαση στις ανισότητες, στις ταξικές διαμάχες και στον τρόπο που οι ενέργειες και οι επιδιώξεις των ομάδων αποτελούν τις δυνάμεις που κρύβονται πίσω από τις ιστορικές αλλαγές. Εξάλλου, όπως πολλές φορές έχουν υποστηρίξει μέσα στις σελίδες του περιοδικού, «η αυστηρή ουδετερότητα είναι αδύνατη και όταν επιχειρείται, παράγει η ίδια μια μορφή κομματισμού, μέσω της επιβεβλημένης σιωπής» (1936b: 206).



Ο Newlon (1936) υποστηρίζει σε παρεμφερή πλαίσιο, το να λέμε ότι το σχολείο δεν πρέπει να χρησιμοποιείται για προπαγανδιστικούς σκοπούς δεν σημαίνει ότι η εκπαίδευση μπορεί ή πρέπει να είναι ουδέτερη σε σχέση με τα κοινωνικά προβλήματα. Η ελευθερία της αναζήτησης είναι η πεμπτουσία της Δημοκρατίας. Αυτοί που νομίζουν ότι η ουδετερότητα είναι η μόνη εναλλακτική λύση στην προπαγάνδα δεν έχουν επίγνωση των κοινωνικών πραγματικοτήτων του κόσμου στον οποίο ζούμε.

Όπως φαίνεται από τη συνοπτική παρουσίαση της αρθρογραφίας του περιοδικού ένα από τα πιο σημαντικά επιτεύγματα του ήταν η ανάδειξη του ιδεολογικού χαρακτήρα της εκπαίδευσης και η άμεση συσχέτιση του με την κοινωνία. Η δημόσια συζήτηση και αντιπαράθεση επιχειρημάτων σε σχέση με ουσιαστικά εκπαιδευτικά ζητήματα αποτελεί ίσως ένα από τα πιο σημαντικά όπλα που έχουμε στη φαρέτρα μας οι εκπαιδευτικοί προκειμένου να η εκπαίδευση να επιτελέσει τον υπαρκτό της ρόλο. Κάτω από αυτό το πρίσμα η παρουσία του συγκεκριμένου περιοδικού στον έντυπο τύπο των ΗΠΑ τη δεκαετία του '30, συνδυαστικά και με άλλες προσπάθειες, αποτέλεσε ένα ριζοσπαστικό εγχείρημα. Την πεποίθησή μας αυτή ενισχύουν ακόμα περισσότερο οι αντιδράσεις και η κριτική που δέχονταν την περίοδο εκείνη οι ηγετικές μορφές της κοινωνικής ανασυγκρότησης και μέλη της συντακτικής ομάδας από συντηρητικούς κύκλους της εποχής.

Πιο συγκεκριμένα τη διετία 1934-35 μέρος του έντυπου τύπου των ΗΠΑ στράφηκε ενάντια σε εκπροσώπους της ανασυγκροτικής πτέρυγας της προοδευτικής εκπαίδευσης και εκδότες του περιοδικού, χαρακτηρίζοντας τους ως κομμουνιστές και ως εκ τούτου επικίνδυνους. Ήδη το 1934 είχε κυκλοφορήσει το βιβλίο της Elizabeth Dilling, *The Red Network*, ένα βιβλίο που όπως αναφέρεται στις πρώτες του σελίδες (:5) ήταν αφιερωμένο «με θαυμασμό σε όλους εκείνους τους ειλκρινείς μαχητές για την αμερικανική ελευθερία και τις χριστιανικές αρχές οι οποίοι, λόγω της αντίθεσής τους στην κόκκινη προπαγάνδα και τη «νέα κοινωνική τάξη» του Μαρξ και του Λένιν, κατηγορούνται ως "επαγγελματίες πατριώτες" ... και "Συντηρητικοί" από τους κόκκινους αντιπάλους τους». Μέσα σε αυτούς τους αντιπάλους συγκαταλέγονται και οι Counts και Rugg. Την επόμενη χρονιά ο αντιπρόσωπος Blanton του Texas θέσπισε ίσως τον πιο ενδιαφέρον όρκο, εκείνον του «little red rider» (1935). Σύμφωνα με τον όρκο αυτό κάθε δάσκαλος μια μέρα πριν από την πληρωμή του θα έπρεπε να υπογράψει ένα χαρτί όπου θα αναφέρεται ότι δεν υποστηρίζει κομμουνιστικές ιδέες είτε μέσα είτε έξω από τη σχολική αίθουσα. Σε περίπτωση άρνησης υπογραφής του όρκου, ο μισθός δεν καταβαλλόταν στον ενδιαφερόμενο. Μάλιστα ο εμπνευστής του εν λόγω όρκου κατασκεύασε και ένα ερωτηματολόγιο όπου ρωτούσε τους δασκάλους αν πιστεύουν στο θεό, αν εγκρίνουν τα γραπτά των Counts και Beard, αν ήταν μέλη της Ένωσης Δασκάλων και αν ήταν συνδρομητές του Social Frontier. Ο όρκος αυτός καταργήθηκε το 1937. Την κατάργησή αυτή οι Social Frontier την εξέλαβαν ως «έναν θρίαμβο για τους εκπαιδευτικούς στην πολιτική, που σαφώς αναδεικνύει τις



δυνατότητες των συντεταγμένων εκπαιδευτικών πολιτικών προσπαθειών» (Editorial Board, 1937a: 163).

Όπως αναφερόταν και σε δελτίο της ένωσης αμερικάνικων πολιτικών ελευθεριών τα χρόνια από το πρώτο παγκόσμιο πόλεμο έως το 1936 υπήρξε ραγδαία καταπάτηση των εκπαιδευτικών ελευθεριών. Ανάμεσα σε άλλα αναφέρουν ότι είχαν θεσμοθετηθεί περισσότεροι νόμοι από ποτέ που παρέμβαιναν στην εκπαιδευτική διαδικασία των δημόσιων σχολείων, ότι απολύθηκαν περισσότεροι καθηγητές πανεπιστημίου – σε σχέση με οποιαδήποτε άλλη φάση της αμερικάνικης ιστορίας- από τα καθήκοντα τους εξαιτίας των ιδεών τους και ότι λογοκρίθηκαν οι ιδέες που εκφράζονταν τόσο σε σχολικά εγχειρίδια και σχολικές εφημερίδες όσο και σε φιλελεύθερους ομίλους πανεπιστημίων (Dilling, 1934: 5, 163, Editorial Board, 1937a: 163, Violas, 1973: 167-177).

Συστηματικές επίσης υπήρξαν και οι επιθέσεις που υφίσταντο οι ριζοσπάστες παιδαγωγοί από τον όμιλο Hearst στα μέσα της δεκαετίας του '30 απασχολούσε έντονα τους εκπαιδευτικούς κύκλους και βέβαια τους συντάκτες και αρθρογράφους του Social Frontiers. Στο πέμπτο τεύχος του περιοδικού η εκδοτική ομάδα αποφάσισε να ασχοληθεί με τον William Hearst, ο οποίος στις σελίδες του περιοδικού χαρακτηριζόταν από τον Ferdinand Lundberg ως ένας πολύτιμος υπάλληλος, ένας σκληρός σωματοφύλακας, για ολόκληρη την υποκριτική ανώτερη τάξη. Η απόφαση αυτή ήταν απόρροια της άποψης της εκδοτικής ομάδας ότι κάθε είδους παρεμπόδιση στην ελευθερία της διδασκαλίας δεν μπορούσε να μένει ασχολίαστη. Επιπλέον με αυτό τον τρόπο παρουσιαζόταν η δύναμη που είχε ο τύπος, ο οποίος αποτελούσε μέσω διαπαιδαγώγησης και χειραγώγησης. Τέλος θεωρούσαν ότι η ανάδειξη της επίθεσης από τον εκδοτικό οργανισμό Hearst θα μπορούσε να βοηθήσει τους δασκάλους να ξεχωρίσουν τους φίλους τους από τους εχθρούς του (Editorial Board, 1935j:61-90). Στο τεύχος του Νοεμβρίου του 1935, όπου το περιοδικό γιόρταζε τον πρώτο χρόνο της κυκλοφορίας του η εκδοτική ομάδα, κάνοντας έναν σύντομο απολογισμό της χρονιάς, αναφέρεται και στην κριτική-επίθεση που δέχτηκε από τον εκδοτικό οργανισμό Hearst (Editorial Board, 1935g: 3),

«οι συντάκτες του περιοδικού έχουν χαρακτηριστεί ως προπαγανδιστές και τσαρλατάνοι, ντροπή για το επάγγελμα του εκπαιδευτικού. Τους έχουν αποκαλέσει κομμουνιστές και φασίστες, προδότες της χώρας τους, των ιδανικών και των θεσμών. Τους έχουν αποκαλέσει Φαρισαίους, ψεύτες, δειλούς και παράσιτα».

Οι συντάκτες του περιοδικού παραδέχονταν ότι « το social frontier έχει κάνει πολλούς εχθρούς κατά τη διάρκεια των δώδεκα πρώτων μηνών. Και ως επί το πλείστον έχει κάνει τους σωστούς ...ιδιαίτερα είμαστε περήφανοι για τη φαύλη και διαρκή επίθεση που έχει δεχτεί- το περιοδικό- από τον όμιλο Hearst».

Μέσα σ' αυτό το κλίμα το 1939 το περιοδικό με μια λιτή ανακοίνωση (Ryan, 1939: 259-260) του προέδρου της Ένωσης Προοδευτικής Εκπαίδευσης, W. Carson Ryan, Jr. Πέρασε στα χέρια της Ένωσης. Το περιοδικό μετονομάζεται σε Frontiers of Democracy κλείνοντας έτσι έναν κύκλο και περνώντας σε μια νέα δεκαετία με



διαφορετικούς συσχετισμούς και ανάγκες. Στη νέα αυτή εποχή οι συντάκτες του περιοδικού άρχισαν να αναφέρονται στο αναπόφευκτο της συμμετοχής των ΗΠΑ σε έναν επικείμενο πόλεμο, αιτιολογώντας τη στάση τους αυτή στο όνομα της προάσπισης των δημοκρατικών ιδεωδών. Η τάση υπέρ της συμμετοχής στον Δεύτερο Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο γίνεται ακόμα πιο συγκεκριμένη και έντονη από το 1940. Όπως σημειώνει ο Provenzo (2011:14) «από το 1940 οι εκδότες του περιοδικού προέτρεπαν τους αναγνώστες τους να σκεφτούν την πιθανότητα ότι οι ΗΠΑ θα πρέπει να υπερασπιστεί τον εαυτό της» και συνεχίζει αναφέροντας ότι τον Οκτώβρη του 1941 δώδεκα από τα δεκατρία μέλη της εκδοτικής ομάδας υπέγραψαν μια δήλωση που συνηγορούσε εκτός των άλλων και στην συμμετοχή της χώρας στον Πόλεμο. Μέσα σ' αυτό το πλαίσιο μπορούμε να ισχυριστούμε, παραπέμποντας στον Cremin (1988:191) ότι «παρόλο που στόχος ήταν η συνέχεια του περιοδικού, οι εποχές, τα ζητήματα και οι εκδότες είχαν αλλάξει, στην πραγματικότητα το αυθεντικό περιοδικό είχε «πεθάνει». Το 1943 η ένωση αποφάσισε ότι δεν θα υποστήριζε για οικονομικούς λόγους άλλο την έκδοση του περιοδικού και έτσι εκείνη τη χρονιά δημοσιεύτηκε το τελευταίο του τεύχος, όπως όμως αναφέρουν αλλού (Rugg, 1943: 31) η άποψη των μελών της Ένωσης μπορεί να συνοψισθεί στην παρακάτω δήλωση:

«Θεωρούμε ότι οι καιροί είναι κρίσιμοι και οι προοδευτικοί εκπαιδευτικοί θα πρέπει να οδηγήσουν τις κοινότητες τους στη μελέτη αμφιλεγόμενων θεμάτων. Αλλά δεν είμαστε πρόθυμοι να το κάνουμε εμείς αυτό και ούτε θα παραπέμφουμε τον Όμιλο να αναλάβει τέτοια δράση».

Επομένως τόσο η παρουσία του περιοδικού στον έντυπο τύπο της Αμερικής, όσο και το κλείσιμο του αναδεικνύουν με περίτρανο τρόπο τον ιδεολογικό χαρακτήρα της εκπαίδευσης, επιβεβαιώνοντας ότι οι εκάστοτε αποφάσεις είναι απότοκο πολιτικών συσχετισμών και κινήτρων αλλά και τη βεβαιότητα που θα έπρεπε να έχουμε ως εκπαιδευτικοί ότι η εκπαίδευση δεν αποτελεί απλά άλλον έναν μηχανισμό του κράτους που καταστέλλει τη δημιουργικότητα και τη σκέψη των μαθητών αλλά ένα δημιουργικό και ταυτόχρονα ιδεολογικό μηχανισμό που μπορεί μέσα από οργανωμένες προσπάθειες και στη βάση ενός κοινού οράματος να λειτουργήσει θετικά στη διαμόρφωση ενός κλίματος αλλαγής και μετασχηματισμού της κοινωνίας.

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## Ενήλικες μετανάστες μαθητές/ήτριες νοηματοδοτούν το κοινωνικοπολιτικό τοπίο του μεταβαλλόμενου κόσμου: Μια παιδαγωγική προσέγγιση θεμελιωμένη στη θεωρία του Paulo Freire

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Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης

### Περίληψη

Σκοπός της παρούσας εργασίας είναι η διερεύνηση του τρόπου με τον οποίο δέκα πέντε (15) ενήλικες μετανάστες μαθητές/ήτριες, πέντε (5) άνδρες και δέκα (10) γυναίκες, οι οποίοι/ες παρακολουθούσαν τα Β1-Β2 και Γ1 επίπεδο γλωσσομάθειας της ελληνικής ως δεύτερης στο Σχολείο Αλληλεγγύης «ΟΔΥΣΣΕΑΣ», νοηματοδοτούν μέσω της κριτικής διερεύνησης/προσέγγισης ενός σώματος ψηφιακών κειμένων το κοινωνικοπολιτικό ζήτημα της ανεργίας, ως τοποθέτηση προβλήματος, στο πλαίσιο ενός προγράμματος γραμματισμού εδραζόμενου στην παιδαγωγική θεωρία του Freire και στους πολυγραμματισμούς. Η παρούσα εργασία αφορά στα παραγόμενα [γραπτά] κείμενα των μαθητών/ητριών, τα οποία προέκυψαν μετά την ‘ανάγνωση/θέαση’ του σώματος των ψηφιακών κειμένων τα οποία συν-λειτούργησαν ως αντικείμενα νοηματοδότησης και κριτικής γνώσης τόσο σε ατομικό όσο και σε συλλογικό επίπεδο κατά την εξέλιξη της μαθησιακής διαδικασίας. Η ποιοτική ανάλυση του περιεχομένου των παραγόμενων [γραπτών] κειμένων καταδεικνύει ότι οι ενήλικες μαθητές/ήτριες ως αναγνώστες/ώστριες και συγγραφείς αποκαλύπτουν, αρθρώνουν, επικοινωνούν και αμφισβητούν πτυχές, ρητές ή υπόρρητες, των πολιτικο-κοινωνικών συναρθρώσεων και αλληλοσυσχετίσεων των δομών της εξουσίας. Τα ευρήματα της έρευνας αυτής καθιστούν αναγκαία, στο σημερινό μεταβαλλόμενο τοπίο της παγκόσμιας διασύνδεσης, την υιοθέτηση της απελευθερωτικής/εξανθρωπίζουσας και κριτικής/πολυτροπικής διάστασης του γραμματισμού στο χώρο της εκπαίδευσης των «μειονοτήτων», προκειμένου οι ενήλικες μετανάστες να καταστούν ικανοί/ές να διαπραγματευτούν και νοηματοδοτούν κριτικά μια ευρεία ποικιλία πολυμορφικών και πολύσημων σημειωτικών προϊόντων σηματοδοτώντας μια διαδικασία στοχασμού, αναστοχασμού και μετασχηματισμού των ατομικών τους και των κοινωνικών συσχετίσεων της ευρύτερης πραγματικότητας.

### Λέξεις-κλειδιά

πολύμορφες κοινότητες γραμματισμού, κριτικοί πολυγραμματισμοί, απελευθερωτική παιδαγωγική, κριτική εκπαίδευση

### Εισαγωγή

Οι ροές μετανάστευσης των ανθρώπων, που λαμβάνουν χώρα στο σημερινό μεταβαλλόμενο τοπίο της νεοφιλελεύθερης πολιτικής, σε αναζήτηση μιας νέας



εργασίας, μιας νέας πατρίδας, μιας νέας ζωής με την ελπίδα της ανθρώπινης αξιοπρέπειας και επιβίωσης αναδύουν πολύμορφες, πολιτισμικά και γλωσσικά, κοινότητες. Ως εκ τούτου, το μεταβαλλόμενο τοπίο του 21ου αιώνα χαρακτηρίζεται από ραγδαίες παγκόσμιες οικονομικές, γεωπολιτικές και κοινωνικο-πολιτικές αλλαγές, οι οποίες αντικαθιστούν την αίσθηση της ιδιότητας του πολίτη από έναν τοπικό κατακερματισμό και ταυτόχρονα διασπούν τις κοινότητες σε ολόένα και πιο πολύμορφους και υποπολιτισμικούς σχηματισμούς (New London Group, 1996). Παράλληλα, στο παγκοσμιοποιημένο κοινωνικό τοπίο, η αναπτυσσόμενη ποικιλία των ειδών των κειμένων που διακινούνται και σχετίζονται με τις τεχνολογίες της πληροφόρησης και των πολυμέσων διευρύνουν την αντίληψη περί γραμματισμού και περί κατάκτησης του γραμματισμού, ώστε να περιλαμβάνει τη διαπραγμάτευση μιας πολλαπλότητας ειδών λόγων (New London Group, 1996, Kalantzis, & Cope, 1999).

Αυτή η παγκόσμια διασύνδεση αναδύει ως κεντρικό και κρίσιμο ζήτημα, στο χώρο της εκπαίδευσης των «μειονοτήτων», την ανάδειξη του κοινωνικο-πολιτισμικού και πολιτικού περιεχομένου του γραμματισμού, ούτως ώστε μη ηγεμονικές/προνομιούχες ομάδες, όπως αυτές των ενηλίκων μεταναστών, να δουν τους εαυτούς τους ως ενεργούς/ές συμμετέχοντες/ουσες στην κοινωνική αλλαγή και ως σχεδιαστές-δημιουργούς του κοινωνικού τους μέλλοντος (New London Group, 1996, Freire, 1985, 1996, Giroux, 2010<sup>α</sup>).

Υπό αυτό το πρίσμα, της ενεργούς συμμετοχής των μη ηγεμονικών ομάδων στην κατανόηση της σχέσης της γνώσης με τις πολλαπλές ρητές ή υπόρρητες μορφές της κοινωνίας, η διαπραγμάτευση μιας πολλαπλότητας ειδών λόγων που διακινούνται σε περιβάλλοντα στο διαδίκτυο προϋποθέτει την ανάπτυξη ενός σύνθετου πλέγματος δεξιοτήτων κριτικού πολυτροπικού γραμματισμού σύμφωνα με τον οποίο οι μαθητευόμενοι/ες νοούνται ως μία κοινότητα θεατών/αναγνώστων/δημιουργών νοήματος οι οποίοι/ες – μέσα από το ‘διάλογο’ με τα πολυμορφικά κείμενα μπορούν να αποκαλύψουν και να επικοινωνήσουν πτυχές, ρητές ή υπόρρητες, των πολιτικο-κοινωνικών συναρθρώσεων και αλληλοσυσχετίσεων των δομών της εξουσίας.

Κατά συνέπεια, σε πολύμορφες/διαπολιτισμικές κοινότητες γραμματισμού, οι μαθητές/ήτριες ως συγγραφείς, διά μέσω της ανάγνωσης/θέασης έντυπων και ψηφιακών κειμένων, μπορούν να αναδείξουν την πολλαπλότητα των εμπειριών, των νοηματοδοτήσεων και των τρόπων σκέψης τους, να συμβάλλουν στην επικοινωνία των πολιτισμών και να σηματοδοτήσουν ως πλεονέκτημα τις διαφορές των πολυεπίπεδων κόσμων τόσο των δικών τους όσο και αυτών που διαπλέκονται με την καθημερινή κοινωνική και δημόσια σφαίρα (New London Group, 1996).

Σε αυτό το πλαίσιο, η αντίληψη της παιδαγωγικής του γραμματισμού εντάσσεται σε κοινωνικές διαδικασίες και περιλαμβάνει την πολιτισμική και γλωσσική πολυμορφία ως ελπίδα ενός πολιτικού πλουραλισμού και μιας νέας κουλτούρας όπου οι διαφορές χρησιμοποιούνται ως μια παραγωγική πηγή και αποτελούν τον



κανόνα για μια συνεκτική κοινωνικότητα και για μια ειρηνική και γεφυροποιό παγκόσμια διασυνδετότητα (New London Group, 1996, Kalantzis & Cope, 1993b).

### Οριοθέτηση Θεωρητικού Πλαισίου

*Η πρόκληση του μεταβαλλόμενου παρόντος και του προσεχούς μέλλοντος: Επαναπροσδιορίζοντας την έννοια και τις πρακτικές γραμματισμού*

Η παραδοσιακή εννοιολόγηση του γραμματισμού ως μιας τεχνικής δεξιότητας ανάγνωσης και γραφής περιορισμένης σε μορφές οριζόμενες από τη σελίδα και σε τυποποιημένες, μονογλωσσικές, μονοπολιτισμικές και κανονιστικές μορφές της γλώσσας τείνει να καταρρεύσει, από τη στιγμή που δεν λαμβάνει υπόψη τις ριζικές αλλαγές οι οποίες συντελούνται στον οικονομικό και, κατ' επέκταση, εργασιακό, κοινωνικοπολιτικό, αλλά και ιδιωτικό βίο σε παγκόσμιο επίπεδο. Ως απότοκο, σύγχρονοι θεωρητικοί (Edelsky, 1996, Fairclough, 1989, Freire, 1970, Gee, 1992, Kress, 2003) έχουν επιχειρήσει να συνεισφέρουν στον επαναπροσδιορισμό στενά οριοθετούμενων εννοιολογήσεων του γραμματισμού προκειμένου να συμπεριλάβουν μια ευρύτερη οπτική, η οποία αναγνωρίζει τους τρόπους με τους οποίους η κατάκτηση του γραμματισμού συνδέεται με τις σχέσεις γλώσσας και εξουσίας τις οποίες εξετάζουν τα κοινωνικοπολιτικά υπο-κείμενα (subtexts) που είναι εγγενή σε όλες τις πράξεις γραμματισμού (Crafton, Brennan & Silvers, 2007).

Παραπάνω από μια δεκαετία πριν, το 1996, μια ομάδα δέκα ερευνητών, η οποία ονομάστηκε *Ομάδα του Νέου Λονδίνου* (New London Group), επινόησε τον όρο *Πολυγγραμματισμοί* σε μια προσπάθεια επανασύλληψης της έννοιας του γραμματισμού υπό το πρίσμα της αυξανόμενης πολιτισμικής και γλωσσικής ετερογένειας λόγω των αλλαγών στη μετανάστευση στο πλαίσιο μιας παγκόσμιας οικονομίας (New London Group, 1996). Παράλληλα, έλαβε υπόψη τις ραγδαίες αλλαγές στις τεχνολογίες της επικοινωνίας οι οποίες είχαν ως αποτέλεσμα την ευρύτερη πρόσβαση σε πολυτροπικά κείμενα, δηλαδή, κείμενα για τη δημιουργία των οποίων αξιοποιούνται όχι μόνο οι γλωσσικοί κώδικες και συμβάσεις, αλλά και οπτικοί, ακουστικοί, χειρονομιακοί και χωρικοί τρόποι δόμησης νοήματος (βλέπε, σχήμα 1) (Cope & Kalantzis, 2006, 2009, New London Group, 1996). Ζητούμενα των θεωρητικών των πολυγγραμματισμών μέσα από το πλαίσιο το οποίο προτείνουν, αφενός μεν η διεύρυνση μιας ιστορικά περιορισμένης αντίληψης περί γραμματισμού, ώστε να συμπεριλαμβάνει όχι μόνο τη συμβατική ανάγνωση και γραφή, αλλά και τον ψηφιακό γραμματισμό, τον οπτικό γραμματισμό και τον κριτικό γραμματισμό, αφετέρου δε η θεώρηση της παιδαγωγικής μέσα από το πρίσμα της χρήσης μιας πολυτροπικής, πολυγγραμματισμικής προσέγγισης, ώστε να παρέχει ταυτόχρονα πρόσβαση στη γλώσσα της εργασίας, της εξουσίας και της κοινότητας και να καλλιεργεί την κριτική εμπλοκή που είναι απαραίτητη για τους μαθητές/ήτριες προκειμένου να «σχεδιάσουν το κοινωνικό τους μέλλον».

Η επανεξέταση του γραμματισμού ως πολυγγραμματισμών ενθαρρύνει τη μετάβαση από μια αντίληψη περί απόκτησης του γραμματισμού ως μιας παγκόσμια





διανοητικής διαδικασίας η οποία αποκτάται σύμφωνα με ένα αναπτυξιακό, ιεραρχικό χρονοδιάγραμμα σε μια εννοιολόγηση του γραμματισμού ως «ενός ρεπερτορίου μεταβαλλόμενων πρακτικών για ένσκηνη επικοινωνία σε πολλαπλά κοινωνικά και πολιτισμικά πλαίσια» (Mills, 2010: 247).

Με αυτή την έννοια, η υιοθέτηση προσεγγίσεων του γραμματισμού στο πλαίσιο των πολυγραμματισμών ενθαρρύνει την εμπλοκή των μαθητών/ητριών με μια ευρεία ποικιλία πολυμορφικών και πολύσημων σημειωτικών προϊόντων, την εμπύθιση στην κοινωνική τους εμπειρία και την με βάση αυτή δημιουργία νοημάτων, όπως και την ανάλυση των πολυμορφικών αυτών κειμένων με κριτικό τρόπο. Με άλλα λόγια, οι μαθητές/ήτριες ενθαρρύνονται να αποκωδικοποιούν, να νοηματοδοτούν, να χρησιμοποιούν και να αναλύουν κριτικά μορφές πολλαπλών κειμένων για πολλαπλούς σκοπούς σε διαφορετικά περιβάλλοντα (Luke & Freebody, 1999). Το εν λόγω πλαίσιο, γνωστό ως *Μοντέλο των Τεσσάρων Πόρων* (βλέπε, σχήμα 1), εδράζεται στον κριτικό γραμματισμό και, εκκινώντας από την παραδοχή ότι κανένα κείμενο δεν είναι ουδέτερο, αφορά στη διερεύνηση των τρόπων με τους οποίους τα κείμενα προβάλλουν συγκεκριμένες απόψεις ενώ αποσιωπούν άλλες.

### Σχήμα 1

Το μοντέλο των τεσσάρων πόρων – Νοηματοδοτώντας στο πολυτροπικό τοπίο  
Πηγή: Bull & Anstey, (2010: 10, 19)

	Σημειωτικά συστήματα
<b>Σπάσιμο του κώδικα</b> <i>Πώς μπορώ να σπάσω τον κώδικα του κειμένου;</i>	<b>Γλωσσικό:</b> Προφορική και γραπτή γλώσσα (λεξιλόγιο, γενική δομή, στίξη, γραμματική, παράγραφοι)
<b>Δημιουργία νοήματος</b> <i>Πώς το κείμενο νοηματοδοτεί τον κόσμο;</i>	<b>Οπτικό:</b> Στατικές και κινούμενες εικόνες (χρώμα, ανύσματα, γραμμή, προσκλήνιο, άποψη)
<b>Χρήση κειμένου</b> <i>Πώς μπορώ να χρησιμοποιήσω το κείμενο για κάποιο σκοπό;</i>	<b>Χειρονομιακό:</b> Εκφράσεις του προσώπου και γλώσσα του σώματος (κίνηση, ταχύτητα, ακινησία, θέση σώματος)
<b>Ανάλυση κειμένου</b> <i>Πώς θα μπορούσα να διαμορφωθώ μέσα από την εμπλοκή με το κείμενο;</i>	<b>Ακουστικό:</b> Μουσική και ηχητικά εφέ (όγκος, τόνος, ρυθμός, σιωπή, παύση) <b>Χωρικό:</b> Διάταξη και οργάνωση αντικειμένων και χώρου (εγγύτητα, κατεύθυνση, θέση στο χώρο)



Στο κέντρο των πολυγραμματισμών, επομένως, τίθεται η έννοια του κριτικού γραμματισμού ο οποίος, σύμφωνα με τον van Sluys (2005), εκλαμβάνεται ως κοινωνικός από την άποψη ότι διαταράσσει το status quo, αμφισβητεί, μελετά τις δεδομένες/κυρίαρχες παραδοχές, ενεργώντας για αλλαγή. Όπως χαρακτηριστικά αναφέρει, «Διαβάζει τον κόσμο και αναλαμβάνει δράση» (van Sluys, 2005: 9), μια φράση η οποία φαίνεται να αντανακλά την έννοια που αποδίδει ο Freire στο γραμματισμό ως «ανάγνωσης της λέξης και του κόσμου» μέσω της οποίας υπογραμμίζεται η κριτική και ιδεολογική διάσταση του γραμματισμού ως μιας ενεργού και κοινωνικής πρακτικής η οποία στοχεύει στη δράση για αλλαγή της κοινωνικής πραγματικότητας.

Κυρίως μέσω της κριτικής πλαισίωσης, η οποία από κοινού με την τοποθετημένη πρακτική, την ανοιχτή διδασκαλία και τη μετασηματισμένη πρακτική συνιστούν τις παιδαγωγικές διαδικασίες υλοποίησης των πολυγραμματισμών, οι μαθητές/ήτριες θέτουν σε πλαίσιο την αυξανόμενη δεξιότητα τους στην πράξη (από την τοποθετημένη πρακτική) και το συνειδητό έλεγχο και κατανόηση (από την ανοιχτή διδασκαλία) σε σχέση με τις ιστορικές, κοινωνικές, πολιτισμικές, πολιτικές, ιδεολογικές και αξιοκεντρικές σχέσεις συγκεκριμένων συστημάτων γνώσης και κοινωνικής πρακτικής (New London Group, 1996: 86).

Κατά συνέπεια, η κριτική πλαισίωση εντός μιας παιδαγωγικής των πολυγραμματισμών ενέχει την ανάπτυξη εναλλακτικών θέσεων και πρακτικών ανάγνωσης για την αμφισβήτηση και την κριτική κειμένων, σε σχέση με τους συνδεδεμένους κοινωνικούς σχηματισμούς τους και τις πολιτισμικά συγκεκριμένες παραδοχές (Core και Kalantzis 2000b), μέσω μιας σειράς ερωτημάτων όπως, για παράδειγμα, τα ακόλουθα: *Η φωνή ποιου ακούγεται; Η φωνή ποιου αποσιωπάται; Ποιος ο σκοπός του δημιουργού; Θα μπορούσε η θέση του να διατυπωθεί με άλλο/ους τρόπο/ους;* Πρόκειται για μια πτυχή της παιδαγωγικής των πολυγραμματισμών η οποία εδραζόμενη στον 'κριτικό γραμματισμό', εκλαμβάνει τα κείμενα ως χώρους όπου παράγεται ή αναπαράγεται η κουλτούρα (Kamler 1994, Knobel & Healy 1998, Macken-Horarik 1996).

Ωστόσο, η αυξανόμενη τοπική πολυμορφία και η παγκόσμια διασυνδετότητα, η οποία διευρύνεται από τη γρήγορη εξάπλωση των επικοινωνιακών δρόμων και μέσων, θέτει στο επίκεντρο μιας παιδαγωγικής του γραμματισμού τη διασφάλιση ότι οι διαφορές στη γλώσσα, στον πολιτισμό και στο φύλο δεν θα αποτελέσουν πρόσκομμα για την ισότιμη και ισόνομη συμμετοχή/πρόσβαση των ολοένα και πιο πολύμορφων και υποπολιτισμικών σχηματισμών σε δεξιότητες και γνώσεις στο μεταβαλλόμενο εκπαιδευτικό περιβάλλον, όπως και σε ευκαιρίες ζωής στις νέες μορφές οργάνωσης των εργασιακών περιβαλλόντων, προκειμένου να καταστούν ικανοί να μιλούν ανοιχτά, να διαπραγματεύονται και να ασχολούνται κριτικά με την πολιτική εξουσία και τους ιδιωτικούς βιόκοσμους. Μια τέτοια λιγότερο αυταρχικού είδους θεώρηση του γραμματισμού είναι αυτή η οποία προτείνεται μέσω της παιδαγωγικής των πολυγραμματισμών, καθώς λαμβάνει υπόψη τα ενδιαφέροντα



και τις ανάγκες όλων των κοινωνικών ομάδων, προνομιούχων και μη, στις αυξανόμενα ετερογενείς κοινότητες του 21<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα.

#### *Η απελευθερωτική παιδαγωγική στο μεταβαλλόμενο παγκοσμιοποιημένο τοπίο*

Οι ραγδαίες κοινωνικο-πολιτισμικές και πολιτικές αλλαγές του 21ου αιώνα, που συνοδεύονται από την συνεχώς εξελισσόμενη τεχνολογία και τις καινοτόμες διαδικασίες επικοινωνίας, συντείνουν στη διεύρυνση της παγκόσμιας διασύνδεσης, η οποία νομιμοποιεί τον αποκλεισμό περιθωριοποιημένων κοινωνικών ομάδων, εντείνει τις κοινωνικές και οικονομικές ανισότητες και προκαλεί, σε διεθνές επίπεδο, την μετακίνηση πολύμορφων εθνοτικά, οικονομικά, γλωσσικά και πολιτισμικά πληθυσμών προς τις λεγόμενες ανεπτυγμένες χώρες του δυτικού κόσμου με το όραμα μιας ζωής διαφορετικής και παράλληλα καλύτερης από τη δική τους βιωμένη πραγματικότητα (New London Group, 1996, McLaren, 2010).

Με δεδομένες τις προαναφερθείσες συνθήκες, οι θεωρητικές και πρακτικές παραδοχές της απελευθερωτικής παιδαγωγικής, όπως αυτή θεμελιώθηκε από τον Paulo Freire, αποτελούν ισχυρό εργαλείο αμφισβήτησης της κοινωνικής καθολικότητας και ανάπτυξης μιας βαθύτερης και κριτικής συνειδητοποίησης της κοινωνικοπολιτικής πραγματικότητας με απώτερο στόχο το ριζικό μετασχηματισμό της (Freire, 1996, 1977, Aronowitz, 1981: 5, Aronowitz, 2001: xvi-xvii). Για τον Freire, η παιδαγωγική θεωρείται ως πολιτική και πολιτισμική πρακτική, που εκφράζεται όχι μόνο στα σχολεία, αλλά σε όλους τους κοινωνικο-πολιτισμικούς τομείς. Για τον βραζιλιάνο παιδαγωγό, η παιδαγωγική προσεγγίζεται ως πράξη ατομικής και κοινωνικής μεταμόρφωσης και αναγνωρίζεται η σύνδεση και αλληλεξάρτηση της γνώσης με συγκεκριμένα ιστορικά πλαίσια και πολιτικές δυνάμεις, με αποτέλεσμα η παιδαγωγική να εκλαμβάνεται όχι ως μια ουδέτερη και μηχανιστική διαδικασία, αλλά ως ένα πολιτικό ζήτημα (Freire 1987, Giroux 1979, 1993)<sup>1</sup>. Αυτή η ανάδειξη της πολιτικής διάστασης της παιδαγωγικής αποκαλύπτει την άμεση σχέση της με τις δομές και τους θεσμούς της εξουσίας, οι οποίοι αποσκοπούν στη διαιώνισή τους μέσω της αποδοχής των αξιών και των αρχών που στηρίζουν (Freire, 1985, 1998).

Θεμελιώνοντας, λοιπόν, το γραμματισμό ως πρόβλημα με πολιτικές και κοινωνικές διαστάσεις, ο Freire συνενώνει το γραμματισμό με την νοηματοδότηση και τη συνειδητοποίηση της πραγματικότητας, στοχεύοντας στην οικοδόμηση κριτικών κοινωνικών πρακτικών που αποσκοπούν πρώτα στην «ανάγνωση του κόσμου η οποία προηγείται πάντοτε της ανάγνωσης της λέξης» και όχι στη διαδικασία αποκωδικοποίησης και κωδικοποίησης του γραπτού λόγου που περιορίζει και υποτάσσει την κριτική θεώρηση της πραγματικότητας (Freire, 1985, Freire, & Macedo, 1987). Σύμφωνα με τα παραπάνω, καθίσταται σαφές, ότι ο γραμματισμός

<sup>1</sup> Κατά τον Giroux (2010), με τη νοηματοδότηση της πολιτικής διάστασης της εκπαίδευσης, η παιδαγωγική του Freire δεν μπορεί να αναχθεί σε μια απλή μέθοδο μετάδοσης γνώσεων, αλλά εκφράζεται ως πολιτική πράξη και ως μέρος ενός δημοκρατικού σχεδίου, σύμφωνα με το οποίο η παιδαγωγική έχει τη δύναμη να διαμορφώσει την κουλτούρα και τον πολιτισμό.



είναι μια πολιτική και ηθική πρακτική που παρέχει γνώσεις και δεξιότητες, οι οποίες θα δώσουν στους μαθητές/ήτριες τη δυνατότητα να διερευνήσουν από μόνοι/ες τους τις δυνατότητές τους και να κατανοήσουν τη σημασία του ενεργού πολίτη, ώστε να συμμετάσχουν στην υπόσχεση μιας ουσιαστικής δημοκρατίας.

Υιοθετώντας ο Freire (1996) την πολιτική διάσταση της γνώσης και απορρίπτοντας την ουδετερότητά της, η οποία ενισχύεται από τις δομές εξουσίας, αφενός αποκαλύπτει σε αυτούς που μαθαίνουν τους τρόπους διανομής του οικονομικού και πολιτισμικού κεφαλαίου και αφετέρου τους ενδυναμώνει να δώσουν νόημα στο δικό τους βιωμένο κόσμο (Γρόλλιος, 2005). Σε αυτό το πλαίσιο, η κριτική ανάγνωση του κόσμου αποτελεί αναπόσπαστο κομμάτι του γραμματισμού, ο οποίος εκλαμβάνεται ως μια ριζοσπαστική, πολιτικοποιημένη παιδαγωγική σχεδιασμένη με στόχο να ενδυναμώσει τη δράση των ανθρώπων για αλλαγή, για ανάλυση και κατανόηση των αποτελεσμάτων της δράσης τους, ώστε να γνωρίσουν καλύτερα τον κόσμο περισσότερο «βαθιά» και «κριτικά» και να επιτύχουν το μετασχηματισμό των ανισοτήτων της κοινωνίας (Lankshear & Knobel, 2011).

Για τον Freire, ο γραμματισμός στοχεύει στην ανάπτυξη της κριτικής σκέψης και συνειδητοποίησης, η οποία καθιστά τους ανθρώπους ικανούς να «διαβάζουν μέσα από τις λέξεις τον κόσμο» για να αποκτήσουν μια δυναμική και συνεκτική αντίληψη της πραγματικότητας και μια κριτική κατανόηση του τρόπου λειτουργίας των καταπιεστικών και ηγεμονικών πρακτικών στην καθημερινή ζωή και στην ευρύτερη πραγματικότητα (Freire, 1985, Shor, 1992).

Ειδικότερα, η απελευθερωτική αγωγή, τόσο για την τυπική όσο και για την άτυπη εκπαίδευση, συνιστά πράξη ελευθερίας που ενδυναμώνει την κριτική σκέψη των μαθητών/ητριών και όχι πράξη καταπίεσης με νέα «κατάθεση» γνώσεων, που αποκλείει τη διανοητική σκέψη και δράση τους για μια δίκαια, δημοκρατική, ισότιμη και ισόνομη κοινωνία. Η απελευθερωτική παιδαγωγική, αποτελώντας μια πράξη στοχασμού και δράσης για την απελευθέρωση και μια συνεχιζόμενη διαδικασία ριζικής αναδόμησης και μεταλλαγής του κόσμου, σημαίνει όχι απλά την επιδίωξη απόκτησης συγκεκριμένων δεξιοτήτων, αλλά μια σκόπιμη προσπάθεια με πρόθεση να επηρεάσει το πώς και ποιες γνώσεις, αξίες, επιθυμίες και ταυτότητες παράγονται από τις ταξικές και κοινωνικές σχέσεις, με την ελπίδα και με την πεποίθηση ότι η εκπαίδευση μπορεί να δημιουργήσει συνθήκες για κοινωνική δράση και πολιτική αλλαγή.

Ως εκ τούτου, η απελευθερωτική παιδαγωγική, μέσω της κριτικής σκέψης και δράσης, είναι αυτή που θα επιτρέψει τους ανθρώπους στο σημερινό μεταβαλλόμενο κόσμο, να καταδείξουν τον τρόπο με τον οποίο οι ιδεολογίες και οι πεποιθήσεις μιας καταπιεστικής/ηγεμονικής κοινωνίας αποτρέπουν τον εξανθρωπισμό, που είναι ο μόνος προορισμός του ανθρώπου.

Κατά συνέπεια, η συνεισφορά της απελευθερωτικής αγωγής στο παγκοσμιοποιημένο τοπίο της σύγχρονης πραγματικότητας, ιδιαίτερα στην εκπαίδευση ενηλίκων, ενέχει προϋποθέσεις αναφορικά με τις περιθωριοποιημένες/υποδεέστερες και αποκλεισμένες κοινωνικά ομάδες οι οποίες



υφίστανται και βιώνουν την κουλτούρα της σιωπής, καθώς οι κυρίαρχες πολιτικές/κοινωνικές και ιδεολογικές δομές της εξουσίας τούς αρνούνται τη συμμετοχή τους στο ιστορικό γίνεσθαι ως ενεργά δρώντων ατόμων σε έναν ευρύτερο αγώνα για τις δημοκρατικές αξίες της κοινωνίας. Αυτή η παραδοχή αναγνωρίζει την κοινωνική διάσταση της σκέψης και, κατ' επέκταση, της γνώσης η οποία αποκτάται από τη διερεύνηση πραγματικών προβλημάτων που βιώνουν οι ενήλικες και τα οποία διαμορφώνουν την υπαρξιακή τους κατάσταση στο κοινωνικό γίνεσθαι (Freire, 1985, Shor & Freire, 1987, McLaren, 2010).

Συνοψίζοντας, η παιδαγωγική του Freire (1996) ως πολιτική και πολιτισμική πράξη συγκροτείται από θεωρητικές έννοιες, παραδοχές και πρακτικές όπως: (α) της κριτικής συνειδητοποίησης της κοινωνικής πραγματικότητας, με στόχο τον εξανθρωπισμό του ανθρώπου μέσα από τη διαδικασία της διαλεκτικής σκέψης και δράσης, (β) της γνώσης, ως πρακτικής κοινωνικής κατασκευής και κοινωνικής δράσης με σκοπό τη διαλεκτική και δυναμική θέαση της πραγματικότητας, που θα οδηγήσει στον εξανθρωπισμό μέσω του μετασχηματισμού των καταπιεστικών δομών της κοινωνίας.

Τα προαναφερθέντα στοιχεία της απελευθερωτικής παιδαγωγικής αποτελούν θεμέλιο της παρούσας εργασίας όσον αφορά στο σχεδιασμό, στην οργάνωση και στην εφαρμογή του προγράμματος γραμματισμού στο χώρο της εκπαίδευσης ενηλίκων στο σχολείο Αλληλεγγύης «Οδυσσέας» ως χειραφετική και πολιτική πράξη με στόχο ο γραμματισμός να αποτελέσει μια πράξη κριτικής γνώσης της κοινωνικής πραγματικότητας και συνειδητοποίησης της δυνατότητας του μετασχηματισμού της.

### **Σκοπός και ερευνητικά ερωτήματα**

Η παρούσα μελέτη επιχειρεί να διερευνήσει τον τρόπο με τον οποίο ενήλικες μετανάστες σε πολύμορφες κοινότητες γραμματισμού μέσω της 'ανάγνωσης/θέασης' πολυτροπικών κειμένων σε περιβάλλοντα στο διαδίκτυο προσεγγίζουν, διαπραγματεύονται και νοηματοδοτούν κριτικά τον κοινωνικο-οικονομικό και πολιτικό κόσμο, ώστε να αποκαλύψουν και να επικοινωνήσουν πτυχές, ρητές ή υπόρρητες, των πολιτικο-κοινωνικών συναρθρώσεων και αλληλοσυσχετίσεων των δομών της εξουσίας.

Η έρευνά μας στη συγκεκριμένη πολύμορφη κοινότητα γραμματισμού επικεντρώνεται στα ακόλουθα ερωτήματα: α) πώς οι ενήλικες μαθητές/ήτριες δια μέσω του 'διαλόγου'/ 'συνομιλίας' με τα κείμενα προσεγγίζουν κριτικά το κοινωνικο-πολιτικό θέμα της ανεργίας και αρθρώνουν μέσω των πολυεπίπεδων βιόκοσμών τους τις πολιτικο-ιδεολογικές πτυχές του υπό διαπραγμάτευση θέματος; και β) πώς οι ενήλικες μαθητές/ήτριες αναδεικνύουν τα κείμενα ως φορείς ιδεολογίας, πολιτικής σκέψης και κοινωνικής νοηματοδότησης και πώς οι ίδιοι, ως συγγραφείς, αποκαλύπτουν πτυχές των κυρίαρχων πολιτικών και κοινωνικών δομών της μεταβαλλόμενης πραγματικότητας;





Τα ερωτήματα της έρευνας βασίζονται στην παραδοχή ότι οι ενήλικες μετανάστες θα είναι σε θέση να αναλύσουν και να κατανοήσουν τα κοινωνικά θέματα τα οποία εμπλέκονται με τους πολυεπίπεδους βίοκοσμούς τους ως μια ιστορικά δομημένη διαδικασία και να αποκτήσουν μια κοινωνική και πολιτική συνείδηση που θα τους επιτρέψει να προσδιορίσουν τις πολιτικές, κοινωνικές και ιδεολογικές διαστάσεις των κειμένων αμφισβητώντας την ουδετερότητά τους, ώστε οι ίδιοι ως κριτικοί στοχαστές και ενεργοί πολίτες να συμμετάσχουν στον κοινωνικό μετασχηματισμό για έναν δίκαιο, ισόνομο και δημοκρατικό κόσμο.

### Μεθοδολογία

#### Συμμετέχοντες

Στην έρευνα συμμετείχαν συνολικά δέκα πέντε (15) ενήλικες μετανάστες, πέντε (5) άνδρες και δέκα (10) γυναίκες. Οι μετανάστες μαθητές/ήτριες προέρχονταν από την Αλβανία, τη Ρωσία, τη Λευκορωσία, τη Fyrom, την Αρμενία, την Πολωνία και τη Σερβία. Η ηλικία τους κυμαινόταν από 28 έως 50 ετών. Οι μαθητές/ήτριες ήταν απόφοιτοι Λυκείων ή Πανεπιστημίων των χωρών προέλευσής τους και παρακολουθούσαν το Β1, Β2 και Γ1 επίπεδο γλωσσομάθειας. Η έρευνα υλοποιήθηκε από τον Νοέμβριο του 2014 έως και το Μάρτιο του 2015 στο σχολείο αλληλεγγύης «Οδυσσέας» το οποίο ξεκίνησε το 1997 στη Θεσσαλονίκη με την εθελοντική, δωρεάν διδασκαλία της ελληνικής γλώσσας σε ενήλικες μη φυσικούς ομιλητές της, αλλά και ξένων γλωσσών σε μετανάστες, πρόσφυγες, παλιννοστούντες και ντόπιους. Στόχος του σχολείου είναι η διδασκαλία της ελληνικής γλώσσας σε μετανάστες, πρόσφυγες και παλιννοστούντες, όχι μόνο ως εφόδιο και μέσο προσαρμογής στην κοινωνική πραγματικότητα, αλλά ως κριτικό εργαλείο σκέψης για την αντιμετώπιση ρατσιστικών και εθνικιστικών πρακτικών, τη διεκδίκηση κοινωνικών και πολιτικών δικαιωμάτων και την ανάδειξη της κοινωνικής αλληλεγγύης και του σεβασμού της ανθρώπινης αξιοπρέπειας. Επιπρόσθετα, το σχολείο αλληλεγγύης «Οδυσσέας» αποτελεί και χώρο ανάπτυξης κοινωνικών σχέσεων, πολιτισμικών ανταλλαγών, εξομάλυνσης εθνικών αντιθέσεων, χώρο έκφρασης και δημιουργίας. Τα μαθήματα της ελληνικής γλώσσας προσφέρονται από εκπαιδευτικούς και φοιτητές/τριες εθελοντές. Για τη διδασκαλία της ελληνικής γλώσσας στο συγκεκριμένο σχολείο αξιοποιήθηκαν από εκπαιδευτικούς και ερευνητές η θεωρία της παιδαγωγικής του Freire καθώς και η ενδυναμωτική και κριτική παιδαγωγική του Shor. Σήμερα το σχολείο του «Οδυσσέα» απευθύνεται σε ένα ευρύ φάσμα μεταναστών, παλιννοστούντων, προσφύγων και ντόπιων με διαφορετικό κοινωνικό, οικονομικό και μορφωτικό επίπεδο (Γρόλλιος κ.ά., 2002, Φίστα, 2008).

#### Εργαλεία άντλησης δεδομένων

Ως ερευνητικά εργαλεία αξιοποιήθηκαν στην παρούσα εργασία τα παραγόμενα [γραπτά] κείμενα των μεταναστών μαθητών/ητριών τα οποία προέκυψαν από την



κριτική διερεύνηση ενός σώματος ψηφιακών κειμένων αναφορικά με το κοινωνικοπολιτικό ζήτημα της ανεργίας.

#### Μεθοδολογικός σχεδιασμός

Η παρούσα μελέτη συνιστά *έρευνα παρέμβασης*, εφόσον για τις ανάγκες της σχεδιάστηκε, οργανώθηκε και υλοποιήθηκε διδακτική παρέμβαση, η οποία έλαβε χώρα στο πλαίσιο ενός ευρύτερου προγράμματος γραμματισμού, με στόχο την κριτική νοηματοδότηση του κοινωνικοπολιτισμικού γίνεσθαι από μετανάστες μαθητές/ήτριες.

Η υλοποίηση της διδακτικής παρέμβασης εντάσσεται εντός του πλαισίου της *έρευνας δράσης*, δεδομένου ότι πρόκειται για μια ερευνητική διαδικασία στην οποία υλοποιείται δράση των συμμετεχόντων με στόχο τη βελτίωση των πρακτικών τους. Σύμφωνα με τον Robson (2010: 255), ο σκοπός της έγκειται στο να επηρεάσει ή να μεταβάλει κάποια όψη αυτού που αποτελεί το επίκεντρο της έρευνας. Με αυτή την έννοια, πρόκειται για μια πολιτική διεργασία, καθώς αποβλέπει στη δράση των ατόμων με σκοπό την επίτευξη αλλαγών που θα επηρεάσουν και άλλους (Kemmis & McTaggart, 1991: 22-25 στο Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2008: 391). Η βελτίωση και η εμπλοκή αποτελούν δύο χαρακτηριστικά στοιχεία της συγκεκριμένης ερευνητικής μεθόδου.

Επιπρόσθετα, στην περίπτωση της έρευνας δράσης, όπως και στη συγκεκριμένη, ο/η εκπαιδευτικός έχει ταυτόχρονα τη διττή ιδιότητα του διδάσκοντα και του ερευνητή, με σκοπό την επίτευξη αλλαγής και βελτίωσης (Κατσαρού & Τσάφος, 2003: 17). Η άμεση σύνδεση ανάμεσα στη θεωρία και την πράξη είναι χαρακτηριστικό στοιχείο της έρευνας δράσης καθώς η μία τροφοδοτεί την άλλη και το αντίστροφο (Αυγητίδου, 2011).

Ταυτόχρονα, ένα άλλο στοιχείο της έρευνας δράσης εν γένει, το οποίο και λήφθηκε υπόψη στη συγκεκριμένη έρευνα, αποτελεί η ανάπτυξή της σε διαρκείς κύκλους σχεδιασμού, δράσης (υλοποίησης του σχεδιασμού), συστηματικής παρατήρησης και στοχασμού (Cohen, et al., 2008). Η εναλλαγή αυτών των σταδίων δεν πραγματοποιήθηκε γραμμικά, αλλά κυκλικά, με την έννοια ότι υπήρχε διαρκής αναστοχασμός, επαναπροσδιορισμός του σχεδίου και νέα στρατηγική δράσης, επιπρόσθετη κριτική παρέμβαση και εκ νέου αναστοχασμός σε κάθε φάση της μαθησιακής διαδικασίας (Carr & Kemmis, 1997). Η αναστοχαστικότητα ως κεντρικό συστατικό της έρευνας δράσης αποσκοπεί στη χειραφέτηση (Hall, 1996: 29 στο Cohen et al., 2008: 407), η οποία έχει ως διττό στόχο την αποκάλυψη της λειτουργίας της εξουσίας και την πραγμάτωση κοινωνικής δικαιοσύνης (Carr & Kemmis, 1997).

Για την ανάλυση των παραγόμενων γραπτών κειμένων των μεταναστών μαθητών/ητριών χρησιμοποιήθηκε ως ερευνητική μέθοδος η ποιοτική ανάλυση του περιεχομένου. Αναλυτικότερα, η ποιοτική ανάλυση [του] περιεχομένου των παραγόμενων [γραπτών] κειμένων των μαθητών/ητριών, εστιάστηκε στον τρόπο διερεύνησης της νοηματοδότησης του προβλήματος της ανεργίας, προκειμένου οι μαθητές/ήτριες να προσεγγίσουν, να αναδείξουν και να ερμηνεύσουν το υπό



εξέταση θέμα της ανεργίας όχι μόνο ως ατομικό πρόβλημα, αλλά ως ένα κοινωνικο-πολιτικό θέμα, το οποίο θεμελιώνεται και αναζωογονείται από τις κοινωνικο-πολιτικές και οικονομικές πρακτικές της παγκοσμιοποίησης.

Να σημειώσουμε ότι κατά τη συγκεκριμένη μαθησιακή διαδικασία, η ποιοτική ανάλυση των κειμένων που παρήγαγαν οι ίδιοι μαθητές/ήτριες εδράστηκε στην κριτική διερεύνηση της χρήσης και της εμπλοκής των σημειωτικών πόρων, προκειμένου οι μαθητές/ήτριες να αναδείξουν τις θέσεις, τις απόψεις και τις οπτικές που ενέχουν τα υπό μελέτη ψηφιακά κείμενα, ώστε να νοηματοδοτήσουν το πολιτικο-οικονομικό ζήτημα της ανεργίας.

#### *Σχεδιασμός και οργάνωση της θεματικής ενότητας «Ανεργία και Οικονομική κρίση»*

Το πρόγραμμα γραμματισμού το οποίο υλοποιήθηκε στο σχολείο Αλληλεγγύης «Οδυσσέας», στο πλαίσιο του οποίου και εντάσσεται η παρούσα μελέτη, διαρθρώνεται σε εννέα θεματικές ενότητες. Ειδικότερα, η παρούσα εργασία εστιάζει στη θεματική ενότητα «Ανεργία και Οικονομική κρίση» η οποία αντλήθηκε από το θεματικό σύμπαν των ενηλίκων μαθητών/ητριών, όπως άλλωστε και οι υπόλοιπες οκτώ, καθώς απηχούσε προσωπικές εμπειρίες και ανισότητες που η συγκεκριμένη πολύμορφη κοινότητα γραμματισμού βιώνει στη δημόσια και ιδιωτική σφαίρα του κοινωνικού της γίνεσθαι, με στόχο οι ενήλικες μετανάστες να μετασχηματίσουν την παθητική αποδοχή των οριακών καταστάσεων, σε εξωτερίκευση της κοσμοαντίληψής τους και σε κριτική κατανόηση της κατάστασής τους, η οποία παρουσιάζεται σε αυτούς όχι ως αδιαπέραστη και αδιέξοδη, αλλά ως μια κατάσταση που ενέχει τη δυνατότητα της παρέμβασης και του μετασχηματισμού. Ως εκ τούτου, το κοινωνικο-πολιτικό πρόβλημα της ανεργίας τέθηκε σε αμφισβήτηση ως πρόβλημα κριτικής διερεύνησης, δηλαδή, ως ιστορικό προϊόν και όχι ως μια καθολικότητα που οφείλει να γίνει αποδεκτή.

#### *Υλικό της θεματικής ενότητας/κύκλου/άξονα «Ανεργία και Οικονομική κρίση»*

Ως διδακτικό υλικό αξιοποιήθηκε ένα σώμα ψηφιακών κειμένων συγκροτούμενο από τα ακόλουθα κείμενα: (α) [Η σοκαριστική εξομολόγηση μιας άνεργης](#), (β) [Ανεργία-Φτώχεια-Τρομοκρατία στην Ελλάδα Φαινόμενα του 21<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα](#), (γ) [ΟΟΣΑ: Η κρίση πλήττει κυρίως τους μετανάστες](#), (δ) [Οι τραγικές συνέπειες της ανεργίας](#), (ε) [Η ανεργία ο μεγαλύτερος φόβος της εποχής μας](#), (στ) [Το φαινόμενο της ανεργίας: μια γενική προσέγγιση](#).

#### *Διάρθρωση της θεματικής ενότητας «Ανεργία και Οικονομική κρίση»*

Η θεματική ενότητα «Ανεργία και Οικονομική κρίση», η οποία ολοκληρώθηκε σε οκτώ δίωρα, διαρθρώνεται σε τρεις φάσεις. Αναλυτικότερα, η πρώτη φάση εμπειρείχε δραστηριότητες νοηματοδότησης της φωτογραφίας του ψηφιακού κειμένου με τίτλο «Η σοκαριστική εξομολόγηση μιας άνεργης». Αρχικά, η ανάγνωση/θέαση της φωτογραφίας, η οποία δόθηκε στους μαθητές/ήτριες σε



έντυπη μορφή χωρίς τα λεκτικά της στοιχεία, είχε ως στόχο οι μαθητές/ήτριες να αναδείξουν, σε ατομικό επίπεδο, τον τρόπο με τον οποίο ο συγκεκριμένος σημειωτικός κώδικας μεμονωμένα μπορεί να συμβάλει στην οικοδόμηση νοήματος ως προς το υπό εξέταση κοινωνικο-πολιτικό θέμα της ανεργίας. Στη συνέχεια, ζητήθηκε από τους μαθητές/ήτριες κατά την ανάγνωση/θέαση του κειμένου στο διαδίκτυο να νοηματοδοτήσουν τη φωτογραφία σε σχέση με τον τίτλο του κειμένου και να εντοπίσουν τα στοιχεία πολυτροπικότητας του γραπτού λόγου, όπως γραμματοσειρά τίτλου, έντονη γραφή κ.λ.π. Αυτές οι πρακτικές γραμματισμού είχαν ως στόχο οι ενήλικες μαθητές/ήτριες, κατά την ανάγνωση/θέαση κειμένων σε περιβάλλοντα στο διαδίκτυο, να είναι σε θέση να κατανοήσουν την αλληλεπίδραση και συλλειτουργία των πολλαπλών σημειωτικών συστημάτων που οι νέες μορφές κειμένων εμπλέκουν για τη δημιουργία νοήματος. Ακολούθως, η διαδικασία της ανάγνωσης/κατανόησης του ψηφιακού κειμένου, από τους ενήλικες μαθητές/ήτριες, έλαβε χώρα ως μια κοινωνικά και πολιτισμικά ενταγμένη πρακτική, η οποία ενέχει γνωστικά και συναισθηματικά στοιχεία (Wyatt Smith & Elkins, 2012). Λαμβάνοντας, λοιπόν, υπόψη το πολιτισμικό πλαίσιο της μαθησιακής κοινότητας καθώς και τις συμμετοχικές/διαλογικές διαδικασίες που προέκυψαν κατά την ανάγνωση/κατανόηση του συγκεκριμένου ψηφιακού κειμένου, ως ενός σύνθετου μαθησιακού πλέγματος, ζητήθηκε από τους μαθητές/ήτριες να νοηματοδοτήσουν γραπτά το υπό μελέτη θέμα διά μέσω των πολυεπίπεδων βιόκοσμών τους, ούτως ώστε να αναδείξουν τον τρόπο προσέγγισης του κοινωνικο-πολιτικού ζητήματος της ανεργίας, το οποίο στο σημερινό μεταβαλλόμενο κόσμο επηρέασε και επηρεάζει άμεσα την καθημερινή τους ζωή και την ευρύτερη πραγματικότητα. Αυτές οι πρακτικές γραμματισμού είχαν ως στόχο τη διερεύνηση της νοηματοδότησης του κοινωνικο-πολιτικού θέματος της ανεργίας δια μέσω των εμπειριών, των αντιλήψεων και των πολιτικών/ιδεολογικών προσεγγίσεων των μαθητών/ητριών, οι οποίοι συνθέτουν την συγκεκριμένη κοινότητα γραμματισμού με διαφορετικές κουλτούρες, με τις δικές τους γλώσσες, τα δικά τους ενδιαφέροντα, τα δικά τους αισθήματα, τις δικές τους εμπειρίες και αντιλήψεις.

Κατά την εξέλιξη της μαθησιακής διαδικασίας, στη *δεύτερη φάση*, ενσωματώθηκαν σταδιακά τα ποικίλα είδη των ψηφιακών κειμένων που προαναφέρθηκαν με στόχο την κριτική διερεύνησή τους διά μέσω της παραγωγής διαγραμμάτων, εννοιολογικών χαρτών και οπτικών περιλήψεων από τους ίδιους μαθητές/ήτριες. Σε αυτά τα οπτικοποιημένα κείμενα οι μαθητές/ήτριες, ως κριτικοί αναγνώστες, κατέγραψαν τις πληροφορίες, τις κοινωνικές πρακτικές και τις ιδεολογικές και πολιτικές θέσεις που εμπεριείχαν τα εν λόγω ψηφιακά κείμενα, αναδεικνύοντας τις ρητές ή υφέρπουσες εκδοχές/θεάσεις του υπό εξέταση θέματος της ανεργίας σε διασύνδεση με την οικονομική κρίση στο παγκοσμιοποιημένο τοπίο της νεοφιλελεύθερης πολιτικής.

Μετά τις προαναφερθείσες κριτικές και κοινωνικές πρακτικές ανάγνωσης/θέασης, στην *τρίτη φάση*, οι μαθητές/ήτριες κλήθηκαν να συνθέσουν αυτόνομα έντυπα, αλλά και ψηφιακά κείμενα με απώτερο στόχο να διαπραγματευτούν κριτικά, να



αναστοχαστούν και να μετασχηματίσουν προσωπικές θέσεις/αντιλήψεις για το θέμα της ανεργίας και της οικονομικής κρίσης, ώστε οι ίδιοι/ες διαμορφώνοντας μια ευρύτερη οπτική να μπορούν να νοηματοδοτούν τα κοινωνικο-πολιτικά ζητήματα, τα οποία πηγάζουν από τη νεοφιλελεύθερη πολιτική του σημερινού μεταβαλλόμενου κόσμου, ως προβλήματα που απαιτούν και σηματοδοτούν την συλλογική και πολιτική δράση και προσδοκία του κοινωνικού μετασχηματισμού.

### Ανάλυση παραγόμενου υλικού μαθητών/ητριών

Στην ενότητα που ακολουθεί παρουσιάζεται η ποιοτική ανάλυση [του] περιεχομένου των παραγόμενων γραπτών κειμένων των μαθητών/ητριών τα οποία προέκυψαν από την ‘ανάγνωση/θέαση’ του σώματος των ψηφιακών κειμένων και της διαλογικής διαδικασίας που έλαβε χώρα στη συγκεκριμένη κοινότητα γραμματισμού, κατά την πρώτη και τρίτη φάση της μαθησιακής διαδικασίας. Αξίζει να αναφερθεί ότι για τη σαφήνεια της ανάλυσης παρουσιάζονται αποσπάσματα των κειμένων, ενώ τα αυτούσια κείμενα παρατίθενται στο Παράρτημα.

### *‘Διάλογος’ των μαθητών/ητριών με τα ψηφιακά κείμενα: οι ενήλικες μαθητές/τριες νοηματοδοτούν το υπό εξέταση κοινωνικό θέμα ως κριτικοί ‘αναγνώστες’/αναλυτές*

Αρχικά, οι μαθητές/ήτριες μετά την ‘ανάγνωση’/‘διάλογο’ με το ψηφιακό κείμενο με τίτλο «*Η σοκαριστική εξομολόγηση μιας άνεργης*», στα γραπτά κείμενα που παρήγαγαν προκειμένου να νοηματοδοτήσουν το θέμα «Ανεργία και Οικονομική Κρίση» ως κοινωνικο-πολιτικό ζήτημα, επισημαίνουν το πρόβλημα της ανεργίας κυρίως ως ένα ατομικό/προσωπικό πρόβλημα το οποίο πλέον υφίστανται πολλές πληθυσμιακές ομάδες στο παγκοσμιοποιημένο μεταβαλλόμενο τοπίο της κοινωνικής σφαίρας, όπως φαίνεται στο απόσπασμα της εικόνας 1.

#### Εικόνα 1

Η ανεργία ως ατομικό πρόβλημα

Θεώρηση του υπό εξέταση κοινωνικού θέματος ως ατομικό πρόβλημα και όχι ως ένα συλλογικό πρόβλημα





Στα αποσπάσματα που ακολουθούν, οι ενήλικες μαθητές/ήτριες σκιαγραφούν την προσωπικότητα της άνεργης δημοσιογράφου και επισημαίνουν ότι τόσο τα προσόντα της, επαγγελματικά και επιστημονικά, όσο και οι προσωπικές της ικανότητες της εξασφάλιζαν στο παρελθόν πρόσβαση στην εργασία, αναδεικνύοντας ταυτόχρονα ότι το φαινόμενο της ανεργίας αποκλείει από τον τομέα της εργασίας, πολίτες οι οποίοι είναι εφοδιασμένοι με προσόντα/πρακτικές που απαιτεί η φιλελεύθερη οικονομική πολιτική (εικόνα 2).

## Εικόνα 2

Σκιαγράφηση προσωπικότητας κεντρικού χαρακτήρα του κειμένου

Επιπλέον της είναι Η κύρια είναι δημοσιογράφος και η μεταφράστρια, δούλεψε όλη την ζωή της και τώρα ~~αποφοιτά~~ εδó και θύμους δεν μπορεί να βρεί δουλειά

Σκιαγράφηση ταυτότητας: Ανάδειξη των ατομικών ικανοτήτων/δεξιοτήτων

Από το άρθρο μπορούμε να καταλαβαίνουμε ότι η ηρωίδα μας είναι εργατική, μορφωμένη, αρκετά νέα, ανύπαντρη και ευνεηής.

Στη συνέχεια, οι μαθητές/ήτριες καταγράφουν τις οικονομικές επιπτώσεις της ανεργίας που διαπλέκονται με την καθημερινή ζωή της δημοσιογράφου. Οι οικονομικές δυσκολίες, ως επακόλουθο της ανεργίας, ανατρέπουν την καθημερινότητά της και την οδηγούν στην αδυναμία της πληρωμής λογαριασμών που της εξασφάλιζαν μια αξιοπρεπή ζωή. Η κοινωνική και ιατρική ασφάλιση, η στέγαση και η ηλεκτροδότηση είναι οι πρώτες βασικές ανάγκες που δεν καλύπτονται μετά τον αποκλεισμό της από την εργασία, όπως καταγράφονται στα αποσπάσματα της εικόνας 3.



### Εικόνα 3

#### Οικονομικές επιπτώσεις ανεργίας

και ~~δεν~~ ~~έχει~~ ~~πολλά~~ ~~προβλήματα~~ Η ανεργία της  
δημοσιογράφου πολλά προβλήματα. Δεν μπορεί να πληρώσει  
τους λογαριασμούς της; ΔΕΙ, ΤΕΒΕ. Δεν μπορεί να  
πληρώσει το ενοίκιο της και η σπιτιοκοκυρία  
θέλει να ~~βεί~~ της βγάλει από το σπίτι της.

**Καταγραφή των οικονομικών επιπτώσεων**

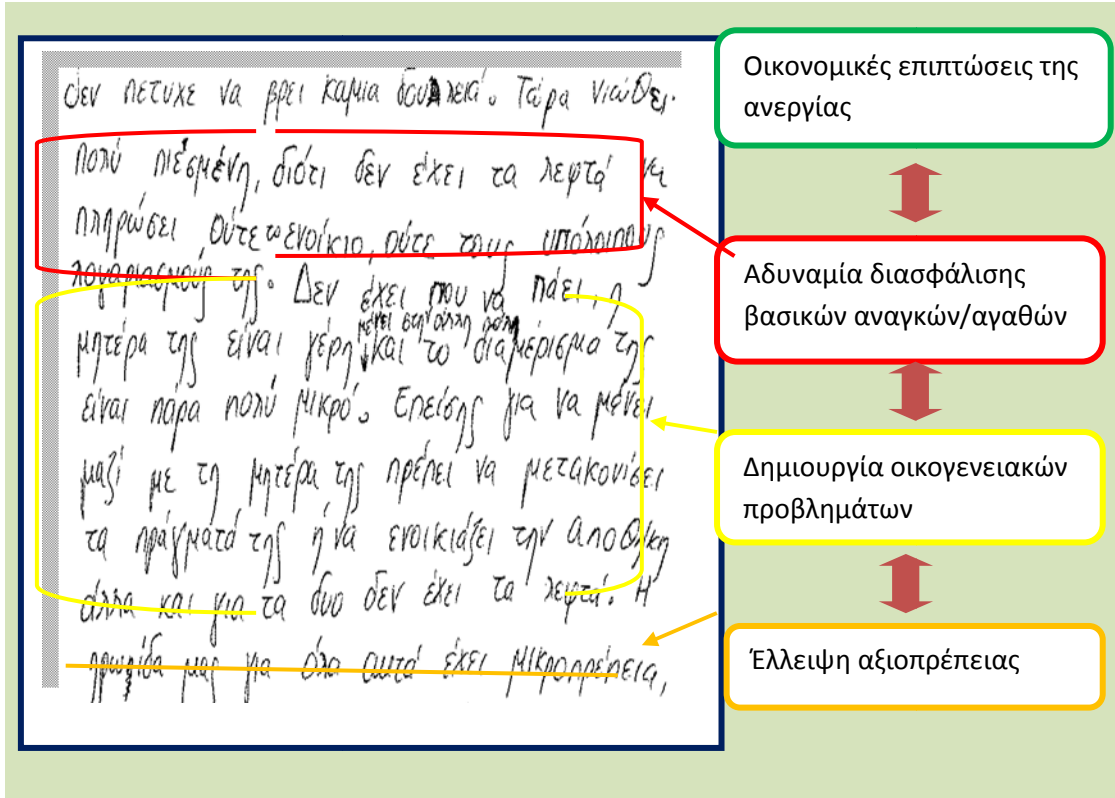
Δεν πετυχε να βρει καμία δουλειά. Τώρα νιώθει  
πολύ πιεσμένη, διότι δεν έχει τα λεφτά να  
πληρώσει ούτε ενοίκιο, ούτε τους υπόλοιπους  
λογαριασμούς της. Δεν έχει που να πεί

Παράλληλα, οι μαθητές/ήτριες αναφέρονται στα κοινωνικά, και οικογενειακά προβλήματα, που υφίσταται η άνεργη δημοσιογράφος ως προβλήματα ζωτικής σημασίας. Τα προβλήματα αυτά όπως «δεν έχει που να πάει», «η μητέρα της είναι γέρη [μεγάλη]», «δεν έχει αξιοπρέπεια» περιγράφουν τη στέρηση των κοινωνικών αγαθών που βιώνει η δημοσιογράφος και καθορίζουν πλέον τις νέες κοινωνικές και οικογενειακές συνθήκες ζωής της, όπως αποτυπώνονται στα αποσπάσματα της εικόνας 4.



#### Εικόνα 4

#### Κοινωνικές επιπτώσεις ανεργίας

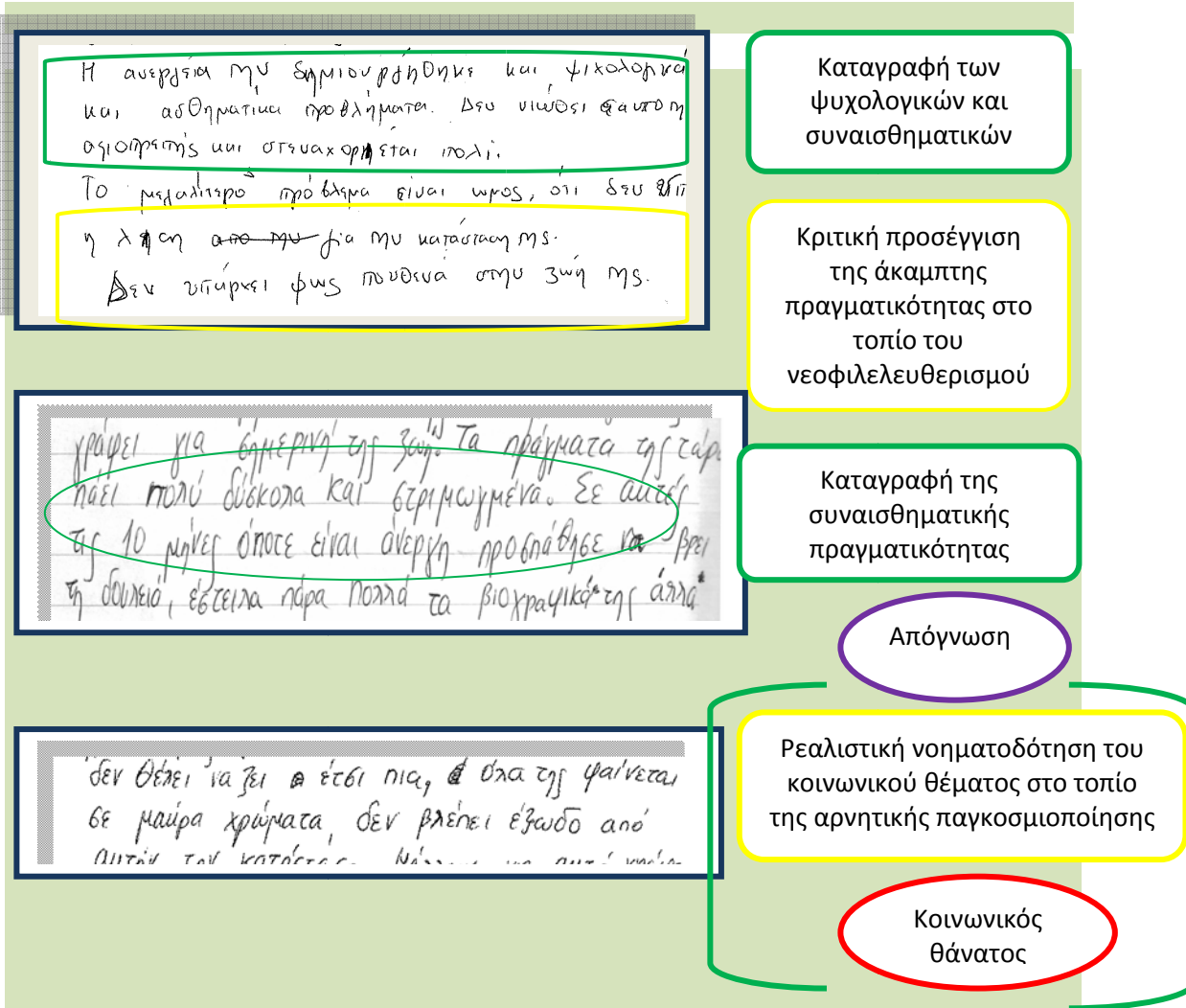


Επιπλέον, οι μαθητές/ήτριες κατά τη διαδικασία του 'διαλόγου' με το ψηφιακό κείμενο «Η σοκαριστική εξομολόγηση μιας άνεργης» επικεντρώνονται στα ψυχολογικά και συναισθηματικά προβλήματα τα οποία συναθροίζονται και αυτά στο πλέγμα των οικονομικών, οικογενειακών και κοινωνικών επιπτώσεων της ανεργίας στην καθημερινή ζωή της δημοσιογράφου και την οδηγούν στην απόγνωση και σε ένα 'κοινωνικό θάνατο', όπως χαρακτηριστικά προκύπτει από τα παρακάτω αποσπάσματα στην εικόνα 5.



### Εικόνα 5

#### Ψυχολογικές – συναισθηματικές επιπτώσεις ανεργίας



Στα επόμενα αποσπάσματα, το υπό εξέταση θέμα, αντιμετωπίζεται από τους μαθητές/ήτριες με λόγο συναισθηματικό και όχι πολιτικό. Αρχικά, χαρακτηρίζουν, το θέμα της ανεργίας ως την πιο σοβαρή μάστιγα της σημερινής κοινωνίας, αναγνωρίζοντας σε αυτό την κοινωνική δύναμη που ενέχει στη διαμόρφωση της ιδιωτικής και δημόσιας ζωής, όπως φαίνεται στην εικόνα 6<sup>α</sup>.



### Εικόνα 6<sup>α</sup>

Διασύνδεση οικονομικής κρίσης και ανεργίας

Στη σημερινή εποχή η πιο σοβαρή μαδεια της κοινωνίας είναι η ανεργία. Η βαθύς οικονομικές κρίσεις της εποχής μας, μια από τις κύριες αιτίες, που αυξηθηκε το ποσοστό των ανθρώπων οι οποίοι μένουν χωρίς δουλειά

Χαρακτηρισμός της ανεργίας ως ένα σοβαρό κοινωνικό ζήτημα

Ανάδειξη της δυναμικής πτυχής της οικονομίας στο σημερινό μεταβαλλόμενο κόσμο

Ωστόσο, στη συνέχεια, για τη λύση του προβλήματος, χρησιμοποιούν λέξεις/φράσεις όπως αισιοδοξία, ελπίδα, ο άνθρωπος πρέπει να παλεύει, στην ανεργία δεν πρέπει να το βάζουμε κάτω, να αντιδρούμε, να δημιουργούμε. Διαπιστώνεται, λοιπόν, ότι οι μαθητές/ήτριες υιοθετούν ατομικές λύσεις, ελπίδες και προσδοκίες έναντι των κοινωνικών και συλλογικών δράσεων/λύσεων. Επίσης, προτείνουν, ως πιθανές λύσεις, την αλλαγή επαγγέλματος, την αλληλο-βοήθεια σε ατομικό επίπεδο και τη μετανάστευση. Οι προτεινόμενες αυτές λύσεις εκπηγάζουν ίσως από τις προσωπικές ταυτότητες των συγκεκριμένων ενηλίκων μαθητών/ητριών, οι οποίοι βιώνοντας αρνητικές κοινωνικές και πολιτικές πρακτικές, λόγω της μετανάστευσής τους, αποφεύγουν κριτική εξέταση του θέματος της ανεργίας και υποβαθμίζουν τις κοινωνικές και πολιτικές διαστάσεις του φαινομένου της ανεργίας στο μεταβαλλόμενο τοπίο του νεοφιλελευθερισμού, όπως φαίνεται από το απόσπασμα στην εικόνα 6<sup>β</sup>.





## Εικόνα 6<sup>B</sup>

Ανάδειξη ατομικών λύσεων έναντι συλλογικών δράσεων

Αν και η ανεργία είναι ένα μεγάλο πρόβλημα αλλά ο άνθρωπος όταν βρίσκει δε αυδη την καταδραση πρέπει να παλευει. Είναι αναγκαίο να χτυπάει δε όλες της πόρτες, δε φίλους, δε γνωστούς, θα κταν καλά να δκερσει να αλληξε επαγγελμα, να παει δε αλλη χωρη. Δεν υπάρχει αμφιβολια οτι κρεαζειτε μεγαλη προσοψη το καλύτερο που μπορείς να κανεις να μην κανεις ελπιδη, να δουμε ση ζωη πιο ειδηοδοξα. Είναι δαφει οει οσαυ ανθρωπος πρέπει να ανειδησει, να δημιουργηει, να θραζει καινούριες ιδεες τότε εα πραγματι θα πανε προς το καλύτερο.

Απολιτική προσέγγιση

Προτεινόμενες ατομικές λύσεις αντιμετώπισης του κοινωνικού προβλήματος

Εγκλωβισμός σε συναισθηματικό – ελπιδοφόρο – προσδοκητικό λόγο για την αντιμετώπιση μιας νεοφιλελεύθερης πολιτικής

Επιπλέον, ορισμένοι μαθητές/ήτριες, έχοντας ήδη βιώσει την ανισότητα στην εργασία οι ίδιοι, ως ανήκοντες σε ευάλωτη κοινωνική ομάδα, λόγω της μετανάστευσής τους στην Ελλάδα και της συνεπακόλουθης απουσίας λειτουργίας των δομών του πολιτικού και κοινωνικού κράτους, συνηγορούν υπέρ συναισθηματικών και ιδεολογικών επενδύσεων που στηρίζονται κατά κύριο λόγο στην ατομική ευθύνη, στον προσωπικό αγώνα, αλλά και σε χρήση πρακτικών έξω από τα όρια των δημοκρατικών θεσμών. Αναφέρουν χαρακτηριστικά εκφράσεις όπως «να χτυπήσει όλες τις πόρτες, σε φίλους, σε γνωστούς», «να την πολεμάμε [την ανεργία] με κάθε τρόπο», και αρθρώνουν έναν συναισθηματικό λόγο που ενέχει υπόρρητα την αποδοχή της ουδετερότητας των κοινωνικο-πολιτικών θεμάτων που συνδέονται με την νέα τάξη πραγμάτων και τα οποία ανατρέπουν τη ζωή των αναλώσιμων ανθρώπων/πολιτών, οι οποίοι ζουν στις παρυφές του νεοφιλελεύθερου κόσμου, όπως διαφαίνεται στην εικόνα 6<sup>Y</sup>.



### Εικόνα 6<sup>Υ</sup>

Υπόρρητη/Υφέρπουσα συναίνεση νεοφιλελεύθερης οικονομίας

πρέπει να παλέψει. Είναι αναγκαίο να χυθεί δε αέρας της πορείας, δε φίλους, δε γνωστούς,

Χρήση πρακτικών εκτός δημοκρατικών θεσμών

Κυριάζουμε λοιπόν ότι στην ανεργία δεν πρέπει να ζυγίζουμε κάτω, πρέπει να ζυγιστούμε με κάθε προσπάθεια, επίσης, προζύνω ηρεμία και προστιύθειαι και να μην προβληματίζεσται όσο άσκαφια κι αν είναι.

Έλλειψη ουσιαστικής κριτικής του κοινωνικο-πολιτικού θέματος της ανεργίας

Προσέγγιση των κοινωνικο-πολιτικών θεμάτων δια μέσω της κανονικοποίησης και συναίνεσης της ιδεολογίας του νεοφιλελευθερισμού

Στη συνέχεια, κατά την εξέλιξη της μαθησιακής διαδικασίας, οι μαθητές/ήτριες, στα κείμενά τους, νοηματοδότησαν το θέμα της ανεργίας διά μέσω των πολλαπλών και μεταβαλλόμενων βιόκοσμών τους, αναδεικνύοντας τις ταυτότητές τους ως ένα πλέγμα που οικοδομείται από προσωπικές αποδοχές, αμφισβητήσεις και θεάσεις του κόσμου καθώς και από τις μετασχηματιζόμενες πολιτικές, ιδεολογικές και πολιτισμικές θεωρήσεις. Η υιοθέτηση αυτής της πρακτικής για την προσέγγιση και διερεύνηση του θέματος της ανεργίας ενθάρρυνε τους μαθητές/ήτριες αρχικά, δια μέσω του διαλόγου που έλαβε χώρα στην συγκεκριμένη κοινότητα γραμματισμού και ακολούθως κατά τη διαδικασία της συγγραφής των δικών τους κειμένων, να ακουστούν οι δικές τους φωνές, και ως διαμεσολαβητές, να δώσουν χώρο στην ανάδυση και την επικοινωνία των εμπειριών τους, των επιθυμιών τους και των αξιών τους, ώστε να αποκαλύψουν τις πολλαπλές ταυτότητες, τις διαφορετικές κουλτούρες και ιδεολογικές αντιλήψεις/πεποιθήσεις τους αναφορικά με το ζήτημα της ανεργίας.



Συγκεκριμένα, μια μαθήτρια στο κείμενό της προσδιορίζει την ταυτότητά της με κύριο άξονα το πρόβλημα της ανεργίας, το οποίο η ίδια βιώνει, παραλληλίζει το δικό της βίοκοσμο με αυτόν της άνεργης δημοσιογράφου και διερευνά τις κοινωνικο-πολιτικές επιπτώσεις/πτυχές του υπό εξέταση θέματος. Ωστόσο, ενώ η συγκεκριμένη μαθήτρια αποτυπώνει τις κοινωνικο-πολιτικές πτυχές του θέματος της ανεργίας, που διαμορφώνονται από τις υπαγορεύσεις της καπιταλιστικής κοινωνίας, προσεγγίζει, τελικά, το θέμα απολιτικά υιοθετώντας έναν νεοφιλελεύθερο ορθολογισμό. Αποστασιοποιείται από την αντιμετώπιση της ανεργίας ως συλλογικού προβλήματος, το οποίο αν και βιώνει προσωπικά η ίδια στη χώρα που μετανάστευσε για καλύτερο μέλλον, καταφεύγει σε προσωπικές διεξόδους όπως στην «ελπίδα» και στην εκμάθηση της κυρίαρχης γλώσσας. Με άλλα λόγια επωμίζεται τις ευθύνες της απουσίας ενός κοινωνικού δημοκρατικού κράτους, όπως προκύπτει από τα παρακάτω αποσπάσματα στην εικόνα 7<sup>α</sup> και 7<sup>β</sup>.

### Εικόνα 7<sup>α</sup>

Τοποθέτηση προβλήματος σε ατομικό/προσωπικό πλαίσιο και σταδιακή κριτική πλαισίωση του προβλήματος

Είμαι σριάντα τρία χρονών.  
Μένω εδώ στην Ελλάδα τρία χρόνια, επειδή είμαι  
στρατημένη με έλληνα. Το πρόβλημά μου είναι ότι  
δεν μπορώ να βρω δουλειά. Το ερώτημά μου είναι  
καθημέρινα αγγλικής φιλοσοφίας. Και φυσικά θα ήθελα  
η δουλειά μου να έχει σχέση με τα αγγλικά.

Δεν μπορώ να ξέρω ότι είναι πολύ μεγάλο πρόβλημα  
και δεν ξέρω πως να το καταφέρω χωρίς δουλειά, αλλά  
όμως θα ήθελα να δουλέψω για να βοηθήσω την  
οικογένειά μου οικονομικά και να ασχολούμαι με κάτι  
χρήσιμο, να έχω καινούριους φίλους και να γίνω μέλος  
της ελληνικής κοινωνίας. Όμως με αυτή την κατάσταση

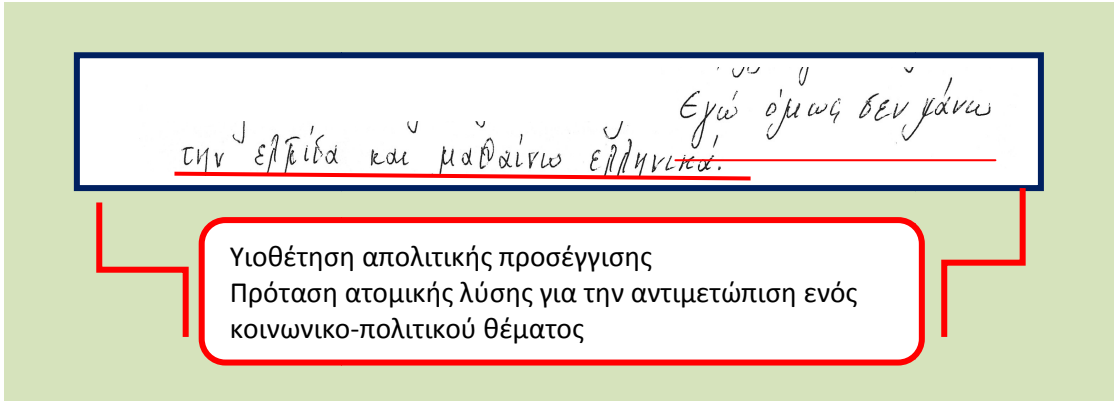
Οικοδόμηση ταυτότητας

Ανάδειξη των κοινωνικο-πολιτικών επιπτώσεων της ανεργίας σε προσωπικό και οικογενειακό πλαίσιο



### Εικόνα 7<sup>β</sup>

Απολιτική προσέγγιση του ζητήματος της ανεργίας



Αντίθετα, μια άλλη μαθήτρια, επικοινωνεί την προσωπική της ταυτότητα διερευνώντας και εμβαθύνοντας στις εξουσιαστικές δομές του κράτους, οι οποίες στηρίχτηκαν σε ιδεολογικές πρακτικές αποδοχής, πειθάρχησης και διαμόρφωσης της έννοιας και της συναίνεσης του πολίτη πριν από την κατάρρευση του υπαρκτού σοσιαλισμού σε χώρες της Ευρώπης. Η συγκεκριμένη μαθήτρια τοποθετεί την αφήγηση/ιστορία της μέσα σε ιστορικά πλαίσια, αποδομώντας τις αρχές και τους θεσμούς του κρατικού μηχανισμού της χώρας της, οι οποίοι προκάλεσαν την ανατροπή του βιόκοσμού της. Στη νέα της πλέον ζωή, μετά τη βίαιη μετανάστευσή της, συνθέτει μια νέα κριτική αντίληψη, ένα νέο πλέγμα πολιτικών και ιδεολογικών θέσεων για τις εδραιωμένες δομές της εξουσίας, συγκροτεί μια κριτική και πολιτική θεώρηση για τον κόσμο και αναδεικνύει την υπονόμηση της ουσιαστικής δημοκρατίας από την οικονομική και πολιτική κρίση που πλήττει το σημερινό παγκοσμιοποιημένο τοπίο. Θεωρεί, λοιπόν, από την αρχή της αφήγησής της το θέμα της ανεργίας ως πρόβλημα αναφέροντας ότι «δεν είναι η πρώτη φορά που έρχεται αντιμετώπιση με αυτό το πρόβλημα». Στη συνέχεια, επισημαίνει ότι στη χώρα της η ανεργία ήταν απόρροια της διασύνδεσης της «μεγάλης οικονομικής και πολιτικής κρίσης». Σκιαγραφώντας με κριτικό χιούμορ τους πολιτικούς της χώρας της ως «καλούς», αναδεικνύει ότι οι πολιτικές και κοινωνικές διακηρύξεις τους όπως «η φτώχεια, η ανεργία, η πείνα, οι πόλεμοι είναι η μοίρα των κακών κρατών» δεν ήταν ικανές να εμποδίσουν την απόλυτη αποδιάρθρωση/ κατάρρευση του κοινωνικού κράτους και να επιφέρουν την ανάδυση μιας νέας τάξης πραγμάτων. Η συγκεκριμένη μαθήτρια χρησιμοποιώντας μεταφορικό λόγο όπως «μας άφησαν μόνους να παλεύουμε στον ωκεανό των προβλημάτων» δηλώνει την απάνθρωπη δοκιμασία των καπιταλιστικών σχέσεων εκμετάλλευσης, που υπέστησαν μετά την κατάρρευση του υπαρκτού σοσιαλισμού.



### Εικόνα 7<sup>υ</sup>

Τοποθέτηση του προβλήματος σε κοινωνικο-πολιτικό πλαίσιο

Ανάδειξη ταυτοτήτων σε κοινωνικό πολιτικό πλαίσιο

Κριτική σύνδεση των πολιτικών καταστάσεων με την καθημερινή και ευρύτερη κοινωνική πραγματικότητα

Θα πω την δική μου προσωπική εμπειρία, επειδή δεν είναι η πρώτη φορά, που έρχομαι αντιμέτωπη μ' αυτό το πρόβλημα. Μετά τη οικονομική και πολιτική κρίση στη χώρα μου, πρώην Σοσιαλιστική Ένωση, με ανάγκασε να μεταναστεύσω και ο βασικός λόγος ήταν η ανεργία. Κάθε πολιτικός μας, οποίος επί πολλά χρόνια εχθρεύεστε μας, ότι η φτώχεια, η ανεργία, η πείνα, οι πολεμοί, είναι μήτρα των «κακών κρατών», κυριολεκτικά, μέσα σε μια μέρα μας άφισαν μόνους κι παλεύουμε στον άκεανό των προβλημάτων.

Μεταφορικός λόγος: α] για την απεικόνιση πολιτικών πρακτικών και β] για την αθροιστική συσσώρευση κοινωνικών προβλημάτων

Κριτική αποδόμηση των υφιστάμενων πολιτικών συσχετισμών της εξουσίας με την κοινωνία

Συνοψίζοντας, οι μαθητές/τριες διερεύνησαν και ανέδειξαν το φαινόμενο της ανεργίας αρχικά ως ατομικό πρόβλημα και στη συνέχεια ως κοινωνικο-πολιτικό με επιπτώσεις στην καθημερινή ζωή των ανθρώπων με πολλαπλούς τρόπους. Ωστόσο, ορισμένοι μαθητές/ήτριες, ενώ ανέπτυξαν μια κριτική οπτική απέναντι στο θέμα της ανεργίας πρότειναν λύσεις που εδράζονται στην ατομική αντιμετώπιση του προβλήματος και όχι στη συλλογική και πολιτική δράση.

**Τα παραγόμενα κείμενα ως αποτέλεσμα κριτικής αναπλαισίωσης: οι ενήλικες μαθητές/ήτριες νοηματοδοτούν το ζήτημα της ανεργίας ως κριτικοί μετασχηματιστές**

Η ανάλυση [του] περιεχομένου των παραγόμενων από τους μαθητές/ήτριες κειμένων, κατά την τελευταία φάση της μαθησιακής διαδικασίας, δηλαδή, μετά και την ενσωμάτωση των υπό μελέτη ψηφιακών κειμένων, είχε ως στόχο να διερευνήσει τους τρόπους της κριτικής συνειδητοποίησης και του μετασχηματισμού των θέσεων των μαθητών/ητριών σε σχέση με την ανάπτυξη μιας ευρύτερης





οπτικής πρόσληψης των κοινωνικών και πολιτικών προβλημάτων στο μεταβαλλόμενο κόσμο του 21ου αιώνα.

Αναλυτικότερα, οι μαθητές/ήτριες στα αυτόνομα γραπτά κείμενά τους προβαίνουν στη γεωπολιτική χαρτογράφηση του φαινομένου της ανεργίας και αποτυπώνουν το πρόβλημα της ανεργίας όχι πλέον ως ένα ατομικό πρόβλημα, αλλά ως ένα κοινωνικό, εθνικό, και ιστορικό ζήτημα το οποίο εξαπλώνεται στο παγκοσμιοποιημένο τοπίο της νέας τάξης πραγμάτων, όπως χαρακτηριστικά φαίνεται στα αποσπάσματα τα οποία παρατίθενται στην εικόνα 8.

### Εικόνα 8

Ανεργία: ένα πρόβλημα χωρίς εδραιωμένα σύνορα

Διεθνοποίηση του υπό εξέταση κοινωνικού προβλήματος

Η ανεργία είναι καθολικό φαινόμενο όχι μόνο στην Ελλάδα, αλλά και σε όλη την Ευρώπη. Σήμερα η χώρα μας βιώνει το φαινόμενο της ανεργίας πολύ αυξημένο.

Σήμερα στην Ελλάδα υπάρχει ανεργία παντού χωριών μας.

Η Ανεργία στην Ελλάδα  
Σήμερα στην Ελλάδα και σε ολόκληρη την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση υπάρχει το πρόβλημα της ανεργίας.

Ανεργία είναι ένα ιστορικό φαινόμενο. Στα τέλη χρόνια παρουσιάζει μεγάλη αύξηση και έγινε μαστοριά της σημερινής κοινωνίας. Παρακολουθώ καθημερινά τη φθαστική κατάσταση που επικρατεί στο κόσμο: κλείνουν μαγαζιά, εργοστάσια, επιχειρήσεις.

Πολλές είναι οι αιτίες της ανεργίας και ποιοι φανόε στη γημικές...  
αποστάτες, που έσω και πολύ καιρό και σε διαφορετικούς χώρους...  
γείνουν πάλι στη Γη μας.

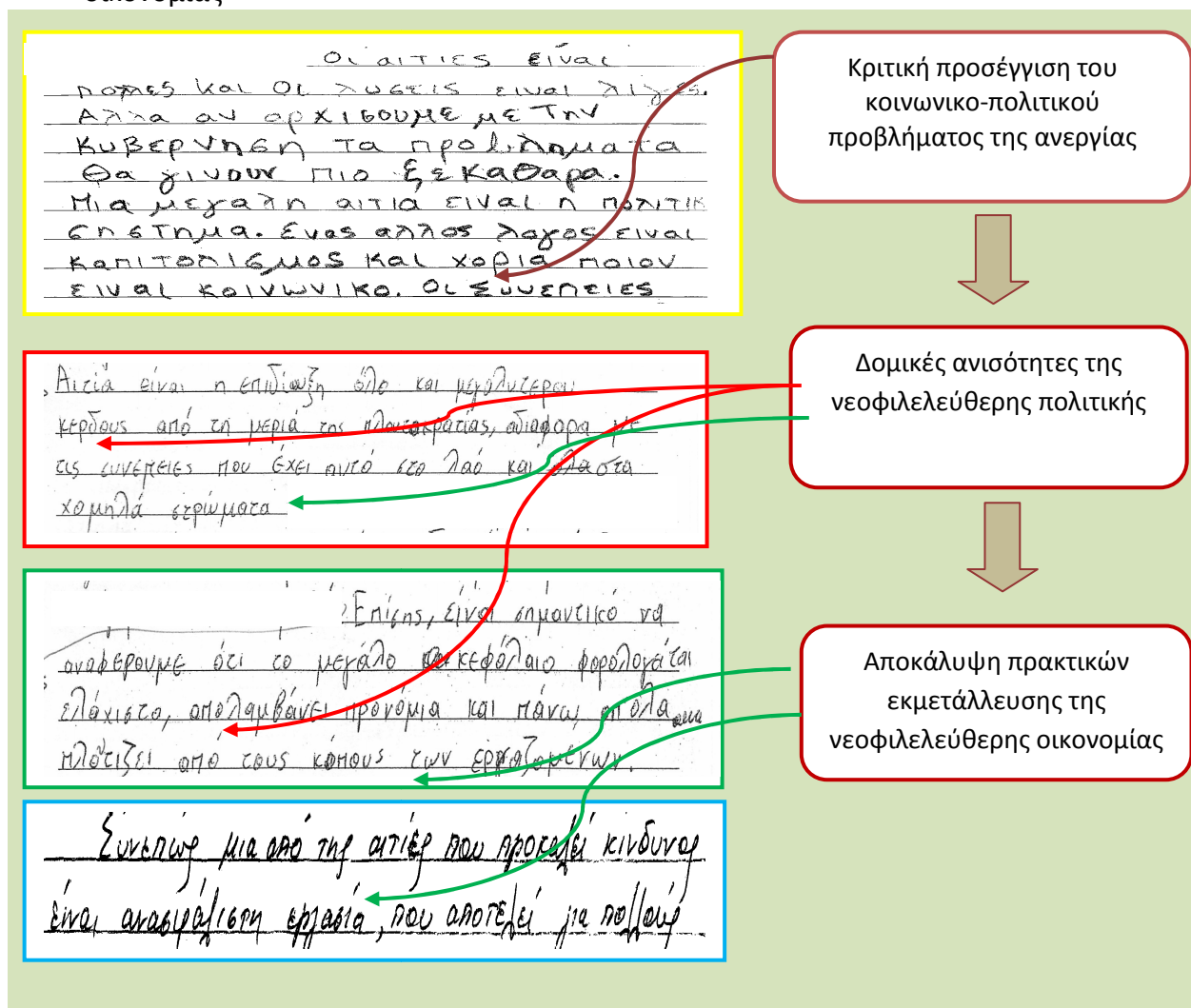
Στη συνέχεια, από την ανάλυση [του] περιεχομένου των αυτόνομων [γραπτών] κειμένων των ενηλίκων μαθητών/ητριών αναδεικνύεται η προσέγγιση με κριτικό τρόπο των αιτιών ανάδυσης και εξαπλώσης της ανεργίας, ενώ επισημαίνεται η αλληλοδιασύνδεση της ανεργίας με τις κοινωνικο-πολιτικές, οικονομικές και ιδεολογικές πρακτικές της νεοφιλελεύθερης οικονομικής πολιτικής. Με αυτό τον τρόπο, οι μαθητές/ήτριες καταγράφουν και αποκαλύπτουν τα αίτια και τους λόγους ύπαρξης της ανεργίας στο σημερινό μεταβαλλόμενο κόσμο, κατονομάζοντας τις πρακτικές της πλουτοκρατίας, τα προνόμια του μεγάλου κεφαλαίου έναντι της εργατικής τάξης, τον πολιτικο-οικονομικό υφέρποντα και διαπλεκόμενο ρόλο των



κυβερνήσεων και των πολιτικών συστημάτων καθώς και τις παραδοχές του καπιταλιστικού συστήματος, όπως αντανακλάται στο παρακάτω απόσπασμα της εικόνας 9<sup>α</sup>.

### Εικόνα 9<sup>α</sup>

Κριτική προσέγγιση της εξάπλωσης της ανεργίας στο πλαίσιο της νεοφιλελεύθερης οικονομίας



Παράλληλα, οι ενήλικες μαθητές/ήττριες προχωρούν στη σύνδεση του υπό μελέτη θέματος με τις κοινωνικο-πολιτικές και ιδεολογικές πρακτικές που συναθροίζουν τις δομές της πολιτικής και οικονομικής κυρίαρχης τάξης στο διεθνές και παγκοσμιοποιημένο τοπίο του μεταβαλλόμενου κόσμου, όπως φαίνεται στο απόσπασμα της εικόνας 9<sup>β</sup>.



### Εικόνα 9<sup>β</sup>

Πολυεπίπεδη/πολυδιάστατη θεώρηση της ανεργίας

Εγώ πιστεύω ότι κύρια αίτια της ανεργίας είναι παγκοσμια κέρδη. Όμως δεν πρέπει να ξεχάσουμε ότι υπάρχουν ιστορικές, πολιτικές, κοινωνικές αιτίες επίσης τεχνολογική ανάπτυξη σε πολλούς τομείς της οικονομίας αποδίδει την εργασία από αρκετά άτομα. Με άλλα λόγια μπορούμε να πούμε ότι ανεργία είναι σύμπτωμα αποτέλεσμα του καπιταλιστικού συστήματος.

Ιστορικές και κοινωνικο-πολιτικές διαστάσεις της ανεργίας

Επιπτώσεις της τεχνολογικής εξέλιξης στις ήδη υπάρχουσες ανισότητες της σύγχρονης κοινωνίας

Σύνδεση της ανεργίας με την παγκοσμιοποίηση και τη νεοφιλελεύθερη

Επιπλέον, όπως αποτυπώνεται στα αποσπάσματα της εικόνας 10<sup>α</sup>, οι μαθητές/ήτρίες μέσα από τα [γραπτά] κείμενά τους προβαίνουν στην κριτική νοηματοδότηση των επιπτώσεων της ανεργίας στο σημερινό μεταβαλλόμενο τοπίο της παγκοσμιοποίησης. Αναλυτικότερα, οι ενήλικες μαθητές/ήτρίες καταγράφουν τις επιπτώσεις της ανεργίας σε ένα ευρύτερο εργασιακό πλαίσιο, αμφισβητώντας τις αιτιολογίες που προβάλλουν οι οικονομικοί και ιδεολογικοί μηχανισμοί του κεφαλαίου. Έτσι, μια μαθήτρια, διερευνώντας κριτικά τον προσχηματικό λόγο των επιχειρήσεων «ότι δεν έχουν κέρδη», τον απορρίπτει ως «εντελώς αβάσιμο» και παραθέτει το επιχειρήμα της εργασιακής εκμετάλλευσης που υφίσταται σε χώρες στις οποίες η κοινωνική πρόνοια και οι νόμοι προστασίας των εργαζομένων αντικαθίστανται από τις δυνάμεις της αγοράς. Επιπροσθέτως, ένας μαθητής, χρησιμοποιεί στο γραπτό κείμενό του, επίσημα στατιστικά στοιχεία που καταγράφουν τον μεγάλο αριθμό των χαμένων θέσεων εργασίας καθώς και την ηλικία των εργαζομένων που πλήττεται περισσότερο, προβάλλοντας με τον τρόπο αυτόν το θέμα της ανεργίας ως ένα ευρύτερο κοινωνικό και διεθνοποιημένο πρόβλημα.



### Εικόνα 10<sup>α</sup>

Αμφισβήτηση των οικονομικών και ιδεολογικών μηχανισμών του κεφαλαίου

Αξιζει να αναφερουμε οτι το  
πρόβλημα πως οι επιχειρήσεις δεν έχουν κέρδη,  
είναι εντελώς αβάσιμο. Την ίδια στιγμή κλείνουν  
κέρδοφόρες επιχειρήσεις και μεταφέρουν τα  
εργαστήρια σε χώρες όπου τα μεροκάματα είναι  
αδύγκριτα πιο χαμηλά.

Ενίσχυση της κριτικής  
προσέγγισης με αναφορά σε  
επίσημα στατιστικά στοιχεία

Κριτικός λόγος-Αμφισβήτηση  
εδραιωμένων θέσεων της  
αγοράς

Επομένως, η σημαντική συνέπεια είναι πως κατά  
τη διάρκεια του έτους η οικονομία έχασε 406 χιλιάδες  
εργαζόμενους / ιδιαίτερα δύσκολη κατάσταση στην κατηγορία  
ηλικίας 24 ετών- το 48% της ανεργίας των νέων.

Στην ίδια κατεύθυνση, οι μαθητές/ήτριες, ως αυτόνομοι συγγραφείς, αμφισβητούν τις πρακτικές της νεοφιλελεύθερης οικονομίας που εξυπηρετούν και διασφαλίζουν κέρδη και συμφέροντα στην ταξικά καθορισμένη και οριοθετημένη εξουσία που απλά απαιτεί «θυσίες» από μη ηγεμονικές κοινότητες, όπως χαρακτηριστικά διαφαίνεται στα αποσπάσματα της εικόνας 10<sup>β</sup>.



### Εικόνα 10<sup>β</sup>

#### Αμφισβήτηση των πρακτικών της νεοφιλελεύθερης οικονομίας

Για το πρόβλημα της ανεργίας λέγονται πολλά. Υποστηρίζεται από κάποιους ότι πρέπει να μίνον θυσίες, για να ανοίξουν νέες θέσεις εργασίας. Όμως, παρά τις τις θυσίες του λαού, οι θέσεις εργασίας κλείνουν και η ανεργία μεγαλώνει.

Επίσης, είναι σημαντικό να αναφέρουμε ότι το μεγάλο κεφάλαιο φορολογείται ελάχιστα, απολαμβάνει προνόμια και πάνω σ'όλα κλοτσάει από τους κόπους των εργαζομένων.

Μάλλον η απάντηση βρίσκεται στο ότι, όπου υπάρχει καπιταλισμός, υπάρχει και κέρδος. Να μίξω ότι εκεί θα πρέπει να νταζουμε να βρούμε τις λύσεις σπανιές.

Αμφισβήτηση των πρακτικών της νεοφιλελεύθερης οικονομίας

Κριτική νοηματοδότηση της ανεργίας σε πολιτικό/ιδεολογικό/οικονομικό πλαίσιο

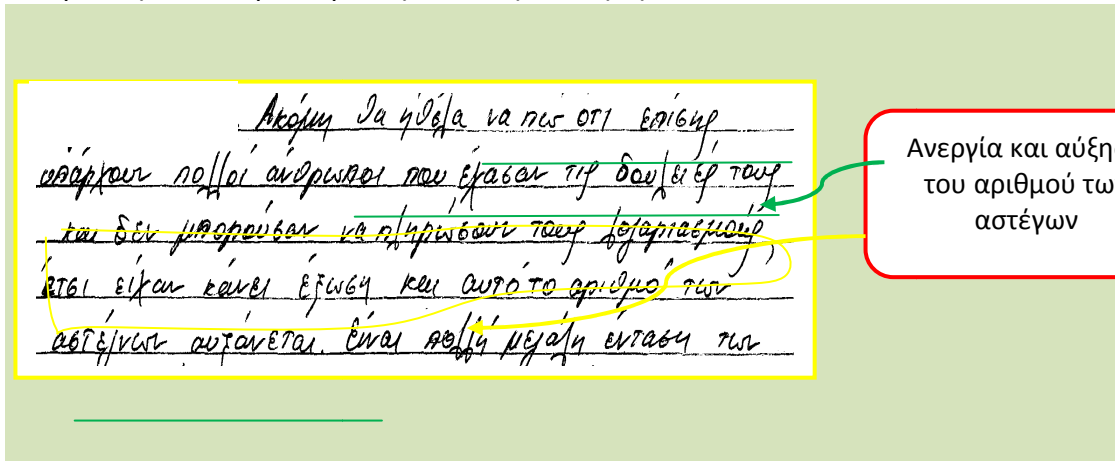
Συνεχίζοντας, την ποιοτική ανάλυση [του] περιεχομένου των αυτόνομων παραγόμενων κειμένων, διαπιστώνεται ότι οι μαθητές/ήτριες 'διαβάζοντας' κριτικά τον κόσμο, χρησιμοποιώντας εκφράσεις όπως «έχασαν τις δουλειές», «δεν μπορούν να πληρώσουν τους λογαριασμούς», «είχαν έξωση» μεταβαίνουν στην ανάδυση και κριτική προσέγγιση ευρύτερων κοινωνικών προβλημάτων όπως αυτό της «αύξησης του αριθμού των αστέγων» όπως φαίνεται στο απόσπασμα της εικόνας 10<sup>β</sup>.





### Εικόνα 10<sup>Υ</sup>

Ανάγνωση του κόσμου-κριτική συνειδητοποίηση

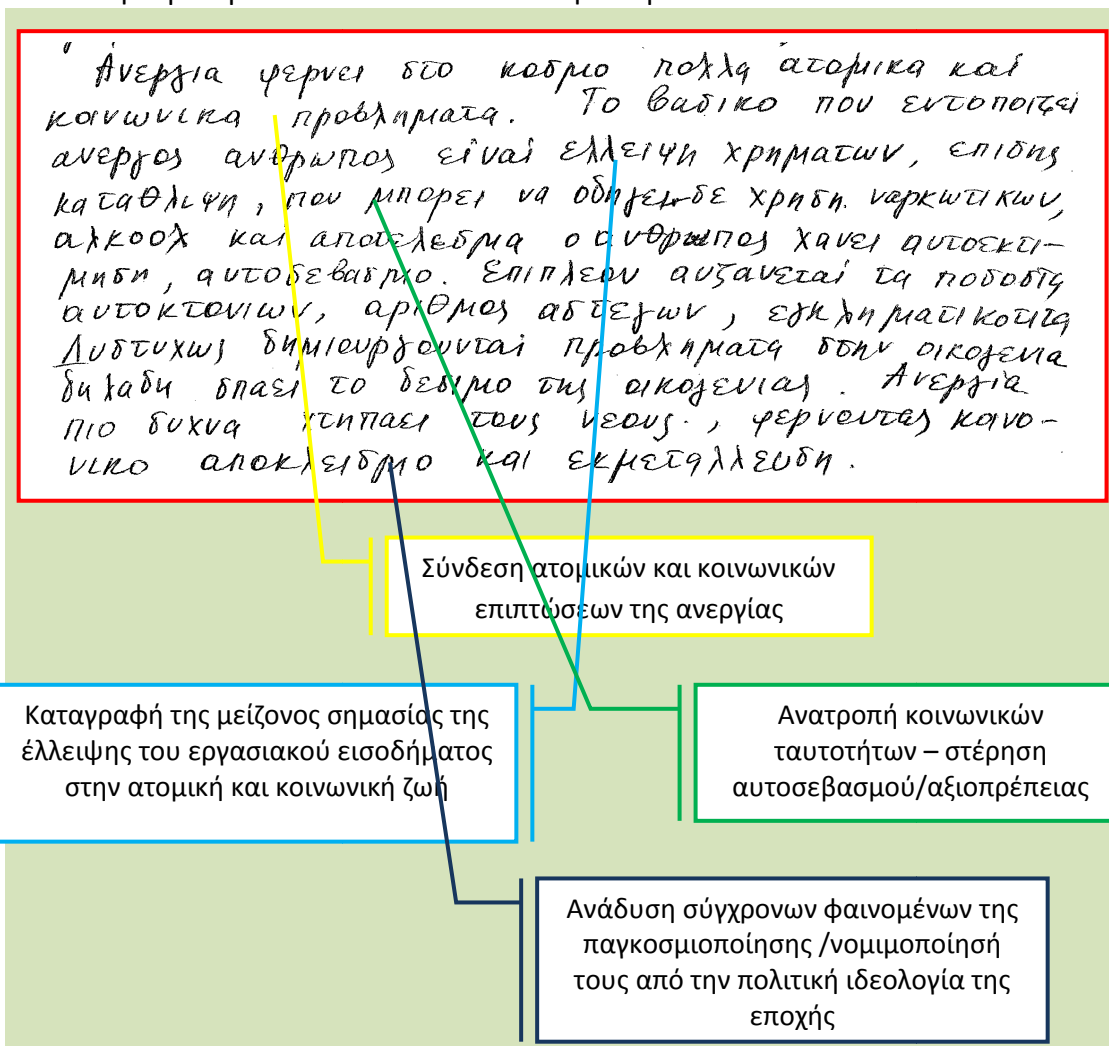


Ακόμη, μια άλλη μαθήτρια προσεγγίζει και συνενώνει κριτικά τα ατομικά προβλήματα της ανεργίας με ευρύτερα κοινωνικά ζητήματα. Ειδικότερα, η συγκεκριμένη μαθήτρια θεωρεί ότι η «έλλειψη χρημάτων» που είναι η άμεση επίπτωση της ανεργίας, είναι η αιτία προβλημάτων που αφορούν στην ψυχική υγεία των ανέργων, στην κοινωνική τους ταυτότητα και στη θέση τους στην οικογένεια. Έτσι, «η κατάθλιψη», «η χρήση ναρκωτικών» «η χρήση αλκοόλ» επιφέρουν «έλλειψη αυτοεκτίμησης» και συνακόλουθα «έλλειψη αυτοσεβασμού» και, επομένως, ανατροπή της προσωπικής, κοινωνικής και οικογενειακής ζωής των ανέργων. Η ίδια μαθήτρια, εμβαθύνοντας στο υπό εξέταση θέμα της ανεργίας, αναδεικνύει τα κοινωνικά προβλήματα της «αύξησης των αυτοκτονιών», της «αύξησης των αστέγων», της «αύξησης της εγκληματικότητας» που συνθέτουν την εικόνα της σημερινής πραγματικότητας. Επιπρόσθετα, αντιλαμβανόμενη σφαιρικά το μέγεθος αυτών των κοινωνικών προβλημάτων, θέτει στο προσκήνιο τα θέματα του «κοινωνικού αποκλεισμού» και της «εκμετάλλευσης των ανέργων» που εκκολάπτονται από τις παγκόσμιες οικονομικές σχέσεις, όπως φαίνεται στο απόσπασμα στην εικόνα 11.



### Εικόνα 11

Ανάδυση ευρύτερων κοινωνικό-πολιτικών φαινομένων



Στο ίδιο πνεύμα, μια άλλη μαθήτρια, ως κριτικός αφηγητής, προχωρά σε μια ευρύτερη προσέγγιση της οικονομικής κρίσης και της νέας τάξης πραγμάτων, η οποία προσδιόρισε τις ζωές πολλών ανθρώπων και ιδιαίτερα των νέων συμπατριωτών της που ακολούθησαν το δρόμο της μετανάστευσης, η οποία αποτελεί ένα συμφυές τμήμα της ανθρώπινης ιστορίας, για ένα «καλύτερο μέλλον». Έτσι, αναλύει τις δύσκολες καταστάσεις που βίωσαν και βιώνουν, όχι σε ένα ατομικό και προσωπικό πλαίσιο, αλλά τις προσεγγίζει και τις νοηματοδοτεί σε σχέση με τις πολιτικές, ιδεολογικές και οικονομικές συνθήκες που καθόρισαν και πολλές φορές στιγματίσαν τις ταυτότητές τους. Καταγράφει, λοιπόν, στο κείμενό της τις τραγικές διαδρομές του «αλκοολισμού», των «ναρκωτικών» και της «εγκληματικότητας» που ακολούθησαν ορισμένοι συμπατριώτες της, επειδή δεν προσαρμόστηκαν στις «νέες πραγματικότητες της οικονομικής κρίσης» στη χώρα που



μετανάστευσαν για ένα καλύτερο μέλλον, όπως διαφαίνεται στο απόσπασμα της εικόνας 12<sup>α</sup>.

### Εικόνα 12<sup>α</sup>

Μετανάστευση και ανεργία: Βιωματική και κριτική προσέγγιση

Γνωρίζω για αρκετά μεγάλο ποσοστό νέων συμπατριωτών μου, ...  
... που δεν κατάφεραν να κερδίσουν τη μάχη με τα κακουργία δεξιόμε-  
... που φανερώθηκαν από την οικονομική κρίση. Δεν μπόρεσαν να  
... <sup>καποια</sup> προσαρμοστούν σε νέες πραγματικότητες, που τους περιμέναν σε μια  
... η χώρα, όπου φώναζε για ένα καλό μέλλον. Αλλά, έπεσαν στα δόχ-  
... του αγκοσλισμού και τον ναρκωτικών, που τους σήγησαν σιγά σιγά  
... στο φρόνο της εγκαταστάσεως. Ανεργία, είχε και έχει, καταστροφικές...

Κριτική προσέγγιση της διασύνδεσης της μετανάστευσης - απόρριψη γενικευμένων απόψεων όσον αφορά στην επικινδυνότητα των μεταναστών

Παγκόσμια οικονομία και επιπτώσεις στον καθημερινή/ευρύτερη πραγματικότητα υποτελών κοινωνικών ομάδων

Η ίδια μαθήτρια, αναπτύσσοντας έναν κοινωνικό χαρακτήρα γνώσης διά μέσω της κριτικής διασύνδεσης των εμπειριών της και του κόσμου, αποτυπώνει στο γραπτό κείμενό της τα κοινωνικο-πολιτικά και ιδεολογικά φαινόμενα του ρατσισμού, του εθνικισμού και της ξενοφοβίας που εξαπλώνονται με ταχύτατους ρυθμούς στην σημερινή διεθνοποιημένη κοινωνία, κυρίως έναντι των μεταναστών (εικόνα 12<sup>β</sup>). Η συγκεκριμένη μαθήτρια θεωρεί ότι η ανάδυση των προαναφερθέντων φαινομένων σχετίζεται όχι μόνο τις πολιτικές/ιδεολογικές θέσεις των συστημάτων εξουσίας, αλλά και με τα ζητήματα της οικονομικής κρίσης και της ανεργίας που προκύπτουν από την κυρίαρχη φιλελεύθερη οικονομία. Αν και, για την ίδια και τους συμπατριώτες της, η μετανάστευση αποτέλεσε ανάγκη επιβίωσης, ανάγκη για μια νέα ζωή με αξιοπρέπεια, ανάγκη για να ονειρεύονται, να ελπίζουν και να μετάσχουν ισόνομα, ισότιμα και δημοκρατικά στο κοινωνικό γίγνεσθαι, θεωρήθηκαν ως μια υποδεέστερη και διακριτή κατηγορία ανθρώπων από ορισμένους κρατικούς



θεσμούς καθώς και από συγκεκριμένες αντιλήψεις, στάσεις και συμπεριφορές πολιτών<sup>2</sup>. Στο κείμενό της χρησιμοποιεί εκφράσεις όπως «η σκοτεινή πλευρά της ανεργίας» «οι ξένοι ήρθαν και πήραν τις δουλειές», «αυτοί φταίνε». Τονίζει τα οδυνηρά βιώματα του ρατσισμού, του εθνικισμού και της ξενοφοβίας που η ίδια και άλλοι/ες συμπατριώτες/ώτισσες υπέστησαν στην καθημερινή και ευρύτερη πραγματικότητα με τον αποκλεισμό τους και την άنيση συμμετοχή στα δημόσια και κοινωνικά αγαθά.

### Εικόνα 12<sup>B</sup>

Διασύνδεση της ανεργίας με τα φαινόμενα του εθνικισμού, ρατσισμού και της ξενοφοβίας

Η ανεργία επηρεάζει σε τεράστιο βαθμό την κοινωνία και δημιουργεί εθνικιστικές, φασιστικές ομάδες που αποτελούν την σκοτεινή πλευρά της ανεργίας.

- Η ξένη ήρθαν και πήραν τις δουλιές μας. Αυτή φταίνε. - άνεργοι πολιτική και πολύτες.

Καταγραφή της συσχέτισης εθνικισμού και ρατσισμού ως απόρροια του κοινωνικού φαινομένου της ανεργίας

Ρατσιστικές/Εθνικιστικές/Ξενοφοβικές Ιδεολογικές και Κοινωνικές Πρακτικές

Στο επόμενο απόσπασμα, μια μαθήτρια, με κριτικό χιούμορ<sup>3</sup>, αφηγείται, διά μέσω ενός κριτικού αναστοχασμού, τις καταστάσεις που βίωσε στη χώρα της, πριν

<sup>2</sup> Σύμφωνα με τον Τσιάκαλο (2001), ο ρατσισμός ορίζεται ως ένα πλέγμα αντιλήψεων, στάσεων, συμπεριφορών και/ή θεσμοθετημένων μέτρων που εξαναγκάζει ορισμένους ανθρώπους σε υποτελή διαβίωση, και αυτό μόνο και μόνο επειδή ανήκουν σε μια διακριτή κατηγορία, στην οποία προσάπτεται συχνά – αλλά όχι πάντα – μια υποτιθέμενη κατώτερη ή/και επικινδυνότητα.

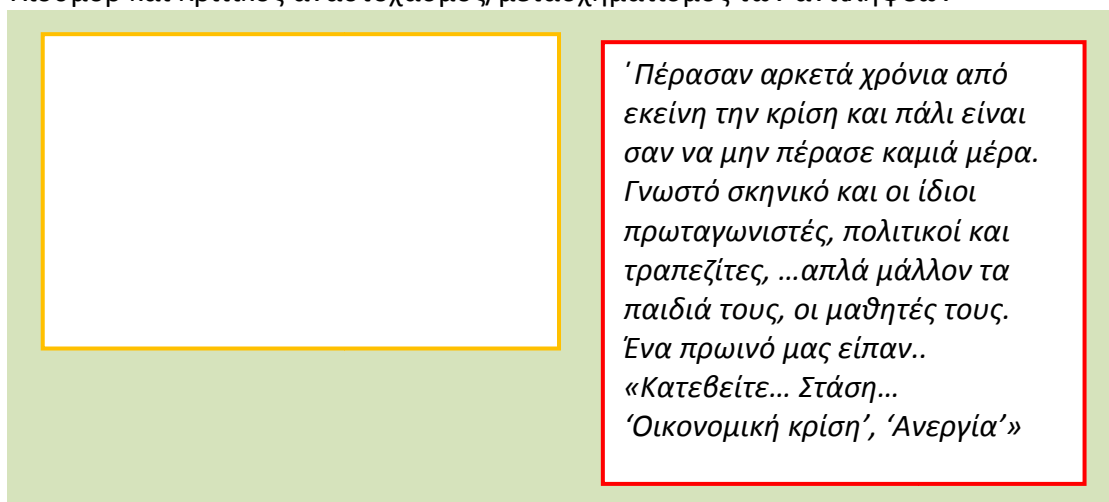
<sup>3</sup> Κατά τον Shor (1992), σε μια κριτική-δημοκρατική τάξη, τα προσωπικά θέματα, τα κοινωνικά ζητήματα και τα θεωρητικά γνωστικά αντικείμενα μελετώνται με τρόπους που δίνουν έμφαση στη συμμετοχή των μαθητών/ητριών, στην αμφισβήτηση της γνώσης που λαμβάνουν οι μαθητές/ήτριες και στην αμφισβήτηση του status quo καθώς και την εξοικείωσή τους με αυτό. Έτσι, το χιούμορ, ως κωμικό στοιχείο του αυτοσαρκασμού και της παρατήρησης προσωπικών αδυναμιών, βοηθά τους μαθητές/ήτριες να δεχτούν τη μέθοδο της θέσης προβλημάτων, γιατί αυτό αποτελεί έναν από τους λόγους που αποτρέπουν την κριτική μελέτη να γίνεται μια μονοδιάστατη λογική ανάλυση καθώς το χιούμορ ενέχει συναισθήματα, που περιλαμβάνουν γέλιο, οργή, αγανάκτηση, πάθος, δέος και



οδηγηθεί αναπόφευκτα στη μετανάστευση και στην αναζήτηση μιας καλύτερης ζωής, τον τρόπο που έζησε για πρώτη φορά την οικονομική κρίση. Ξεκινά, λοιπόν, την αφήγησή της επιλέγοντας τη χρονική τοποθέτηση *«πέρασαν αρκετά χρόνια από εκείνη την κρίση και πάλι είναι σαν να μην πέρασε καμιά μέρα»*, ως έναν τρόπο μετάδοσης μιας έντονης και ιστορικής εμπειρίας στους αναγνώστες του κειμένου \της. Αμέσως μετά, αναφέρεται συγχρονικά στο τότε και στο τώρα, στα γεγονότα, στους πρωταγωνιστές και αποκαλύπτει το πολιτικο-οικονομικό πλαίσιο το οποίο ενέχει συγκεκριμένες αξιακές στάσεις και ιδεολογικές τοποθετήσεις και θίγει τα κοινωνικά φαινόμενα του νεποτισμού στο πολιτικό και κοινωνικό γίνεσθαι με τις εκφράσεις *«Γνωστό σκηνικό και οι ίδιοι πρωταγωνιστές, πολιτικοί και τραπεζίτες»*, *«...απλά μάλλον τα παιδιά τους, οι μαθητές τους»*. Η εξέλιξη της αφήγησης της μαθήτριας κορυφώνεται, χωρίς πρόσθετες πληροφορίες με μια κριτική χιουμοριστική φράση *«Κατεβείτε... Στάση... 'Οικονομική κρίση' 'Ανεργία'»*. Η ανάλυση αυτής της αφήγησης αναδεικνύει ότι η συγκεκριμένη μαθήτρια αφενός νοηματοδοτεί κριτικά τις πολλαπλές πτυχές της οικονομικής κρίσης και των επιπτώσεών της στην καθημερινή και ευρύτερη πραγματικότητα και αφετέρου παρουσιάζει τη συγκρότηση της ταυτότητάς της, που θεμελιώνεται από τον αναστοχασμό και το μετασχηματισμό της θεώρησής της αναφορικά με τις διαπλεκόμενες σχέσεις των πολιτικών και οικονομικών συστημάτων. Το απόσπασμα παρατίθεται και σε μορφή word για καλύτερη ανάγνωση στην εικόνα 13.

### Εικόνα 13

Χιούμορ και Κριτικός αναστοχασμός/μετασχηματισμός των αντιλήψεων



*'Πέρασαν αρκετά χρόνια από εκείνη την κρίση και πάλι είναι σαν να μην πέρασε καμιά μέρα. Γνωστό σκηνικό και οι ίδιοι πρωταγωνιστές, πολιτικοί και τραπεζίτες, ...απλά μάλλον τα παιδιά τους, οι μαθητές τους. Ένα πρωινό μας είπαν.. «Κατεβείτε... Στάση... 'Οικονομική κρίση', 'Ανεργία'»*

Προχωρώντας στην ποιοτική ανάλυση [του] περιεχομένου των αυτόνομων παραγόμενων κειμένων, οι μαθητές/ήτριες, ως συγγραφείς, προβάλλουν την

ευχαρίστηση. Επίσης, οι Αρχάκης, & Τσάκωνα (2011), αναφέρουν ότι το χιούμορ, ως γλωσσικό φαινόμενο, μπορεί να γίνει αντιληπτό ως ένα μέσο αποτίμησης των πραγμάτων και ταυτόχρονα κριτικής τοποθέτησης απέναντι σε ευρύτερα κυρίαρχες αντιλήψεις.







Συνοψίζοντας, οι μαθητές/ήτριες, ως συγγραφείς, ανέδειξαν την αλληλοσύνδεση του κοινωνικο-πολιτικού προβλήματος της ανεργίας με τις πολλαπλές πτυχές της νεοφιλελεύθερης οικονομίας και τις κυρίαρχες δομές της παγκοσμιοποίησης στη μεταβαλλόμενη πραγματικότητα του 21<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα. Παράλληλα, οι μαθητές/ήτριες επικοινωνήσαν ιδεολογικές και πολιτικές θέσεις/απόψεις, αμφισβητήσεις/αντιστάσεις και παραδοχές όσον αφορά στο πρόβλημα της ανεργίας καθώς, ως κριτικοί μετασχηματιστές νοημάτων, αποκάλυψαν την επίδραση των ιδεολογιών, των θεσμών και των δομών της κυρίαρχης καπιταλιστικής πραγματικότητας σε υποτελείς κοινωνικά και εθνοτικά ομάδες και ανέδυσαν τους εαυτούς τους ως ενεργά συμμετόχους στον κοινωνικό μετασχηματισμό για έναν κόσμο με δίκαιες, ισόνομες και δημοκρατικές αξίες.

### Συζήτηση – Συμπεράσματα

Η ανάλυση [του] περιεχομένου του υλικού που παρήγαγαν οι ενήλικες μετανάστες μαθητές/ήτριες από το ‘διάλογο’ με το σώμα ψηφιακών κειμένων, εδράστηκε στην υιοθέτηση της κριτικής/πολυτροπικής διάστασης του γραμματισμού (New London Group, 1996 & Kalantzis, & Cope, 1999) και της απελευθερωτικής/εξανθρωπίζουσας παιδαγωγικής, όπως αυτή θεμελιώθηκε από τον Freire. Η υλοποίηση της διδακτικής παρέμβασης, η οποία θεμελιώθηκε στη σύζευξη αυτών των θεωρητικών προσεγγίσεων, είχε ως αποτέλεσμα οι ενήλικες μετανάστες, παρά τη μη εξοικείωσή τους με το τοπίο των διαδικτυακών κειμένων, να διαπραγματευτούν και να νοηματοδοτήσουν κριτικά μια ευρεία ποικιλία πολυμορφικών και πολύσημων σημειωτικών προϊόντων, βασιζόμενοι αφενός στην εμπύθιση των καθημερινών κοινωνικών τους πρακτικών δημιουργίας νοήματος και αφετέρου στην κριτική ανάλυση των πολυμορφικών αυτών κειμένων με απώτερο στόχο, ως κριτικοί μετασχηματιστές ιδεολογικών και πολιτικο-κοινωνικών νοημάτων, να αποκαλύψουν, να αρθρώσουν, να επικοινωνήσουν και να αμφισβητήσουν πτυχές ρητές ή υπόρρητες των πολιτικο-κοινωνικών συναρθρώσεων και αλληλοσυσχετίσεων των δομών της εξουσίας.

Συγκεκριμένα, οι ενήλικες μετανάστες μαθητές/ήτριες, ως ‘αναγνώστες’/αποκωδικοποιητές, προσεγγίζουν με κριτικό τρόπο τα πολυμορφικά και πολύσημα σημειωτικά προϊόντα και αναπτύσσουν εναλλακτικές δεξιότητες και στρατηγικές γραμματισμού για την κατανόηση της αλληλεπίδρασης και της συλλειτουργίας των πολλαπλών σημειωτικών συστημάτων που εμπλέκονται στις νέες μορφές κειμένων για τη δημιουργία νοήματος. Η απόκτηση αυτών των δεξιοτήτων, η οποία στηρίζεται σε κοινωνικές πρακτικές ανάγνωσης/θέασης, έχει ως αποτέλεσμα οι ενήλικες μαθητές/ήτριες να προβαίνουν σε πολλαπλές νοηματοδοτήσεις των πολυμορφικών κειμένων όσον αφορά στην προβολή ή στην αποσιώπηση συγκεκριμένων πολιτικών και ιδεολογικών αντιλήψεων. Κατά συνέπεια, οι μαθητές/ήτριες αμφισβητούν, ως κριτικοί αναγνώστες, την ουδετερότητα των κειμένων και συνειδητοποιούν ότι οι πολιτικές, κοινωνικές και ιδεολογικές διαστάσεις των ψηφιακών κειμένων καθίστανται κεντρικής σημασίας



καθώς αυτές επηρεάζουν, μεταβάλλουν ή και ανατρέπουν τις πρακτικές της εργασιακής, της δημόσιας και της ιδιωτικής τους ζωής.

Επιπρόσθετα, οι ενήλικες μαθητές/ήτρίες με την τοποθέτηση του ζητήματος της ανεργίας ως προβλήματος το αναδεικνύουν ως ένα θέμα το οποίο πηγάζει και διαμορφώνεται από τις κοινωνικο-πολιτικές και οικονομικές δομές της κυρίαρχης τάξης και εξυπηρετεί τα συμφέροντα της νεοφιλελεύθερης ιδεολογίας και πολιτικής. Η απόκτηση αυτής της κριτικής θεώρησης και κατανόησης του εν λόγω θέματος επιτυγχάνεται διά μέσω της σύνδεσης των προσωπικών, ιδεολογικών/κοινωνικών πρακτικών του βίοκοσμού τους, αναστοχαζόμενοι τις καταστάσεις/προβλήματα που αντιμετώπισαν μετά τη μετανάστευσή τους στους νέους προορισμούς με την ελπίδα ενός καλύτερου μέλλοντος, με τις οικονομικές, πολιτικές και κοινωνικές πτυχές της ανεργίας που προβάλλονται ή αποσιωπούνται από την κυρίαρχη τάξη. Η εμπλοκή αυτή των πολυεπίπεδων βίοκοσμών τους με τους πολλαπλούς, ρητούς ή υπόρρητους, σκοπούς των ψηφιακών κειμένων που ενσωματώθηκαν σταδιακά κατά τη διάρκεια της μαθησιακής διαδικασίας, οδηγεί τους μαθητές/ήτρίες στην ανάλυση, κατανόηση και βαθύτερη εξέταση του κοινωνικού θέματος ως μιας ιστορικά και πολιτικά δομημένης διαδικασίας, ώστε να μεταβούν σταδιακά από την ατομική οπτική και τη βιωμένη εμπειρία σε μια συλλογική και κοινωνική αντιμετώπιση του προβλήματος της ανεργίας, πρόβλημα που θεμελιώνεται και αναζωογονείται από τις κοινωνικο-πολιτικές και οικονομικές πρακτικές της παγκοσμιοποίησης. Ως εκ τούτου, οι μαθητές/ήτρίες αντλώντας από την ανάγνωση του δικού τους βίοκοσμου, από την ανάγνωση του κόσμου γύρω τους και από την ‘ανάγνωση’/‘θέαση’ των πολυτροπικών, ψηφιακών κειμένων, προχωρούν στον αναστοχασμό, στην κριτική συνειδητοποίηση και στον μετασχηματισμό των θέσεων/αντιλήψεών τους για το θέμα της ανεργίας.

Επιπλέον, η εμπλοκή τους σε μια δημιουργική εμπειρία συγγραφής κειμένων, διά μέσω πρακτικών κριτικής ‘ανάγνωσης’ των πολύμορφων και πολύσημων σημειωτικών προϊόντων, τους προσδίδει τη δυνατότητα του ‘αναστοχασμού’, της ‘επανασύλληψης’ και της κριτικής ‘επανασυγγραφής’ των δικών τους θέσεων, αντιλήψεων και πεποιθήσεων. Κατά συνέπεια, οι κοινωνικές και κριτικές αυτές πρακτικές παραγωγής κειμένων καθιστούν τους ενήλικες μαθητές/ήτρίες ‘ικανούς’ δημιουργούς νοημάτων, ώστε να ανα-γνωρίζουν πλέον την κοινωνική δύναμη της γλώσσας, να διερευνούν, να αποκαλύπτουν και να αμφισβητούν, ως κριτικοί μετασχηματιστές, τις κυρίαρχες κοινωνικές, πολιτισμικές, πολιτικές, ιδεολογικές και αξιοκεντρικές παραδοχές του status quo για το υπό εξέταση θέμα της ανεργίας. Αυτή η κριτική προσέγγιση του προβλήματος της ανεργίας και η αλληλοδιασύνδεσή του με κοινωνικο-πολιτικές και ιδεολογικές πρακτικές του κοινωνικού γίνεσθαι, αναδεικνύει την απόκτηση μιας ευρύτερης οπτικής από τους ενήλικες μαθητές/ήτρίες, επικυρώνει την προσωπική και κοινωνική τους ενδυνάμωση και κατευθύνει τους μαθητές/ήτρίες σε μια κριτική και πολιτική προσέγγιση του συγκεκριμένου κοινωνικο-πολιτικού προβλήματος. Αυτή η προσέγγιση αποτελεί ένα από τα σημαντικά σημεία της εξέλιξης της πολιτικής και κριτικής συνειδητοποίησης



των ενήλικων μαθητών/τριών, οι οποίοι εξετάζοντας βαθύτερα ιστορικά και κριτικά τα αίτια της ανεργίας αποκαλύπτουν τις δομικές ανισότητες της νεοφιλελεύθερης πολιτικής που νομιμοποιούν τις πρακτικές της εκμετάλλευσης και των διακρίσεων που υφίστανται υποδεέστερες εθνικές/μειονοτικές και κοινωνικές ομάδες.

Παράλληλα, η πολιτική και κριτική προσέγγιση του προβλήματος της ανεργίας παρέχει στους μαθητές/ήτριες την ικανότητα απόκτησης κοινωνικής και πολιτικής γνώσης ευρύτερων κοινωνικο-πολιτικών θεμάτων, τα οποία απορρέουν από το πρόβλημα της ανεργίας και της οικονομικής κρίσης. Έτσι, οι μαθητές/ήτριες ως κριτικοί στοχαστές και ενεργοί πολίτες καθίστανται ικανοί να διερευνούν, να αποκαλύπτουν και να επικοινωνούν το σύνθετο πλέγμα των συναρθρώσεων των κοινωνικο-πολιτικών προβλημάτων. Ως εκ τούτου, οι μαθητές/ήτριες προσδιορίζουν και αποτυπώνουν τα μείζονα κοινωνικο-πολιτικά και οικονομικά προβλήματα της παγκοσμιοποίησης, τις τρομακτικές επιπτώσεις της ανεργίας και της οικονομικής κρίσης στη βιωμένη πραγματικότητα ποικίλων υποτελών και μη προνομιούχων κοινωνικών ομάδων καθώς και τις ανατροπές/μετασχηματισμούς των ταυτοτήτων των πολιτών που ανήκουν εθνικά και πολιτισμικά σε αυτές τις πληθυσμιακές ομάδες.

Η υιοθέτηση κοινωνικών και κριτικών πρακτικών ‘ανάγνωσης’/‘θέασης’ κειμένων σε περιβάλλοντα στο διαδίκτυο, υποδηλώνει ότι οι ενήλικες μετανάστες μαθητές/τριες καθίστανται ικανοί να διερευνήσουν και να αμφισβητήσουν τις βαθιά ριζωμένες αξίες, τις ιδεολογικές και δομικές ανισότητες της κυρίαρχης νεοφιλελεύθερης πολιτικής στο μεταβαλλόμενο κόσμο. Για παράδειγμα, από την ανάλυση [του] περιεχομένου των παραγόμενων κειμένων είναι πρόδηλο ότι οι ενήλικες μαθητές/ήτριες νοηματοδοτούν και εδραιώνουν το πρόβλημα της ανεργίας όχι ως μια ατομική εκδοχή ελπίδας και αντίστασης, χωρίς πολιτικό και κοινωνικό αντίκτυπο, αλλά ως μια συλλογική κοινωνική προσδοκία για μια δημοκρατική, ισότιμη και ισόνομη κοινωνία. Επίσης, οι μαθητές/ήτριες επισημαίνουν τα αίτια ανάδυσης και εξάπλωσης της ανεργίας καθώς και την αλληλοδιασύνδεση της ανεργίας με τις κοινωνικο-πολιτικές, οικονομικές και ιδεολογικές πρακτικές της νεοφιλελεύθερης οικονομικής πολιτικής. Έτσι, οι μαθητές/ήτριες, καταγράφουν τις επιπτώσεις του κοινωνικού προβλήματος της ανεργίας σε ένα ευρύτερο και διεθνοποιημένο πλαίσιο, αμφισβητώντας και ακυρώνοντας τα επιχειρήματα και τις πρακτικές που προβάλλει η νεοφιλελεύθερη οικονομία.

Παράλληλα, οι ενήλικες μαθητές/ήτριες, ως κριτικοί ‘αναγνώστες’/‘αναλυτές’ αλλά και ως κριτικοί ‘μετασχηματιστές’, νοηματοδοτούν το ζήτημα της ανεργίας συνενώνοντας κριτικά τα ατομικά προβλήματα της ανεργίας με ευρύτερα προσωπικά, και κοινωνικά προβλήματα, αποκαλύπτουν και στη συνέχεια, αναλύουν σφαιρικά τα μείζονα αυτά προβλήματα της παγκοσμιοποίησης, τα οποία σκιάζουν την ισόνομη, ισότιμη και δημοκρατική κοινωνία. Καθίσταται, λοιπόν, φανερό ότι οι μαθητές/ήτριες με διεισδυτικές κριτικές ερμηνείες για τις κοινωνικές πραγματικότητες, όπως αυτές του «κοινωνικού αποκλεισμού», της «εκμετάλλευσης των ανέργων», της «αύξησης των αστέγων», της «σκοτεινής πλευράς της ανεργίας»,



που οδηγεί στην ανάδυση ξενοφοβικών και ρατσιστικών συμπεριφορών «οι ξένοι ήρθαν και πήραν τις δουλειές», «αυτοί φταίνε» αναδεικνύουν την πολιτική, οικονομική και κοινωνική διάστασή τους, οι οποίες ενέχουν τη δυνατότητα της ανατροπής της προσωπικής και κοινωνικής ζωής, της αλλαγής ή και ακύρωσης της εργασιακής διαδικασίας και του μετασχηματισμού της βιωμένης κουλτούρας των πολιτών. Ταυτόχρονα, οι μαθητές/ήττριες [ανα]-γνωρίζοντας τις πολύπλοκες πολιτικο-κοινωνικές διαδικασίες της νεοφιλελεύθερης πολιτικής, επικοινωνούν, ως [κριτικοί] δημιουργοί νοημάτων, ένα φάσμα ανθρωπίνων και δημοκρατικών αξιών ούτως ώστε υποτελείς και περιθωριοποιημένες ομάδες, όπως αυτές των ενηλίκων μεταναστών, να δουν τους εαυτούς τους ως ενεργούς/ές συμμετέχοντες/ουσες στην κοινωνική αλλαγή και ως σχεδιαστές-δημιουργούς του κοινωνικού τους μέλλοντος. Υπό το πρίσμα αυτό, η ανάπτυξη ενός σύνθετου πλέγματος δεξιοτήτων κριτικού πολυτροπικού γραμματισμού που θεμελιώνεται από τις αρχές της απελευθερωτικής παιδαγωγικής, ωθεί και ενδυναμώνει τους ενήλικες μαθητές/ήττριες να αποκαλύψουν και να επικοινωνήσουν πτυχές, ρητές ή υπόρρητες, των πολιτικο-κοινωνικών συναρθρώσεων και αλληλοσυσχετίσεων των δομών της εξουσίας. Κατ' επέκταση, στο πλαίσιο της εκπαίδευσης ενηλίκων, η ανάδειξη του κοινωνικο-πολιτισμικού και πολιτικού περιεχομένου του γραμματισμού, στο σημερινό μεταβαλλόμενο κόσμο που χαρακτηρίζεται από ριζικές αλλαγές που συντελούνται στον εργασιακό, κοινωνικοπολιτικό και ιδιωτικό βίο σε παγκόσμιο επίπεδο και απορρέουν από αρχές της νεοφιλελεύθερης οικονομίας, αποτελεί την ελπίδα ενός πολιτικού πλουραλισμού που θα παρέχει τη δυνατότητα στους ενήλικες μαθητευόμενους/όμενες, να εξετάζουν κριτικά τις ιστορικά και κοινωνικά κατασκευασμένες θεάσεις του κοινωνικού γίνεσθαι. Η απομάκρυνση και εγκατάλειψη των θεωρήσεων της ενιαίας κουλτούρας και των γραμμικών προσεγγίσεων της γνώσης καθώς και των μονογλωσσικών, μονοπολιτισμικών και κανονιστικών μορφών της γλώσσας μπορούν να αποτελέσουν μια παραγωγική πηγή νέων τρόπων μάθησης, νέων κοινωνικών/δημοκρατικών αγώνων για έναν καλύτερο, ειρηνικό και αλληλέγγυο κόσμο.

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## Παράρτημα

Στο παράρτημα περιέχονται τα παραγόμενα [γραπτά] κείμενα της 1<sup>ης</sup> και 3<sup>ης</sup> φάσης τα οποία συνέθεσαν οι μαθητές/ήτριες, ως κριτικοί ‘αναγνώστες’/αναλυτές και κριτικοί μετασχηματιστές νοηματοδοτώντας το υπό εξέταση ζήτημα της ανεργίας μετά από το ‘διάλογο’ τους με το σώμα ψηφιακών κειμένων που εντάχθηκε σταδιακά κατά την εξέλιξη της μαθησιακής διαδικασίας.

### Κείμενα 1<sup>ης</sup> φάσης

Είμαι φριάντα τρία χρονών.  
Μένω εδώ στην Ελλάδα τρία χρόνια, ερεειδή είμαι  
παντρεμένη με Έλληνα. Το πρόβλημά μου είναι οτι  
δεν μπορώ να βρω δουλειά. Το επάγγελμά μου είναι  
καθηγήτρια αγγλικής φιλοσοφίας. Και φυσικά θα ήθελα  
η δουλειά μου να έχει σχέση με τα αγγλικά.  
Δεν μπορώ να βιά ότι είναι πολύ μεγάλο πρόβλημα  
και δεν ξέρω πως να το καταφέρω χωρίς δουλειά, αλλά  
όμως θα ήθελα να δουλεύω για να βουηθήσω την  
οικογένειά μου οικονομικά και να ασχολούμαι με κάτι  
χρήσιμο, να έχω καινούριους φίλους, και να γίνω μέλος  
της ελληνικής κοινωνίας. Όμως με αυτή την κατάσταση,  
στην οποία είναι τώρα η χώρα, υπάρχει μεγάλη ανεργία  
και πολύς κόσμος ψάχνει για δουλειά, αλλά για το μειο-  
νάση είναι ακόμα πιο δύσκολο. Εγώ όμως δεν γάνω  
την ελπίδα και μαθαίνω ελληνικά.



Επί κείμενο αναφέρεται ένα θέμα που είναι πολύ σημαντικό στην σύγχρονη Ελλάδα. Το θέμα είναι για την οικονομική κρίση και το πρόβλημα της ανεργίας. Μια γυναίκα 37 χρονών που είναι άσχημα άρρωστη της ιστορίας. ~~Επιστολή της είναι~~ Η κυρία είναι δημοσιογράφος και η μεταφράστριά, δούλεψε όλη την ζωή της και πάρα ~~πολλά~~ ~~και~~ ~~εξαιτίας~~ ~~πολλών~~ ~~προβλημάτων~~ Η ανεργία την δημιουργήθηκε πολλά προβλήματα. Δεν μπορεί να πληρώσει τους λογαριασμούς της; ΔΕΦΕ, ΤΕΒΕ. Δεν μπορεί να πληρώσει το σπίτι της και η σπιτιοκοπέλα θέλει να βγει από το σπίτι της. Η ανεργία την δημιουργήθηκε και ψυχολογικά και ασθματικά προβλήματα. Δεν νιώσει φτασμένης και στρεσαχόρηται πολύ. Το μεγαλύτερο πρόβλημα είναι πως, ότι δεν υπάρχει η λύση από την για την κατάσταση της.

Αυτό το άρθρο είναι πολυτροπικό κείμενο.  
«Η σοκαριστική εφαρμογή μιας ανεργίας» είναι άρθρο στο διαδικτυο. Σε αυτή την ιστοσελίδα γράφουν ανεργοί δημοσιογράφοι για τα προβλήματα τους, κείμενα τους κτλ. Μπορούμε να πούμε απλά ότι αυτό το κείμενο είναι από το διαδικτυο διότι έχουν χαρακτηριστικά στοιχεία του. Για παράδειγμα: ημερομηνία κάτω από καθενιά σελίδα ηλεκτρονικό διεύθυνση πάνω από καθενιά σελίδα, δείχνει στην άκρη της πρώτης σελίδας βλέπουμε το προφίλ πάνω από το τίτλο του κείμενου ~~τα~~ ~~είναι~~ ~~όνομα~~ της ιστοσελίδας «σταθερονομία» και στο τέλος του κείμενου υπάρχει και ηλεκτρονικό διεύθυνση της δημιουργού του κείμενου. Για να καταλαβαίνουμε πιο περισεύερα τι θέλει να μας πει η δημιουργός του κείμενου, υπάρχει και σκόνα, που βλέπουμε σκοτεινά με τα δέντρα και πολύ λίγο γη. Σε αυτό το άρθρο μιλάμε για μια δημοσιογράφος η οποία είναι στα 37 της και είναι ανεργη δέκα μήνες. Πένει στο Αθήνα από τα 24 της. Αψύχη είναι για την ανεργία και τα προβλήματα τι δημιουργεί αυτή. Η δημοσιογράφος γράφει για σημερινή της ζωή. Από το άρθρο μπορούμε να καταλαβαίνουμε ότι η ηρωίδα μας είναι εργατική, μορφωμένη, αρκετά νέα, ανήλικη και άνεργη. Η δημοσιογράφος γράφει για σημερινή της ζωή. Τα πράγματα της είναι πάει πολύ δύσκολα και εστρεμωμένα. Σε αυτές τις 10 μήνες όπως είναι ανεργη προσπάθησε να βρει τη δουλειά, έδωσε πάρα πολλά τα βιογραφικά της άλλα.

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## Ανεργία

Η ανεργία είναι ένα σημαντικό φαινόμενο που απασχολεί τους ανθρώπους. Επίσης δημιουργείται από διάφορες αιτίες, όπως η ανασφάλιστη εργασία ή και ακόμη η εκπαίδευση ποιίζει ρόλο.

Ακόμα, η εξέλιξη της τεχνολογίας, που δημιουργεί μείωση θέσεων εργασιών.

Υποστηρίζεται, ότι η εξέλιξη της ανεργίας φέρνει ψυχολογικά προβλήματα. Ο κόσμος φτωχύνεται, στις κουζίνες των νοσοκομείων δείτουν βασικά αγαθά.

Στους νέους λόγω της έλλειψης δουλειών καταλήγουν στο χροιά αλλά και στα ναρκωτικά.

Καταλήγουμε λοιπόν ότι στην ανεργία δεν πρέπει να τη βάζουμε κάτω, πρέπει να την πολεμάμε με κάθε τρόπο, επίσης, προτείνω ηρεμία και προστιήθεια και να μην προβληματίζεσαι όσο άσχημα κι αν είναι.

Θα ήθελα να τελειώσουν καλύτερα όλα αυτά, και ο καθένας άνθρωπος να είναι ευτυχεμένος...



Έση δημερική εποχή η πιο σοβαρή μάστιγα της κοινωνίας είναι η ανεργία. Οι βαθιές οικονομικές κρίσεις της εποχής μας μια από τις κύριες αιτίες που αυξήθηκε το ποσοστό των ανθρώπων οι οποίοι μένουν χωρίς δουλειά στο κείμενο διαβάσαμε για μια κοπέλα οποία ζούσε στην Αθήνα, δούλευε ως δημοσιογράφος. Αυτή είχε μια δραστηριότητα, εργατική, μαρφωμένη, νέα, ανύπαντρη, συνεπής γυναίκα. Παρ' όλα αυτά τελευταία 13 μήνες ήταν χωρίς δουλειά. Αυτή η κατάσταση προκαλούσε πολλά προβλήματα π.χ. οικονομικά, ψυχολογικά, συναισθηματικά. Δεν υπήρχε χρηματά να πληρωθεί νοίκιο, λογαριασμούς, ΤΕΒΕ, εφορία. Όλα αυτά την προκαλούσε εσωτερική δυσκρούση. Η κοπέλα εφρασε σε αδέξοδο, δεν έβρισκε λύση. Η ζωή της έγινε ένας εφραλής, Αν και η ανεργία είναι ένα μεγάλο πρόβλημα αλλά ο άνθρωπος όταν βρίσκει σε αυτή την κατάσταση πρέπει να παλεύει. Είναι αναγκαίο να χυπηθεί σε όλες της πορτες, σε φίλους, σε γνωστούς, θα ήταν καλό να δεφτεί να αλλάξει επαγγελμα, να παεί σε άλλη χώρα. Δεν υπάρχει αμφιβολία ότι χρειάζεστε μεγάλη προδοπήθεια το καλύτερο που μπορείς να κάνεις να μην κάνεις ελπίδα, να δουμε τη ζωή πιο οριδοφα. Είναι δαφει ότι όταν άνθρωπος ποσπεί να αντιδραεί να δημιουργεί



Ανεργία .

Ανεργία είναι η κατάσταση ενός ατόμου που, ενώ είναι καιρός, πρόβλημα και διαθέσιμος να αποκολληθεί, δεν δύναται να βρει εργασία.  
(Γκιουλιόλια)

Ποιός είναι η αιτία της ανεργίας και ποιά φαίνεται στις ιμνηλικές αστάσεις, που εδώ και πολύ καιρό και σε διαφορετικούς καιρούς, νειώνονται πάνω στη Γη μας;

Διαβάζω, ακούω από διαφορετους ανθρώπους να συζητάνε για ό το θέμα. Είναι καλά, πολλές φορές, δεν ξέρω πως απ'όλους να δικάσω και ποιά να πιστέψω.

Θα πω την δική μου προσωπική εμπειρία, επειδή δεν είναι η πρώτη κι, που έρχομαι αντιμετώπιη μ' αυτό το πρόβλημα. Μετά τη οικονομική και ποινική κρίση στη χώρα μου, πρώην Σοβιετική Ένωση, με άγκασε να μεταναστεύσω και ο βασικός λόγος ήταν η ανεργία. Απαιτήσεις μας, οποίες επί πολλά χρόνια είχαμε σε μας, ότι η χώρα, η ανεργία, η πείνα, οι πόλεμοι, είναι μήτρα των „κακών” των, κυριολεκτικά, μέσα σε μια μέρα μας αφήσαν μόνους να ζήσουμε στον ωκεανό των προβλημάτων.

Γνωρίζω για αρκετά μεγάλο ποσαστό νέων συμπατριωτών μου, οι οποίοι δεν κατάφεραν να κερδίζουν τη μάχη με τα κακουργία δεινόμενα που φανερώθηκαν από την οικονομική κρίση. Δεν μπόρεσαν να προσαρμοστούν σε νέες πραγματικότητες, που τους περίμεναν σε μια άλλη χώρα, όπου φήκανε για ένα καλό μέλλον. Άλλοι, επειδή στα δόξα του αποκλεισμού και τον ναρκωτικών, που τους οδήγησαν σιγά σιγά στο όφρονα της εγκαταλειψιμότητας. Ανεργία, είχε και έχει, καταστροφικές συνέπειες για τη φυσική και την ψυχική υγεία των ανθρώπων.

Πέρασαν αρκετά χρόνια από ~~μετά~~ εκείνη κρίση, και κάποιοι, που πάλι σε μια μέρα, γνωστό σκληρό και ήδησι ημωσμετωνιστεί, ~~και~~ εγκλιματίζιες ..., απρα μάλλον τα παιδιά τους η οι μαθητές, ~~και~~ ένα πρηνί : „καταρείε... Στάση „εξουσιαστική κρίση”



### Κείμενα 3<sup>ης</sup> φάσης

Σήμερα στην Ελλάδα  
υπάρχει ανεργία παντού  
γύρω μας. Κάθε μερα  
μιλάω με κάποιον που  
εμεινε χωρίς δουλεια και  
κάθε εβδομαδα βλέπω  
ένα άλλο καταστημα να  
κλείνει. Οι αιτιες είναι  
πολλες και οι λύσεις είναι λίγες.  
Αλλα αν αρχίσουμε με την  
κυβερνηση τα προβλήματα  
θα γινουν πιο ξεκαθαρα.  
Μια μεγαλη αιτια είναι η πολιτικ  
στηση. Ένας άλλος λόγος είναι  
καπιταλισμος και χωρια ποιον  
είναι κοινωνικο. Οι συζησεις  
για τους ανθρώπους στην Ελλάδα  
είναι σκληρα και ανισομενολ.

Οικονομική κρίση έχει μπιράζει τη ζωή  
μας σε όλα τα επίπεδα. Έπάρκουν δυσκολίες  
στην εύρισι δουλιάς. Το χωρος εργοσιάς  
η πληροφο ή τα δίκασομοις των εργοσιζομένων  
έχουν κροτερέυσει, κάποια εταγγελματα  
έχουν σχεδόν αφανισθεί. Έπάρκουν διακρίσεις  
μεταγή νότιον και αλλολετόν εργοσιζομένων και  
μετοσεί αντρών και γεινεκόν. ~~πάρκουν~~  
~~απεί~~ αυτές οι διακρίσεις δημιουργούν  
προκαταλήψεις που είναι δύσκολα να αλλάξουν  
ειδικά εοτή τη περίοδο, πάνω απ όλα  
η κρίση έχει πιράζει της σχέσις αντρών  
-γεινεκόν. Η ψηκολογικί πύεσι που  
φιτινται ειδικά οι άνδρες, θέζουν  
στο κινδικο των σχέσι τους



Ανεργία είναι ένα ιστορικό φαινόμενο. Στα τέλη του χρόνου παρουσιάζει μεγάλη αύξηση και έγινε μαζική της δημερικής κοινωνίας. Παρακολουθούμε καθημερινά τη φημική κατάσταση που επικρατεί στο κόσμο: κλείνουνται μαγαζιά, εργοστάσια, επιχειρήσεις.

Εγώ πιστεύω ότι κύρια αιτία της ανεργίας είναι παγκόσμια κρίση. Όμως δεν πρέπει να ξεχνάμε ότι υπάρχουν ιστορικές, πολιτικές, κοινωνικές αιτίες. Επίσης τεχνολογική ανάπτυξη σε πολλούς τομείς της οικονομίας αποστερεί την εργασία από αρκετά άτομα. Με άλλη λογική μπορούμε να πούμε ότι ανεργία είναι, σύμψυτο αποτέλεσμα του καπιταλιστικού συστήματος.

Ανεργία φέρνει στο κόσμο πολλά ατομικά και κοινωνικά προβλήματα. Το βασικό που εντοπίζεται ανεργός άνθρωπος είναι έλλειψη χρημάτων, επίσης κατάθλιψη, που μπορεί να οδηγήσει σε χρήση ναρκωτικών, αλκοόλ και αποτέλεσμα ο άνθρωπος χάνει αυτοεκτίμηση, αυτοβεβαίωση. Επιπλέον αυξάνεται το ποσοστό αυτοκτονιών, αριθμός αδέσμων, εγκληματικότητα. Δυστυχώς δημιουργούνται προβλήματα στην οικογένεια διότι σπασί το δεσμό της οικογένειας. Ανεργία πιο δύσκολα χτυπάει τους νέους, φέρνεται κοινωνικό αποκλεισμό και εκμετάλλευση.

Όπως βλέπουμε το πρόβλημα της ανεργίας είναι οξύ και σοβαρό. Για αυτό τον λόγο πρέπει να βρεθούν δυνατότητα τα αποτελεσματικά μέτρα αντιμετώπισης. Ο κράτος πρέπει να ασχοληθεί σοβαρά, π.χ. να δημιουργήσει καλύτερες εα καριέρες απασχόλησης, να χρηματοδοτήσει εκείνους που θέλουν να μετεγκατασταθούν στην επαρχία. Η ανεργία πρέπει να επηρεαστεί.





### Η Ανεργία στην Ελλάδα

Σήμερα στην Ελλάδα και σε ολόκληρη την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση υπάρχει το πρόβλημα της ανεργίας.

Η ανεργία αποτελεί μια δύσκολη κατάσταση <sup>πολλών ανθρώπων</sup> για ειδικά παρατηρείται κυρίως στους νέους και στους εργαζόμενους πάνω από τα πενήντα. Σύμφωνα με έρευνες η ανεργία έχει φτάσει στα ύψη.

Συνεπώς, μια από τις αιτίες που προκαλεί κίνδυνο είναι ακαθάρτητα εργασία, που αποτελεί για πολλούς ανθρώπους την απόγωση στα πολλά πράγματα. Επίσης το ποσοστό αδιάτμητα τώρα είναι πολύ δύσκολη στην Ελλάδα. Γίνονται εκτεταμένα μέτρα για να μειώσουν το κόστος, συμπεριλαμβανομένων των μισθών και των συντάξεων. Και ακόμη όπως μου φαίνεται ότι η κυβέρνηση δεν έχει κάνει αρκετά για να ξεπεραστεί η κρίση.

Επιπλέον, η σημαντική συνέπεια είναι που κατά τη διάρκεια των ετών η οικονομία έχασε εκατομμύρια εργαζόμενους. Ιδιαίτερα δύσκολη κατάσταση στην κατηγορία ηλικίας 24 ετών-πυρήνιο της ανεργίας των νέων.

Επιπλέον, η μετανάστευση πολλών ανθρώπων σε άλλες χώρες από τις ελλείψεις χρημάτων έσπευσε τη μεγάλη κρίση. Ακόμη θα ήθελα να πω ότι επίσης υπάρχουν πολλοί άνθρωποι που έχασαν τη δουλειά τους και δεν μπορούσαν να πληρώσουν τους λογαριασμούς, έτσι είχαν κάνει έστω και αυτό το αριθμό των αδέσμευτων αυξάνεται. Είναι πολλά μεγάλα ένταση των κοινωνικών προβλημάτων που γίνεται τώρα.

Επίσης στην Αθήνα παρατηρήθηκε περίπου 40 κτίρια, λεωφορεία περιβάλλεται γύρω από την πλατεία, περίπου 150 καταστήματα και πολλά αστυνομικά τμήματα. Προβεβλημένα κτίρια της ιστορικής αξίας - Αναρχικοί κάγκες οδοκαθάρση το ιστορικό θέατρο "Απικόν" που χτίστηκε το 1910.

Όλα αυτά είναι με φόντο μια πανευρωπαϊκή ανεργία. Ακόμη είχαν παραλύσει από τους κυβερνητικούς εργαζόμενους, εκδομής, χήνεδά μεταφορές, μουσεία και εικηματογράφους.



"Έπο' τέλει' από τις συνέπειες λέω να πω και  
για τα πολλά ψυχολογικά προβλήματα που δημιουργούνται  
από τη κρίση λόγω της επιδείνωσης της οικονομικής  
κατάστασης στη χώρα, αβεβαιότητα και τάση για κατάλυση,  
μια κοινή επίδραση στην ψυχική κατάσταση ανθρώπων.  
Παρά το γεγονός, ότι κάθε περίπτωση είναι εξατομικευμένη  
υπάρχουν οι κοινωνικές συνθήκες που προάγουν τα  
προβλήματα ψυχικής υγείας. Είναι επίσης γνωστό ότι  
έσ' μεγάλο κίνδυνο την ψυχική ακεραιότητα, όχι μόνο  
τους ανεργούς αλλά και όσους έχει την αναπόφευκτη  
υπόσταση της ανεργίας, καθώς και οι παλιότεροι με τα  
δάνεια και τα χρέη, τις ανύπαντρες μητέρες,  
γονατιστούς, με ιδιαίτερα χαμηλό εισόδημα, όλα  
αυτά που υπέφεραν από τις επιπτώσεις της κρίσης  
στην υλινικά επίπεδα



## Η ανεργία στην Ελλάδα

Το ποσοστό ανεργίας στην Ελλάδα είναι σήμερα στο 26,2015 εκκρό, αύξησή του αριθμού.

Πώς θα μπορούσε αυτό να συμβεί;

Μία στενή ηρηματοπιστωτική κρίση ήταν η κύρια αιτία για την αύξησή του προϋπολογισμού για τους ακόλουθους λόγους για το φιάσκο στην Ελλάδα:

Επιχειρησιακή κυβέρνηση στην Ελλάδα δεν έχει εκλεγεί από το 2010, αλλά οι άνθρωποι δεν είναι πίσω από την κυβέρνηση.

Τελεωμένα σχέδια, διαφθορά, παραοικονομία και η φοροδιαφυγή θα πρέπει τότε έχουν προκληθεί μια πρωτογενή κρίση.

Πρόσθετες ψεύδη αναγραφή είναι ότι η Ελλάδα λείπει επίσης σε μια βιομηχανία χανικών υπολογιστών ελλείψη.

Οι περισσότερες εταιρείες και επιχειρήσεις που ανήκουν σε ιδιώτες, με το είδη φέρουν να προσιτούν οι ίδιοι, αντί να αδειάζει τα κερδοφόρα πράγματα με κυκλοφορία.

Επι πλέον, ο καπιταλισμός είναι ένα οικονομικό σύστημα που μπορεί να λειτουργήσει, μόνο με ένα περιορισμένη



↳ προσωπικά, είποσα δεν μπορεί να  
αλλάξει για το καλό του γαλάζιου.  
Με περισσότερα χρήματα για να  
τακτοποιούν από το εφωτιστικό, να  
μειώσει τους μισθούς και να οφείλη,  
ακόμη περισσότερο, καθώς και ατακτική  
και αησχολική έξοδος, δεν αποτελεί  
λύση.  
Δεν νομίζω, ότι οι Έλληνες εξακολουθούν  
να αντιστεώμενοι πολύ μεγαλύτερο;  
και έτσι μπορεί να καταστρέψουν,  
επειδή οι Έλληνες να είναι ελεύθεροι  
και περήφανοι.  
Είναι μια επανάσταση στη λύση;  
κι θα έρθει το επόμενο βήμα;

Βαββα



Αυτή τη στιγμή η ανεργία έχει αυξηθεί πάρα πολύ στην Ελλάδα, ειδικά στην περιοχή της Αθήνας. Είναι πολύ δύσκολο να βρεις δουλειά. Ο κόσμος που δεν μπορεί να βρει δουλειά είναι πολύ αναστασμένος. Είναι πολύ δύσκολο να βρεις δουλειά. Ο κόσμος που δεν μπορεί να βρει δουλειά είναι πολύ αναστασμένος. Είναι πολύ δύσκολο να βρεις δουλειά. Ο κόσμος που δεν μπορεί να βρει δουλειά είναι πολύ αναστασμένος.

Όσο πιο οικονομικά σφιχτά, η ανεργία στη Ελλάδα συνεχίζει να αυξάνεται. Στο 17,7% ανήλθε το ποσοστό ανεργίας κατά το κρημνό το 2011. Πάνω από ένα έτος αναζητούν μάταια δουλειά από τους μισούς άνεργους. Ανεργία στους νέους έχει φτάσει το 20%. Διασάφηνε ένας στους πέντε νέους είναι άνεργος.

Τώρα που δεν έχει σημασία ούτε θα σε πληρώσουν για εννιά μήνες πάνω ώρες δουλειάς, αρκεί να δουλεύεις και αρκεί να σε πληρώσουν. Ποσές οικογένειες ρυθίζουν πέρα με ένα μισό. Εργασίες, δεν κεί φερταίς για όσους, με ευκαρία ααίζουν το προσωπικό μισθό για μια άδεια ανεργίας που περιμένουν έξω από την πόρτα. Κάποι κερδίζουν σ' αυτές τις περιπτώσεις και κάποιοι χάνουν. Παράζοντε δικαιώματα των ανθρώπων.

Η ανεργία επηρεάζει σε τεράστιο βαθμό την κοινωνία και δημιουργεί εθνικιστικές, φασιστικές ομάδες που αποσπασούν την σκευηνή ευρά της ανεργίας.

- Η ξένη ήρθαν και παίρνουν τις δουλειές μας. Αυτή φταίει - βενεταίοι πολιτική και ποσίες.

Εσάφηνε, εσάφηνε ποτέ η Ελλάδα να μη αντιμετωπίσει το πρόβλημα μπορεί να χειθεί τη βάση εθνικιστική και ρατσισμό. Για αυτούς που δημιουργούν - είναι η πιο τρομακτική και τραγική κατάσταση για μια χώρα.

Στο τέλος της αφήγησης μου θέλω να πω, ότι, παρ' όλο που η κατάσταση μάλλον να είναι πολύ δύσκολη, έχω προσωπικά εμπειρία η λύση. Είναι να δίνεις ανθρώπινες αξίες: αγάπη προς το έθνος σου, γνώση, καστή πίστη, δυνατή σκευηνία. κ.α.

Έχουμε και να μη σταματήσουμε να ονειρευόμαστε και να μιλάμε κανόνες δικαίωμα να σβήνουν τα όνειρα μας.





### Η απάντηση στην κρίση

Στους πολύ δύσκολους οικονομικά και ηθικά καιρούς που ζούμε η ανθρωπιά και η συντροφικότητα μπορούν να αποτελέσουν ακτίδες φώτος στο τούνελ που μας έβαλαν τα μεγάλα κεφάλια.

Οι απλοί άνθρωποι, μπορούν να δείξουν την υποστήριξη τους σε έναν συμπολίτη τους. Σ' αυτή την δύσκολη κρίση, η μόνη λύση είναι η αλληλεγγύη και η στήριξη από τον λαό, από τους φίλους μας.

Επειδή η κρίση δεν είναι λάθος από το κάθε άνθρωπο αλλά είναι λάθος από τους φίλους μας. Και για αυτό πρέπει να σκεφτούμε τι συμβαίνει και τι πρέπει να κάνουμε για το καλύτερο μέλλον μας.

Η δική μου γνώμη είναι μια αλλαγή στην πολιτικό και οικονομικό σύστημα. Και από την άποψη της δημοκρατίας μόνο ο ενωμένος λαός πρέπει να αλλάξει αυτό το σύστημα. Η δημοκρατία είναι μια οικογένεια στην οποία οι λύσεις λαμβάνονται από κοινού.



## Η κοινωνική και οικονομική κρίση στην Ελλάδα και η ελπίδα για ένα διαφορετικό είδος παιδαγωγικής

Χάλαρη Μαρία

Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών

### Περίληψη

Η παρούσα εισήγηση βασίζεται σε μια μελέτη που είχε ως στόχο να διερευνήσει τις εμπειρίες και τις νοηματοδοτήσεις των εκπαιδευτικών ως προς τις πρόσφατες πολιτικές και οικονομικές αλλαγές στην Ελλάδα και τις νέες προκλήσεις που απορρέουν από αυτές, καθώς και τις αντιλήψεις των εκπαιδευτικών για τις δυνατότητες που ενδεχομένως προδιαγράφονται για το μέλλον. Αυτή η μελέτη βασισμένη σε μια επιστημολογία της οπτικής (*standpoint epistemology*), σε μια οπτική της ελπίδας, πέρα και ενάντια στον αυτοκαταστροφικό λόγο της απελπισίας που δεσπόζει στο σημερινό πλαίσιο της ελληνικής εκπαίδευσης και της δημόσιας ζωής, προσπάθησε να αναζητήσει δυνατότητες ελπίδας, ιδιαίτερα εκείνες τις δυνατότητες που εκφράζουν οι εκπαιδευτικοί. Συγκεκριμένα, προσπάθησε να διερευνήσει πώς μπορούμε να αξιοποιήσουμε τα δυνατά στοιχεία του παρόντος εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος, προκειμένου να δημιουργήσουμε ένα σύστημα ικανό να προωθήσει την αντιμετώπιση των δύσκολων συνθηκών που έχουν επιφέρει οι πρόσφατες κοινωνικές αλλαγές. Σε όλη τη διάρκεια αυτής της μελέτης, δεν θεωρήθηκε ότι οι εκπαιδευτικοί έχουν λύσεις, ούτε ότι είναι αποκλειστικά υπεύθυνοι για την ανασυγκρότηση του ελληνικού εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος και της ελληνικής κοινωνίας, αλλά ότι μπορούν να συμβάλλουν σε μεγάλο βαθμό και ότι πρέπει οι φωνές τους να ακουστούν. Η παρούσα εισήγηση επικεντρώνεται στις απόψεις των εκπαιδευτικών σχετικά με τον πιθανό ρόλο του ελληνικού εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος στην ανασυγκρότηση της κοινωνίας και του πολιτικού βίου στην Ελλάδα μετά την κρίση, και στις ελπίδες που εκφράζονται από τους εκπαιδευτικούς για τη δημιουργία ενός εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος που θα ταιριάζει στις σημερινές κοινωνικές συνθήκες.

### Λέξεις κλειδιά

κοινωνικο-οικονομική κρίση, εκπαίδευση, εκπαιδευτικοί, ελπίδα

### Εισαγωγή

Η σημερινή κοινωνική και οικονομική κατάσταση στην Ελλάδα έχει συμβάλει στη δημιουργία μιας όλο και πιο σύνθετης κοινωνίας, την καλλιέργεια έντονου κλίματος αβεβαιότητας στο λαό, και την αίσθηση ενός απρόβλεπτου μέλλοντος. Ωστόσο, έχει φέρει στο φως νέες τάσεις και δυνατότητες. Πιθανόν να καταφέρουμε να λάβουμε γνώση αυτών των νέων τάσεων και δυνατοτήτων, αν καταφέρουμε να παρακάμψουμε τις αρνητικές επιπτώσεις της κρίσης και προσπαθήσουμε να βρούμε χώρο για νέες ιστορίες, έναν άλλο τρόπο σκέψης, και μια έννοια της ελπίδας. Το εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα είναι σε θέση να προσφέρει τόσο αυτό το νέο τρόπο σκέψης, όσο και την ίδια την ελπίδα.

Στην ερευνητική μου μελέτη, μέρος της οποίας παρουσιάζω σε αυτή την εισήγηση, υποστηρίζω ότι είναι απαραίτητο και ζωτικής σημασίας όχι μόνο να διερευνήσουμε



διεξοδικά τις αρνητικές επιπτώσεις της κοινωνικοοικονομικής κρίσης, αλλά και να μάθουμε να αναγνωρίζουμε τις βασικές αξίες της τρέχουσας εποχής και τα κρίσιμα ζητήματα τα οποία μπορούν να γίνουν ευκαιρίες, καθώς και κινητήριες δυνάμεις, για προβληματισμό και αλλαγή.

Αυτός είναι ο λόγος για τον οποίο στη μελέτη μου επιλέγω να βασιστώ σε μια οπτική της ελπίδας και να θεωρήσω την κρίση ως μια μοναδική ευκαιρία για να επαναπροσδιορίσουμε τους στόχους της ζωής μας. Η ερευνητική μου μελέτη δηλαδή, περνάει τα όρια μιας εμπειρικής αναλυτικής μελέτης και διερευνά πώς τα πράγματα θα μπορούσαν να είναι διαφορετικά. Συγκεκριμένα, βασίζεται σε μια επιστημολογία της οπτικής (standpoint epistemology), σε μια οπτική της ελπίδας, και δεν προσφέρει έναν τελικό απολογισμό συμπερασμάτων, αλλά ένα σύνολο σημείων εκκίνησης για σκέψη, δράση και περαιτέρω έρευνα.

Η παρούσα εισήγηση επικεντρώνεται σε ένα από τα ερευνητικά μου ερωτήματα που ασχολείται με τις απόψεις των εκπαιδευτικών σχετικά με τον πιθανό ρόλο του ελληνικού εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος στην ανασυγκρότηση της κοινωνίας και του πολιτικού βίου στην Ελλάδα μετά την κρίση, και με τις ελπίδες των εκπαιδευτικών για τη δημιουργία ενός διαφορετικού είδους παιδαγωγικής που θα ταιριάζει στις σημερινές μείζονες κοινωνικές αλλαγές και θα αντιμετωπίσει τις νέες προκλήσεις. Αν, όπως ισχυρίζεται ο Giroux (2004), η εκπαίδευση προϋποθέτει πάντα ένα όραμα για το μέλλον, η εισήγηση αυτή εστιάζει στο όραμα για το μέλλον που διατυπώθηκε από ορισμένους δασκάλους στην Ελλάδα.

Η εισήγηση αυτή αποτελείται από τέσσερα μέρη, κάποια από τα οποία περιλαμβάνουν επιμέρους ενότητες. Στο πρώτο μέρος, παρουσιάζεται το πλαίσιο και οι σκοποί της ερευνητικής μελέτης της οποίας μέρος παρουσιάζεται σε αυτή την εισήγηση. Συγκεκριμένα, παρουσιάζεται το ελληνικό κοινωνικό και εκπαιδευτικό πλαίσιο, μια ενδεικτική επισκόπηση της σχετικής με το θέμα ερευνητικής δραστηριότητας, το θεωρητικό πλαίσιο, καθώς και οι σκοποί της έρευνας. Στο δεύτερο μέρος, περιγράφεται η μεθοδολογία της έρευνας. Συγκεκριμένα, γίνεται συνοπτική αναφορά στις οντολογικές και επιστημολογικές παραδοχές, στην ερευνητική προσέγγιση, στις τεχνικές συλλογής δεδομένων, στο ερευνητικό πεδίο και στα κοινωνικά υποκείμενα της έρευνας, καθώς και στα δεοντολογικά ζητήματα που προέκυψαν. Στο τρίτο μέρος, παρουσιάζονται συνοπτικά οι αντιλήψεις των εκπαιδευτικών σχετικά με το ρόλο της εκπαίδευσης στην εποχή της κρίσης καθώς και στις ελπίδες τους για τη δημιουργία ενός εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος που θα ταιριάζει στις σημερινές κοινωνικές συνθήκες. Τέλος, στο τέταρτο μέρος, γίνεται μια σύνοψη των κυριότερων συμπερασμάτων.

### **Πλαίσιο και σκοποί της έρευνας**

#### Κοινωνικό και εκπαιδευτικό πλαίσιο

Τα τελευταία χρόνια, η Ελλάδα βρίσκεται στη δίνη σημαντικών πολιτικών και οικονομικών αλλαγών. Η χώρα αντιμετωπίζει μια σοβαρή οικονομική κρίση και οδηγείται κάθε μέρα όλο και πιο βαθιά στην ύφεση. Αντιμετωπίζει επίσης, μια



προσφυγική κρίση που εγείρει έντονη ανησυχία για το μέλλον, κρίση αξιών, και κρίση ταυτότητας. Η τρέχουσα οικονομική και πολιτική κατάσταση στην Ελλάδα έχει σημαδέψει κάθε πτυχή της ελληνικής κοινωνίας, συμπεριλαμβανομένης και της εκπαίδευσης. Το εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα, στο πλαίσιο της οικονομικής κρίσης, των κοινωνικο-οικονομικών αλλαγών, των πολλαπλών πολιτικών αναδιαρθρώσεων, της αβεβαιότητας, και των αυστηρών μέτρων λιτότητας, έχει επηρεαστεί σε μεγάλο βαθμό, και στα ήδη υπάρχοντα προβλήματα του έχουν προστεθεί ακόμα περισσότερα (Ασκούνη, 2013, Paraskevoroulos & Morgan, 2011).

Το 2010, και σύμφωνα με το Νόμο 3833/2010 («Προστασία της Ελληνικής οικονομίας - Επείγοντα μέτρα για την αντιμετώπιση της δημοσιονομικής κρίσης»), η κυβέρνηση μείωσε τον ετήσιο προϋπολογισμό όλων των υπουργείων, συμπεριλαμβανομένου του Υπουργείου Παιδείας, κατά 10%. Αυτό είχε ως αποτέλεσμα από το 2011 και μετά να κλείσουν περισσότερα από 1000 σχολεία, αναγκάζοντας δασκάλους και καθηγητές να μείνουν εκτός εργασίας, ωθώντας μαθητές σε υπερπλήρεις αίθουσες διδασκαλίας και απαιτώντας από αυτούς να κάνουν καθημερινά μεγάλες αποστάσεις για να πάνε σε σχολεία γειτονικών χωριών και πόλεων (Education in crisis, 2014). Δημιούργησε επίσης πολλά άλλα προβλήματα, όπως τεράστιες περικοπές στους μισθούς των δασκάλων, μείωση των ήδη περιορισμένων πόρων των σχολείων, μείωση των προγραμμάτων παρέμβασης για τα σχολεία με μεγάλο αριθμό μαθητών από οικογένειες μεταναστών (Christodoulakis et al, 2011, Paraskevoroulos & Morgan, 2011).

Μέχρι το 2013, οι εκπαιδευτικές δαπάνες μειώθηκαν κατά 33% του ετήσιου προϋπολογισμού και στα χρόνια που ακολούθησαν υλοποιήθηκαν επιπλέον περικοπές που έφτασαν μέχρι και το 14%. Οι προβλέψεις για τα επόμενα χρόνια, είναι ακόμα πιο δυσοίωνες και αν αυτές οι προβλέψεις γίνουν πραγματικότητα, δεν θα υπάρχουν χρήματα για να καλύψουν βασικές δαπάνες των σχολείων όπως θέρμανση, ανανέωση βιβλιοθηκών, υποδομές νέας τεχνολογίας, διορισμός διδακτικού προσωπικού (Charamis & Kotsifakis, 2015).

Ο αντίκτυπος της κρίσης στην ελληνική εκπαίδευση αποτελεί σοβαρή απειλή για τους εκπαιδευτικούς, τους μαθητές και τις οικογένειές τους, καθώς και για το μέλλον της ελληνικής κοινωνίας (Zambeta & Kolofousi, 2014). Ακριβώς όπως στην Ιταλία (Innes, 2013) ή την Ισπανία (Canadell, 2013), η κοινωνική και οικονομική κρίση στην Ελλάδα έχει συμβάλει σε μια δραματική επιδείνωση στην προσωπική και επαγγελματική ευημερία χιλιάδων εκπαιδευτικών και μαθητών, και σε σοβαρή αύξηση των εκπαιδευτικών ανισοτήτων λόγω των σοβαρών και καταστροφικών επιπτώσεων της κρίσης στην ποιότητα της εκπαίδευσης και στην πρόσβαση σε αυτήν για όλους.

#### Ερευνητικό πλαίσιο

Παρά τον τεράστιο αριθμό μελετών που εστιάζουν στον αντίκτυπο της τρέχουσας κοινωνικής και οικονομικής κατάστασης στην Ελλάδα (βλ. ενδεικτικά έρευνες που επικεντρώνονται στις επιπτώσεις της κρίσης στην υγεία, και την πρωτοβάθμια φροντίδα: Economou et al, 2014, Kentikelenis et al 2014, Mallianou & Sarafis, 2012,



Ifanti et al 2013, Lionis & Petelos, 2013, Baranouski, 2013, Kondilis et al 2013, έρευνες που επικεντρώνονται στις επιπτώσεις της κρίσης στην ποιότητα ζωής των Ελλήνων: Frangos et al 2012, Miller, 2012, Economou et al 2011, Maltezu & Pomerou, 2011, Matsaganis, 2011, Matsaganis & Leventi, 2011 κτλ.), δεν έχουν μελετηθεί επαρκώς οι επιπτώσεις της κρίσης στα σχολεία, στους εκπαιδευτικούς, στους μαθητές (βλ. ωστόσο Charamis & Kotsifakis, 2015, Συνήγορος του παιδιού, 2013, Νίκα, 2014), το πώς βιώνουν οι ίδιοι οι εκπαιδευτικοί ή οι μαθητές τις επιπτώσεις αυτές στην καθημερινή τους ζωή, προσωπική και επαγγελματική, καθώς και ο ρόλος που μπορεί να διαδραματίσει η εκπαίδευση στην προσπάθεια αντιμετώπισης ορισμένων από τις καταστροφικές συνέπειες της κοινωνικής και οικονομικής κρίσης στην Ελλάδα (βλ. ωστόσο Tsekeris et al, 2015, Σπηλιοπούλου, Ασημάκη, Κουστουράκης, 2016).

Θα μπορούσε να ειπωθεί δηλαδή, ότι οι «φωνές» (ο λόγος) των εκπαιδευτικών και των μαθητών και οι γνώσεις που μπορούν να προσφέρουν είναι «υποταγμένες» (subjugated knowledges), όρος ο οποίος επινοήθηκε από τον Michel Foucault για να περιγράψει τις γνώσεις και τους τρόπους που χρησιμοποιούμε για να τις αποκτήσουμε, που έχουν αγνοηθεί από τα ρεύματα της κυρίαρχης κουλτούρας, και οι οποίες συχνά βρίσκονται χαμηλά στην ιεραρχία, κάτω από το απαιτούμενο επίπεδο γνωστικής λειτουργίας ή επιστημονικότητας (Foucault, 2003).

#### Θεωρητικό πλαίσιο

Ο Ραολό Freire, στο βιβλίο του *Παιδαγωγική της Ελπίδας* γράφει:

*Αν και σίγουρα δεν μπορούμε να αγνοήσουμε την απελπισία ως απτή οντότητα, ούτε να κάνουμε τα στραβά μάτια στους ιστορικούς, οικονομικούς και κοινωνικούς λόγους που εξηγούν αυτή την απελπισία - Καταλαβαίνω την ανθρώπινη ύπαρξη και τον αγώνα που χρειάζεται για τη βελτίωσή της μόνο μόνο μέσα απο την ελπίδα και το όνειρο. Η ελπίδα είναι μια οντολογική ανάγκη... Χωρίς ελπίδα δεν μπορούμε να ξεκινήσουμε τον αγώνα. Αλλά χωρίς αγώνα, η ελπίδα ως οντολογική ανάγκη, διαλύεται και μετατρέπεται σε απελπισία. Και η απελπισία μπορεί να μετατραπεί σε τραγική απόγνωση. Εξού και η ανάγκη για ένα είδος εκπαίδευσης στην ελπίδα.* (Freire, 1994, σελ. 2-3)

Το σημείο εκκίνησης της μελέτης που παρουσιάζω σε αυτή την εισήγηση είναι αυτή η οντολογική ανάγκη για ελπίδα. Συγκεκριμένα, υποστηρίζω ότι πρέπει να κινηθούμε πέρα απο αφηγήσεις αρνητισμού και μιζέριας προς πιο ελπιδοφόρες αφηγήσεις που θα στηρίζονται στην ευελιξία, την ευημερία και την ευτυχία (Kelsey & Armstrong, 2012). Ως εκ τούτου, υιοθετώ την ελπίδα ως την κύρια εννοιολογική βάση που πλαισιώνει την έρευνά μου, καθώς και ένα εργαλείο για την εξερεύνηση μιας πολιτικής των δυνατοτήτων στην εκπαίδευση (Giroux, 2003).

Συγκεκριμένα, η ερευνητική μου μελέτη βασίζεται σε μια φιλοσοφία της ελπίδας και εξετάζει τη πιθανότητα να δούμε την κρίση ως μια ευκαιρία για την εμφάνιση νέων ιστοριών και τον επαναπροσδιορισμό των στόχων μας (Gamble, 2009). Η έννοια της ελπίδας που χρησιμοποιώ είναι πιο κοντά στην κριτική προσέγγιση της ελπίδας (Freire), στον κοινωνικό μετασχηματισμό (McInerney), και στην





εννοιολόγηση της ελπίδας που προτείνει η Kitty te Riele (te Riele, 2009). Σύμφωνα με την Kitty te Riele, για να χρησιμοποιήσουμε την ελπίδα ως ένα κριτικό εννοιολογικό εργαλείο στις κοινωνικές επιστήμες θα πρέπει η ελπίδα αυτή να αναγνωρίζει τις δυσκολίες της σημερινής κατάστασης πριν οραματιστεί ένα εναλλακτικό θετικό μέλλον, θα πρέπει να βρίσκεται ανάμεσα στην επιθυμία και τον σχεδιασμό, και να υποθέτει ότι οι δυσκολίες μπορούν να ξεπεραστούν.

Όπως προτείνει ο Halpin (2003, σελ. 16): «Η ελπίδα έχει ένα δημιουργικό ρόλο στην ενθάρρυνση της ανάπτυξης δημιουργικών λύσεων σε δυσεπίλυτα προβλήματα». Η ελπίδα για το μέλλον μπορεί να ενισχύσει τα κίνητρα για το παρόν καθώς και θετικές δράσεις που πιθανόν να επιφέρουν σημαντικές αλλαγές (Hicks, 2014). Σε περιόδους έντονων κοινωνικών αλλαγών - σαν αυτή που βιώνουμε σήμερα στην Ελλάδα - η ελπίδα μπορεί να αποτελέσει απαραίτητο εργαλείο για την επιβίωση.

### Σκοποί

Θέτοντας υπόψη τα παραπάνω, η μελέτη μου έβαλε τους εκπαιδευτικούς στο κέντρο της ερευνητικής διαδικασίας και τους έδωσε την ευκαιρία να συζητήσουν για τις προκλήσεις που αντιμετωπίζουν, για το σκοπό της εκπαίδευσης και για το ρόλο της στην εποχή της κρίσης. Συγκεκριμένα, επικεντρώθηκε στη διερεύνηση των εμπειριών και των νοηματοδοτήσεων των εκπαιδευτικών ως προς τις επιπτώσεις της κοινωνικής και οικονομικής κρίσης στη ζωή τους, αλλά και στο ελληνικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα γενικότερα, καθώς και στη διερεύνηση των σκέψεων και προβολών τους ως προς το ρόλο που μπορεί να διαδραματίσει η εκπαίδευση στην αντιμετώπιση των προκλήσεων που έχουν προκύψει από την κοινωνική και οικονομική κρίση στην Ελλάδα. Η παρούσα έρευνα δεν αγνόησε τις αρνητικές επιπτώσεις της κρίσης αλλά χρησιμοποίησε την ανάλυση τους ως το σημείο έναρξης για τη διερεύνηση των πιθανοτήτων για κάτι καλύτερο πέρα από την κρίση.

### **Μεθοδολογία**

#### Οντολογικές και επιστημολογικές παραδοχές

Η κύρια οντολογική παραδοχή της μελέτης μου είναι ότι το κοινωνικό νόημα δεν είναι σταθερό αλλά ρευστό, και συμμετέχει σε μια συνεχιζόμενη διαδικασία δημιουργίας και αναδημιουργίας, είτε για να διατηρηθεί ως έχει, είτε για να αλλάξει. Όπως υποστηρίζει ο Mead (1936), «το νόημα δεν ενυπάρχει στα πράγματα, ούτε έχει οριστεί από τον Θεό, μάλλον είναι ένα πολιτιστικό προϊόν το οποίο παράγεται από άτομα τα οποία ζουν και δρουν σε συγκεκριμένες ιστορικές περιόδους» (Shalin, 1991, σ. 237). Επιστημολογικά, η παρούσα έρευνα θεωρεί ότι ο κόσμος μπορεί να γίνει αντιληπτός μόνο μέσα από ένα ειδικό φακό, ο οποίος σχηματίζεται και αναπτύσσεται μέσα στην κοινωνία. Δεν υπάρχουν γεγονότα για τον κόσμο που δεν παράγονται, κατά κάποιο τρόπο, κοινωνικά ή δεν εξαρτώνται από τις συμβάσεις της κοινωνίας.

Θεωρητικά, η μεθοδολογία και ο σχεδιασμός της έρευνας ενημερώθηκε από την ερμηνευτική προσέγγιση. Η ερμηνευτική προσέγγιση στην κοινωνική και εκπαιδευτική έρευνα ξεκινά από την παραδοχή ότι η πρόσβαση στην κοινωνική



πραγματικότητα είναι δυνατή μόνο μέσω διαφορετικών κοινωνικών κατασκευών ή μέσω όπως είναι η γλώσσα, η ατομική και συλλογική συνείδηση ή τα κοινά νοήματα και οι κοινές αναπαραστάσεις (διυποκειμενικότητα) (Creswell, 1998). Η προσέγγιση αυτή προϋποθέτει ότι όλη η ανθρώπινη δράση είναι σημαντική και θα πρέπει, συνεπώς, να ερμηνεύεται και να κατανοείται στο πλαίσιο των κοινωνικών πρακτικών (Charmaz, 2006, Usher, 1996).

Τέλος, στην ερευνητική μου μελέτη, ακολουθήθηκαν οντολογικές και επιστημολογικές παραδοχές που βασίζονται σε μια επιστημολογία της οπτικής (standpoint epistemology). Η επιστημολογία της οπτικής χρησιμοποιήθηκε για πρώτη φορά στη Βόρεια Αμερική από φεμινίστριες ερευνήτριες, οι οποίες θέλησαν να δώσουν φωνή στις εμπειρίες περιθωριοποιημένων ομάδων (Collins, 2008). Η επιστημολογία της οπτικής και οι διάφορες επιστημολογίες που αντλούν από αυτή μπορεί να θεωρηθεί ως μια κίνηση προς πιο τοπικές και πλαισιωμένες γνώσεις που αντλούν από τις απόψεις και τις εμπειρίες ομάδων των οποίων οι φωνές δεν είναι κυρίαρχες. Μπορεί επίσης, να θεωρηθεί ως μια επιστημολογία η οποία παρέχει στους ερευνητές νέους τρόπους με τους οποίους μπορούν να προσεγγίσουν τη γνώση, να διερευνήσουν ερωτήματα, να ευαισθητοποιήσουν, και να επιφέρουν αλλαγές (Skeggs, 1994).

Χρησιμοποιώντας την επιστημολογία της οπτικής στην έρευνα αυτή, επέλεξα να απομακρυνθώ από έναν ορθόδοξο εμπειρικό αναλυτικό τρόπο μελέτης και να επικεντρωθώ σε μια οπτική της ελπίδας, πέρα και ενάντια στον αυτοκαταστροφικό λόγο της απελπισίας που δεσπόζει στο σημερινό πλαίσιο της ελληνικής εκπαίδευσης και της δημόσιας ζωής. Μέσα από την οπτική της ελπίδας, είχα την πρόθεση να ψάξω για «διεξόδους» της κρίσης, δίνοντας φωνή στις ανησυχίες, στις αγωνίες, αλλά και στις ελπίδες των εκπαιδευτικών.

#### Ερευνητική προσέγγιση και τεχνικές συλλογής δεδομένων

Ο στόχος της μελέτης αυτής δεν ήταν η γενίκευση των συμπερασμάτων της αλλά η προσπάθεια να ρίξει φως στις εμπειρίες, νοηματοδοτήσεις και προβολές στον λόγο μερικών εκπαιδευτικών. Η φύση της έρευνας και ο σκοπός της υποδηλώνει μια έμφαση στη μελέτη των τρόπων με τους οποίους τα άτομα ερμηνεύουν τον κοινωνικό τους κόσμο και εντάσσονται σε αυτόν - σκοπός που οδήγησε στην επιλογή της ποιοτικής μεθοδολογίας έρευνας (Gillborn, 2010).

Για τη συλλογή των δεδομένων χρησιμοποιήθηκε η τεχνική της ημιδομημένης συνέντευξης. Η τεχνική αυτή ήταν σύμφωνη με τις οντολογικές και επιστημολογικές παραδοχές της παρούσας έρευνας και κρίθηκε ως η πιο ενδεδειγμένη διότι, σύμφωνα με πολλούς ερευνητές, είναι πολύ βοηθητική στη συλλογή δεδομένων τα οποία έχουν να κάνουν με σημασίες πολύπλοκες και εξαιρετικά δύσκολες να προσεγγιστούν (Rapley, 2004, Johnson, 2002).

Συγκεκριμένα, η τεχνική της ημιδομημένης συνέντευξης κρίθηκε ως η καταλληλότερη λόγω των όσων μπορεί να αποκαλύψει σχετικά με το πώς βιώνουν οι εκπαιδευτικοί τις επιπτώσεις της κοινωνικής και οικονομικής κρίσης στην Ελλάδα. Σύμφωνα με τον Warren (2002), στις κοινωνικές έρευνες, η τεχνική της συνέντευξης



προσφέρει ένα μέσο για τη διερεύνηση των τρόπων με τους οποίους τα υποκείμενα ερμηνεύουν τον κόσμο και τη θέση τους μέσα σε αυτόν. Επιπλέον, ταιριάζει σε έρευνες που προσπαθούν να κατανοήσουν κοινωνικές διαδικασίες σε μια σχετικά παρθένα περιοχή έρευνας, γιατί δίνει τη δυνατότητα προσέγγισης του ερευνητικού πεδίου με πολύ ανοιχτό τρόπο (Flick, 2009).

#### Πεδίο και κοινωνικά υποκείμενα της έρευνας

Η έρευνα πραγματοποιήθηκε σε τέσσερα σχολεία της Αθήνας: δύο Δημοτικά, ένα Γυμνάσιο και ένα Λύκειο. Η επιλογή των σχολείων δεν ήταν τυχαία. Δύο από τα σχολεία που επιλέχθηκαν βρίσκονταν σε μια περιοχή πολύ κοντά στο κέντρο της Αθήνας με μεγάλα ποσοστά μαθητών από οικογένειες μεταναστών και από ελληνικές οικογένειες χαμηλών κοινωνικο-οικονομικών στρωμάτων. Τα άλλα δύο σχολεία βρίσκονταν σε νότια προάστια της Αθήνας με μαθητές κυρίως από ελληνικές οικογένειες μεσαίας κοινωνικο-οικονομικής τάξης και με μικρό ποσοστό αλλοεθνών μαθητών.

Η δειγματοληψία, η επιλογή δηλαδή των κοινωνικών υποκειμένων μιας έρευνας, αν και η σημασία της έχει υποβαθμιστεί από πολλούς ερευνητές, είναι ένα από τα πιο σημαντικά στοιχεία σε μια ποιοτική έρευνα γιατί έχει άμεσες συνέπειες στο αν και σε ποιο βαθμό μπορούν να είναι έγκυρα τα συμπεράσματά της (Mason, 2002). Στην ποιοτική μεθοδολογία το ζητούμενο στη δειγματοληψία δεν είναι τόσο η αντιπροσωπευτικότητα του δείγματος, αλλά η δυνατότητά του να ρίξει φως στα υπό ανάλυση ζητήματα (Gerson & Horowitz, 2002, Mason, 2002). Στην παρούσα έρευνα ο αριθμός των κοινωνικών υποκειμένων ήταν περιορισμένος και η δειγματοληψία σκόπιμη (Patton, 2002). Συγκεκριμένα, πήραν μέρος 16 εκπαιδευτικοί, 8 γυναίκες και 8 άντρες, με διαφορά στα χρόνια εργασίας.

#### Δεοντολογικά Ζητήματα

Στη μελέτη αυτή ακολουθήθηκαν οι κατευθυντήριες γραμμές δεοντολογίας του Συλλόγου Ελλήνων Κοινωνιολόγων, της Βρετανικής Εταιρείας Εκπαιδευτικής Έρευνας (BERA, 2011) και της Βρετανικής Ένωσης Κοινωνιολόγων (BSA, 2002). Οι συγκεκριμένες κατευθυντήριες γραμμές δεοντολογίας επιλέχθηκαν ως κατάλληλες να βοηθήσουν στο στάθμισμα όλων των πτυχών της διαδικασίας διεξαγωγής εκπαιδευτικής έρευνας, και στη διεξαγωγή μιας ηθικά αποδεκτής έρευνας τα αποτελέσματά της οποίας θα είναι έγκυρα και αξιόπιστα.

Συγκεκριμένα, ακολουθήθηκε μια αναστοχαστική προσέγγιση απέναντι στον σκοπό της έρευνας, την πρόθεση, τη στάση, τις απαιτήσεις της, καθώς και απέναντι στα αποτελέσματά της (Delanty, 2005, Bourdieu, 2004, Gray, 2003). Επιπλέον πάρθηκαν τα απαραίτητα μέτρα έτσι ώστε να εξασφαλιστεί ότι όλοι οι συμμετέχοντες γνώριζαν ότι αποτελούσαν υποκείμενα έρευνας, κατανοούσαν τους λόγους και τη διαδικασία της έρευνας στην οποία επρόκειτο να εμπλακούν, συμπεριλαμβανομένου του λόγου για τον οποίο η συμμετοχή τους κρίνονταν απαραίτητη, πώς θα χρησιμοποιηθεί η έρευνα, και πώς και σε ποιον θα παρουσιαστεί (BERA, 2011). Επιπλέον οι συμμετέχοντες της έρευνας ενημερώθηκαν



για το δικαίωμά τους να αποσυρθούν σε οποιοδήποτε στάδιο της διαδικασίας, για οποιονδήποτε λόγο, ανά πάσα στιγμή.

Επιπρόσθετα, διασφαλίστηκε η ανωνυμία των συμμετεχόντων της έρευνας και το απόρρητο των θέσεων των σχολείων τους, και χρησιμοποιήθηκαν μόνο τα απαραίτητα για την έρευνα «ευαίσθητα» (σύμφωνα με τον ορισμό της αρχής προστασίας δεδομένων προσωπικού χαρακτήρα) δεδομένα που αφορούν τη φυλετική / εθνοτική καταγωγή, τα πολιτικά φρονήματα, τις θρησκευτικές (ή παρόμοιες) πεποιθήσεις (Νόμος 2472/1997).

### **Οι αντιλήψεις των εκπαιδευτικών για ένα διαφορετικό είδος παιδαγωγικής στην Ελλάδα**

Σύμφωνα με την άποψη πολλών εκπαιδευτικών, στην τρέχουσα ιστορική, πολιτική και κοινωνική εποχή στην οποία ζούμε, η εκπαίδευση θα μπορούσε ασφαλώς να διαδραματίσει σημαντικό ρόλο στην ανασυγκρότηση της ελληνικής κοινωνίας και να αντιμετωπίσει μερικά από τα προβλήματα που σχετίζονται με την κρίση. Προκειμένου όμως η εκπαίδευση να διαδραματίσει το σημαντικό αυτό ρόλο της θα πρέπει πρώτα να αναγνωριστεί ως ένα πολιτικό και δημοκρατικό ζήτημα, και το εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα να υποβληθεί σε σοβαρές αλλαγές τόσο στον τρόπο λειτουργίας του, τη διαχείριση και τη χρηματοδότηση, όσο και στο γενικότερο σύστημα μάθησης, τους στόχους του, το περιεχόμενο του αναλυτικού προγράμματος σπουδών και των σχολικών εγχειριδίων.

#### Αλλαγές στη διαχείριση, τη χρηματοδότηση και τη λειτουργία των σχολείων

Συγκεκριμένα, όσον αφορά στους τρόπους λειτουργίας των σχολείων, οι εκπαιδευτικοί πρότειναν ότι τα σχολεία πρέπει να έχουν λιγότερους μαθητές στις αίθουσες διδασκαλίας. Θα πρέπει επίσης να λειτουργούν για λιγότερες ώρες, ειδικά κατά τη διάρκεια των ζεστών μηνών, και η ενεργή και ουσιαστική μάθηση να αντικαταστήσει τη μάθηση μέσω της επανάληψης και της παπαγαλίας.

Σύμφωνα με τους εκπαιδευτικούς είναι πολύ σημαντικό να ενσωματωθούν στο εθνικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα μέθοδοι διδασκαλίας που ενθαρρύνουν την ανάπτυξη δεξιοτήτων κριτικής σκέψης και συνεργασίας, και που ενσταλάζουν στους μαθητές δημοκρατικές αξίες. Γενικά, πιστεύουν ότι το εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα πρέπει να γίνει πιο ευέλικτο, να προσαρμόζεται στις ικανότητες και τα ενδιαφέροντα των μαθητών και να υπάρχει επαγγελματικός προσανατολισμός και συμβουλευτική για τους μαθητές.

Οι εκπαιδευτικοί επίσης εξήγησαν ότι το πρόγραμμα της σχολικής χρονιάς θα πρέπει να είναι πιο σταθερό, να υπάρχει ένα σταθερό χρονοδιάγραμμα από την αρχή της χρονιάς και να μην αλλάζει συνεχώς. Αυτό θα βοηθήσει και τους εκπαιδευτικούς αλλά και τους μαθητές να προετοιμάσουν τη δουλειά τους και να μη νιώθουν συνεχώς αβεβαιότητα. Εάν το σχολικό πρόγραμμα συνεχίσει να αλλάζει κατά τη διάρκεια της σχολικής χρονιάς λόγω των ατελειώτων και απρόβλεπτων μεταρρυθμίσεων, τότε οι δάσκαλοι και οι μαθητές θα συνεχίσουν να αισθάνονται αστάθεια, ανησυχία και ανασφάλεια.



*Χρειαζόμαστε ένα σταθερό χρονοδιάγραμμα. Είναι αναγκαίο να γνωρίζουμε το πρόγραμμα της σχολικής μας χρονιάς από τον Ιούνιο, να μην το μαθαίνουμε την τελευταία στιγμή. Αν το γνωρίζουμε από την αρχή, μπορούμε να προετοιμάσουμε τη δουλειά μας και να φτιάξουμε το πλάνο για τα μαθήματά μας. Φέτος, πληροφορήθηκα το που θα εργαστώ, σε ποιο σχολείο, και σε ποιά τάξη, λίγες μέρες πριν από την έναρξη της σχολικής χρονιάς. Δεν μπορούσα να προετοιμάσω τίποτα (Άννα)*

Αρκετοί εκπαιδευτικοί υποστήριξαν ότι ο ετήσιος προϋπολογισμός της κυβέρνησης για την εκπαίδευση πρέπει να αυξηθεί. Χρειαζόμαστε περισσότερα σχολεία, περισσότερους πόρους και περισσότερους εκπαιδευτικούς, καλύτερα κτίρια, βιβλιοθήκες και εξοπλισμό.

Επιπλέον, οι εκπαιδευτικοί υποστήριξαν ότι οι μαθητές χρειάζεται να έχουν περισσότερο ελεύθερο χρόνο για να παίζουν, αλλά και για να βαριούνται. Όταν οι μαθητές βαριούνται γίνονται δημιουργικοί, αντίθετα αν είναι συνεχώς απασχολημένοι με μαθήματα και δραστηριότητες δεν έχουν το χώρο και το χρόνο να αναπτύξουν τη δημιουργικότητά τους. Για να συμβεί αυτό, θα πρέπει να μη ξοδεύουν όλο το χρόνο τους στο σχολείο, στα φροντιστήρια ή στα σχολεία ξένων γλωσσών.

Οι εκπαιδευτικοί πρότειναν ότι καλό θα είναι στο πρόγραμμα του σχολείου να υπάρχει ελεύθερος χρόνος για τους μαθητές και τους εκπαιδευτικούς κατά τη διάρκεια του οποίου να μπορούν να συζητήσουν διάφορα θέματα που τους απασχολούν σχετικά με το σχολείο. Επίσης, συνέστησαν να δίνεται η δυνατότητα στους μαθητές να αναλαμβάνουν περισσότερες πρωτοβουλίες και να ενθαρρύνεται περαιτέρω η ομαδική εργασία και η προώθηση διαφορετικών αξιών.

Σύμφωνα με τις απόψεις των εκπαιδευτικών, το ελληνικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα χρειάζεται να αλλάξει ριζικά και από ένα σύστημα εκπαίδευσης που κατευθύνεται από οικονομικές και άλλες ανάγκες να γίνει ένα σύστημα εκπαίδευσης που δίνει προτεραιότητα στις κοινωνικές και πολιτικές ανάγκες. Αυτό θα μπορούσε επίσης να οδηγήσει στην αναγνώριση ότι η εκπαίδευση είναι πάνω από όλα ένα πολιτικό και δημοκρατικό ζήτημα (Ball, 2013).

#### Αλλαγές στο περιεχόμενο του αναλυτικού προγράμματος και των σχολικών εγχειριδίων

Σχετικά με το αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα και τα σχολικά εγχειρίδια, οι εκπαιδευτικοί υποστήριξαν ότι, αν και το περιεχόμενό τους είναι καλύτερο από ότι τα προηγούμενα χρόνια, εξακολουθούν να είναι ξεπερασμένα και χρειάζονται αναθεώρηση και αλλαγή. Σύμφωνα με τους εκπαιδευτικούς, το αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα πρέπει να γίνει πιο ανεξάρτητο από τον κρατικό έλεγχο και να στοχεύει στη δημιουργία ελεύθερων και ολοκληρωμένων ανδρών και γυναικών, οι οποίοι στη συνέχεια θα γίνουν υπεύθυνοι πολίτες.

*Πιστεύω ότι τα νέα βιβλία είναι πολύ καλύτερα από τα παλιά, αλλά εξακολουθούν να είναι λίγο ξεπερασμένα (...) θα πρέπει να ενημερωθούν, θα πρέπει να προσαρμοστούν στις τρέχουσες ανάγκες της ελληνικής κοινωνίας (Μαρία)*





Οι εκπαιδευτικοί εξέφρασαν ανησυχίες σχετικά με το γεγονός ότι τα εγχειρίδια, καθώς και το αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα, δεν περιλαμβάνουν στα περιεχόμενά τους σύγχρονα ζητήματα και θέματα που αφορούν τη κρίση. Αντί αυτού, εξήγησαν, ακόμα και στα πιο πρόσφατα βιβλία υπερτερούν τα θέματα που αφορούν ζητήματα γενικής γνώσης. Κατά την άποψη πολλών εκπαιδευτικών, το αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα σπουδών και τα βιβλία θα πρέπει να προσαρμοστούν έτσι ώστε να ταιριάζουν στις νέες ανάγκες της ελληνικής κοινωνίας και να δώσουν μια νέα προοπτική - ίσως μια αίσθηση ελπίδας ότι η Ελλάδα θα ξεπεράσει τα προβλήματά της.

#### Αλλαγές στους σκοπούς του εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος

Κατά την άποψη των εκπαιδευτικών το ελληνικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα έχει ανάγκη απο ριζικές αλλαγές οι οποίες θα πρέπει να σχεδιασθούν από ανθρώπους που είναι ειδικοί στον τομέα της εκπαίδευσης και κατανοούν την αξία της και όχι από γραφειοκράτες, όπως επίσης και από ανθρώπους που γνωρίζουν καλά την ελληνική κοινωνία. Επιπλέον, σύμφωνα με τη γνώμη αρκετών εκπαιδευτικών, θα πρέπει να απομακρυνθούμε από το νεοφιλελεύθερο μοντέλο, το συντομότερο δυνατό, και να σταματήσουμε την αντιγραφή προγραμμάτων από το εξωτερικό, από χώρες που δεν έχουν καμία σχέση με την Ελλάδα.

Σύμφωνα με πολλούς εκπαιδευτικούς, οι θεμελιώδεις αξίες και οι στόχοι της εκπαίδευσης, καθώς και ο σκοπός του σχολικού συστήματος συνολικά αποτελούν τα σημαντικότερα στοιχεία του εκπαιδευτικού τομέα - και εκείνα τα οποία, εάν καλλιεργηθούν, θα μπορούσαν να αποτελέσουν ένα μέσο αντιμετώπισης της κρίσης. Συγκεκριμένα, σχεδόν όλοι οι εκπαιδευτικοί συμφώνησαν ότι είναι επιτακτική η ανάγκη να διερευνηθεί εκ νέου ο σκοπός της εκπαίδευσης και να αλλάξει έτσι ώστε να ταιριάζει στις πραγματικές κοινωνικές ανάγκες και τα οικονομικά προβλήματα της σημερινής Ελλάδας.

Κατά την άποψη των εκπαιδευτικών που ερωτήθηκαν, ο σκοπός της εκπαίδευσης θα πρέπει να είναι ευέλικτος. Πιστεύουν ότι η εκπαίδευση θα πρέπει να αφορά τη γνώση, τη γλώσσα, την ταυτότητα, τον πολιτισμό, την κοινωνικοποίηση και το ήθος αλλά, κυρίως, να προωθεί την κοινωνική ανάπτυξη, να καλλιεργεί τον σεβασμό και να διδάσκει τους μαθητές να είναι υπεύθυνοι και ενεργοί πολίτες που συμμετέχουν στο ευρύτερο κοινωνικό πλαίσιο, και είναι ευαίσθητοι απέναντι στα περιβαλλοντικά ζητήματα. Θα πρέπει επιπλέον να συντελεί στη δημιουργία ατόμων τα οποία να μπορούν να σκέφτονται, να ανακαλύπτουν, να ελπίζουν και να αγωνίζονται για ένα καλύτερο μέλλον.

Οι περισσότεροι εκπαιδευτικοί υποστήριξαν ότι το εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα θα πρέπει να ενθαρρύνει την ισότητα και να προάγει τα ανθρώπινα δικαιώματα και τις δημοκρατικές αξίες. Επίσης πρότειναν ότι θα πρέπει να διδάσκει στους μαθητές το σεβασμό προς τους άλλους και τους εαυτούς τους, την αλληλεγγύη, την ειρήνη και να προωθεί την κατανόηση της ταυτότητας και της διαφορετικότητας.

Οι εκπαιδευτικοί συνέχισαν υποδεικνύοντας ότι η ελληνική εκπαίδευση πρέπει να στοχεύει στη διεύρυνση των οριζόντων των μαθητών και να τους βοηθάει να χτίζουν συγκροτημένες προσωπικότητες και χαρακτήρες. Για τους περισσότερους



από τους εκπαιδευτικούς που ερωτήθηκαν, η γνώση πρέπει να έρχεται δεύτερη μετά την προσωπικότητα και το χαρακτήρα.

*Πρέπει να ξεκινήσουμε με την οικοδόμηση των χαρακτήρων των μαθητών και στη συνέχεια να προχωρήσουμε στη γνώση. Οι μαθητές μας πρέπει πρώτα να μάθουν πώς να συμπεριφέρονται, πώς να συνεργάζονται με τους άλλους μαθητές και στη συνέχεια να μάθουν Ιστορία, Γλώσσες και Μαθηματικά (Εφη)*

Το όραμα των εκπαιδευτικών για ένα διαφορετικό είδος παιδαγωγικής στην Ελλάδα, ένα διαφορετικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα, περιλαμβάνει την αναδιαμόρφωση της σχέσης μεταξύ εκπαίδευσης και ευκαιριών, ισότητας και ευημερίας (Tyack & Tobin, 1994). Αυτό το όραμα θα μπορούσε να θεσπιστεί με βάση το απλό επιχείρημα ότι η εκπαιδευτική πολιτική και οι ρυθμίσεις του εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος θα πρέπει να στοχεύουν στο να διασφαλίσουν ότι όλα τα παιδιά θα παραμένουν στο σύστημα για όσο το δυνατόν περισσότερο, θα μαθαίνουν και θα μεγαλώνουν με αυτοπεποίθηση και εμπιστοσύνη (Smyth & Wrigley, 2013).

Επιπλέον, οι δάσκαλοι δήλωσαν ότι ο σκοπός της εκπαίδευσης στην τρέχουσα εποχή κρίσης θα πρέπει να είναι να εξοπλίσει τους μαθητές με τις βασικές αρχές και δεξιότητες που χρειάζονται για να επιβιώσουν, να ευδοκιμήσουν και να αντιμετωπίσουν τις ραγδαίες κοινωνικές αλλαγές. Η εκπαίδευση θα πρέπει να διδάσκει στους μαθητές πώς να μαθαίνουν, να αγαπούν και να αναζητούν τη γνώση, πώς να συμπεριφέρονται, να συνεργάζονται και να συζητούν και, πάνω από όλα, πώς να είναι δυνατοί και προετοιμασμένοι για τυχόν δυσκολίες που ενδεχομένως να αντιμετωπίσουν στη ζωή τους στο μέλλον.

Ο σκοπός της εκπαίδευσης είναι να μεταφέρει στους μαθητές τις βασικές αρχές και τις δεξιότητες που χρειάζεται ένα άτομο για να επιβιώσει και να ανθίσει (Σοφία)

Επιπλέον, οι εκπαιδευτικοί πιστεύουν ότι η Ελλάδα σήμερα χρειάζεται ένα εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα ελπίδας, ευτυχίας, αισιοδοξίας και κοινωνικής ανανέωσης. Ένας από τους πιο σημαντικούς στόχους του ελληνικού εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος θα πρέπει να είναι η παροχή ελπίδας, μιας ελπίδας που δεν θα είναι αφελής και δεν θα βασίζεται σε μη ρεαλιστικούς στόχους, αλλά θα βασίζεται στην προσπάθεια να κατανοήσει το τί είναι δυνατό και πιθανό να πραγματοποιηθεί (Sawyer et al, 2007; Inglis, 2004).

*Αισιοδοξία, αυτοπεποίθηση, να πιστεύουν στις ικανότητές τους, να συνεχίζουν ακόμα και αν αποτύχουν, να αγωνίζονται για ένα καλύτερο μέλλον, να μαθαίνουν τον τρόπο για να μαθαίνουν (Λίτσα)*

Η άποψη των εκπαιδευτικών για τη σημασία της ελπίδας είναι σύμφωνη με την άποψή μου για την ανάγκη μιας καινοτόμου παιδαγωγικής – μιας παιδαγωγικής της ελπίδας - στην Ελλάδα που θα ενισχύσει την ελπίδα και θα δώσει στους νέους τα μέσα για να ενεργήσουν με ικανότητα, φαντασία και θάρρος.

Οι περισσότεροι εκπαιδευτικοί υποστήριξαν ότι ο ρόλος τους είναι πολύ σημαντικός για τη αλλαγή του ελληνικού εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος και ότι η ποιότητα της διδασκαλίας τους έχει μεγάλη επίδραση στους μαθητές τους. Ως εκ τούτου, όπως



πρότειναν, θα πρέπει να αρχίσουν να αλλάζουν και να βελτιώνονται οι ίδιοι με εκπαιδευτικά σεμινάρια, και μετά θα ακολουθήσουν και οι άλλες αλλαγές. Όπως δήλωσαν, οι καλοί εκπαιδευτικοί μπορούν να βελτιώσουν και να μετατρέψουν ένα κακό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα σε καλό. Η κυβέρνηση θα πρέπει να εστιάσει λοιπόν τους πόρους και τις προσπάθειές της στην εκπαίδευση και στη βελτίωση των εκπαιδευτικών. Η κυβέρνηση θα πρέπει επίσης να επανεξετάσει σοβαρά τα κριτήρια για να γίνει κάποιος εκπαιδευτικός. Το πτυχίο δεν μπορεί να είναι το μόνο κριτήριο.

*Φυσικά πολλά πράγματα πρέπει να αλλάξουν αλλά πρώτα πρέπει να ξεκινήσουμε από τους εαυτούς μας και να δούμε τί μπορούμε να κάνουμε ΕΜΕΙΣ για να βελτιώσουμε την κατάσταση (Αμαλία)*

Τέλος, σχεδόν όλοι οι εκπαιδευτικοί που πήραν μέρος στην έρευνα αυτή υποστήριξαν ότι το Ελληνικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα μπορεί να διαδραματίσει σημαντικό ρόλο στην ανασυγκρότηση της ελληνικής κοινωνίας, κυρίως εξοπλίζοντας τις μελλοντικές γενιές με τις βασικές αρχές, τις δεξιότητες, τις γνώσεις και τις ικανότητες που χρειάζονται για να επιβιώσουν, να ανθίσουν, να αντιμετωπίσουν τις ραγδαίες κοινωνικές αλλαγές, και να συμβάλλουν σε ένα πιο βιώσιμο μέλλον, αλλά και προωθώντας την ελπίδα, την ευτυχία, την αισιοδοξία και την κοινωνική ανανέωση.

Πολλοί βέβαια εκπαιδευτικοί ανέφεραν ότι ακόμη και αν η εκπαίδευση έχει σημαντικό ρόλο να παίξει στη σημερινή εποχή της κρίσης, δεν μπορεί να λύσει όλα τα προβλήματα της κοινωνίας. Η ελληνική κοινωνία θα πρέπει επίσης να είναι πρόθυμη να αναλάβει τις ευθύνες που της αντιστοιχούν (Bell, 2013; Noddings, 2005). Η εκπαίδευση θα πρέπει να είναι μέρος μιας γενικότερης προσπάθειας αλλαγών (Ball, 2013).

#### Ένα διαφορετικό είδος παιδαγωγικής

Σύμφωνα με τους εκπαιδευτικούς που πήραν μέρος στην ερευνητική μου μελέτη, στην Ελλάδα χρειαζόμαστε ένα διαφορετικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα και μια διαφορετική παιδαγωγική. Χρειαζόμαστε ένα εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα που να είναι σε θέση να εξυπηρετήσει τις ανάγκες του ελληνικού λαού, να συμβάλει στην αντιμετώπιση των προβλημάτων της ελληνικής κοινωνίας με επαρκή ευρύτητα, και να προετοιμάζει τους νέους για το μέλλον.

Συγκεκριμένα, οι εκπαιδευτικοί στην προσπάθειά τους να ονειρευτούν ένα διαφορετικό είδος παιδαγωγικής μίλησαν για ένα ανοιχτό και δημοκρατικό σχολείο το οποίο: θα καλύπτει τις ανάγκες των μαθητών, των εκπαιδευτικών, των γονέων και της κοινότητας, θα προωθεί το σεβασμό στη διαφορετικότητα του άλλου, θα διαμορφώνει μια πιο ανεκτική αντίληψη της ελληνικής εθνικής ταυτότητας και θα εμπνέει συμπιλίωση και ειρήνη, θα δίνει έμφαση στην κοινωνική δικαιοσύνη, το σεβασμό των άλλων, την ισότητα, την ελευθερία, την πολιτική τόλμη και το συλλογικό καλό, θα κινητοποιεί τους μαθητές να σκέφτονται κριτικά, να αμφισβητούν, να έχουν πάθος για τη γνώση, περιέργεια, να νοιώθουν τη χαρά της δημιουργίας, θα είναι συνδεδεμένο με την κοινότητα με άμεσους και πρακτικούς



τρόπους, και με τις ζωές, τις ελπίδες και τα όνειρα των μαθητών, των γονέων και των εκπαιδευτικών, θα αναπτύσσει την αυτοεκτίμηση των μαθητών, και δεν θα είναι εργοστάσιο εξετάσεων αλλά κοινότητα ανακάλυψης (Kiwan, 2008; Bigelow, 2006).

Σε αυτό το διαφορετικό είδος παιδαγωγικής οι εκπαιδευτικοί θα είναι δημιουργικοί, παθιασμένοι, αφοσιωμένοι, ενημερωμένοι σχετικά με τις τελευταίες εξελίξεις στην κοινωνία αλλά και την εκπαίδευση, τις διαφορετικές ανάγκες και δυνατότητες των παιδιών, θα έχουν εμπιστοσύνη στις ικανότητές τους, καθώς και υψηλό ηθικό, αυτοεκτίμηση, θετική ενέργεια και το κίνητρο για να καινοτομούν και να αναπτύσσουν πρακτικές που βελτιώνουν τη μάθηση, θα υποστηρίζουν τα ανθρώπινα δικαιώματα και θα ενθαρρύνουν τους μαθητές να συμμετέχουν ενεργά στο ευρύτερο κοινωνικό πλαίσιο, θα συνεργάζονται μεταξύ τους αλλά και μεταξύ των άλλων μελών του σχολείου όπως βοηθούς διδασκαλίας, μαθητές, γονείς, και με εξωτερικούς παράγοντες από την ευρύτερη κοινότητα (Ball, 2013; Thomas, 2012; Bangs & Frost, 2012; Whitty, 2006).

### Συμπεράσματα

Στους δύσκολους καιρούς έντονης μεταβατικότητας και κινητικότητας που ζούμε στην Ελλάδα χρειαζόμαστε περισσότερο από ποτέ να αναπτύξουμε μια πιο δίκαιη, δημιουργική και βιώσιμη δημοκρατική κοινωνία. Σε αυτό το ευρύτερο πρόγραμμα κοινωνικής αλλαγής είναι απαραίτητο ένα διαφορετικό είδος παιδαγωγικής, ένα είδος παιδαγωγικής που να μπορεί να οδηγήσει σε ένα εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα ικανό να βοηθήσει στην αντιμετώπιση των προβλημάτων της ελληνικής κοινωνίας και να προετοιμάσει τους νέους για το μέλλον.

Ο εκπαιδευτικός θεσμός στην Ελλάδα, καλείται να ασκήσει καθοριστικό ρόλο στη προετοιμασία των μαθητών για το νέο κοινωνικό και πολιτιστικό τους περιβάλλον, την εξάλειψη των διακρίσεων, την καλλιέργεια του αμοιβαίου σεβασμού και της συνεργασίας και την ένταξη των αλλοδαπών μαθητών και μαθητριών στην ελληνική κοινωνία (Johnson & Hallgarten, 2002, Kenway & Bullen, 2000). Για να το καταφέρει αυτό είναι απαραίτητο να εμπιστευτεί τους εκπαιδευτικούς και τους μαθητές - αυτούς δηλαδή που βρίσκονται στο κέντρο της εκπαιδευτικής διαδικασίας - και να τους δώσει την ευκαιρία να μιλήσουν, να αμφισβητήσουν και να σκεφτούν ξανά τις εκπαιδευτικές προτεραιότητες και τους στόχους του σχολείου (Ball, 2013, Fielding & Moss, 2011).

Σύμφωνα με τις απαντήσεις των εκπαιδευτικών, το ελληνικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα μπορεί να παίξει σημαντικό ρόλο στην αντιμετώπιση ορισμένων από τις καταστροφικές συνέπειες της κοινωνικής και οικονομικής κρίσης στην Ελλάδα, και να βοηθήσει την ελληνική κοινωνία να αντιμετωπίσει μερικά από τα προβλήματα που την οδήγησαν στην παρούσα κρίση. Όπως υποστηρίζει ο Apple (2013) στο βιβλίο του «Can education change society?» το σχολείο μπορεί να γίνει το μέρος στο οποίο θα λάβουν χώρα ουσιαστικές κοινωνικές αλλαγές. Τα σχολεία μπορούν να γίνουν οι δημόσιοι χώροι στους οποίους οι νέοι θα αποκτήσουν τις δεξιότητες που



θα τους βοηθήσουν να αντιμετωπίσουν τις προκλήσεις και να διερευνήσουν τις ελπίδες τους και τους φόβους τους για το μέλλον (Fielding & Moss, 2011). Επιπλέον, οι εκπαιδευτικοί, όπως εξηγεί ο David Hicks (2014), μπορεί να είναι αυτοί οι οποίοι θα συμβάλλουν στον καθορισμό μιας καινοτόμου παιδαγωγικής - μιας παιδαγωγικής της ελπίδας - η οποία θα οχυρώσει την ελπίδα και θα δώσει στους νέους τα μέσα για να ενεργήσουν με υπευθυνότητα, φαντασία και θάρρος.

Όλα τα παραπάνω μπορούν να συμβούν σύμφωνα με τους εκπαιδευτικούς μόνο εάν το εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα υποστεί σημαντικές και ριζικές αλλαγές τόσο στον τρόπο λειτουργίας του, τη διαχείριση και τη χρηματοδότηση, όσο και στο γενικότερο σύστημα μάθησης και τους στόχους του. Αυτά που προτείνουν οι εκπαιδευτικοί για το ρόλο, το σκοπό της εκπαίδευσης και τις αλλαγές στο εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα δεν είναι κάτι καινούριο, υπάρχει ένα τεράστιο σώμα βιβλιογραφίας σχετικό με αυτά τα θέματα. Θα μπορούσαμε να ισχυριστούμε, ωστόσο, ότι είναι πολύ θετικό και αισιόδοξο το γεγονός ότι κάποιοι εκπαιδευτικοί παρά τις δραματικές δυσκολίες που αντιμετωπίζουν καθημερινά στη ζωή τους και στη δουλειά τους εξακολουθούν να διατηρούν μια αίσθηση ελπίδας, και να προτείνουν δυνατότητες για ένα διαφορετικό είδος παιδαγωγικής.

Συμπερασματικά, η παρούσα εισήγηση βασισμένη στις απόψεις μερικών εκπαιδευτικών ζητά να αναγνωριστεί η παιδεία ως πολιτικό και δημοκρατικό ζήτημα και να πολιτικοποιηθεί εκ νέου. Ωστόσο, δεν διερευνά πλήρως εάν ή πού οι εκπαιδευτικοί βλέπουν χώρο για αυτό, ή αν αυτό συμβαίνει ήδη κάπου. Οι εκπαιδευτικοί μιλούν υποθετικά για ένα διαφορετικό είδος παιδαγωγικής και προσπαθούν να επαναπροσδιορίσουν τους στόχους του ελληνικού εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος χωρίς να μιλούν για τους μηχανισμούς που θα μπορούσαν να οδηγήσουν στα παραπάνω. Αυτό που πρέπει να διερευνήσουμε τώρα είναι εάν είναι πραγματοποιήσιμα αυτά που προτείνουν οι εκπαιδευτικοί. Οι συγγραφείς του βιβλίου 'Reimagining School: Is it Possible?' (Montgomery, Karagianni, & Androutsou, 2016) βλέπουν κάπως απαισιόδοξα τη δυνατότητα αλλαγής του εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος. Τελικά, υποστηρίζουν ότι θα πρέπει να ξαναφανταστούμε τους εαυτούς μας για να καταφέρουμε να ξαναφανταστούμε και να αλλάξουμε το εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα.

Μέσα από αυτή την εισήγηση, προσπάθησα να φέρω σε επαφή τις απαισιόδοξες και τις αισιόδοξες φωνές, έτσι ώστε να αρχίσει μια σημαντική συζήτηση σχετικά με το πώς μπορούμε να βελτιώσουμε το ελληνικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα έτσι ώστε να είναι σε θέση να αντιμετωπίσει τις προκλήσεις που έχουν προκύψει. Αυτή η συζήτηση θα μπορούσε ενδεχομένως να λειτουργήσει ως βάση για περαιτέρω έρευνα.

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## Michalis Papamavros: “School of work”. What is it exactly and what is its impact in today’s schools?<sup>1</sup>

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### Abstract

*This paper is referring on the “School of Work” of Michalis Papamavros and is based on secondary sources. “School of Work” was the proposition of Michalis Papamavros, for educational reform in Greece. Educational reform started in Europe at the beginning of 20th century. At that time Michalis Papamavros was studying in Germany and he was highly influenced by the reforms proposed at that era. On his returning in Greece, he found himself in a social and political conjunction of big changes. With the “language issue” in full swing and the disaster in Asia Minor resulting in thousands of refugees and financial collapse of Greece, he tried to make his suggestion on educational reform for Greece. Working with D. Glinos, A. Delmouzos and M. Triantafyllidis, through the “Educational Circle” they promoted the reform in education in Greece. After the dissociation of “Educational Circle”, he changed the form of his “school of work”, taking distances from the European model, which was closer to bourgeois class and put his school closer to Greek reality and people. The innovations he proposed through his work in teachers’ school in Lamia, lead him to be accused for atheism, immorality and communistic propaganda, which finally lead him away from public education though the court issued an innocent decision on all causes. He continued his pedagogical activity working in Pedagogical Frontistirio in Karpenisi during civil war. After liberation, he continued working and in 1961 he finished his latest book, “New Pedagogy System”, the publication of which, lead him to new persecutions. Many of the innovations he proposed are still alive in schools of nowadays. Which are these innovations and how these can be found today?*

### Keywords

Papamavros, School of work, school community, educational reform, innovations

### Introduction

This paper concerns Michalis Papamavros. Papamavros was a pedagogue who lived at the beginning of the twentieth century. In the first two decades of the century, a lot of events of great magnitude took place. At that time Papamavros was studying in Germany and was highly influenced by the ideas of educational reform. On his return to Greece, and facing difficult situations, concerning political, social and

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is introduced at the end of Volume II of the conference proceedings because it was not included in the original version of the proceedings by mistake. Η παρούσα εργασία εισάγεται στο τέλος του Τόμου II των πρακτικών του συνεδρίου διότι εκ παραδρομής δεν συμπεριλήφθηκε στην αρχική έκδοση των πρακτικών.



financial issues, he made his suggestions on how public schools should work. He questioned the form of school that existed and he proposed a new form of school, which he called “school of work” in which he incorporated a lot of innovations. The study is based on secondary sources, mostly by other researchers and his own book: Teaching Principles for the School of Work – Twenty letters for the Greek Teacher. The sections of the study are:

- Who is Michalis Papamavros?
- What were the social and political situations of his time?
- What was the “school of work” and what were the innovations it incorporated?
- What were the recent reforms in education and which of the innovations Papamavros suggested, were incorporated?
- What is today’s situation in schools?

### **Who is Michalis Papamavros?**

He was born in 1891 in Volissos Chios. At that time Chios was not yet a part of free Greece. He fought for liberation of Chios and in 1913 he went to Germany to study in pedagogy and philosophy in the University of Jena. He returned in Greece in 1919 (Μαρτίου - Κανάκη, 2007, σ. 89) bearing a PhD degree in Pedagogical Philosophy from the University of Jena, a PhD in Philosophy from the University of Leipzig and a PhD in Ancient Philology from the University of Berlin (Μαρτίου - Κανάκη, 2007). During his studies in Germany he was taught by Wilhelm Rein – student of Herbart. At the same time, he always questioned the methods of Herbart and was studying alternative educational systems. When he met Berthold Otto and Hermann Leitz, founder of “Country Schools” and “School communities” he was amazed by their work. He worked in a country school of Leitz in Haubinda where he had the chance to study thoroughly the school which he described and criticized later in his later manuscripts. He also attended the way the experimental school of “Free School Community” worked. This school was founded by G. Wynken in Saalfeld. These experiences added to the situation in post-war Germany led Papamavros to be initiated in socialistic ideals and to study Marxist philosophers as well as revolutionary writers.

He returned to Greece in 1919. At that time in Greece the educational system was struggling to establish and strengthen the educational reform. Eleftherios Venizelos and the liberal political forces were trying to establish the demotiki language (instead of katharevousa). Bearing the diplomas from Germany, Papamavros was easily hired in Ministry of Education. Being educated in educational reform in Germany, worked with Delmouzos, Glinos and Triantafyllidis in their attempts to establish a new educational system in Greece. He worked in various posts in public education (Director in the “House of Little Brothers” a school for orphans, teacher in “School for Boys” in Thessaloniki and director for a few months in Arsakio in Larissa



and Higher Supervisor of Education in Eastern Thrace). In these posts, he tried to apply the principles of “school of work” the way he imagined it should be. But these posts lasted for short periods of time and Papamavros did not have enough time to organize his “school of work” to its full extend.

In 1928, he was positioned as director in School for Teachers in Lamia, where he could apply his ideas concerning education. He founded his “School of Work” and being the director, he managed to create the school he dreamed of. His work made him famous nationwide. He organized seminars, trips, exhibitions. He organized school garden and managed to create a strong school community with a lot of activity, social and cultural. At the same time, the conservative local community accused him of atheism, immorality and communism and these accusations finally led him in permanent dismissal from public education in 1933. For the following decade, he lived in poverty and earned his living from translations in magazines. In 1943, he left occupied Greece and joined resistance in free Greece on the mountains of central Greece. He became Deputy Director in Pedagogical support school (in Greek called frontistirio) in Karpenisi. After liberation, he was imprisoned in Hatzikosta jail and exiled in the island of Yaros. In 1952, he was imprisoned in Averof jail. In 1961, he published his last book: “System for new pedagogy” which led him to prison once more. He died in 1963 in great poverty in Athens. (Τούρτουρας, 2014)

All through his life Papamavros believed in education for everyone as a mandatory obligation for every society. So, he tried to educate everyone, especially those in need, by writing books in every day’s language, so that anyone could understand them. Even in prison he tried to educate his fellow–inmates who were illiterate by writing a reading book called “Megala Hronia” (meaning Big (=significant) Years). Being a communist himself he believed that society should change in a solidarity form and everyone should work for the greater good. Through this greater good we would have progress in society.

### **What were the social and political situations of his time?**

At the beginning of the twentieth century there were too many worldwide events that affected both Europe and Greece. World War I (the “dirty” one) had ended leaving Europe to heal its wounds. Germany had lost the war leaving her with many problems to solve. In our region, there were the Balkan Wars which ended with our victory. The military march in Micra Asia (meaning Asia Minor) which ended in disaster led to great poverty and a big number of refugees, who came in Greece having nothing but their clothes. Many of them were educated but most of them, coming from inner Turkey, were mostly farmers with little or no education at all. There were also too many orphans due to casualties of war who were starving and did everything in their hand to survive. These children were not able to live in a community or to follow any rules. They also did not have any skill that could help them practice an honest profession to survive. That is why it was imperative to keep these children out of streets, to educate them and to teach them skills to have a



profession and earn their living. That is why in these days schools have intern students and school community had a significant role. It helped students to live in community, to take initiatives, to take decisions in the problems the community was facing and to reinforce altruism and solidarity in the community.

At those days Greece education was facing a big issue called “The language issue”. This issue was launched since the beginning of Modern Greek Nation (since 1830). It concerned the language one should use to teach in school. On one hand, there were the “demotecists” with Dimitris Glinos, Alexandros Delmouzos and all of them who believed in “demotiki” language as the best for teaching (meaning to talk and write in the everyday language that everyone uses and understands in his everyday communication). Papamavros puts himself in this group. On the other hand, there were those who believed that teaching in “katharevousa” (a language for the educated people, close enough to ancient Greek language), would make the students appreciate the magnitude of Ancient Greek Civilization although most of them could not understand the language or what they were taught. In this way people were divided in two big groups: the bourgeoisie and the lower class. The bourgeoisie who were citizens of higher income and education, who favored “katharevousa”, and the lower class who were everyday people with lower or no income and less educated who favored “demotiki” because this was the language they used every day. Demotecists were educators who believed that having a rate of illiteracy at about 90% people should be educated in a way that they could understand what they hear and what they write. Papamavros always believed that education had to have in mind the “lower people”, meaning those in need and without resources. That’s why teaching had to be done in a language that everyone could understand and speak.

At that time Greece had to invest in Education to gain way and to be able to make progress. The disaster in Micra Asia led to great economic disaster and political instability. Venizelos’ government was replaced by a more conservative one and everything Venizelos has managed in his education reform was zeroed and everything returned to the pre-reform situation. The books written in demotiki were expelled from school and were put to fire (as the verdict for the evaluation committee of books and education system of the new government demanded.)

Papamavros was influenced by the educational reform in Germany with the country schools and school communities. Post-war Germany was facing a similar situation as in Greece. He was also influenced by the ideas of Makarenko in the post-revolutionary Russia, who also had similar problems with Greece. So, he thought that the idea of school of work with school communities, would be best for Greece. (Breyman, 2011)

### **What was the “school of work” and what were the innovations it incorporated?**

The basic principle of “school of work” was that student should be the center of teaching. Students should live inside school and take initiatives concerning life in



school, about the lesson and the way it is taught and they should guide their teachers on their interests and their ideas. The school community is an important asset for education. Since they live inside school they should behave in a way that they should help the community to function. Every student has a specific role in it and he must do his best to fulfill his obligations. In this way, students learn to be responsible, learn to work in teams, to be accountable to the rest of the class, to be solidarity towards their fellow-students.

Kerschensteiner was the first who used the term “School of Work”. The term was mentioned because of a sentence used by Pestalozzi “The school of the future, a school of work”. By the word “work” Pestalozzi meant both the work made by hand and the effort one makes to broaden his mind. Kerschensteiner used this term in a speech on the 162th anniversary of the birth of Pestalozzi. In his speech, he also mentioned that the initiatives of students provoked the interest of their fellow students in class to find more information and work on various subjects in teams thus developing their personal and social skills (Κογκούλη, 2007)

Another principle of “school of work” is the ability for all students to work in groups and learn to cooperate with his fellow students. This could happen through school communities where every student had a specific role. In this way, every student would develop responsibility for the team. If one could not fulfill his obligations the whole team would not be able to finish the task it was given. There are obligations that had to be done for the common good, increasing the sense of altruism to the students. This was used both in country schools in Germany as well as in the post revolution Russia where Makarenko suggested the “Commune” (small school communities) like in Gorky Colony and in the Dzerzhinsky Commune. (Filonov, 1994) The reason for this was that both in Germany and in Russia there were a lot of orphan children. Due to war or the Bolshevik revolution there were a lot of deaths for adults, leaving a lot of parentless children. These children should learn how to live in communities and work as a team. They should also learn an art to earn their living.

In school of work both boys and girls were taught together in the same class and they were taught the same lessons. That was new in the beginning of the twentieth century. Girls usually were not taught because they had to stay in home. When they were educated, they were educated separately from boys and in subjects like cooking and house management. The reason was that they were educated to stay home and make family. Teaching both boys and girls the same subject was a tremendous innovation. It was generally believed that women did not have the capability to learn the same things as men. It was common sense that women could not make mathematical calculations. So, teaching them the same subjects in the same way as boys it was new.

There was a new teaching and learning environment in schools. This environment was based on mutual understanding among all members of school community. In Herbartian way of teaching there was absolute discipline in class. Teacher had all the





authorities in school and students were obliged to obey to what the teacher said, regardless their opinion. In the new school, there are no punishments either physical, phrasal or psychological, and teacher cooperates with students to modify teaching procedure according to the needs of his students. Students are urged to participate in every stage of education and their experience and their suggestions are welcome to be discussed in class. These experiences are used as starters for discussion and as a beginning point for new knowledge. So, teacher can also learn from his student.

School is open to community and parents. School shares knowledge to the community and takes knowledge from the community. Local authorities are also welcome. In this way students are not cut-off from the community. They learn how community works, preparing themselves to take active part in this community. Students exhibit their work to local community through special events organized by school. They also organize theatrical activities with their participation, open to public making this way school an active cell of local community. Students can use external learning sources, such as public libraries, interviews from experts, visits in working places or the opposite: visit of professionals to school to lecture students on their profession. There is not a specific curriculum for every lesson, but this is open and it takes shape and form every day. This is obvious in the open classes where students and teacher discuss as equals subjects proposed by students. These subjects are chosen freely by students and are not proposed by teachers, either directly or by using carefully chosen question to make his students ask what he wants to.

Comparing the above with the strict organization of Herbart's model for school with precisely delimited frame of teaching – same for all lessons – and army like discipline in class the differences are obvious. Herbart proposed four stages in education. Rein extended the first stage in two and organized them in a better way. These stages are: preparation, offering, connection, conception and finally application. Papamavros disagreed with these stages because he believes that knowledge come in an unexpected way and it is not always possible to prepare his students for what he is going to be taught. In the stage of offering teacher offers to his students his knowledges and student should learn them. In this way teacher is the only one in class who acts and does thing. Student is meant to have a passive behavior listening to his teacher without commenting or expressing his opinion. The only action a student takes is to answer questions that are precisely designed to make a student answer what his teacher wants. For these reasons Papamavros disagrees with the stage of offering because he believes that students cannot develop critical thinking or the ability to discuss, and are trained to accept everything it is given to them by the authority, the teacher in our case. In the stage of connection, new knowledge is related with prior knowledges. In this way, all students end up in having the same connections meaning have the exactly same knowledge losing in this way their individuality. That's why Papamavros disagrees with this stage (at least the way Herbart believes these connections should be done). In the stages of conception and



application, students keep the principles of new knowledge leaving in this way knowledges that are cut-off from the real life of students. In the stage of application students are called to use this knowledge but in a theoretical way on abstract concepts that means little to the students. Papamavros believes that knowledge should have impact on things in real life, to make sense to the students and keep the knowledge alive. (Παπαμαύρος, 1930)

In school of work there was a sense of freedom. Students were educated in subjects they are interested in. They learn things on their own, using books from the library or other sources instead of the one book proposed by the school. In this way, they can obtain a wider variety of knowledge. They learn how to criticize knowledge, to find out what is right and what is wrong. Boys and girls discuss, find solutions, express their ideas and end up in agreement or disagreement. In this way, they learn to cooperate and make a discussion, using arguments. This happens without the fear of punishment but due to self-controlled discipline. If something goes out of order, actions of self-disciplinary measures act and order is restored. Summing up the innovations in school of work we have the following:

Papamavros puts both boys and girls in the same class. In this way, he makes boys and girls equal and they are both taught the same subjects. This is a very big innovation because until his days girls were always considered having minor capabilities in education. They were educated to be housewives. That meant that they were taught lessons concerning house management, cooking, raising children. For the first time both boys and girls were taught the same subjects and in the same way, facing boys and girls as equals in practice.

In the previous educational system, knowledge was the center of education. Student should learn as many as he could. Teacher was the center of the classroom and everything he was teaching was unquestionably accepted by his students. In the new educational system student becomes the center of the education instead of the teacher. (Κατσίρας, 2014) Teacher discusses with his students, takes their opinion in mind and adopts his teaching style and the subjects he is going to teach, in a way that his students would understand.

Papamavros chooses as his teaching language demotiki. Even though the language issue has not settled, and the people who believe that “katharevousa” is the proper language for teaching are pressing to “win” the ministry of education, Papamavros firmly believes that the only proper language to obtain a good education is “demotiki” because students should first understand what they are taught and then add new knowledge.

School should prepare his students to live in the society. That is why school must be open to community. This means that students can visit professionals in their working places and learn from them. Seeing a craftsman working in his natural environment a student can obtain skills that are useful for his life. On the other hand, professionals can visit school and lecture students about their profession. This way students can ask directly about what is really needed to do a job. A professional explains directly



to the students and students share professional's experience. In addition, students can visit public libraries to study. There are many activities that take place in school during school year. There is a day near the end of school year, when everyone can visit school, learn about it and see the artifacts made by the students during the school year in all these activities. School should add in culture for the local community. This can be made by organizing school choir or school musical groups and perform in places inside the city. Schools can organize theatrical groups and organize theatrical acts performed by students can be presented either in school or in local theatres. In all cases performance can be either free or with a small ticket. If there is a ticket, money collected are used to finance school community for its activities.

Papamavros believed that obtaining information in site was important. That is why he organized educational visits and trips in various places during the school year. He was the first to incorporate trips and voyages for the students. This way students could obtain their own opinion about places and things.

School community was very important for Papamavros. Students should learn how to live in a community. They should learn to discuss, communicate, take initiatives. The first step to obtain these skills is in school community. School community is a way to replicate common situations as in real life. So, each student has a specific role in school community. In this way, they contribute in organizing school life. They learn to cooperate, share ideas, expressing ideas, taking initiatives.

Every school should have a school garden and school laboratories. In school garden children learn to be responsible for their plants. If they do not water their garden very soon they will face the consequences. In school laboratories, they learn to organize their work. They learn to observe and record the changes they see and finally to give a report of the experiment. These skills are very useful when you want to present your ideas in a group of people.

“School of work” was student friendly. School environment had a sense of freedom without the strict discipline of herbartian school environment. It was based on mutual respect and discussion to resolve any problem. The respect was obvious among students as well as among teachers and students. There was not a single incident of misbehavior between boys and girls. On the other hand, Papamavros knew that absolute freedom was not the ideal situation for a school community. So, he decided that students should earn their levels of freedom through their behavior. Starting from few advantages and add new ones little by little. It took him about three years to make an active school community in his school of work in Lamia. (Μαπτίνου - Κανάκη, 2007)

Students should work with each other. So, students work in groups where they put their ideas down, and discuss the way they are going to study the problem put in the group. Thus, every student will become a small researcher in subjects he is interested in and not subjects presented from his teacher that are irrelevant with his interests. On the other hand, students learn to organize their ideas, synthesize the



ideas heard in the group and finally present these ideas in front of all his fellow students. In this way, every student learns about the subject each group obtained with its research.

Education is a big asset for everyone. At those days, the rate of illiteracy was over 90%. Every student should have the same education regardless his origin, his appearance, his wealth or his sex. Students who were facing difficulties in education were supported by their teachers. In special hours teachers supported their students to catch up with the rest of the class. Papamavros believed that education should be free for everyone. Therefore, there should be no cost at all for everyone who wanted to be educated. That is why he suggested to give free books to every student, to be able to study whenever and wherever he wants. He did it when he was deputy director in Karpenisi. (Πιτεράς Κ., 2013)

Students should become an ethical, autonomous and useful person in society. So, students must be educated in a way that he can respect life, their fellow students and the law. Life in school community prepares students for living in society. Participating in group activities and visiting places in educational journeys, students get socialized and learn how to behave in a proper way in society.

It is very important for teachers to have an education of a higher degree. Only if a teacher is an ethical, useful and autonomous person for the society, he will be able to educate his students to have a similar behavior. Teachers should have a broader range of knowledge to be able to synthesize these knowledges to give his students the best education he can. That is why teachers should have a higher education.

#### **What were the recent reforms in education and which of the innovations Papamavros suggested, were incorporated?**

There were various attempts to educational reforms during the years. All of them changed some things in education according to the social and political situation of the time they happened. We will focus on the reforms in 1964, in 1975-1976, in 1985 in 1997 and finally 2009.

Starting in 1964 when Minister of Education was the Prime Minister George Papandreou. It was the first reform in education that initiated significant changes in education. First, education became mandatory for every child living in Greece, having Greek parents regardless of any other characteristic. That means that every child from the age of six should go to school and start learning. Education was mandatory for nine years. It was for six days a week. Students were promoted to the next class after taking exams and succeeding in them. The language used in education was Greek “demotiki” without any idiomatic phrase, as used by everyone living in Greece in his everyday communication. Ancient Greek Literature was taught both in Modern Greek language, from approved translations, and in the original text in Ancient Greek Language. Katharevousa is also used in Lyceum. The language issue has not yet settled.



At those days and for the needs of reform there were written various articles concerning the time spent in every lesson, how to teach and what to teach in every lesson (the curriculum) and what is the educational aim for every lesson. (Legislative decree 4379/1964) (Δημαράς, Η Μεταρρύθμιση που δεν έγινε Β, 2009, p. 270).

Additionally, there were settings concerning various important issues like increase in teachers' salaries, teaching new lessons like Sociology, Financial, Civic education. Because of the changes in society new lessons should be added for the students, to help them face the new challenges. These lessons could offer an additional asset to students graduating Greek Educational System in their everyday life on their quest for their profession. Modern Mathematics was also incorporated, to upgrade the educational level. (Δημαράς, Ιστορία της Νεοελληνικής Εκπαίδευσης - Το "ανακοπτόμενο άλμα"., 2013, p. 240)

In 1967 when junta was in Greece most of these articles were suspended due to mandatory laws of junta, to control education and the democratic spirit of Greek citizens. The situation in education returned in the state before 1964.

In 1976 where Minister of Education was George Rallis, right after the reinstatement of democracy in Greece there were several meetings trying to find a way to resolve permanently the educational issue. Most of the results that derived from these meetings was already proposed in the reform of 1964. Thus 9 years of mandatory education, (six years in demotic and three in gymnasium), teaching Ancient Greek language from translations were already proposed in 1964 reform. There were two differences though: the demotic language was decided as the teaching language in all levels of education and, for the first time, mixed schools for boys and girls in gymnasium and lyceum were created instead of school purely for boys or girls as it was until then.

In 1976 was first introduced the term "school life". "School life" was combined with the formation of school communities and this combination created "free activities". "Free activities" was a two or three hours period in school program dedicated to sports ("athletics") or culture ("cultural and humanitarian"). Yet these programs were not free in content as Papamavros imagined in his school. Papamavros let his students propose the themes he wanted to discuss and urged them to discuss freely everything they wanted. In these "free activities" subject was proposed by ministry, they had an organized content and they were mandatory. In each school, the term "free activities" was interpreted in a different way. There were schools that in these hours tried to make their schools better by painting, or creating gardens. Other schools decided to spend these hours visiting archeological sites, factories, industrial parks or attending musical concerts. All of them were already proposed as a way out for teenage worries.

School communities were first introduced in schools with very few responsibilities. Mostly their five-membered council had a decorative role, mostly to communicate with the director and transfer his decisions in class.





Both “school activities” and “school communities” did not manage to have the pedagogical impact they expected because had an authoritarian character, which did not leave free space for the students to act, criticize or take initiatives. (Δημαράς, Ιστορία της Νεοελληνικής Εκπαίδευσης - Το “ανακοπτόμενο άλμα”, 2013, p. 271)

In 1985 when minister of education was Apostolos Kaklamanis, there was one more reform. In this reform, there were some additional changes such as the introduction of “monotonic” (meaning the use of one toning symbol in written text). This symbol was “oxeia” (sharp accent). Every other symbol used in written text were diminished. Curriculums changed making lessons more modern and new lessons were taught in classes to make students ready for the new way of living. “Teachers book” was also given to teachers for every lesson. This book gave instructions to teachers on the way the lesson should be taught, but it is not mandatory on its instruction. It is a significant aid though, for every teacher because it showed educational techniques, revealed the educational aim for each lesson. This helped teachers to focus on specific educational targets for every lesson. There was a new method of examining students for promoting to the next level of education and attend Universities. The exams let some students proceed to the next level of education. For those who did not make it, there were introduced afterschool preparative centers to help those students that failed in the exams, to study and take the exams next year. Relationship among teachers and students was put in a new base of mutual understanding and discussion. This was what Papamavros had in mind when he wanted to let his students gain responsibility, self-esteem and self-awareness.

Despite all these reforms school still had a way of making social discrimination, giving the children that had the financial resources a better level of education with the use of “frontistirio” (extra lessons in addition to school lessons to clarify and enhance knowledge, to succeed in University exams), while the rest had to rely on the knowledge offered by public schools and on their own capabilities. Once more critical thinking was not the mean to progress but memorizing was the method to success. (Καραφύλλης Α., 2013, p. 195)

School inspectors were replaced by school counselors. This was an important change because inspectors were judging teachers and criticize their work (giving them grades) while counselors were assisting teachers in every problem they had and gave solutions to every problem it occurred. The new institution faced difficulties at the beginning because of the bad fame the institution of inspectors had.

Additionally, university schools for teachers were founded to replace the “Pedagogical Academies”. The main difference was that University studies lasted four years instead of the two-year studies in Pedagogical Academies, upgrading in this way the role of teachers in “Demotiko” (Primary school). In this way, the demand of Papamavros for better education for the teachers seemed to have been fulfilled.

In “school life” and “school communities” there was not any significant change. Many activities were proposed but these did not derive from students or teachers



but directly from ministry. In this way students and teachers had only to participate in these activities and manage to complete them. Some of them have a formal way such as “Youth Parliament” and “Model United Nation” that last for years. Others have an environmental character and a more open plan. These activities are made possible if a willing teacher will work overtime with a group of students that are interested in the subject of the activity. They are not yet in the timetable of the school. (Κάτσικας Χ., 2007)

In 1996 when minister of Education was Gerasimos Arsenis one more reform occurred in education under the name: “Education 2000: An education of Open Horizons”. In this reform ministry of education tried to make a reform to put the foundations of a new educational system competitive with those of other countries of Europe. The reason was that Greece was accepted in European Union as a new member, so Greece had to be compatible with the rest countries. So, the new reform had to be compatible with the directives given European Union and OECD. This meant that schools must give a flexible education in order the citizens of tomorrow to be able to adapt in the new working situation. To do so Universities should “produce” fewer scientists and many students should be educated for being a technician in the years to come. To achieve this goal in this reform the main slogan was that everyone can attend university without further expenses for additional lessons. This sounded like the slogan proposed by Papamavros, for education for everyone. It was not so because to continue your studies in University, one had to consider the marks of the two last classes of Lyceum in exams that were given in all lessons. In this way, many students could not achieve a passing grade for the class and were forced to change direction leaving unified Lyceum to attend technical education, giving them education for technical professions. This changed in 2001, reducing the lessons to six or seven according to the University you chose but many students have already turned to technical education. In this way for the years to come the number of students finishing Lyceum and continue their studies in University, was reduced by an approximate twenty per cent, meaning that the goal was achieved.

Generally, there were no major changes in this reform except the one mentioned, as far as schools are concerned. There were changes in the way that teachers were recruited in public schools. In the old system, there was a list where you register and according to the day of registration you waited for your turn to come. This system was abolished and replaced by a new one. In this new system, everyone who wished to work in public education should take the exams. A new list was created according to the marks each candidate had and recruitment was made based on the list according to the needs of public schools.

The last reform called “New School –School of 21<sup>st</sup> Century” was made in 2010 when minister of education was Anna Diamantopoulou. According to initial declarations “New School” this was to be a school for the 21<sup>st</sup> century, incorporating digital applications, innovations and being environmentally sensitive. Student was the



center of the educational system without any discrimination of any kind. Its aim was its students to obtain basic values and principles to have a humanly behavior, to have a lifelong learning, to participate in financial and social life of the local community. In short to give in every student the skills needed to become a responsible citizen active member of the society. These are critical though, creativity, the ability of taking initiatives, risk management, decision taking and emotion management. (Το\_νεο\_σχολείο)

In this reform netbooks were provided, one for every student, to obtain skills in new technology, interactive whiteboards were sent to schools and teachers were educated to new technologies. This was imperative because students were already familiar with new technologies while teachers were not. Students are called “digital natives”, meaning that they were born in a “digital world”, while teachers are mentioned as “digital immigrants” because they are obliged to live in a digital world not quite familiar to them. New school mentions a lot of the ideas of “school of work” of Papamavros, such as “student the center of education”, “every student is a small researcher”, “students work in groups and learn to cooperate, synthesize and present their work to public”.

Both students and teachers had to be educated in this new form of education. That is why, many training programs for teachers were introduced (informatics A level, informatics B level, training for projects, major training program), to train teachers in new technologies and the new form of education needed.

Due to austerity measures and change in the political scene this reform did not last long and many of the targets it has put, remained unfinished. The situation in education returned to the situation of the 1996 reform.

### **What is today’s situation in schools?**

Comparing the basic principles Papamavros suggested in 1930’s with the innovations the recent reforms incorporated in Greek education one can come to the following conclusions.

- Boys and girls are taught in the same class, the same subjects in the same manner. This exactly what Papamavros dreamed of for his “school of work”. Same education for boys and girls from the same books in the same way.
- The language used is the everyday language spoken by everyone in his everyday communication. “Demotiki” is the official language of the country and in monotonic form which means that a single accent symbol is used. One more of the ideas of Papamavros finally was incorporated in education. Education was made in a language everyone could understand.
- School is open to community according to the wishes of the director of school or a team of willing teachers. Papamavros believed that students should be aware of the society outside their schools. That is why he suggested that these actions should be mandatory in education curriculum. In nowadays



these activities are possible in a way of extra education (non-formal) to provide students with additional information and skills besides the official curriculum. But these activities can happen only if a teacher is willing to carry out a program like this. Many times, these activities can happen on teacher's expense on time and money.

- Educational visits and trips are also possible in schools although austerity has reduced the number and the duration of these visits. In the same way as before, these visits are made possible only if a teacher decides to organize and takes the responsibility to complete this trip. The teacher who organizes these trips is the leader of this activity and he is given extra responsibilities. Since these trips concern underaged students the leader of the trip has full responsibility on their well-being and their actions. This responsibility, in many cases, repels teachers from taking such responsibilities.
- School communities exist in today's schools but their role is minimized. The representatives (five students for each class, fifteen for the whole school) can only suggest to the teacher some ideas or in some cases represent students in professors' meetings. School communities have responsibilities that are given to students by the ministry of education. The idea of Papamavros for communities was the community to be in everyday use and every member of the class to be an active member of this community, taking decisions or contributing, on his own abilities, in the well-being and well working of the class community. This was very important in his days because students were interns to school and therefore they were cut-off from the society. Taking active role in school community, a student was educated on how to handle situations in real life.
- Most of the schools have school laboratories although these laboratories are made for physics and chemistry and are designed to provide practice on specific exercises to students. In many occasions because there is a very strict analytical program for education teachers don't have time to make experiments. So, although schools are equipped with laboratories they are not in use either because they are under equipped or there is not enough time. If the school is for students in technical education, laboratories are for the lessons taught in this school. In this cases in technical education laboratories are essential in education. If these laboratories are well equipped then they are used by students as they should be.
- Garden in school is not very common although in some schools, mostly stated outside big cities, it is possible to find gardens that are supported by students. Wherever there is a school garden, students usually enjoy their work in the garden
- Group work is not an every-day practice in schools. There is one lesson, named "research activities" or in other words Project. This lesson demands team work and each team has a subject selected by them during a standard



procedure which involves team work, the completion of a paper and finally presentation of the team work in the class. This is the only lesson that involves this procedure. Every other lesson has the classic lecture form. Teacher gives a lecture on a subject while every student passively listens to the lesson, taking notes or solving problems in a method suggested by the teacher. Students don't take initiatives and usually don't take risk giving their opinion because they are afraid of failure. Group work among students is also used when some students work on subjects outside standard curriculum, under the guidance of the teacher responsible for the project. This project can be environmental, about theatre, music or multi subject involving different lessons.

- To become a teacher, you must be educated in the degree of university education meaning four years of education. Many of the teachers also have a post-graduate master degree. This means that teacher's education is improved as Papamavros suggested.
- Though typically education is free for everyone, in practice many students attend support lessons in hours outside the standard class hours. These support lessons have a cost that adds up to family expense budget. The same phenomenon occurs in lessons concerning foreign languages. In this way, these students are better trained to continue their studies to the next level, in university or better equipped for finding a job in open market. This means that free education for all has not yet been achieved. Education still has a class character and promotes social discriminations, based on wealth.
- Education is based on the single book, provided with no charge, by school. In this way, each student receives the same amount of information and his knowledge will be evaluated using standardized tests common to all the students. Studying the one and only book given, students do not develop critical thinking and learn to accept the knowledge provided as the "one and only" correct knowledge. On the other hand, they do not learn how to collect information from various sources and then synthesize this information and finally come to a conclusion.

In conclusion Papamavros' ideas were far ahead of its time and this was the reason why they were not easily understood and accepted by the society of his time. This led him to prosecutions for his ideas and finally led him away from public education. Many of his ideas though, lived until nowadays and some of them are considered very common in today's everyday school practice. School environment is student friendly and modern pedagogic principles demand student being the center of education. New technologies have occurred and are incorporated in education in various forms, giving new capabilities to every student to use the source it suits best for him, for his education. This means that Papamavros' ideas that reached our days have the form needed by our society in our days. The skills that school must provide





to students are basic skills in new technology, in basic communication, (read, write, speak), in financial transactions (basic mathematical skills).

The skills of presenting oneself, working in groups, trying for the common good, thinking in an innovative way, taking the leadership, having a responsible way of living and many more, are skills that are absent from school practice. Under the name of “soft skills”, is a powerful asset to every working man. These are usually obtained in university education.

Finally, Papamavros’ ideas in education reached today in forms that Papamavros could not have imagined in 1930. Due to today’s social situation, these ideas are transformed in a way to satisfy today’s needs. There is a lot to be done in order Papamavros’ ideas will be used in schools the way he dreamt. Yet his ideas are a useful guideline for future innovations in the school of future or the “School of work” as he called it.

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# VII ICCE

7<sup>th</sup> International Conference on  
Critical Education

**Rethinking Alternatives to Neoliberalism in  
Education**

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