
Educational Policy and the Educational Reform of 1997-98 in Greece

Dr. Maria Giannakou

Corresponding author email id: mgianakou19@gmail.com

Date of publication (dd/mm/yyyy): 11/04/2019

Abstract – The present study is focused on the analysis of the educational policy that brought into practice the educational reform of 1997-98 where the official government texts are used to identify the significant innovations and draw conclusions from this episode in the Greek educational scene. As important factor proved to be the analysis that is provided on the collection of data on teachers' interventions in educational journals relative to the reform of 1997-98 and its educational policy. The qualitative approach used focuses on the contextualization of teachers' texts in which the concentration of their viewpoints brings into discussion the significance of the reform's fate.

Keywords – Educational Policy, Educational Reform, Grammar of Schooling.

I. INTRODUCTION

The present paper under the title "Educational policy and the educational reform of 1997-98 in Greece" tries to understand the educational policy in Greece that produced the educational reform of 1997-98. In order to reconstruct the past we attempt to unveil "the often hidden social powers and forces that gave form to rhetoric" [1] about education, analysing the educational policy documents, the Education Act of 1997-98 and the ministers' circulars that played a crucial role on the definition of the classroom climate and teachers' interventions that were expressed within educational journals of the time. As we try to interpret the findings we use insight from the history of education and specifically the approach of *grammar of schooling* [5] and finally we proceed on classifying the main educational policy tendencies that shaped the educational reforms since 1976.

II. FRAMING A HISTORICAL INQUIRY

A significant branch of sociology that keeps up with the historical inquiry express the argument that the research object should be studied from inside, where "the facts of history are never simple objects but human actions that historians observe to determine the thought that is hidden within them" [2]. The micro-level interpretive approach states that all changes in education are the result of changes within and if we want to understand education we have to study the *everyday action*. This action is produced by individuals that act together with *freedom* and produce their own roles and their own action models, or according to Michel de Certeau the "*ways of operating*" and their examination [3]. To estimate the everyday action, we have to apprehend the meaning that individuals give to their behaviour. Meanings belong to each individual and were not administered to the individual by the culture or society. On the other hand, individuals interpret the behaviour of other individuals who *interact* with them. However, through the process of *negotiation* of meaning, the individuals establish common perceptions and interpretations. The interpretive approach demands an adoption of the subjective method-that is, to try to investigate the minds of individuals and to perceive how they define a situation [4].

In this regard, the perceptions and views of teachers about the introduced innovations by the educational policy makers is proved to be substantial under the framework of the theory of *grammar of schooling* as this is expressed by Tyack and Tobin [5]. This framework includes all the entire regular structures and rules that organize the work of instruction and affect on the reform implementation. The researchers studied the reason that "the established

institutional forms of schooling been so stable and why did most challenges fade or become marginalized” and they concluded that teachers’ interventions in classroom practices played the most crucial role. As from that the school climate should be reconstructed in its historical and social context on the basis of *informants* that include the experiences of teachers and students [6].

III. THE EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN GREECE (1976-1997)

In Greece, the state operates a central control educational policy the main feature of which is ideological-religious neutrality while the Ministry of Education organizes teachers’ training and the curriculum is a closed type, smothering any incentive for innovation by pupils and teachers [7]. The education is mainly public (95%) [8] and there are no private tertiary educational institutions although Greece has been fined by the European Court of Justice in 23.10.2008 due to its failure to integrate Directive 2005/36/EK on tertiary education and diplomas. According to Greek Constitution article 16/1976, Greece cannot sanction private tertiary education.

However, the accession of Greece to the European Economic Market in January 1981 triggered changes to Greek educational policy. While in the period between 1957 and 1976, the general interest of the EEC was in professional training, in 1976, the Ministers of Education voted the first action program of the Community [9]. The decade 1976-1986 was characterized by many incentives, programs and activities in the education sector with basic emphasis on professional training. In the years 1986-1992, the European Commission of Education promoted community action programs within national educational systems targeting “the enforcement of the correlation between education and economy and the more effective contribution of educational systems to the completion of the common market of the Community” [10]. The Maastricht Treaty signaled a milestone in the evolution of European integration as it was the beginning of a process that led to political convergence of the member states. In this respect the importance of education was upgraded through the adoption of four central educational policies: the *promotion and mobility of students* and the *cooperation of the educational institutions*, the *connection between educational institutions and market*, the *configuration of integration structures and re-integration in the market*, and the *transparency and comparison of European educational systems* [11]. In 1995, the Commission issued the *White Bible* which was entitled ‘Instruction and Learning. Towards the Society of Knowledge’ and addressed the role of education in the process of economic and social coherence. In the Lisbon Treaty (2007), the role of education is advanced as it serves the basic targets of economical and social cohesion. Although this Treaty is not included in the 30 years covered by this study, earlier EU initiatives (directives, decisions of the Council of Education Ministers) affected the national educational systems. (European Commission COM 2003)0005)

Coming back to the Greek design of educational policy we observe that while there is pressure from the European Union for specific actions and changes, on the other hand, certain practices are being continued for a longer period. At the same time the design of educational policy is guided by government policy and drafted by intellectuals who serve it. Their theoretical background is reflected in their policy planning and to distinguish them we have first to classify their work according to parameters that indicate their interests. Thus, according to Athanassios Trillianos we must first study the concerns of these intellectuals: their ideas for the language to be taught and used within schools; their beliefs regarding teaching humanities in schools; their beliefs about the Greek Orthodox Church; their political and social theories; their plans for the re-organization of the Greek school system; their thoughts about the welfare state and its function; and finally, their opinions on human development

[12].

Such parameters lead us to the categorization and grouping of intellectuals, and to the understanding of important aspects of Greek education policy, so we can discern two different categories of tendencies in *Greek educational policy* which underline the different perceptions in the exercise of the Greek educational policy.

Thus, Karachristos [13], although his assessment predates our period of study, argued that Modern Greek intellectuals can be classified into the following groups: conservative intellectuals, orthodox Christian moralists, moderate intellectuals, pragmatic intellectuals, liberal intellectuals, radical intellectuals and technocrats. *Conservative* intellectuals were distinguished by their faith in traditional patterns of Greek education and their opposition to radical changes. *Orthodox* Christian moralists expressed their faith in the Greek Orthodox Church and in the ideals of Byzantium. *Moderate* intellectuals followed a moderate approach to educational issues, especially on the issue of the use of the Greek language. Moreover, they emphasized the necessity for developing vocational and technical education as a pathway to prosperity in Greece; however, on the other hand, they stressed the value of humanism in the formation of Greek youth and strongly recommended the preservation of the classics in secondary education [14]. *Pragmatic* intellectuals took on a practical and realistic approach to educational issues. They were well acquainted with the new pedagogical insights and believed in the notion of the quality of education. They used the Modern Greek language and also stressed the need for developing vocational and technical education along with the preservation of Greek Christian ideals. *Liberal* intellectuals supported new educational ideas which deviated from the traditional patterns of Greek education. They showed great interest in the social elevation of the people and sought to ensure that no social stigma or economic misfortune would prevent the people from receiving a proper education. They also believed in the use of the Modern Greek language. *Radical* intellectuals attempted to reform Greek education according to modern pedagogical ideologists. They favored wide reforms in the curriculum and the organization of schools. They had great faith in the power of the Modern Greek language. *Technocrats* advocated the development of technical and vocational education as a means to achieve prosperity in Greece.

Another more contemporary (1994) classification was proposed by Sifis Bouzakis who recognized that the Greek political struggle in education shaped two types of voters: one that agitated for equality, social justice and mobility and the other that clamored for effectiveness, productivity and perpetuation of the social status quo. He discerned four tendencies in educational policy in Greece: *liberal*, *conservative*, *social-reforming* and *radical* [15]. The *liberal* tendency was the dynamic driving most reform efforts during the 20th century; it proposed measures such as the adoption of the Modern Greek language as the language of instruction, the development of the educational level and general economic growth, years of compulsory education, and the creation of technical-professional education [16]. From a different starting point, the *conservative* tendency conceived Greek-Christian ideology as the main tool for the political, ideological and moral socialization of youth, leading to the individual's moralization, the development of religious emotion and the cultivation of patriotic emotion [17]. The *social reforming* tendency was apparent during the *Metapoliteusis* and was connected with the educational reforms of the 1980s, whereas the *radical* or left tendency found expression in the idea that education was inextricably linked with the conflict of the social classes.

Table 1. Main tendencies in educational policy in Greece.

TRILLIANOS 1977 KARACHRISTOS 1960	BOUZAKIS 1994
CONSERVATIVE ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN MODERATE PRAGMATIC	CONSERVATIVE
LIBERAL	LIBERAL SOCIAL REFORMING
RADICAL	RADICAL
TECHNOCRATS	

We attempted to find the link between the two classifications in order to gain as much detail as possible about the underlying theoretical background of the different tendencies. Therefore, we identified a correlation between the Conservative tendency and the views of Orthodox Christians and Moderate Intellectuals, whereas the Pragmatic tendency was located between the positions of Conservatives and Liberals. The social reforming tendency lay among the views of liberals and radicals. This link assisted us in interpreting educational reforms through the prism of educational policy theory.

Another interesting aspect of education policy design is the occasional use by the Ministry of Education of the different tendencies. It has been observed by scholars that the leadership of the Ministry may shift from one tendency to another according to the importance that it gives to the solution of educational problems. Education policy is not the result of long-term planning but rather the outcome of a stratagem to resolve short-term issues. In this regard, the choice of a particular educational policy tendency is related to a number of factors: changes in economic policy and the consequent reshuffles that affect the curriculum; the structure of Greek society and the concomitant problems that affect the educational process; and the particular problems that pertain to the Greek educational system [18].

From 1976 since 1998, each government that exercised power as an expression of the will of the people operated a centralized system of education and had the responsibility of making educational policy through the Ministry of Education. Describing and analyzing the issue of centralization of the Greek educational system, Alexis Dimaras noted that “the Greek state educational policy is not governmental, it is rather ministerial” [19]. Our study examines this perspective on educational policy in a period when successive governments under the same party pursued different educational policy choices. In this regard, not only did a newly-appointed Minister repeal laws passed by a previous Minister of the same party but, in relation to new proposals, voted independently of the party line. However, Bouzakis identified another important factor of Greek governance that affected educational policy: the intricate web of relationships between citizens and politicians, through which individuals address their daily needs, whether important or unimportant, essential or unessential, without having regard to issues of meritocracy, transparency and democracy. This resulted in the inhibition of the growth and modernization of the educational system and generally shaped the overall culture of society. As Bouzakis stated “this phenomenon fostered fanaticism and political retaliation” [20].

While meritocracy seems to be a dream for romantics, politicians, in a climate of social unrest, must consider the political cost of changes on their prospects of reelection. This results in many bills not being deposited in Parliament or even, in certain cases, in the suspension of existing laws. For example, in relation to the reforms of 1997-1998, a significant number of innovations that were voted by Parliament were disabled by the succeeding Minister of the same government, as, in the context of educational policy, the party-political-ideological element was deemed to take precedence over the socio-economic-cultural element [21]. The party-ideological element influencing all educational reforms cut across the cross-party political consensus and so, the educational innovations were not the product of bipartisan agreement and were not therefore accepted by all operators charged with their implementation. In this regard, another anti-reform action by the subsequent government was in preparation, exemplifying the extreme instability of the reforming framework.

IV. THE EDUCATIONAL REFORM OF 1997-98

In 1997, the Minister for Education, Gerasimos Arsenis, introduced Act 2525 under the title “*Unified lyceum, graduates’ introduction to Tertiary Education, Evaluation of the Educational Outcomes, and other*”. This reform was known as Arsenis’ reform, after the Minister that introduced it; it was also referred to as the reform that unleashed many riots. The reform was supported by the President of Pedagogical Institute, Theodoros Exarhakos, who presented his views in a text that was published by the journal *Nea Paideia* (1997). He stated that the reform aimed to modernize and qualitatively upgrade education, and he characterized it as one of the most important reforms to be implemented in the 20th century. He projected a vision for Greek education up to the close of the century and determined the framework under which this education should be reinforced. His text was significant as it highlighted the general perception of the time although, on many issues, there was great opposition from Teachers’ Associations.

However, he supported the need for reform for a number of reasons. First of all, he underlined the importance of the connection of the Greek economy and society with European and international space. He argued that Greeks should be able to confront any challenge and competition and exploit accessibility to European and international areas.

For Exarhakos, the technological revolution and the rapid transfer of information led to new directions in Greek education where general knowledge was not enough. Students needed continuous renewal of knowledge and expertise. Furthermore, throughout the development of media and communication, students received large amounts of information of an international culture and the function of education was to form students capable of critically assimilating these messages.

Exarhakos also observed that changes in living conditions and the increase in average life expectancy led to the necessity for readjustment in the social status of older people. Therefore, he proposed social training, lifelong learning and the Open University; such aspirations were to be brought to fruition in a later reform. He admitted that young couples needed greater support due to their work conditions and he suggested that All Day School institutions would contribute to the solution of this problem. He argued in favor of decentralization of education, giving power to local and peripheral authorities. For him, the main avenue to the upgrading of education was the foundation of a unified school where equal opportunities in learning would promote the skills, talents and interests of students. He concluded that education in Greece was not at the time in a position to confront all these demands,

challenges and necessities; with respect to changing this situation, there was strong cause for implementing the reform.

Table 2. The Educational Reform of 1997-98.

The reform of 1997-98		
Post-graduate studies: PhD 3 years		
Diploma of expertise 2 years		
Universities 4-6 years (AEI)	Technological Educational Foundations (TEI) 3-4 years	Institution of Professional Training (IEK)
Unified Lyceum 3 years		
Technological Professional Schools		
1st year: common program	1 st Cycle: 2 years	
2nd-3rd year directions	2 nd Cycle: 1 year	
Secondary School 3 years		
Primary School 6 years		
Nursery 1 year		

In 1998, the teacher, Theodoros Ntalakas, gave a descriptive account of the Greek educational system listing its characteristics and showing the necessity for a reform that appreciated the European dimension of education, the demand of the markets, the modernization of Greek education and respect for Greek civilization and tradition. He identified a number of shortcomings: he argued that indicators showing the quality of the education offered to students were absent; educational innovations were not monitored during their implementation; there was a discrepancy between theory and practice which was not recorded; there was insecurity and lack of enlightened leadership, management and counseling in general education; there was a mismatch of Universities programs and teachers' training and labor requirements; and student's assessment needed to be developed in a more modern way [22].

These statements indicated that interventions were in preparation and the Ministry of Education was preparing the text of Act 2525. The new reform tried to change the character of education, introducing issues that had been at the center of discussion for years; however, as history was to show, the reform was not accepted by the educational partners. The reform introduced the institution of a Unified Lyceum which characterized by differentiation of the three internal branches and the introduction of a single certificate conferring right of admission to the University without examination. Additionally the reform paid attention on the introduction of lifelong learning and teachers' evaluation and school unit evaluation as well.

Alongside the evaluation of teaching and the establishment of a school unit, other significant measures were introduced: a new logistical infrastructure, buildings, school management structure, educational process, and a system for evaluation of teacher, staff training and the effectiveness of each school unit. This evaluation was defined as internal and external. The internal evaluation was overseen by institutions within the primary and secondary educational system composed of directors of schools, heads of divisions and offices and school advisers. The external evaluation was conducted by institutions outside the educational system.

The controversy over evaluation was a recurring theme, started during the discussion of Law 1566/1983 between the Ministry and Teachers' Associations (DOE, OLME). The inhibition of the Presidential Decree that was promoting the assessment at the beginning of the school year 1993-1994 and the view of the Teachers' Associations on "measurable and account criteria" that, according to them had no relation to the evaluation, were part of the story of the subject.

The new Act created the Permanent Evaluators Body (SMA) which had the authority to evaluate every teacher and conduct an evaluative essay on an individual. Article 9 provided that this individual evaluative essay would be of enormous importance where a teacher sought to become permanent, or to be selected for educational

executive posts. The School Units Evaluator Committee was composed of 7 members each of whom had a 4 year incumbency; it was appointed by the Minister and its composition depended on the results of written exams.

In 1994 the Ministry founded the Centers for Creative Occupation and subsumed them in the program of Social Training but that plan did not evolve as expected. The new Act introduced the All Day Schools which would function according to a centralized schedule. The All Day School would offer to the students obligatory subjects according to the curriculum, optional activities for the rest of the day, promoting their creativity, and an optional program of learning support. The term Learning Support had been established for the confrontation of functional illiteracy and was targeted at students under the age of 15.

Apart from that the problem of the Yearbook of Appointment was raised by the Education Committee of Panellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) in 1993 [23] and also in 1997 [24]. The Committee proposed to award University Degrees upon success in written exams, while the law anticipated to exams for the acquisition of the Certificate of Pedagogical and Teaching Adequacy from the Universities.

Although the initiators and supporters of the law were in the same partisan camp as those who sponsored the reform of 1982-85, they introduced measures which were influenced by the ideology of liberalism. There was thus a mutation of party positions and attitudes within the socialist party of PASOK which was however to find its followers divided. Therefore, riots took place across the country in areas in which teachers belonged to the left parties or to PASOK.

This situation led the Prime Minister Simitis to replace the Minister of Education. The new Minister Efthymiou had the obligation to restore equanimity in his party, to bring peace between the social partners and also to abolish the main measures of Arsenis' reform. He maintained the Year Book of appointment but he abolished procedures regarding teachers' evaluations. It seemed that society was not prepared to accept this as evaluation was a very contentious issue for everyone involved. Politicians were considering the "political cost" and teachers feared the strong clientelism that characterized the public sector. In this climate, all were satisfied by the Minister's decision.

V. TEACHERS AND THE EDUCATIONAL REFORM OF 1997-98

The explanatory memorandum of the Act 2525/97 stated that "today it is necessary to take a historic step to promote new and radical reforms and to cut all major levels of anomalies in the educational system". Although this was a remarkable statement, a question that necessarily arises is how teachers perceived this historical step?

The demand for a real and drastic reform was evident in teachers' texts in the years before the reform. In this regard, teachers felt that the history of the profession of teaching had led to the emergence of a working culture so stagnant that teachers were reluctant to consent to any change or reform. Additionally, teachers were experiencing a sense of insecurity that increased with advancing age and with a sense that their work was not recognized by society; teachers had in fact internalized conservative norms of behavior determined by external stakeholders and by societal expectations of the role of teachers. Teachers are still awaiting new proposals from the Ministry that will elevate education to a new plane and position teachers at the centre of interest, making them researchers and essential actors in initiating important changes. Moreover, teachers want a more secure environment and are looking for ministerial decisions that produce stability and durability [25] [26].

Immediately after introduction of the reform, teachers expressed their attitudes mostly on the issues of the abolition of the Yearbook of Appointment and the evaluation of their work. The Pan-Hellenic Association of DOE

started a debate to annul both decisions and succeeded in staying any attempt to introduce teachers' evaluation [27] [28] [29] [30].

On the issue of the abolition of the Yearbook of Appointment and the introduction of exams, teachers seemed to be divided. Some argued that one of the obstacles to the ideal staffing of the education sector was the Yearbook of Appointment pointing out that, in Greece, meritocracy in the public sector was still undeveloped [27]. Others argued that the new system of appointments continued to make central appointments and created regional disparities where appointments through written exams highlighted only the persons who were fit in terms of knowledge and not those who were skilled in terms of conducting interpersonal relationships. Such persons proposed decentralization of the system of appointment and the inclusion of additional criteria for appointment including possession of a master's degree [28].

The new evaluation system excited great debate between the Ministry and the Teachers' Associations. OLME stated that "we will not accept the manipulative framework that the Minister promotes". The main opposition party which was, at the time, the conservative party stated that "there are no rules, procedures and criteria that ensure ideal evaluations" [31]. The journalists commented that "the evaluation is challenged by the right and by the left, although one denies its importance" [32]. A different approach was reflected in the journal *Nea Paideia*. A teacher wondered why the curriculum, the books, the schools and the pedagogical work had not been evaluated for 15 years. He acknowledged that such omissions had consequences for public schools and he asserted that anyone who wanted to reduce the prestige of the public schools could invoke the following argument: "as teachers were not evaluated how can society trust them?" [29]. Another teacher argued that the evaluation of the educational work and the factors associated with it should have been an integral part of any process [33]. Their opinions reflected an extremely different approach from that of DOE and OLME who argued that any evaluation was unacceptable. Teachers' evaluation was difficult to be claimed as there were still denouncements for party affiliation favoring by the government. A teacher protested that the new government wished to ensconce their own party people in the system and he appealed to the Ministry that it was time to desist from such unacceptable politicization that both ridiculed and demeaned persons and institutions [34]. His text had great importance bearing in mind that teachers are public servants and their opinions might have impacts on the evolution of their professional careers.

This time, teachers who had been keeping abreast of international developments in the field of pedagogical science asked the Ministry for better and more effective training. Also they acknowledged that all those who studied at universities and were then appointed to the educational system felt "naked" when suddenly exposed to teaching in the classroom [35]. They proposed that they should be trained in their place of work and receive instruction on teaching students with learning difficulties; such measures, they ventured, were necessary for the operation of the school organization, the administration and the supervision. They insisted on supporting students' differentiation and acceptance by all within the school environment and proposed a school where all would be welcome including both special needs and ethnic minority students [33].

In order to ensure proper assimilation of the reform strategy by teachers, one teacher proposed that teachers should be required to partake in a workshop conducted by its promoters. This would help the reformer to ensure practical implementation of the reform, and more importantly, to provide listeners with a specific frame of reference for discussion and analysis. According to this teacher, this would help to eliminate misunderstandings

and to solve problems arising from absence of continuity in the delivery of school programs [36].

Understandably, the reform was welcomed by many teachers who believed that the measures were necessary and in the right direction; nonetheless, at the same time, they were ambitious in action, disturbing stagnant waters, jarring ingrained prejudices and challenging those entrenched in their ways to embrace modern requirements [37]. However, as another teacher observed, there was no reform that was perfectly designed. In all reform measures, there were vulnerabilities and flaws that led to malfunctions and unintended side effects. Weaknesses appeared in the practical application of the system; the task of the Ministry leadership was to identify such weaknesses and initiate the necessary changes. The detection was made easier if the leadership decided to hear the teacher who was the person charged with the task of implementing the innovations in the classroom, or the school advisers who were entrusted with the function of hearing teachers' complaints [38]. As another teacher observed, for a reform to succeed it must impact on both the attitudes and minds of people [39].

VI. CONCLUSIONS

The reform of 1997-98, although it had originated within a European educational framework, and had been inspired by European educational concepts, had tried to change recurring malfunctions without following two very important phases in the reform process. The reformers neither published the Bill for the information of teachers and social partners nor implemented the recommend piloting program to test its pros and cons. After the drafting of the Bill, following the pattern of previous reforms, it was introduced into the House of Parliament for debating and voting.

As stated earlier, using micro-sociological approaches, contemporary sociologists have shifted the focus of their reflections and researches from the structures of education to educational processes and educational mechanisms. They focus on the inner life of the school and the dialectic everyday relationship between teachers and students [3]. Examining the reform of 1997-98 the effort of establishing a system for both teachers' and school unit evaluation did not yield any result and the new Minister abolished many articles of the Act. On the other hand, the educational process was on the cusp of two imported innovations: the All Day School and the differentiation in the curriculum. Although the curriculum and the books remained the same since 1986, the Ministry tried to incorporate into the program two books at different levels on the subject Exploring the World, offering to teachers the opportunity to choose the most suitable for their classes. This was the first effort at differential teaching and it gave to the teachers the ability to act and auto-shape their teaching. This innovation caused embarrassment to teachers and two years later the effort was also abandoned by the new Minister of Education. Classroom practices were left in their own destiny while the person responsible for their best implementation was the teacher acting under the pedagogical aide of the school adviser.

The reform of 1997-98, although designed by the same party, was not inspired by the same ideological tendency. Educational policy was affected both by the Maastricht Treaty and by globalization subordinating the reformers' ideology to a wider radical educational policy tendency.

To sum up, evaluating the overall framework of the reform of 1997-98, there was not a sufficient number of innovations introduced to change the school culture and, in relation to the innovations that were introduced, very few continued to apply. As for the other innovations, they were either cancelled or suspended by the succeeding Minister of Education in the interests of political expediency or were simply pushed to the margins by the

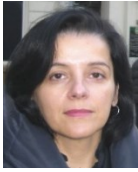
teachers. Years after the reform had been introduced, it became apparent that malfunctions were persisting within schools, leading teachers to discard the changes which the reform had triggered marginalizing the innovations. Teachers' attitudes were the dominant element in this evolution while the authors of the reform let matters take their own course desisting from any further interventions.

The reform of 1997-98 was affected by the European Union Treaty and the considerations of globalization that were shaping the European educational policy at the time. We have to admit that "the influence of global governance institutions" and the educational policy focus on "best practices lending" is apparent to be a 'central component of educational reform worldwide' [40]. The efforts to introduce differentiation in textbooks according to teachers' choice was in limbo as teachers' associations were opposed and the reformers took into account the political cost while the next minister abolished the main inputs of the reform. However, the reform was preoccupied mainly with external structures of education, leaving the same curriculum while the introduction of evaluating the educational system was immediately abolished.

REFERENCES

- [1] M. Depaep, "Educationalization: A key concept in understanding the basic processes in the history of western education" in *History of Education Review*, XXVII vol.2, 1998, pp. 16-28
- [2] R. Collingwood, The idea of history, in W. Walsh *Introduction to the Philosophy*, 14, Athens: MIET, 1946, p.76
- [3] M. De. Certeau, *The practice of everyday life*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1984, p.xi
- [4] D. Blackledge & B. Hunt, *Sociology of education*, Athens: Metaihmio, 2004, pp.359-363
- [5] D. Tyack & W. Tobin, The grammar of schooling? Why has it been so hard to change? in *American Educational Research Journal*, 31, vol. 3, 1994, pp. 453-479
- [6] M. Depaep, "Educationalization: A key concept in understanding the basic processes in the history of western education" in *History of Education Review*, XXVII vol.2, 1998, pp. 25-26
- [7] G. Psacharopoulos, *Greek education a synchronous tragedy*, Athens: Sideris, 2003, p.227
- [8] W. Wielemans, European educational policy on shifting sand? [class hand out], Faculty of Psychology and Education, Katholiek Universiteit Leuven, 2004, p.20
- [9] C. Govaris & I. Roussakis, *Politics in education*, Athens: Pedagogical Institution, 2008, pp. 12-13
- [10] G. Pasiadis, *European Union and education*, Athens: Gutenberg, 2006, pp. 305-308
- [11] G. Stamelos & A. Vassilopoulos, *European educational policy*, Athens:Metaihmio, 2004, p.64
- [12] A. Trillianos, *An analysis of modern Greek educational thought 1925-1975*, USA: University Microfilms International, 1977, p. 76
- [13] N. Karachristos, Our new gymnasia and the special schools, Athens, 1960, pp.29-31
- [14] K. Tsatsos, *Greek march*, Athens: Kollaros, 1964, pp.106-108
- [15] S. Bouzakis, *The educational reforms in Greece*, Athens:Gutenberg, 1994, p.68
- [16] A. Fragoudaki, *The language books of primary school: ideological compulsion and pedagogy*, Athens: Themelio, 1979, p.13
- [17] D. Charalampous, *Educational policy and educational reform in post-war Greece 1950-1974*, [doctoral dissertation], doi:10.12681/eadd/1471, 1990, pp.31-60
- [18] F. Voros, *Educational policy-anticipations and actions*, Athens, 1986, p. 72
- [19] A. Dimaras, Ministry of education and educational policy, in *Contemporary Issues*, 4, vol.2, 1979, pp. 3-4
- [20] S. Bouzakis, *Educational reforms in Greece, primary, secondary, general and technical-vocational education*, Athens: Gutenberg, 2006, p. 25
- [21] S. Bouzakis, *Educational reforms in Greece, primary, secondary, general and technical-vocational education*, Athens: Gutenberg, 2006, p. 68
- [22] T. Ntalakas, The educational system, in *Educational*, Spring, 1998, pp.180-188
- [23] PASOK, *Proposals for dialogue and the education program*, Athens: PASOK, 1993
- [24] PASOK, *Proposals of dialogue*, Athens: PASOK, 1997
- [25] Comments, in *The Educational*, vol. 39-40, 1995, pp.267-269
- [26] Comments, in *The Educational*, vol. 36, 1994-95, pp. 3
- [27] Comments, in *Nea Paideia*, vol. 82, 1997, pp.13
- [28] V. Voukouvalidis, Comments, in *Nea Paideia*, vol. 84, 1997, pp.13-14
- [29] F. K. Voros, Comments, in *Nea Paideia*, vol.80, 1996, pp.9-10
- [30] Minutes of the Parliament, in *Kathimerini*, 07.08.1997, p.12
- [31] Comments, in *Nea Paideia*, vol.85, pp.11-12
- [32] Comments, in *To Vima*, 25.01.1998, p.69
- [33] Comments, in *The Educational*, vol. 49-50, 1998, p.403
- [34] L. Dimakakos, Comments, in *Nea Paideia*, vol. 85, 1998, p.13
- [35] L. Dimakakos, Comments, in *Nea Paideia*, vol. 87, 1998, p.12
- [36] Comments, in *The Educational*, vol. 48-49, 1998, p.3
- [37] K. Palaskas, Comments, in *Nea Paideia*, vol. 95, p.7
- [38] Comments, in *The Educational*, vol. 55-56, 2000, pp.4-5
- [39] Comments, in *Nea Paideia*, vol.95, p.7
- [40] L.M. Portnoi, Patterns of educational reform and policy borrowing, in L.M.Portnoi Policy borrowing and reform in education, USA:Palgrave Macmillan, 2016, pp.175

AUTHOR'S PROFILE



Maria Giannakou

Born in Germany in 1966, she holds a PhD in History of Education from the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (KULEUVEN) (2017), a master's degree (2006) in Educational Sciences from KULEUVEN and a diploma of biennial postgraduate studies (1999) in General Education from the University of Ioannina in Greece. Major fields of study: History of Education, Curriculum History, Educational Policy, School Effectiveness. She is Coordinator of the Educational Outcome at the Regional Administration of Epirus Greece. The school years 2003-2013 she worked in the European School Brussels III in Belgium. Last publication: 2018, The Primary Cycle of European Schools: teachers and curriculum, in Journal Indicators of Education, vol. 20, pp.60-68. Research interest: Classroom History, Curriculum History.