

---

## The Uncertain Character of Recent Educational Reform in Greece

ANNA TRAIANO

**ABSTRACT** This article outlines the main education reforms that have taken place in Greece from the 1960s until the present. The author discusses how the direction of these reforms has been influenced not only by 'global' pressures for 'modernization' but also by the distinctive socio-cultural Greek context. The conclusion stresses that despite the various attempts to reform the Greek education system key issues about the purposes of education provision remain unresolved.

### Introduction

Like many other European countries, Greece has a long tradition of 'borrowing' institutional structures, curricular policies and pedagogical ideologies. However, recent globalising trends have increased the pressure to reflect on and adapt the education system there in the light of what is going on in other countries. During the 1960s and 1970s, under the influence of the World Bank, UNESCO and the European Community, the 'modernization' of the Greek education system became a priority, and was interpreted as implying the need to promote vocational education and to lengthen the period of compulsory education. With the full entry of Greece into the European Union (in 1981), along with a gradual shift on the part of successive Greek governments in the direction of neoliberalism, 'modernisation' has also been linked with ideas about the marketisation of education and efforts to make the Greek education system more 'effective' by introducing structures and forms of accountability similar to those that operate within capitalist organizations. At the same time, the distinctive features of the Greek education system, resulting from its historical and cultural context, have continued to play a crucial role, not least in shaping the ways in which it has responded to pressures for modernisation.

In this article I will begin by discussing some of these features, especially those relating to the nature of the curriculum, the organisation of the school system and the education of teachers. I will then examine the major changes that have taken place in the Greek education system since the 1960s, especially the most recent and ongoing education reforms. These have been promoted by a nominally socialist government, and have generated stormy reactions from educators, students and parents. My aim is to highlight some of the controversies generated within the Greek education system as global pressures interact with local contexts and interests.

### **Historical Features of the Greek Education System**

It is not uncommon for newly established states, which often lack economic resources and a strong political and legal mandate, to 'borrow' educational policies from more well-established education systems. The modern Greek education system, established in the 1830s, was heavily influenced by the German model, and in particular by its idealist principles which were themselves based, in part, upon ancient Greek humanism (see Ringer, 1969). Of course, the adoption of this system was not unrelated to Greek socio-political circumstances at the time, and in particular to the perceived need to build and maintain a national identity by drawing on the ancient 'glorious past'. Equally important to this project, and a continuing influence to the present day, has been the Orthodox Church, which had quite distinctive ideas about the proper purposes of education. It is also necessary to emphasise that the project of developing national identity was particularly aimed at differentiating Greeks from both their Balkan and their Turkish neighbours, and this task remains a central feature of the current education system (see Persianis, 1978)

Given this background, it is not surprising that there has long been a strong bias towards the humanities in the Greek school curriculum. For example, the percentage of time allocated to mathematics and the sciences in the weekly compulsory timetable was the same in the early 1970s as it was in 1836 (see Dimaras, 1978). While there were demands from parents, students, politicians, and intellectuals to widen the curriculum in secondary and higher education, reforms up until the mid 1970s primarily revolved around the form of the Greek language that should be taught in schools ('the language question'). This issue arose from the existence of two distinct written forms of modern Greek: *Kathareousa*, the 'purified' language; and 'Demotike', the 'common' language. The former was developed by some influential scholars and the Church, and was designed to 'purify' the Greek language of its non-Hellenic features, which had been acquired over the centuries. This language form has been supported by conservative governments, and it has been suggested that *Kathareousa* has been used to prevent pupils from lower socio-economic classes from continuing their studies into secondary and higher education. By contrast, *Demotike* incorporates changes that have occurred in the language throughout the centuries, so that there are lexical, morphological, and phonological

differences from more ancient idioms.[1] It corresponds more closely to the language spoken by most Greeks.

Alongside the humanistic bias within the Greek school curriculum, religion continues to influence its structure and content. For instance, students in compulsory education are normally required to attend church services, and only very recently have they been allowed to opt out from such services as well as from religious education lessons without having formally to give reasons for their decision. There is an important sense in which the majority of schools in Greece are faith schools, but only one faith is represented: that of the Orthodox Church. This is one of several features of Greek schooling that is likely to be challenged with the increasing ethnic and religious diversity of Greek society, as a result of large levels of in-migration, especially from Balkan neighbours.

Until 1964, school fees were charged for attendance at state secondary schools and Higher Education Institutions. It was one of the achievements of the short-lived liberal government to make state education provision constitutionally 'free for all' at every level. Free education for all has always been considered by progressive governments to be one of the key elements for a fair education system. This differentiates Greece from some other European countries, such as Spain, where tuition fees are allowed for some sectors of state education (see Gouvias, 2007).[2]

However, while education is free in Greece, there is a longstanding tradition of attending private preparatory schools (*frontistiria*), especially for those students who plan to take the national Higher Education entrance examination. These schools operate in parallel with state schools, offering supplementary schooling usually in the evening (Polydorides, 1978). The existence of these schools goes back to the beginning of the twentieth century, when progression from primary to university level was controlled by a series of demanding examinations. Pupils from villages and small towns who wanted to study at secondary or higher education would often move to bigger cities, usually two years prior to their entry examinations, in order for them to attend better state schools as well as the private preparatory schools. While this system privileged those who lived in urban settings and who had the money to pay the fees, in particular children from the ruling classes (Dimaras, 1978), it also allowed a degree of social mobility (see Lambiri-Dimaki, 1978).[3] Either way, the continuing existence of this highly organized private education sector raises important questions about equality of opportunity in relation to parental income and wealth.

Another historical feature of the Greek education system is its centrally controlled character (see Kazamias, 1990). The Greek Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs (GMNERA) is responsible for the formulation and implementation of legislation, the administration of financial support to all sectors of education, the approval of primary and secondary school curricula and textbooks, the appointment of teaching staff, and the coordination and evaluation of regional educational services.[4] The Ministry collaborates closely with the Hellenic Pedagogic Institution (HPI), which is an independent civil

service department that oversees educational research and is responsible for providing advice about educational matters, notably concerning the education of teachers, the inspection of schools and the writing of school textbooks.

The school curriculum at all levels is organised into separate subjects, relating to distinct discipline areas. There are state-prescribed textbooks for each subject appropriate to each year group. These books are centrally produced by the Hellenic Pedagogic Institute and their use is compulsory even in private schools. They also form the basis for end-of-year examinations, and for the examination that allows entry to higher education. These textbooks are distributed free to all pupils and this is often considered to be one of the most positive features of the Greek Education system because it enables all pupils who attend school to have 'equal' access to the same learning materials (see Spinthourakis 2004). Here, 'equality' is interpreted in terms of equal input (common schools, common curriculum, and so on); 'an equality achieved by educational rather than social measures' (Persianis, 1978, p. 55). Over the past few years, however, there have been growing calls to abandon the one-textbook policy, since this is considered to restrict teachers' autonomy to adapt their teaching to the individual needs of the children in their schools.

Another important feature of the Greek education system is its highly competitive and academic nature. For example, despite attempts to reform and promote vocational education over many years the majority of secondary school students opt for the upper general secondary school with the aim of continuing on to university. Indeed, since the establishment of the modern Greek educational system in 1833, the high demand for higher education has been a perennial topic for discussion among policy makers. This demand relates to the great value given to academic qualifications within Greek society and the belief that such qualifications will secure graduates jobs in the civil service. While since the 1980s there has been an increase in the number of Higher Education Institutions operating in Greece (currently 23, including the Hellenic Open University), there are still not enough places to accommodate all candidates. Partly as a result of this, a large number of secondary school graduates continue their studies abroad.

Finally, there are some distinctive features of the education of schoolteachers and especially the system of appointment. Until 1997, there was a long lapse between graduation and teachers' employment in schools. University graduates who wished to become school teachers were appointed automatically through a directory of employment, though they often joined a waiting list which could last for up to fourteen years (or longer). This changed with the 1997 Education Act, which introduced an examination system for the hiring of school teachers so that it is competitive: it depends on the results obtained at national exams on subject knowledge, pedagogy, and lesson planning.

### **Educational Reforms 1960-1980**

During the 1960s there was increased pressure on the various Greek governments by organizations such as the World Bank to 'modernise' the education system. Moreover, the involvement of Greece with the European community authorities, which began in the 1960s also played a crucial role in shaping educational policymaking (see Gouvias, 2007). One strand of this was the demand for a radical restructuring of the Greek economy as a requirement for the full entry of Greece into the Community (which occurred in 1981). In general, pressures from both the World Bank and the European Community authorities were explicitly linked with the idea that education plays a crucial role in economic and social development, as embodied for example in Human Capital Theory (Georgiadis 2007). Such pressures led to the promotion of secondary-vocational education and the abolition of fees in higher education in order to encourage more students to study at university. Also of importance here was the creation in 1969 of a network of higher technical schools for medium-level and supervisory technical personnel. It was claimed that such schools would enable Greece to keep pace with the educational systems of the more advanced capitalist countries in Europe (see Bouzakis, 1986). At the same time, however, it has been pointed out that 'market ideology', demanding that educational structures and outcomes be linked with the needs of the labour market, has never been central in debates relating to education reforms in Greece. This is partly because Greece has always been an agricultural economy, lacking the resources that are necessary for industrial development (see Mouzelis, 1978). Vocational schools attracted students mostly from low socio-economic classes, and they were considered of a lower status compared to universities. Furthermore there was high unemployment among their graduates.

Despite these changes in vocational and higher education, until 1974 state education provision remained largely unchanged; operating as a key mechanism for the maintenance of the Greek-Christian national identity and for the reinforcement of conservative political ideologies. This of course is not unrelated to the political instability, corruption and restriction of political rights that characterised the period 1949-1974 (with the exception of the short lived liberal government 1964-1967). During these years for example, in order to be accepted for study in higher education, successful candidates had to provide a certificate issued by the police indicating that they, and their close relatives, were not and had not been members of the then illegal Communist party and were not known to be committed to left wing political ideas. Similar restrictions were applied to the hiring of school teachers and other civil servants. This kind of state control was of course particularly evident during the years of the military dictatorship (1967-1974). Schoolteachers were also subject to regular inspections, aimed at assessing their behaviour as regards the teaching of Greek-Christian values. Moreover, it has been also pointed out that during the years of the Junta the emphasis on religious and humanistic values was prominent even in the curricula of technical and vocational education.

An attempt to democratise the Greek education system was made in the early 1980s, during the first period when the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) was in power. While its education policies endorsed the economic function of education, and to some extent complied with the World Bank and European Union political agendas, they also stressed that education was 'an end in itself', strengthening further in this way the value of academic qualifications. In general, PASOK promoted welfare policies and introduced progressive institutional changes not only in education but also in health care, and trade unions. In education, it established the *integrated lyceum* (a kind of upper secondary comprehensive school), modified the school curriculum, the content of the textbooks, and the entry examination system to upper secondary and tertiary education. It also upgraded the status of technical-vocational schools and introduced 3-year technological higher education institutions for those students who wished to obtain a vocational higher degree. It institutionalized the broad participation of parents and representatives of the local community in the so-called 'local committees', whose main aim was to facilitate the operation of the school and improve the communication between schools and local authorities. At the same time, it modified the role of school inspectors to be advisory rather than supervisory.

While PASOK's policies were successful in increasing the number of students studying at secondary level and in vocational schools, this government did not attempt to decentralise decision-making: no greater freedom was given to local authorities and teachers as regards curricular content and pedagogy. Thus, for some commentators, the government initiatives were 'merely operational ones' and their role 'decorative, since all the decisions about finance, [curriculum] content, appointment of teachers, school holidays and [other educational] activities were still in the hands of the Ministry of Education in Athens' (Nikta, 1991, p. 284). Moreover, national values associated with a humanistic classical culture remained an important part of education.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the 1990s witnessed a general demand to reform educational provision. Critics pointed to a number of well-established problems, such as: under-resourced schools; an over-burdened curriculum which placed much more emphasis on the acquisition of subject knowledge than on the development of critical-thinking; a secondary school system which functioned primarily as a preparatory level for higher education; the continuation of the key role of over-crowded private schools and private preparatory schools that prepared candidates for tertiary exams; the increasing numbers of students delaying university graduation, and the high level of unemployment among those who did graduate, including graduates from teacher education courses. Moreover, new problems emerged as a result of the arrival of large-scale (initially illegal) immigration, primarily from countries of the former Communist Block. Greece had in the past experienced large-scale emigration of its population but was now in the reverse position. These new problems exacerbated the perennial concern with maintaining Greek national identity, with preserving the strong presence of the Greek Orthodox Church in

political and social life, and with the management of relations with neighbouring countries, for example the conflict with Turkey over the continuing occupation of Northern Cyprus, and the more recent dispute about the constitutional name of FYROM (Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia). Some authors argue that many politicians, and a substantial part of the Greek population, the way to 'secure' the economic future of Greece and its identity is to reinforce its place within the European Union, so that it is clearly identified as one of the Western European nations. Equally important, of course, is gaining access to European funding (Koustourakis, 2007).

### **Educational Reforms in the 1990s**

Unlike many other countries, including the UK, where the deep change in social policy from 'welfare' to 'markets and choice' was put on the political agenda by pressure groups belonging to the political right (see Whitty and Edwards, 1998), in Greece this shift was associated with the adoption of a neo-liberal orientation by the socialist party. In particular, after the 1996 elections the shift in PASOK's policies in a neo-liberal direction was exemplified by the Government's open support for the gradual privatization of Greece's large public sector and its decision to enter the Economic and Monetary Union of Europe (in 2001). It also soon began to introduce measures in accord with European policies in an attempt to reduce the national debt and inflation, and to 'accelerate modernization and the rate of economic growth' (PASOK, 2000 political manifesto).

As regards education, government policies stressed the need to 'modernise' the education system so as to adapt to the demands of a globalised world. Here 'modernisation' was explicitly linked with the 'market model', in which 'the prosperity of workers will depend on an ability to trade their skills, knowledge and entrepreneurial acumen in an unfettered global market place' (Brown & Lauder, 1996; p.3). This neo-liberal view was included in the Socialist Party's manifesto, which clearly stated that the aim of education is to produce 'flexible workers' who have the skills that enable them to adapt to the changing conditions of the job market and social life more generally, and thereby to contribute more effectively to the country's socio-economic development. As mentioned earlier, this emphasis on modernisation was perceived by many of the Greek population as promising a better political, as well as economic, future by securing and bolstering the position of the Greek nation in relation to its neighbours. This 'neoliberal turn' was approved by the electorate twice (in 1996 and 2000), thereby giving PASOK a mandate to promote it further.

Thus, since 1996 Greece has experienced a gradual 'retreat' by the state from its obligations to finance and support education, and a continuing flow of education policies aimed at making compulsory education more effective, and more accountable, in economic terms. Furthermore, when the conservative party (*Nea Demokratia*) came into office after the 2004 general election it not only retained the basic principles of PASOK's education policy but stressed even

further the need to improve the links between education and the market, promote privatization, and strengthen assessment and accountability procedures at all educational levels (see *Nea Demokratia* political manifesto, 2003).

Yet, in practice, at least so far, education policies for marketisation have mostly been restricted to the lower status vocational education sector. For example, when European funding became available to be spent on Greek state schools and universities, the Greek government took this as an opportunity, primarily, to link the management and operation of vocational institutions with the needs of the market. ('Operational Programme for Education and Initial Vocational Training', 2000-2006). Using a reformed management structure, the Greek state maintains the overall monitoring of these institutions and is responsible for the certification/accreditation of their degrees. However, the supervisory role lies with national bodies that include representatives of employers' associations, teachers, parents, political parties and so on. In this new 'market school', employer representatives (e.g. the association of the Greek Industrialists) are encouraged to make explicit proposals to the government about curriculum content.

A feature of neoliberalism education policies is to 'decentralise' decision making by delegating substantial responsibilities over economic and education decisions to the private sector. This can be found in the education systems of several countries including Britain, where, for example, the relatively newly established city academies, and to some extent faith schools too, have recently been given increased leeway in deviating from the English national curriculum. In the Greek context, however, it is perhaps important to note that while the involvement of the private sector in decisions about curriculum content appears to strengthen considerably the links between education and the labour market, their proposals as well as their representation in the governing of technical institutions still have to be approved by the Ministry of Education. Furthermore, the creation of these links has largely been restricted to the vocational sector.

In the context of compulsory education the emergent policy preferences of the 1996 socialist government were reflected in the 1997 Education Act. Unlike the changes introduced in the vocational sector which, to some extent decentralised decision making, the 1997 Act seems rather to strengthen even further central control over what is to be taught and how. For example, an important component of this Act was the introduction of the 'Unified Curriculum Framework', which defines the content that has to be covered during the compulsory years of schooling in a way which resembles the English National Curriculum. Most importantly for the first time in the history of the Greek education system this framework includes guidelines for pedagogy and assessment. It describes in detail, for example, a number of learning and teaching approaches (e.g. discovery, constructivist and socio constructivist learning and teaching) and various forms of assessment, such as diagnostic, and formative, which teachers across the education sector should use in order to achieve 'objectivity' and 'reliability' in their judgments about students' progress (Paragoueli-Vouliouris, 1999, p. 6). It also introduces the concepts of 'goals',



'objectives' and 'target setting' as important pedagogical tools for the effective delivery of the curriculum.

The 1997 curriculum was modified in 2001, to add the term 'interdisciplinary' to its title. The latest curriculum stresses a cross-disciplinary approach to learning and teaching. For instance, teachers are asked to make cross-curricular links wherever possible during their teaching, in order to develop students' 'critical thinking', 'collaborative skills', and 'creativity'. In 2002 the idea of project work was introduced within the context of the 'flexible zone', a compulsory cross-disciplinary lesson. For the Hellenic Pedagogic Institute, teaching critical thinking is to be seen as a 'paradigm shift' in Greek education, representing a necessary response to the need for modernisation (Hellenic Pedagogic Institute, <http://www.pi-schools.gr/> accessed on 5th May 2009). In an attempt to embed this new philosophy of education, revised school textbooks for both teachers and students as well as activity books were introduced to schools in 2006, without being piloted. However, at the same time, the new textbooks are characterised by an increase in the amount of subject knowledge, thereby making greater academic demands on both pupils and teachers (see Koustourakis, 2007). This increase in content has been accompanied by the intensification of the examination system through an increase in the number of subjects examined for entry to higher education.

From a neoliberal perspective, assessment practices are essential for measuring the effectiveness of teachers and schools. For example, in England and Wales during the 1990s, the new curricular and pedagogical specifications were enforced through a new inspection regime, under the aegis of OfSTED, which was much more structured and prescriptive in its assessment of teachers' work than previous forms of inspection. In a somewhat similar way, in Greece, the new curriculum framework was followed by the 2002 parliamentary Act, which concerned the evaluation of teachers' work. This Act included the publication of a detailed manual of responsibilities (*Kathikontologio*, in Greek) for each institutional role within the education sector, such as the regional administrative director, school advisors, and schoolteachers. Whereas in the 1980s, school advisors did indeed operate in an advisory role, with the new Act they became responsible for working collaboratively with the headteacher and the regional administrative director in order to detect weak practice and to ensure that it is improved. A number of 'evaluation indicators' for the 'diagnosis/quality improvement' of education provision are currently in their pilot stage (see Paragoueli-Vouliouris, 1999, p. 7). However, since the appointment of teachers is permanent, and promotion is not linked with their teaching performance, it is very unclear how these indicators are to be used or what is the overall aim of the evaluation of teachers' work.

In the reformed English system centralised determination of the curriculum and objective evaluation of schools was combined with other elements, such as the introduction of increased competition among schools and the managerialist restructuring of school organisation to resemble the business sector. Under this new managerialism, considerable autonomy was given to

schools to develop initiatives, problem-solve and achieve specific targets, albeit within an overall framework. At the same time, new mechanisms of self-monitoring were introduced such as appraisal systems, target-setting and output comparisons (Ball, 1998). In this context, families were seen as 'customers', responsible for evaluating information provided to them about the performance of schools and able to use it in order to make rational decisions about their children's school choices. In Greece, so far, there has been no major restructuring of the school organization nor has the idea of parental 'choice' been introduced. Of course, the new role of school advisors, and their relationship with other members of the education system, may indicate that wider changes in the organization and administration of the Greek education system are planned. It is interesting to note, for example, that recently schools have been asked to produce strategic plans and set targets which reflect the specific needs of the pupils in their schools. Furthermore, regional centers have been set up for the in-service education of teachers, by contrast with the previously centralised professional development provision. Nevertheless, for now, the appointment of teachers, school advisors, approval of regional centers, curriculum decisions, finance of school etc still remains in the hands of the central administration of the Greek government.

### *The Impact of Recent Education Reforms*

The most recent reforms have generated stormy reactions from academics, educators, students, and parents; including strikes by teaching unions and students. These affected the operation of schools and universities for several months. Moreover, it seems that very little of the content of the recent Education Acts has been implemented in practice. For example, school advisors continue to operate in an advisory role, and very few schools produce strategic plans. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the 'flexible zone' is not taught in many schools. Some commentators argue that while the 1997 Education Act introduced managerialist procedures, such as the evaluation of teachers' work and a tightening of control over pedagogy and assessment, this does not indicate a radical shift in the structure of the Greek administration (e.g. Gouvias, 2007). Indeed, the reforms have strengthened the already heavily centralised Greek Education system. Furthermore, the school curriculum continues to be overburdened with content, state schools are under resourced, teachers demand better professional development provision and an increase in their salaries, the number of private preparatory schools has been increased (with some of them specializing in preparing candidates for taking the teaching entry examination). Furthermore, maintaining the Greek national identity remains a core aim of education, not least because of the increasing number of children of non-Greek descent attending state schools.

## Conclusion

While there is an important sense in which we need to understand educational reforms in Greece against the background of global and cultural forces, it needs to be emphasised that the character of these forces is complex and that their impact is strongly mediated by local circumstances. As a result, despite attempts to 'modernize' Greek education, questions about the nature of the curriculum, the education of teachers, and the structure and management of the whole system remain unresolved.

## Notes

- [1] In 1911, Kathareousa became the official language of the Greek state. However, debates about which is the most appropriate form of language to be taught in schools continued until 1974, when 'Demotike' became the official language of the Greek State.
- [2] Only a relatively small number of private schools exist, mostly in the big cities and these tend to attract large number of students. The majority of pupils attend state schools (95.7% in 2004/05) with only a 4.3% going to private schools.
- [3] Alongside these preparatory schools, other kinds of private school exist for the teaching of specialist subjects such as music, dance, and foreign languages.
- [4] See <http://www.eurydice.org>

## References

- Ball, S.J. (1998) Big policies/small world: an introduction to international perspectives in education policy, *Comparative Education*, 34(2), 119-130.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03050069828225>
- Bouzakis, S. (1986) *Modern Greek Education*. Athens: Gutenberg (in Greek).
- Brown, P, & Lauder, H. (1996) Education, globalisation and economic development, *Journal of Education Policy*, 11(1), 1-25.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0268093960110101>
- Dimaras, A. (1978) The movement of reform: a historical perspective, *Comparative Education Review*, 22(1), 11-20. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/445955>
- Georgiadis, M.N. (2007) Educational Reforms in Greece (1959-1997) and Human Capital Theory, *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies*, 5(2).
- Gouvas, S.D. (2007) The 'Response' of the Greek State to Global Trends of Educational Policy Making, *European Educational Research Journal*, 6 (1), 25-38.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.2304/eeerj.2007.6.1.25>
- Kazamias, A (1990) The Curse of Sisyphus in Greek Educational Reform: a sociopolitical and cultural interpretation, *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook*, University of Minnesota, 6, 33-53.
- Koustourakis, G. (2007) The New Educational Policy for the Reform of the Curriculum and the Change of School Knowledge in the Case of Greek Compulsory

- Education, *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 17(1/2), 131-146.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09620210701433878>
- Lambiri-Dimaki, I. (1978) Demythologizing Traditional Interpretations of the Greek Educational System, *Comparative Education Review*, 22(1), 94-98.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/445962>
- Mouzelis, N. (1978) *Modern Greece: facets of underdevelopment*. London: Macmillan.
- Nikta, A. (1991) Reform of Greek Secondary Education from 1974 to 1989. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Manchester.
- Paragoueli-Vouliouris, D. (1999) *Evaluation of Teacher Education in Greece: a political demand of our times*. <http://tntee.umu.se/publications/v2n2/pdf/13Greece.pdf>
- Persianis, K.P. (1978) Values Underlying the 1976-1977 Educational Reform in Greece, *Comparative Education Review*, 22(1), 51-59.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/445958>
- Polydorides, K.G. (1978) Equality of Opportunity in the Greek Higher Education System: the impact of reform policies, *Comparative Education Review*, 22(1), 80-93.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/445961>
- Ringer, F. K. (1969) *The Decline of the German Mandarins: the German academic community, 1890-1933*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Spinthiroudakis, A.J. (2004) Teacher Views and Priorities Towards Curricular Innovation as a Venue for Effective Citizenship Education, in *The Experience of Citizenship*, proceedings of the sixth conference of the children's identity and citizenship in Europe thematic network. London: CiCe.
- Whitty, G. & Edwards, T. (1998) School Choice Policies in England and the United States: an exploration of their origins and significance, *Comparative Education*, 34(2), 211-227. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03050069828289>
- 

**ANNA TRAIANO** is Lecturer in Education, in the Department of Educational Studies at Goldsmiths, University of London. *Correspondence:* Dr Anna Traianou, Department of Educational Studies, Goldsmiths College, University of London, New Cross, London SE14 6NW, United Kingdom ([a.traianou@gold.ac.uk](mailto:a.traianou@gold.ac.uk)).