

THE EDUCATION AS A LEVER FOR SOCIAL CHANGE: THE HISTORY OF REFORMS AND INEQUALITIES IN MODERN GREECE

APOSTOLOS KARAOULAS

Laboratory Teaching Staff, University of Ioannina, School of Education Sciences,
Department of Early Childhood Education

<https://doi.org/10.37602/IJREHC.2024.5615>

ABSTRACT

Education serves as a cornerstone of social structure, influencing individual development and the collective consciousness of society. This paper focuses on the significance of education in promoting social values, enhancing social mobility, and shaping political culture in modern Greece up to the present day. Through a critical review of existing literature, it analyses the historical reforms of the education system and their impact on social reproduction and inequalities.

The study reveals that educational policies and reforms are not isolated from broader political and social conditions. Rather, they are a response to the challenges that the education system faces in its efforts to adapt to ever-changing social needs. There is an urgent need for educational policies that reflect the principles of social justice and equality to build a truly democratic society.

Moreover, this work aims to analyze the impact of social inequalities on access to and quality of education, highlighting deficiencies arising from structural inequalities and the need for programs that enhance social cohesion. In this context, innovative approaches to education are proposed, which would allow for overcoming historical inequalities and promoting social change.

Finally, the critical importance of education as a driving force for social change is emphasized. It is concluded that ongoing reforms must incorporate a holistic approach that promotes equality and access for all. Only then can a sustainable and just future for Greek society be ensured.

Keywords: History of Education, Social Change, Social Cohesion, Education Reforms, Social Justice

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The 1950s in Greece was marked by efforts to heal the wounds of the Civil War and address the challenges of an unstable post-war world. The country, emerging from the devastation of conflict, gradually sought its footing amid intense political divisions and social inequalities while trying to find a new balance (Gallant, 2017).

Following the end of the Civil War (1946-1949), Greek society entered a period of reconstruction with the scars of conflict still fresh. The image of the country was sharply

divided: the victorious side held political and social power while the defeated faced marginalization, experiencing social pressures and restrictions. Within this broader context, the urgent need for ensuring stability and promoting development and reconstruction became a decisive factor shaping the country's trajectory (Voglis & Sakellaropoulos, 2021).

On an international level, Greece's accession to NATO in 1952 marked a new course in its international relations. Close cooperation with the United States and integration into Cold War alliances strengthened the political dominance of right-wing governments. Under General Papagos's leadership and later Konstantinos Karamanlis's government, these administrations focused on economic reforms aimed at achieving stability and growth (Gallant, 2017).

The influence of the monarchy under Kings Paul and Frederica remained strong in the political scene, often causing concerns among liberal circles who saw royal involvement in political affairs. At the same time, national claims continued to occupy the political agenda, with Cyprus coming to prominence (Dertilis, 2018).

The decade concluded with EOKA's liberation struggle in Cyprus in 1955, which intensified national sentiment in Greece and complicated its relations with Britain, adding another chapter to an already challenging political landscape. Amid internal and external challenges, Greece moved forward into a future carrying the scars of a difficult past while seeking a recovery path that would allow it to overcome difficulties and harness hopes for the era (Dertilis, 2018).

Greek society at that time was characterized by significant class inequalities reflected in every aspect of daily life. The upper and middle classes, particularly in urban areas, benefited from state support, enjoying privileges that reinforced their position in social hierarchy while securing access to better opportunities in education, healthcare, and professional development-ensuring them a more prosperous life. In contrast, rural areas suffered from severe poverty and underdevelopment. Villagers faced daily consequences of social marginalization due to limited access to resources and infrastructure. These inequalities intensified urbanization as many farmers left rural areas seeking better opportunities in cities. However, this mass migration towards urban centers created serious social problems such as unemployment and poor living conditions since cities were unprepared for increased population influx (Richter, 2011).

These inequalities also affected women. Although women began gaining greater access to the Labor market- typically in low-paying positions- they remained marginalized regarding rights and their social status. Patriarchy continued to dominate family and social structures, maintaining traditional role distributions (Davaki, 2013).

At the same time, emigration abroad saw a significant rise towards countries like the United States, Canada, and Western European nations as thousands of Greeks sought better economic conditions due to insufficient job opportunities at home (Naxakis & Chletsos, 2001).

The 1950s witnessed a cultural renaissance with flourishing Greek literature, theatre, and music providing an outlet and hope for a society searching for its identity between tradition and modernization. Among its few positive aspects was the establishment of IKY (Foundation for State Scholarships) under the Ministry of Education aimed at providing scholarships to economically disadvantaged students- contributing to promoting education and social mobility. However, despite intentions to foster development and social equality through education, the

education system primarily functioned as a mechanism for maintaining social inequalities rather than reducing those (Kolovos, 2000).

2.0 CHARACTERISTICS OF POST-WAR EDUCATION

After the end of the civil war, the country faced serious economic, social, and political problems. Persecutions, arrests, and executions of citizens opposing the prevailing political stance were common occurrences. In terms of education, one-third of the population was illiterate, and particularly in rural areas, 95% of children did not continue their education beyond primary school. Among primary school students, 60% dropped out by the third or fourth grade (Pefanis, 2012).

The aim of secondary education was to cultivate "useful citizens" within the framework of Greek- Christian culture, providing basic education and preparing students for higher studies. Law 1823/1951 regulated the operation of Gymnasiums, Lyceums (Literary and Scientific), and commercial schools, with the education system structured according to the 6+3+3 model (Primary-Gymnasium-Lyceum), which, however, was not implemented due to political changes. Admission to the three-year Gymnasium was based on examinations, and mixed attendance was allowed only when it was not feasible to operate a separate Girls' Gymnasium (Pefanis, 2012).

With the new Constitution of 1952, voting rights for Greek women were guaranteed for the first time, although the Constitution maintained a conservative stance on individual rights, education, and the press. In education, Purist Greek or Katharevousa again dominated as the language of instruction, while Article 16 provided for state and local supervision aimed at the moral and spiritual education of youth and the strengthening of national consciousness. The admission process to Gymnasium was strict, and many students did not continue beyond primary school, limiting educational prospects mainly for poorer social groups (Kyprianos, 2004).

In evaluating teachers, emphasis was placed on adherence to the ideals of Greek-Christian culture, while a strict supervisory framework-imposed limitations on pedagogical initiatives. Teachers were required to strictly follow detailed guidelines without deviations, while students had to fully accept teaching directions without expressing doubts or questioning content, demonstrating that they had deeply assimilated teachings and considered them indisputably true and reliable (Provatas, 2002).

The classroom atmosphere was characterized by strictness and formalism, leaving no room for the development of critical thinking, dialogue, or spontaneity. The teacher was seen as the absolute authority, with educational processes emphasizing monotonous information accumulation. The teacher-student relationship was based on discipline and acceptance of teachings without question; inspectors' oversight further reinforced this strict pedagogical framework (Kyprianos, 2004).

Teachers' private lives were also under scrutiny. Inspectors evaluated not only their professional work but also their social and political activities, personal relationships, and even family interactions to ensure compliance with social and moral standards of the time (Provata, 2002).

Education became a subject of radical discipline, with school environments transforming into highly controlled settings where teachers' work had to strictly adhere to guidelines from the Ministry of Education, making education an effective tool for promoting national and religious values.

2.1 The Role of Purist Greek (Katharevousa) and Linguistic Inequalities

One of the most significant factors reinforcing inequalities was the use of Purist Greek (Katharevousa) as the official language of education. Purist Greek, retaining many elements from ancient Greek, aimed to serve as a bridge between ancient and modern Greece. It was imposed on the education system and became one of the main barriers to the educational advancement of students, particularly those coming from rural or working-class families. For many students, Purist Greek was incomprehensible and foreign, making learning more difficult. The lack of everyday use of Purist Greek created a linguistic barrier that exacerbated existing class inequalities. Students from urban centers and the most educated families had greater access to educational resources and were often better acquainted with the use of Purist Greek (Chatzistefanidis, 2010).

Although the use of Purist Greek theoretically aimed to promote cultural superiority and connect with ancient Greek heritage, it ultimately functioned as a tool for separating students based on social class and access to resources. Those who could understand and use the language had a better chance of advancing through educational levels and gaining access to better professional opportunities (Papanoutsos, 1982).

2.2 The Examination System and the Reinforcement of Inequalities

The education system of the 1950s relied heavily on examinations, especially for access to higher education. The emphasis on exams at the primary, junior high, and high school levels created an extremely competitive environment that often worked against students from lower social strata. Families with financial means could provide their children with private tutoring and additional educational support, adequately preparing them for exams. Consequently, the examination system established educational inequality, as wealthier students had a clear advantage over poorer ones (Karafyllis, 2023).

At the same time, the education system, particularly in junior high and high school, catered more to students who could continue to higher education, neglecting vocational and technical skills that could help students from lower social classes integrate better into the job market. Thus, the education system functioned as a mechanism for reproducing social inequalities, as poorer students lacked equal opportunities for advancement in an educational process that exclusively led to higher education, while technical education struggled to survive and gain recognition without sufficient support (Pefanis, 2012).

2.3 The Status of Women in Education

The status of women in education has historically been shaped by societal norms and expectations. Although women gained the right to vote in 1952, this did not equate to equal opportunities in education or the labor market. During the 1950s, women's education remained limited and stigmatized by traditional social values that primarily promoted the role of women

as mothers and homemakers. While women were allowed to attend schools, educational programs often did not support their academic and professional advancement, focusing instead on "feminine" subjects like home economics. This practice reinforced social discrimination and inequalities, preventing many women from obtaining equal positions in the job market (Ziogou & Kelesidou, 1997).

The prevailing patriarchal views in Greek society at that time were reflected in the restricted education framework for women, which indicated unequal treatment and limited opportunities for development across all areas of life. Although there were some changes, such as the entry of certain women into professions like teaching and nursing, the general attitude remained that women's primary mission was to dedicate themselves to family (Bakalaki & Elegmitou, 1987).

2.4 Urbanization and Its Impact on Education

One of the most significant social changes of the 1950s was mass urbanization, which had a profound impact on the education system. Thousands of people from rural areas migrated to large cities in search of better living and working conditions. This large wave of migration resulted in overcrowded schools in urban centers, which could not meet the needs of the continuously increasing student population. The education infrastructure was insufficient to accommodate these new students, leading to poor learning conditions and the marginalization of a significant number of students (Kanelopoulos, 1995).

However, urbanization allowed some students greater access to education, particularly those from families that could invest in their children's education. At the same time, a dichotomy emerged between students from rural and urban areas, as the former often faced greater difficulties in adapting to the urban environment and the demands of the education system (Kyprianos, 2004).

2.5 The Inability of the Education System to Reduce Inequalities

Despite the efforts of some educators to promote the idea that education could serve as a lever for social mobility, the education system of the 1950s reinforced social inequalities rather than mitigating them. The lack of adequate infrastructure, the unequal distribution of resources, and the social isolation of poorer and rural areas made it difficult for students to overcome social and class differences through education (Dimaras, 2013).

Inequalities in education were not only linguistic or class-based but also geographical. Students from remote areas had less access to quality education, which contributed to the maintenance of social stratification. The absence of support programs and remedial teaching for these students, along with insufficient funding for schools in low-income areas, created an environment where opportunities were unequal (Kanelopoulos, 1995).

Thus, inequality in education contributed to the reproduction of social inequalities. Students from wealthy families or areas with developed infrastructure were educated in more competitive environments, with access to better resources and educational institutions. In contrast, students from poor areas remained in schools with fewer facilities and lower teaching quality.

The inequalities characterizing access to education had serious and long-term consequences for Greek society. Young people from less advantaged families or regions faced significant barriers in the educational process, which not only preserved existing inequalities but also reinforced them. Young individuals who lacked access to quality education often struggled to secure better positions in the job market, limiting their prospects for social and economic advancement (Dimaras, 2017). Thus, the educational process failed to be the decisive factor for social mobility that many believed it could be.

3.0 GREECE ON THE PATH OF CHANGES AND REFORMS

The year 1957 marks the foundation of the European Economic Community (EEC) with the Treaty of Rome, offering a new perspective on the European political and economic landscape, which Greece would join in 1981. Greece's accession would not only be a milestone in the international context but would also usher in a new era, bringing significant reforms in all sectors.

A significant factor in the political life of the time was the presence of G. Papandreou, who had served as Minister of Education in previous decades, demonstrating his enduring interest in education and his in-depth knowledge of these issues. In November 1963, the "Center Union" under the leadership of G. Papandreou won the elections, and the Prime Minister, personally assuming the Ministry of Education, demonstrated his love and interest in education. Loukis Akritas was appointed as Deputy Minister, and E. Papanoutsos took the position of Secretary General, tasked with educational reform. The political will aimed to eliminate existing inequalities and promote a modern educational design capable of meeting the challenges of the times and responding to the demands of the new reality (Dertilis, 2018).

The educational effort of the new government was reflected in three legislative texts: the first concerning the organization and administration of general (elementary and secondary) education, ratified by Parliament (L.D. 4379/1964), the second concerning technical education, and the third, related to the establishment of universities, submitted to Parliament in 1965 but not voted on due to the political crisis known as the "July Apostasy." The crisis centered on G. Papandreou's resignation on July 15, 1965, and the appointment of successive prime ministers by King Constantine, heralding a period of political instability and leading to the Colonels' dictatorship.

Of the three bills, only the first, concerning General Education, was implemented, with E. Papanoutsos leading the reform effort and stating that "humanism, as we understand it, requires us to cultivate the ethos of our children, trying to make young people equal, honest, brave, morally self-sufficient and free." The explanatory memorandum of the law emphasized that education should have a "humanistic character," not limited to passive worship of dead forms of the past but should include the great intellectual currents of our time (Papanoutsos, 1982).

The 1964 reform extended to all levels of Greek education, establishing free education at all levels and abolishing student charges, mainly tuition fees and book costs. Compulsory education was extended from 6 to 9 years, unprecedented in the history of modern Greek education. General Education included First Degree Education (Elementary, 6-year Primary) and Second-Degree Education (Secondary, 3-year Gymnasium and 3-year Lyceum) (Gerou, 1981).

In Primary School, teaching was done in the Demotic language, and texts in Katharevousa were taught only in the last two grades to familiarize students with the language to be used in secondary education. Student meals were provided to combat malnutrition, especially in the provinces, with responsibility assigned to local government (Papanoutsos, 1982).

Secondary education included Gymnasiums, Lyceums, and Technical Specialization Schools. Primary School graduates could enroll in Gymnasiums without entrance exams, and attendance at Gymnasium was compulsory. Demotic and Katharevousa were designated as equal languages of instruction in secondary education. The General Gymnasium curriculum included religious studies, ancient Greek literature, modern Greek, English or French, history, mathematics, natural sciences, geography, hygiene, elements of democratic government, artistic design, music, gymnastics, practical knowledge for main professions, and elements of home economics, nursing, and childcare for girls (Gerou, 1981).

Ancient Greek was taught through translations into Demotic, while the teaching of Ancient Greek grammar was limited to the 3rd year of Gymnasium. Technical Gymnasiums followed the same program as General ones, adding 4 hours of theoretical and practical knowledge courses. Entrance exams from Primary to Gymnasium were abolished, and Latin was limited to the Lyceum.

Students enrolled in Lyceum with a Gymnasium diploma and after succeeding in entrance exams. Technical Specialization Schools admitted graduates of Technical and General Gymnasiums without exams, provided they attended the 3rd grade of Technical Gymnasium and passed the exams. Lyceum graduates could enter Technological Educational Institutes (TEIs) of Higher Education and Higher Education Institutions through entrance exams (Chatzistefanidis, 2010).

Graduates of Technical Lyceum could enroll without exams in the 2nd year of Sub-Engineer Schools. Secondary education also included Technical Specialization Schools, with a duration of 1-3 years, depending on the specialty. Graduates of Technical Gymnasium and General Gymnasium had the right to enroll in these schools without exams, provided they had previously attended the 3rd grade of Technical Gymnasium and passed the required exams. Graduates of Specialization Schools could attend Technical-Vocational Lyceum without exams (Chatzistefanidis, 2010).

The "Academic Diploma" was instituted, determining the transition process from secondary to tertiary education, with special tests for entry into Higher Education Institutions. Public and private higher education schools (artistic and technical) were created, with the possibility of universities creating Schools of Science and Medicine. The organization of university studies was classified into three levels: bachelors, master's, and doctoral degrees. Higher education institutions were required to grant study titles with full professional rights (Chatzistefanidis, 2010).

The education system ensured cooperation between relevant bodies, strengthening cohesion and understanding at various levels of education. It also ensured stability and smooth functioning of the educational process, allowing for effective implementation of education policies and adaptation to new educational needs. The educational reform of G. Papandreou's government formed the basis for modern Greek education, combining the social and political

context of the time with the formation of a broader educational vision that remains decisive to this day (Gerou, 1981).

3.1 Social Dimension of the Education Reform

The education reform known as the "Papandreou-Papanoutsos Reform" is considered one of the most radical changes in the country's education system. It aims to combat social inequalities and promote social reproduction through education. The political leadership of the Ministry of Education, through targeted but substantial interventions, managed to fulfill its pre-election promises by passing the bill that upgraded public education (Papanoutsos, 1982).

With the 1964 reform, significant innovations were introduced that improved social reproduction and equitable access to education. Free education was established at all levels, eliminating any financial burden for students and pupils, allowing broader social strata to access education and relieving thousands of families. Compulsory education was extended from six to nine years, enabling all students in the country to attend free primary and secondary education from ages 6 to 15. The six-year Gymnasium was divided into a three-year Gymnasium and a three-year Lyceum, providing a more organized educational structure. Entrance exams from Primary School to Gymnasium were abolished, facilitating access to secondary education, although exams from Gymnasium to Lyceum remained in place, affecting admission possibilities to universities (Foukas, 2017).

The establishment of the Academic Diploma introduced significant changes in the selection process for university candidates, promoting transparency and reducing inequalities in access to higher education. At the same time, particular emphasis was placed on teacher training, as enrolment in Pedagogical Academies increased and admissions were based on the criteria of the Academic Diploma, which enhanced the quality of teaching. The Demotic language was established as the medium of instruction in primary schools, replacing Katharevousa and thus giving voice to students and local communities. The Pedagogical Institute was created as an advisory body for implementing the new educational policy, highlighting the importance of ongoing teacher training. Curricula were reformed and newer subjects were introduced, such as Elements of Democratic Governance and Introduction to Sociology, which promote social awareness. Emphasis was also placed on student nutrition and transportation through student meal programs, contributing to poverty alleviation, especially in mountainous areas (Karafyllis, 2023).

All these changes had a significant impact on the social structure of the country and contributed to building popular education, providing guarantees for social progress. However, reactions from conservative forces in politics and education- mainly due to the use of Demotic language and free education- were intense. The incomplete implementation of reforms due to political developments and the dictatorship of 1967 negated the reform efforts, resulting in a return of education to its previous state. The 1964 reform remains the most ambitious attempt at modernizing Greek education as it sought to connect schools with society and the economy while highlighting the importance of access to knowledge in combating social inequalities (Pefanis, 2012).

4.0 THE PERIOD OF THE DICTATORSHIP

The junta period in Greece (1967-1974) resulted from the political and social tensions that had accumulated in previous decades. The Civil War, ongoing political instability, and social inequalities of the 1950s, combined with intense conflicts between conservative and progressive forces of the time, created the groundwork for the military takeover of power (Bouzakis, 2011).

The Regime of the Colonels imposed an authoritarian and undemocratic political system, abolishing Parliament and political parties, suspending political freedoms and citizens' rights. The regime operated with violent suppression, arresting and torturing political opponents, intellectuals, and students who dared to express their opposition (Dimaras, 2013).

Politically, the junta supported intense nationalism and conservative values, promoting "patriotism, religion, family" as the foundation of social organization. At the same time, by promoting a traditional nationalist ideology and banning political expression, the regime excluded any possibility of political change or evolution, freezing any progressive political thought (Provatas, 2002).

The junta shaped a society based on fear and control. The use of secret services and surveillance of citizens was a daily occurrence, reinforcing an atmosphere of insecurity and oppression. Social groups that had developed voices of resistance, such as intellectuals, students, and workers, became targets of the regime. In an attempt to secure support from rural areas and lower social strata, the junta promoted certain social reforms, such as subsidies and provisions for rural areas. However, these provisions were insufficient to mitigate increasing inequalities and oppression (Provatas, 2002).

4.1 Education during the Period of the Dictatorship

The education system was also under strict control by the regime. The junta sought to transform education into a tool of propaganda, imposing Katharevousa as the exclusive language of instruction and excessively promoting a nationalist and traditional narrative of history. School textbooks were revised to promote the values of "national purity" and to deter the "communist threat," while free thought and critical analysis were prohibited (Dimitropoulos, 2014).

The suppression of free expression was particularly intense at universities. Students who expressed anti-regime views were persecuted, and control over academic institutions was stringent. At the same time, student uprisings, such as the Polytechnic uprising in 1973, became symbols of resistance against the regime. Additionally, women, although formally granted the right to education, continued to face restrictions and discrimination both in the educational process and in their professional advancement (Bouzakis, 2011).

The junta used education as a tool to maintain its authoritarian and undemocratic regime, reinforcing social inequalities and undermining the potential for critical thinking and social change. The fall of the junta in 1974 and the restoration of democracy in Greece marked the beginning of a new era for Greek society and the political landscape.

5.0 THE THIRD HELLENIC REPUBLIC

5.1 The Period of Democratic Transition (Metapolitefsi) - Restoration Of Democracy

The period from 1975 to the 1980s marks a significant historical turning point for Greece, as the country emerged from a dictatorship and laid the foundations for its modern democratic path. Political forces engaged in a collective effort to restore political and social justice, which had been severely harmed during the military regime. This atmosphere of renewal was associated with a sense of national confidence, and the intense popular participation in political life imposed a steady pace towards modernization and political stability (Gallant, 2017).

Returning from France, Konstantinos Karamanlis took leadership of the New Democracy party and spearheaded the democratic transformation of the country, aiming to restore the rule of law and build a strong democratic institutional framework. The establishment of the 1975 Constitution formalized the transition to a Presidential Parliamentary Democracy and strengthened freedoms of speech and principles of political pluralism, responding to society's need for securing its rights and participating in public life (Dertilis, 2018).

The abolition of the monarchy through the 1974 referendum highlighted the people's will for a democratic regime free from past dependencies. Meanwhile, Karamanlis fostered the prospect of the country's European path, achieving accession to the European Economic Community (EEC). Concurrently, he linked the Greek economy and society with European development, paving the way for a society that envisions equal opportunities, collective progress, and prospects in an open horizon (Dertilis, 2018).

5.2 Social Dimension of the Political Change over (Metapolitefsi)

The post-Metapolitefsi period is characterized by the effort to restore the social injustices of the junta and the redistribution of wealth and power. Trade unions, which had faced persecution during the dictatorship, began to reorganize and advocate for workers' rights. Social mobilizations increased, with citizens demanding improvements in working conditions, greater social justice, and access to social services (Dertilis, 2018).

At the same time, the role of women in society was beginning to change. With the establishment of gender equality in the new Constitution and subsequent reforms, women gained more rights in employment and education, while also participating more actively in political life. Despite efforts to improve their rights, social discrimination continued to exist, particularly in the Labor market; however, the trend towards their elimination was steadily upward (Davaki, 2013).

5.3 Educational Dimension

In education, the post-Metapolitefsi period brought significant reforms. The abolition of the "Katharavousa", a purist form of the Greek language, and the adoption of the "dimotiki" or "demotic" (the modern vernacular) in 1976 marked a radical change that signified the beginning of a more modern and progressive educational policy. The goal was to eliminate class distinctions in education and ensure access to equal educational rights for all social strata (Papanoutsos, 1982).

These reforms aimed to create an education system that would promote social mobility and allow more citizens to participate actively in social and economic life. At the same time, university asylum was established as an institution, offering greater freedom of thought and

expression in universities, which had become centers of resistance against the junta (Katsikas & Therianos, 2007).

The passage and implementation of the new Constitution, which includes Article 16 regarding Education, marked a milestone in the educational history of Greece. This article stated that "art and science, research, and teaching are free" and defined the primary mission of the state in ensuring education, emphasizing the moral, spiritual, and physical education of Greeks. It is particularly significant that all Greeks have the right to free education in all state educational institutions (Katsikas & Therianos, 2007).

5.4 Laws and Provisions in Education

Two important laws, 309/1976 and 576/1977, defined the structure and administration of education. The first law, which pertains to the organization and administration of general education, abolished diglossia and established Modern Greek as the official language of instruction. Free general education includes Kindergarten, Primary School, Gymnasium (Lower Secondary School), and Lyceum (Upper Secondary School), with compulsory attendance at Primary School lasting six years.

In Primary School, teaching focuses on adapting students to school life, aiming to develop physical and mental abilities. Additionally, numerical grading was abolished, and in-service training seminars for teachers were introduced (Law 576/1977).

The three-year compulsory attendance at Gymnasium promotes mixed education and the abolition of entrance examinations. At the same time, evening Gymnasiums were established for working youth. The admission process to Lyceum involves examinations, while the curriculum aims to reinforce knowledge acquired in Gymnasium and promote national and religious consciousness (Law 576/1977).

5.5 Technical and Vocational Education

Technical and vocational education has also evolved during this period, focusing on providing skills that meet Labor market demands. The educational reforms aimed to enhance vocational training opportunities for students, ensuring they are equipped with practical skills relevant to various professions. This approach not only supports individual career development but also contributes to the overall economic growth of the country by aligning educational outcomes with industry needs.

With Law 576/1977, technical and vocational education was established, leading to the creation of Technical-Vocational Schools (T.E.S.) and Technical-Vocational Lyceums (T.E.L.). Graduates of Gymnasium could enroll in T.E.S. without examinations, aiming for their integration into the production process (Law 576/1977).

Even though technical-vocational education was considered equal to General Lyceums by the state, it was socially devalued, as Greek society and the church viewed manual professions as inferior. Educators observed that most students who turned to T.E.S. came from weaker social and economic groups, highlighting the need for a reassessment of the value of technical vocational studies (Reuter-Kumpmann, 2004).

6.0 ECONOMIC DIMENSION AND POLITICAL CHANGE IN THE 1980S

As Greece entered the 1980s, the political scene shifted with the rise of PASOK to power in 1981 under Andreas Papandreou. PASOK promoted socialist policies aimed at reducing inequalities and redistributing wealth through social benefits and state interventions in the economy. This period was characterized by mass hiring in the public sector, increased social benefits, and efforts to enhance social justice (Dertilis, 2018).

Democracy during the post-Metapolitefsi period acted as a catalyst for social and political stability, as well as for the democratization of education and the economy. Despite social and political challenges, Greece managed to stabilize its political system and move towards a more modern and democratic path, paving the way for the full modernization of society (Dertilis, 2018).

The restoration of democracy after the fall of the junta marked a significant shift towards the reconstruction of political and social institutions, aimed at establishing equality and individual freedoms. The Metapolitefsi represented a critical period for Greek society, as efforts were made to gradually restore social inequalities that had worsened during the military dictatorship. The country's political orientation towards democracy spurred a reevaluation of social structures and inequalities while simultaneously promoting reforms aimed at justice and equality (Karafyllis, 2023).

6.1 Political Dimension

Greece's accession to the European Economic Community in 1981 was a crucial step towards political stability and the modernization of the state. The key political initiatives of this period included transforming the state into a more participatory and democratic framework, strengthening institutions, safeguarding political rights, and ensuring freedom of speech. The country's political integration into Europe provided the means for shaping a fairer welfare state, oriented towards improving living conditions and combating social inequalities. However, the need for political stabilization and restoration of institutions required a gradual approach, with political and social justice remaining fundamental objectives (Kazakos, 2001).

6.2 Social Dimension

In the social sphere, the post-junta period brought changes aimed at improving living conditions and promoting social equality. The rise of PASOK to power in 1981 under Andreas Papandreou acted as a catalyst for reforming social structures. The policies introduced focused on creating a welfare state that would provide protection for the most vulnerable segments of society. Wealth redistribution through increased social benefits, such as the establishment of the National Health System (ESY), pension increases, and support for unemployed individuals and farmers, represented significant steps toward social justice (Dertilis, 2018).

At the same time, attention was given to women's rights and the promotion of gender equality through significant legal reforms, such as recognizing their rights in employment and education. Women were politically and socially empowered, leading to increased participation in the Labor market and political offices. Although social inequalities were not completely

eradicated, the post-junta period was critical for restoring balances and creating a fairer social system (Davaki, 2013).

6.3 Assessment of the Period

The restoration of democracy in Greece not only reduced political inequalities but also social ones, creating the conditions for a fairer and more equitable system. Through political and social reforms, the country managed to move in a more progressive and democratic direction, offering more opportunities to all citizens. Although challenges remained, this period marks a milestone for Greece's political and social evolution, establishing democracy as the foundation for eliminating inequalities and stabilizing social justice.

The educational reforms implemented during the Metapolitefsi (post-dictatorship period) reflected the broader effort of Greek society to restore the values of equality, freedom, and social justice. In this context, education was profoundly influenced by political changes, and the introduced reforms aimed at reducing educational inequalities, which were inextricably linked to social and economic disparities.

6.4.1 Democratic Education and Social Equality

After the transition to democracy, Greek education was restructured with the aim of achieving justice and accessibility for all, regardless of social and economic status, reflecting European values of democracy and social cohesion. The reforms included the establishment of the demotic Greek language as the language of instruction, facilitating understanding and participation for students from all social strata. The extension of compulsory education to nine years was a central step towards social inclusion and the elimination of inequalities, ensuring that all students had access to basic, free education. These reforms underscored the expectation of Greek society to build an education system that promotes participation and democracy, aligned with developments in European educational policy, where equality and quality education are fundamental priorities (Yerou, 1981).

The Greek education system during the period from 1980 to 2000 continued to respond to new social needs and Labor market demands. In primary and secondary education, enhancing critical thinking and modern teaching methods were defined as fundamental goals. In higher education, expanding access and establishing new universities improved representation and quality. Technological Educational Institutes (TEI) and Vocational Training Institutes (TEE) played a crucial role in meeting the needs of technical education, while compensatory measures and the development of special education strengthened equal access and social cohesion (Bouzakis, 2011).

The policies of this period aimed to mitigate inequalities through geographical and socio-economic decentralization of education. The establishment of schools and higher education institutions in remote areas facilitated access for students who would otherwise have had to move to urban centers. Changes in the evaluation system reduced competitive pressure, promoting a holistic approach to learning and ensuring fair and equitable assessment processes. These reforms laid the foundation for a more inclusive, equitable, and socially responsive education system, creating a more modern and progressive framework (Katsikas & Therianos, 2007).

Law 1566/1985 on Primary and Secondary Education, which extended compulsory education, improved accessibility and equality in education. The revised curriculum focused on humanities and technological sciences, while the introduction of all-day schools allowed for better service to students and their families by providing more learning opportunities (N.1566/1985).

This law defined the general purpose of education as a means of comprehensive development of students' intellectual and psychosomatic abilities, promoting fundamental values of freedom, democracy, and social equality. The educational process is not limited to the transmission of knowledge but invests in cultivating critical thinking and developing cooperation and friendship among students, enhancing societal cohesion. Primary education was institutionalized as compulsory, ensuring equal opportunities for learning and development (N.1566/1985).

6.4.2 Primary and Secondary Education

In primary education, compulsory attendance at elementary school allows all students, regardless of background, to acquire the necessary skills for their future paths. The student-to-teacher ratio is determined with the aim of ensuring quality in education, while secondary education teachers are given the opportunity to teach in multiple specialties, thus enhancing knowledge in various fields (N.1566/1985).

In secondary education, completing junior high school enables students to choose among various directions tailored to Labor market needs. The establishment of sports and music junior high schools enhances the artistic and physical development of students, underscoring the importance of holistic education (Law 1566/1985).

6.4.3 Special Education

The equalization of opportunities and accessibility in education extends to special education, where the education of children with special needs is linked to the overall purpose of education. This strategy aims at their integration into society, promoting acceptance and equal participation in the productive process (Kazakos, 2001).

Ensuring these rights requires collaboration between the Ministry of Education and other relevant bodies, as well as training special educators for effective support of students. With Law 2817/2000, the foundations were laid for the inclusion of students with special educational needs in regular schools. This legislation promotes social inclusion and equal treatment of all students, regardless of the difficulties they may face. At the same time, special schools are being established, and support services such as psychological support and therapies are provided, ensuring access to appropriate education and care (Law 2817/2000).

The educational process aims not only at academic development but also at social acceptance and their integration into the productive process (Law 2817/2000).

6.4.4 Promotion of Gender Equality in Education

Gender equality has been a central goal of educational reforms, focused on eliminating discrimination that often-discouraged women from pursuing education. Women's participation at higher levels increased with the establishment of the gender equality law in 1983, ensuring equal opportunities in education and the Labor market. These changes led to greater involvement of women in scientific and technological professions, promoting a more equitable work environment (Davaki, 2013).

6.4.5 The Role of Higher Education

With Presidential Decree 407/1980, the hiring of teachers under special contracts was established in higher education institutions (AEI), enhancing the educational process and faculty, thereby providing additional opportunities to improve the quality of higher education.

The establishment of new universities and technological institutions in various regions of the country strengthened access to higher education, ensuring opportunities for students from different geographical and social backgrounds. These developments promote vocational education and support for Labor market needs (P.D. 407/1980).

The introduction of social and economic scoring in higher education, which prioritized students from vulnerable social groups, allowed for the upgrading of curricula and ensured quality education for all (P.D. 407/1980).

The reform of higher education was further strengthened by Law 1268/1982 on Higher Education, which established the self-administration of universities, allowing institutions to be governed by elected bodies such as Senate and Rectors' Councils. At the same time, student participation in governance was introduced, promoting transparency and democratic governance while laying the foundations for free and independent research (Law 1268/1982).

6.4.6 Role of ASEP in Education

The ASEP (Supreme Council for Civil Personnel Selection), established in 1994, plays a significant role in promoting meritocracy and transparency in the public sector, including education. Through its personnel selection process, it ensures that educators are hired based on objective criteria, enhancing public trust in the education system.

The implementation of competitive examination procedures and the evaluation of candidates based on their qualifications, knowledge, and skills have contributed to improving the quality of education. ASEP has also undertaken initiatives to promote gender equality and social justice, ensuring that all groups have equal employment opportunities.

The operation of ASEP, combined with educational reforms, fosters the creation of an educational environment where quality, equality, and social justice are prioritized, supporting the continuous improvement of the education system (Tzemos et al., 2023).

6.5 Elimination of Inequalities and Democratic Strategies in 21st Century Education

After 2020, Greece's educational policies continue to be shaped by the European political agenda, focusing on improving the quality of education, enhancing digital education, and

promoting social inclusion. The new decade brings challenges and opportunities, as social and economic inequalities persist, influenced by the economic crisis and the COVID-19 pandemic (Koutsou & Vasilakopoulou, 2022).

The pandemic highlighted inequalities in access to education, as many schools and students lacked sufficient access to digital resources. However, Greece, under pressure from European requirements, accelerated its digital transition processes by implementing distance learning programs and enhancing the digital skills of students and educators. Digital learning platforms and new technologies have been integrated into the education system, emphasizing lifelong learning and distance education, especially in remote areas (Koutsou & Vasilakopoulou, 2022).

Furthermore, efforts have been made to upgrade vocational education and training with the aim of connecting education to the Labor market. European policies promoting vocational education have resonated in Greece, leading to the establishment of new vocational schools and collaborations with the business community. This direction seeks to reduce inequalities arising from the distinction between general and vocational education (Papadopoulos & Georgiou, 2021).

The democratization of education has been reinforced through programs aimed at including vulnerable groups, such as refugees and migrants. European integration programs implemented in Greece offer language and educational initiatives that facilitate their social inclusion. Education plays a central role in shaping a more cohesive and democratic social fabric, contributing to alleviating inequalities and ensuring equal opportunities (Papadopoulos & Georgiou, 2021).

The pandemic and the economic crisis have intensified the need for investments in education and social cohesion. The European Union plays a crucial role in shaping educational policy in Greece, influencing issues such as gender equality, the integration of vulnerable groups, and the promotion of multiculturalism. These policies are not merely obligations but aim to establish an educational environment where justice and access to education for all are fundamental values (Koutsou & Vasilakopoulou, 2022).

The lifelong learning system is strongly promoted at the European level, serving as a critical component in addressing social inequalities. The goal is to develop programs that enable citizens of all ages to acquire new skills and adapt to the demands of the modern economy, making education a continuously evolving process that fosters ongoing participation and engagement of citizens (Koutsou & Vasilakopoulou, 2022).

Greece's European path and alignment with European standards of democratization and equality will remain key pillars for shaping society and the education system. Reforms aimed at reducing inequalities and promoting democratic participation are expected to play a decisive role in building a society where all citizens have equal opportunities. These reforms are not just policy measures but a statement of intent for a society that recognizes the importance of collective welfare and social justice.

Greece's journey within the European Union shapes the direction of its education system and its relationship with social inequalities. Adapting to European values has positively influenced policies aimed at reducing inequalities, reaffirming the country's commitment to creating an

education system that encourages participation from all. Efforts towards digital integration, gender equality, and access to quality education continue to shape the educational landscape, making education a tool that empowers citizens and strengthens democracy (Papadopoulos & Georgiou, 2021).

In the 2020s, Greece will continue to advance an education system that provides knowledge and skills, reduces inequalities, and enhances the democratization of society. The fundamental importance of education and democratic institutions incorporates European standards and values, ensuring that society can address contemporary challenges. From this perspective, education becomes not only a means of transmitting knowledge but also a tool for empowerment that promotes social cohesion and citizen empowerment.

7.0 CONCLUSIONS - CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE

Education emerges as the foundation of our social and economic progress. In the future, the Greek state must make systematic investments to strengthen the education system. The digitization of education, the promotion of equality in access, and the development of skills that meet the needs of the modern Labor market are critical challenges that require immediate attention. With the support of the European Union, Greek education can focus on areas such as sciences, technology, and the humanities, aiming to create a balanced education system. The future of education should also include lifelong learning, as continuous technological and economic developments impose on citizens the obligation to constantly upgrade their skills.

A fundamental area that requires ongoing and substantial improvement is equality in access to education, as educational inequality reproduces and reinforces social discrimination, excluding significant segments of the population from the opportunities that knowledge provides. Despite efforts in recent years, inequalities between urban and rural areas remain significant. The state, in collaboration with European institutions, should ensure equal opportunities for all students, regardless of their social or geographical position. This can be achieved through strengthening infrastructure, access to digital learning platforms, and integrating technological tools into the educational process.

The empowerment of democratic institutions emerges as a crucial factor for the future course of the Greek state. Democracy in Greece, although established after the fall of the junta in 1974, still faces challenges related to institutional functioning and transparency. Citizens continue to express concerns about corruption, lack of transparency in public administration, and inadequate representation of their interests.

In the future, the state should enhance transparency and accountability, strengthening the trust relationship between citizens and democratic institutions. The integration of technology into public administration and the promotion of electronic services can enhance transparency and reduce bureaucracy, making governance more effective and accessible for all.

Furthermore, citizen participation in decision-making processes should be strengthened through mechanisms such as referendums and open consultations. Democracy is empowered when citizens feel they have a voice in decisions that affect their lives, which can only be achieved through genuine democratic participation.

Greece's accession to the European Union has been pivotal for its political and economic development. The European vision for a united and democratic Europe is based on values such as solidarity, equality, and social cohesion. In the future, Greece must continue to align with European values, incorporating these principles into the operation of its state and institutions.

Europe offers Greece the opportunity to participate in joint actions and programs that promote social cohesion and economic development. Through participation in European funding programs, Greece can further strengthen its social infrastructure, reducing inequalities and ensuring a fair distribution of resources.

Additionally, Greece's participation in the European educational network can enhance education quality by creating a system based on innovation and multiculturalism. European values regarding multiculturalism and tolerance can shape an education system that promotes solidarity, social justice, and equality.

The issue of social inequalities remains one of the most persistent problems in Greek society. In the future, the state must address inequalities arising from social origin, gender, and economic status. A policy focused on combating inequalities is essential for creating a fairer society.

Investment in social policy should include measures to support vulnerable social groups, strengthen the welfare state, and provide quality health and education services. Gender equality policies should be further promoted to ensure equal opportunities for women in all areas of social and professional life.

Greece can leverage European guidelines for social policy by adapting them to the particularities of Greek society. Social inequalities cannot be eradicated without active state intervention; therefore, creating a strong welfare state should be a priority for the Greek government moving forward.

Education is key to creating a more democratic and resilient regime. Democracy requires informed and active citizens; education plays a central role in cultivating these characteristics. In the future, Greece should invest in an education system that promotes democratic education, participatory governance, and social responsibility.

The promotion of democratic education should be a fundamental element of the education system aimed at teaching students' principles of democracy, equality, justice, as well as the importance of their participation in public affairs. Their integration into democratic dialogue processes and development of critical thinking should be at the forefront of educational programs. This way, young people will be better prepared to actively participate in democratic processes, understand their rights and obligations, and develop a sense of responsibility towards their society.

Student participation in activities that promote social dialogue, solidarity, and social responsibility will contribute to cultivating a democratic culture. The state should support such initiatives by creating opportunities for young people to engage in volunteer programs and social actions, thus strengthening their connection with local communities.

Despite positive prospects, Greece will face many challenges on the path to achieving a more just and democratic system. The economic crisis the country experienced in recent years has left deep marks on social cohesion and citizens' trust in democratic processes. Restoring trust requires systematic and transparent action by institutions to address phenomena of corruption and lack of transparency.

Furthermore, policies promoting social justice and equality must be consistent and long-term to have a real impact on society. The Greek state will need to form strong alliances with civil society, non-governmental organizations, and other stakeholders to ensure the participation and representation of all social groups.

The outlook for the Greek state, focusing on education, democracy, and social values, is positive and allows for the development of a fairer and more solidary society. Investments in education and democratic institutions are crucial for ensuring a future that offers equal opportunities for all citizens, strengthens social cohesion, and promotes social justice.

Greece, with the support of European institutions, has the potential to proceed with significant reforms that will ensure the sustainability of its democratic values and reduce social inequalities. Active citizen participation and education for democracy are the cornerstones of the political strategy that will allow Greek society to build a better future for future generations. With institutional support and active societal participation, Greece can become a shining example of democracy and social justice in Europe.

Greece's journey before and after the dictatorship is characterized by continuous changes and contradictions, which defined its historical course, mainly due to intense political upheavals and social challenges that shaped a dynamic socio-political reality. The lack of democracy during the junta created a climate of oppression and fear, isolating society from its democratic values and citizens' rights. This period not only highlighted the fragility of Greek democracy but also the need for its restoration, which was considered a lever for prosperity and development.

The restoration of democracy in 1974 brought hopes and expectations for a new era of social justice and political stability. However, despite significant progress, social inequalities remained pervasive. The education system, although designed to promote equality, failed to eliminate structural inequalities associated with students' social, economic, and geographical backgrounds. These inequalities fuel the discussion on how education can function as a tool for social mobility and how the state can take action to reduce social inequalities.

It is important to recognize that the political, economic, and social conditions shaping Greek reality are interconnected. The path to political stability and social justice is continuous and requires collective effort, education, and awareness. In particular, the state must strengthen policies that promote social equality and invest in education as a key factor for change.

The historical course of the Greek state reflects a process of continuous evolution, influenced by social and political forces. Recognizing past mistakes, dedication to democracy, and commitment to eliminating social inequalities are cornerstones for building a future that offers real prosperity to all citizens. The interaction of political, social, and educational institutions is essential for promoting a society based on democratic values and equal opportunities for all.

Education is not merely a process of knowledge transmission but a dynamic process that shapes citizens' values, behaviors, and expectations. Education, therefore, should invest in cultivating a society that respects the principles of equality, justice, and solidarity, for Greece to become a shining example of democracy and social justice in Europe and beyond.

REFERENCES

- Bakalaki, A., & Elegmitou, E. (1987). Η εκπαίδευση «εις τα του οίκου» και τα γυναικεία καθήκοντα” - Από την ίδρυση του ελληνικού κράτους έως την εκπαιδευτική μεταρρύθμιση του 1929 [Education "at Home" and Women's Duties – From the Foundation of the Greek State to the Educational Reform of 1929]. Athens: General Secretariat for Youth Publications.
- Bouzakis, S. (2011). Πανόραμα ιστορίας της εκπαίδευσης: Δεύτερος τόμος, Όψεις και απόψεις - Νεοελληνική εκπαίδευση 1821-2010 [Panorama of the History of Education: Volume Two, Aspects and Views - Modern Greek Education 1821-2010]. Athens: Gutenberg.
- Chatzistefanidis, Th. (2010). Ιστορία της νεοελληνικής εκπαίδευσης (1821-1986) [History of Modern Greek Education (1821-1986)]. Dim. N. Papadima Publications.
- Davaki, K. (2013). The Policy on Gender Equality in Greece. Brussels: European Union. [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/note/join/2013/493028/IPOL-FEMM_NT\(2013\)493028_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/note/join/2013/493028/IPOL-FEMM_NT(2013)493028_EN.pdf)
- Dertilis, G. V. (2018). Ιστορία της νεότερης και σύγχρονης Ελλάδας 1750-2015 [History of Modern and Contemporary Greece 1750-2015]. University Press of Crete.
- Dimaras, A. (2013). Ιστορία της νεοελληνικής εκπαίδευσης: Το ανακοπτόμενο άλμα. Τάσεις και αντιστάσεις στην ελληνική εκπαίδευση 1833-2000 [History of Modern Greek Education: The Interrupted Leap. Trends and Resistances in Greek Education 1833-2000] (1st ed.). Metaichmio Publishing.
- Dimaras, A. (2017). Η μεταρρύθμιση που δεν έγινε (τ. Β') [The Reform that Did Not Happen (Vol. B')].
- Dimitropoulos, A. (2014). Education Reform in Greece: Aspects of Power and Politics, in Stathis Kalyvas, George Pagoulatos, and Haridimos Tsoukas (eds), From Stagnation to Forced Adjustment: Reforms in Greece, 1974-2010 (2013; online edn, Oxford Academic, 22 May 2014), <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199327829.003.0009>
- European Commission (2020). Education and Training Monitor 2020: Greece. <https://op.europa.eu/webpub/eac/education-and-training-monitor-2020/countries/greece.html>
- Foukas, V. (2018). Challenges in Greek Education during the 1960s: The 1964 Educational Reform and its Overthrow. *Espacio, Tiempo y Educación*, 5(1), pp. 71-93. doi:

- <http://dx.doi.org/10.14516/ete.215>Gallant, T. (2017). *Νεότερη Ελλάδα: Από τον Πόλεμο της Ανεξαρτησίας μέχρι τις μέρες μας* [Greece: From the War of Independence to the Present Day] (G. Skarvelis, Trans.). Pedio Publications.
- Gerou, Th. (1981). *Εκπαιδευτική πολιτική (1975-1981)* [Educational Policy (1975-1981)]. Private publication.
- Hellenic Parliament. Νόμος 309/1976. *Περί οργανώσεως και διοικήσεως της Γενικής Εκπαιδεύσεως* [Law 309/1976. On the organization and administration of General Education]. *Εφημερίδα της Κυβερνήσεως* [Government Gazette] Issue A, No. 100/30.04.1976.
- Hellenic Parliament. Νόμος 576/1977. *Περί οργανώσεως και διοικήσεως της Μέσης και Ανωτέρας Τεχνικής και Επαγγελματικής Εκπαιδεύσεως* [Law 576/1977. On the Organization and Administration of Secondary and Higher Technical and Vocational Education]. *Εφημερίδα της Κυβερνήσεως* [Government Gazette] Issue A, No. 102/13.04.1977.
- Hellenic Parliament. Νόμος 1268/1982. *Για τη δομή και λειτουργία των Ανωτάτων Εκπαιδευτικών Ιδρυμάτων* [Law 1268/1982. On the Structure and Function of Higher Education Institutions]. *Εφημερίδα της Κυβερνήσεως* [Government Gazette] Issue A, No. 87/16.07.1982.
- Hellenic Parliament. Νόμος 1566/1985. *Δομή και λειτουργία της πρωτοβάθμιας και δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης και άλλες διατάξεις* [Law 1566/1985. Structure and Function of Primary and Secondary Education and Other Provisions]. *Εφημερίδα της Κυβερνήσεως* [Government Gazette] Issue A, No. 167/30.09.1985.
- Hellenic Parliament. Νόμος 2817/2000. *Εκπαίδευση των ατόμων με ειδικές εκπαιδευτικές ανάγκες και άλλες διατάξεις* [Law 2817/2000. Education of Individuals with Special Educational Needs and Other Provisions]. *Εφημερίδα της Κυβερνήσεως* [Government Gazette] Issue A, No. 78/14.03.2000.
- Kazakos, P. (2001). *Ανάμεσα σε κράτος και αγορά: οικονομία και οικονομική πολιτική στη μεταπολεμική Ελλάδα, 1944-2000* [Between State and Market: Economy and Economic Policy in Post-War Greece, 1944-2000]. Athens: Patakis.
- Kanellopoulos, K. (1995). *Εσωτερική Μετανάστευση* [Internal Migration]. Athens: KEPE.
- Karafyllis, A. (2023). *Εκπαιδευτικές μεταρρυθμίσεις στο ελληνικό κράτος* [Educational Reforms in the Greek State]. Giola Publications.
- Katsikas, Ch., & Therianos, N.K. (2007). *Ιστορία της νεοελληνικής εκπαίδευσης από την ίδρυση του ελληνικού κράτους μέχρι το 2007* [History of Modern Greek Education from the Foundation of the Greek State to 2007]. Athens: Savvala.
- Kolovos, N. (2000). «1949-1967: Η εκρηκτική εικοσαετία» Ένταση των λαϊκών αγώνων εκδημοκρατισμού της χώρας – άνθηση του «αθώου» εμπορικού κινηματογράφου.

Ένα παράδοξο. [«1949-1967: The Explosive Twenty Years» Intensification of Popular Struggles for Democratization – Flourishing of "Innocent" Commercial Cinema: A Paradox]. Proceedings of the Scientific Symposium "1949-1967: The Explosive Twenty Years" (November 10-12, 2000). Society for Studies of Modern Greek Culture and General Education, pp. 145-161.

Koutsou, A., & Vasilakopoulou, M. (2022). Educational Reforms in Greece: Challenges and Opportunities in a Post-Pandemic Era. *Greek Review of Social Research*, 158(1), 23-45.

Kyprianos, P. (2004). Συγκριτική ιστορία της ελληνικής εκπαίδευσης [Comparative History of Greek Education]. Vivliorama.

Naxakis, Ch., & Chletsos, M. (2001). Μετανάστες και Μετανάστευση. Οικονομικές, Πολιτικές και Κοινωνικές Πτυχές [Migrants and Migration: Economic, Political and Social Aspects]. Athens: Patakis.

Papadopoulos, T., & Georgiou, A. (2021). Social Inclusion in Education: The Case of Greece Post-COVID-19. *Journal of Educational Policy*, 36(4), 485-500.

Papanoutsos, P.E. (1982). Απομνημονεύματα [Memoirs]. Athens: Philippotis.

Pefanis, Th. (2012). Εκπαίδευση και κοινωνική αναπαραγωγή στη μεταπολεμική Ελλάδα (1950-2010) [Education and Social Reproduction in Post-War Greece (1950-2010)]. Bros Kyriakidis.

Presidential Decree No. 407/1980. Περί του κυρίου διδακτικού προσωπικού και του τρόπου εκλογής αυτού εις το Πανεπιστήμιον και το Πολυτεχνείον Κρήτης [On the Main Teaching Staff and the Method of Their Election at the University and Technical University of Crete]. Εφημερίδα της Κυβερνήσεως [Government Gazette] Issue A, No. 112/09.05.1980

Provata, A.K. (2002). Ιδεολογικά ρεύματα, πολιτικά κόμματα και εκπαιδευτική μεταρρύθμιση 1950-1965: Ο "Λόγος" για την τεχνική-επαγγελματική εκπαίδευση και ανάπτυξη [Ideological Currents, Political Parties and Educational Reform 1950-1965: The "Discourse" on Technical-Vocational Education and Development]. Athens: Gutenberg.

Reuter-Kumpmann, H. (2004). A History of Vocational Education and Training in Europe - From Divergence to Convergence. *European Journal Vocational Training*, 32, 6-17.

Richter, H. (2011). Ιστορία της Κύπρου, τόμος δεύτερος (1950-1959) [History of Cyprus Volume Two (1950-1959)]. Athens: Estia Publications.

Tzemos, V. (2023). ΑΣΕΠ και Δίκαιο Ανθρώπινου Δυναμικού στο Δημόσιο [ASEP and Human Resource Law in the Public Sector]. Athens: Legal Library.

- Voglis, P., & Sakellarios, T. (2021). Ο Ελληνικός εμφύλιος πόλεμος ως επανάσταση. Πολιτικές, στρατιωτικές και κοινωνικές διαστάσεις. Αρχαία Σύγχρονης Κοινωνικής Ιστορίας. [The Greek Civil War as Revolution: Political, Military, and Social Dimensions. Archives of Contemporary Social History].
- Ziogou, P., & Kelesidou, E. (1997). Οι νομοθετικές ρυθμίσεις για την εκπαίδευση των κοριτσιών στην Ελλάδα κατά τον 20ο αιώνα: κενά και αντινομίες [The legislative provisions for girls' education in Greece during the 20th century: gaps and contradictions]. In V. Deligianni & S. Ziogou (Eds.), Φύλο και Σχολική Πράξη [Gender and School Practice] Thessaloniki: Vaniats